

LASA FORUM

Latin American Studies Association

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LASA FORUM

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President's Report

Arturo Arias

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Cuando lean estas líneas, habrá pasado ya nuestro XXIV Congreso Internacional en Dallas. Este es, asimismo, mi último informe como presidente de nuestra asociación. Algunos colegas lo recibirán poco después de la conclusión de mi período presidencial. De allí que sea necesario un pequeño balance, de lo logrado, del camino trazado, y de los obstáculos que vislumbramos en el horizonte.

Para mí, este fue el congreso más difícil que LASA ha tenido desde el huracán de San Juan, en 1989. Sin embargo, una vez concluido, siento que fue un gran éxito. Diría incluso, un enorme éxito. Me sentí muy feliz tanto por el nivel de discusión propiamente académica que tuvo lugar, así como por el hecho de que las circunstancias de guerra contribuyeron positivamente para afinar la discusión y para fijarla, en vez de caerse en los barrocos excesos retóricos de los cuales suelen pecar algunos de nuestros campos de conocimiento. Asimismo, me quedé muy feliz por el significativo trabajo elaborado en oposición a la guerra contra Irak.

A este respecto, cuatro sesiones especiales sobre la guerra se implementaron entre el jueves 27 y el sábado siguiente. La primera tuvo lugar el jueves por la tarde. Participó la premio Nobel de la paz Rigoberta Menchú, y el teórico del Foro de Porto Alegre Boaventura de Sousa Santos, entre otros. La segunda tuvo lugar el viernes por la tarde. A ésta hizo alusión la teórica hindú Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak en la sesión donde se le rindió homenaje. Finalmente, dos más tuvieron lugar el sábado, para discutir hacia dónde seguían, posteriormente al Congreso, aquellos miembros que querían continuar articulando su oposición a la guerra. Las actividades anti-guerra concluyeron con una manifestación por el centro de Dallas, el sábado a la 1pm. Asimismo, se sacó una resolución en oposición a la guerra en el Business Meeting, que ha sido enviada a toda la membresía para que se pronuncie sobre la misma.

El primer triunfo del congreso fue lograr que se realizara, a pesar del mar de cancelaciones que nos acosó en los días previos al mismo. Que ya en sí tuviera lugar fue tremendo. A mí me recordó personalmente los tiempos de la Centroamérica de los ochenta, donde aprendimos a manejar las contradicciones entre nosotros y "El Norte" con habilidad, madurez política, flexibilidad, picardía y astucia. Durante los ochenta ninguna organización centroamericana dejó de visitar los Estados Unidos, pese a la actitud del gobierno de Reagan. No lo hizo el

sandinismo, no lo hizo el FMLN, ni la URNG. Tampoco dejaron nunca de trabajar con la oposición interna de los Estados Unidos a la política de Reagan, que en mucho se asemeja a la actual.

Ahora, se hace evidente lo mismo. A mi modo de ver, sólo lo ven diferente quienes entienden a los Estados Unidos como un bloque homogéneo sin matizar ni problematizar dichas implicaciones. Felizmente, los Estados Unidos son una enorme nación heterogénea en la cual una alta proporción de residentes son de origen latinoamericano.

Del lado negativo es de lamentarse que algunos compañeros que iban a ser financiados por LASA para viajar al Congreso optaron por no hacerlo. Las pérdidas por motivo de viajes exclusivamente puede llegar a los veinte mil dólares. Entre esta suma, y la caída de la economía del país, LASA ha perdido cerca de medio millón de dólares de sus reservas en los últimos tres años, y su situación financiera es algo preocupante. Felizmente, el comité de recolección de fondos ya se ha puesto en marcha, para evitar que las pérdidas aumenten en el corto plazo. La sobrevivencia de LASA depende ahora de la continuidad de sus miembros, y de sus pagos puntuales de cuotas.



LASA President Arturo Arias

Speaking about what else we did given the conditions of duress under which we held the Congress is like asking Mrs. Lincoln about how the play was, other than the assassination. Nevertheless, we should note that, without a doubt, the most important thing we managed to achieve was the Strategic Plan. I can only hope that, by the time you read

these lines, you would have already seen the summary presented at the Congress' Business Meeting, but also have gone to LASA's web site, <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/>, and read the entire report. As you will be able to verify, the report is extremely useful, complete, and outlines concrete stapes to be taken during the next five years, as well as designating who is responsible for each task. It will make life much easier for our next presidents, for fundraising, and for LASA's overall future health, growth and development.

In this same light, we also had to deal with the scandal of the denial of visas to Cuban scholars. Visas were allegedly denied under Section 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA). Section 212(f), which allows the President of the United States to prohibit entry into the United States of any "alien" or "class of aliens" whose entry is perceived as detrimental to the interests of the country. This section of the law was invoked by Ronald

Reagan's proclamation on October 4, 1985, to bar the entry of employees of the Cuban government and members of the Communist Party of Cuba.

However, there has been a new change in the attitude towards and procedures for visas post-Sept. 11. Because Cuba is on the list of countries sponsoring terrorism, all applications for visas are now reviewed by U.S. intelligence agencies. As a result, since August 2002 around 191 visas were not issued by the U.S. Interest Section for Cuban scholars, scientists and artists seeking to attend conferences, deliver lectures, concerts, and performances in the United States. Visa decisions are being made directly in Washington D.C.

We were extremely concerned by another development which signaled that these patterns would continue and possibly worsen. First, Cuban applicants to LASA were requested to be fingerprinted by consular officials, at an additional cost of \$85, under the argument that their name, and birth date, corresponded closely with those of "known terrorists." On top of that, Cuban visiting scholars and their institutions pay \$100 for visa applications regardless of whether they are granted or not.

At first, it seemed as if only four of the 105 Cuban scholars invited to LASA would be granted visas. Luckily, after a delegation from the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University and a few members of Congress visited the U.S. State Department, most visas were granted, although they were regrettably denied to two of the three elected members of the Cuba Section Executive Committee. Sixty-seven applicants received the visa in time to attend the LASA Congress. We have to thank John Coatsworth, Jorge Domínguez and Lorena Barbería, among others, for their efforts. We also want to thank the legislative offices that participated in the Harvard meeting. They were staff members of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-MA), Rep. William Delahunt (D-MA) and Congressman Jim McGovern (D-MA). I also want to note that, once the visas were granted, all Cubans for whom travel arrangements could still be made in time attended the Congress. Boycotting LASA because of confusions about what LASA represents in relation to the U.S. government never happened among Cubans. We are grateful for their understanding.

On a totally different matter, at this very moment we already have a new President, Marysa Navarro, and a new Vice-President, Sonia Alvarez. Within months, we will have a new Executive Director. Our 2006 Congress will be in Puerto Rico, and our 2009 meeting somewhere in South America. Ideally, we would rotate from that point on between Latin America and the United States. All of these events, in rapid succession, represent LASA's determination to no longer be an "American" institution opening up to Latin America, but, rather, a Hemispheric institution where the Americas are not segregated. Again, we can only hope that those members who did not attend the Congress value our efforts.

LASA was founded in the mid-1960s, when Area Studies were the vogue in U.S. academia, a focus that originated in the years after World War II. The development of Area Studies was partly a response to the increasing global influence of the United States,

and to inadequacies about the United State's understanding of the world in the context of the Cold War. Federal funding encouraged this trend, which grew throughout the 1950s and exploded after the Cuban revolution. Increased interest in Latin America in the 1960s was partly responsible for the explosive growth of American scholars wanting to specialize on Latin American issues and, as a consequence of this same growth, for the founding of LASA.

The political complexity of this decade radicalized many students, who, in their turn, traveled to Latin America, threw their own energies into support of popular struggles on the continent, and then returned to the United States to obtain their graduate degrees and initiate academic careers. As a consequence, LASA shifted from a more positivist attitude in its early origin, where there was a clear "us" and "them" divide, to one of solidarity with the struggles and issues of Latin American peoples, where members of LASA saw themselves, not just as academics, but also as activists, agents of solidarity with the various struggles south of the border.

Recent developments have challenged these simplistic assumptions. The notion, for example, that the world can be divided into knowable, self-contained "areas of study" has come into question in the wake of postmodern approaches about population and cultural movements across regions and nations. Demographic shifts, diasporas, labor migrations, the movements of global capital and media, and processes of cultural circulation and hybridization have brought into question the nature of areas' identities or composition. These questionings have, in turn, had an expression in the transformations taking place across the board in U.S. academic circles, where many native Latin American scholars now teach in various fields on U.S. campuses, and interdisciplinary studies have encouraged a rapid breakdown of distinct and stable areas, with congruent cultural, linguistic or geographical identities.

As a result, LASA has had to rethink its own role in the context of the fluid transformations of the early 21st century, re-position itself as an institution in regards to these many complex issues, and transform its *modus operandi* so as to dynamize its own administrative elements and make them more flexible and far-reaching, at a moment when technological innovations and dramatic changes in the world as a whole re-position all relationships, exchanges, and flows of knowledge within the Americas. A simple example: the fact that the Strategic Report will appear in Spanish and in Portuguese on the LASA web site is evidence of this transformation. In the context of LASA itself, "the under-represented" are in fact those who do not speak or read English fluently. There is in LASA a significant percentage of colleagues from Latin America who do not read English, or, else do so only with great difficulty. For LASA to remain monolingual meant that these members' ability to stay informed was, therefore, greatly diminished, if not negated entirely. A denial to recognize this elementary aspect reinserted the unspoken factor of U.S. members' hegemony within LASA, which underlined the fact that Latin Americans were objects of study by the members of the Association, and, yet, were second-class citizens within it. Attitudes like this one created the perception among Latin

American scholars that LASA was, ultimately, a *gringo* outfit, where they were, at best, only guests. These issues came out quite clearly in the debate on whether to boycott attendance to the Congress or not, in the name of disapproving the "Americans' attitude" about war in Irak. Rather perversely, perhaps, I commissioned articles in Spanish for the present issue of the *Forum*. Officially, LASA is trilingual. In reality, few of us can actually claim to be fully so. We struggle in one or two of LASA's official languages. Thus, to make the reading of the *Forum* slightly more difficult for those who struggle with the Spanish language, became also emblematic of the present transformation. A few monolingual English readers might object, but the experiment is worth it. I doubt that, afterwards, and as time goes on and we implement all, or most, of LASA's Strategic Plan, those confusions about "us" and "them," about whether LASA is truly Hemispheric or, in reality, an American outfit, will dissolve. Nobody should ever feel like "guests" at LASA any more. And, hopefully, the next time that the U.S. government decides to unilaterally break international law and invade another country, most members will understand that this has nothing to do with LASA itself.

On a totally different note, just prior to the realization of our Congress, we had the bad news about some losses in our midst. On February 7th, Guatemalan writer Augusto Monterroso died. Monterroso was to be the featured speaker of all the *literati* invited to LASA2003. He was scheduled to read on Thursday, 27 March, at 5pm. When originally invited, Monterroso asserted that he would love to come to LASA, "if he was still alive." Unfortunately, time was against him, and against us. Monterroso passed away on 7 February, 2003. Winner of the 2000 Príncipe de las Asturias Award, he was undoubtedly one of the greatest contemporary writers and the finest among his Guatemalan contemporaries. He was, along with Argentinian Jorge Luis Borges, a master of the short story, including the shortest one ever written, "*El Dinosaurio*," which reads: "*Cuando se despertó,*

el dinosaurio todavía estaba allí." He will be sorely missed. Our 24th International Congress was marked by his absence. We are cheered only by the thought that his work will long survive him. Rest in peace, Augusto Monterroso.

Later the same month, Brady Tyson also passed away. He was a critical link between issues related to Latin American and the Civil Rights Movement, especially through his long-term friendships with Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and Andrew Young, and his service on the board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He worked with liberation theologians such as Dom Helder Camara to bring awareness of Latin American issues to U.S. churches. He was also a defender of Human Rights in Latin American before, during, and after the time he served in the Carter administration as an undersecretary. His statement in Geneva at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in which he apologized for the U.S. government's complicity in the overthrow of the Allende regime, in and of itself, is to be noted at a time when the present Washington administration moves in exactly the opposite direction.

Finally, for the first time ever, the *Premio Iberoamericano* was given posthumously. The winner, Edgar Alfredo Balsells Tojo, author of *Olvido o memoria. El dilema de la sociedad guatemalteca*, passed away weeks before he found out he was the winner of this prestigious award.

I want to thank all of you for your support and camaraderie. *Fueron dieciocho meses agotadores, pero fabulosos. Al acabar esta aventura conjunta, ni LASA ni yo somos los mismos, y eso me llena de satisfaccion. Por modesto que fuera, contribuimos a marcar una direccion. Me voy consciente de que aun hay mucho por hacer. Pero tambien confiado. La voluntad de trabajo que ha exhibido nuestra membresa, en su perseverancia, en voluntad poltica, y en su vida acadmica, es ejemplar. LASA queda en buenas manos.*

UPCOMING LASA INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES

As announced previously, LASA2004 will be held in Las Vegas, Nevada, October 7-9, 2004, at the Hotel Riviera. For the second time since LASA2001, Congress attendees will see their guestroom rates fall: guests will pay only \$132 single/double; \$145 triple; and \$158 quadruple in Las Vegas! There is also lots of good news about the ample meeting space available for our sessions!

For LASA2006, only a few finishing touches need to be put on the contract with the Hotel Caribe Hilton in San Juan, and agreements with other hotels and the San Juan Convention Center will follow. The tentative dates (out of hurricane season, thank you!) are March 16-18, 2006.

And announced for the first time in the LASA2003 program book, LASA has signed a contract with the Sheraton people for our LASA2007 Congress in Boston. Dates are September 6-8, 2007.

Mark your calendars!

(The LASA Executive Council has mandated a Congress in South America for 2009, and initial soundings already have been made)

Official LASA Resolutions and Statement

The following two resolutions were approved by LASA members for 2003 who responded to an emailed request to vote during the month of April. The results of the voting follow each resolution.

Resolution on Iraq

Whereas we, the Latin American Studies Association (LASA), are professors, researchers and students of Latin America and have a long-standing commitment to justice, human rights and democracy; and

Whereas the United States military action against Iraq threatens the peaceful resolution of current and future disputes among states, jeopardizing the safety and security of the whole world; and

Whereas United States-Latin American history is punctuated by a long series of "regime changes", mostly brought about by the initiative of successive United States administrations, and

Whereas modern weapons mean that heavy loss of civilian life is now an intrinsic part of invasion, not accidental or "collateral" damage; and the World Health Organization estimates as many as half a million civilian casualties in the invasion against Iraq constituting the beginning of a humanitarian disaster; and

Whereas we support the right of the Iraqi people to self-determination and reject the notion that any nation has the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, violating their sovereignty and the will of their people; and

Whereas we reject the unilateral and preemptive United States invasion and occupation of an independent country, violating international law in the guise of "liberating" the Iraqi people; and

Whereas we condemn the imposition of dangerous limits on civil rights, academic freedom, permitting breaking and entry without court orders, imprisonment without trial and secret military tribunals: all these acts demonstrating a *de facto* United States regime change; and

Whereas the principal victims of any military action against Iraq will be the respective sons and daughters of working-class families and these will be disproportionately the poor and people of color; and

Whereas LASA endorses the ideas expressed by the Indigenous Peoples' Declaration attached to this resolution; and

Whereas LASA supports our colleagues who suffered United States government discrimination and retaliation due to their opposition of the invasion of Iraq; therefore

Be it resolved that LASA urges the government of the United States to stop the invasion now, and withdraw U.S. and British military forces from Iraq; and

Be it further resolved that LASA calls for an emergency meeting of the United Nations General Assembly for the purpose of passing a Uniting-for-Peace resolution demanding an immediate ceasefire and an end to the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq; and

Be it further resolved that LASA demands that the government of the United States restore academic freedom and civil rights, provide access to information, and stop the censorship of mass media that systematically hides atrocities committed against Iraqi people; and

Be it further resolved that LASA promote and facilitate the democratic discussion among our academic colleagues and in our communities about its position on the war and that it call on them to join us in advocacy to protect the lives of innocent people all over the world from a unilateral United States foreign policy that only engenders further terrorism throughout the world.

Be it further resolved that once current contract obligations are met, LASA hold International Congresses outside the United States to the extent possible, owing to the U.S. government's disregard for international law, treaties, conventions and universal standards of human rights, and the U.S. government's decision to deny travel permission to many Cuban scholars who were scheduled to participate in the 2003 LASA International Congress.

Affirmative: 710

Negative: 160

Blank: 47

Resolution on Cuba

Por cuanto:

La participación de académicos cubanos en el 24 congreso de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA) se redujo notablemente, a pesar del muy agradecido apoyo de la Universidad de Harvard y la cooperación del Departamento del Estado en lograr la autorización de más de 60 visas;

Por cuanto:

La organización de LASA y las muchas universidades esperando visitas de académicos cubanos experimentaron problemas con la participación de los invitados que se deben a procedimientos ambiguos y lentos, la falta de criterios escritos y explicaciones concretas y específicas, todo visto como resultado de los cambios que se efectuaron en agosto de 2002 para solicitudes de ciudadanos de países que se encuentran en la lista de estados que promueven terrorismo, y que han causado muchos casos de denegación de visas y/o pérdida de toda posibilidad de viajar por no tomar ninguna decisión;

Por cuanto:

El gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha levantado una pared entre las dos naciones mediante la prohibición de los viajes y las cada vez más fuertes restricciones en los intercambios académicos, científicos y culturales con Cuba, lo que impide el libre flujo de personas e ideas entre ambos países, en contra de los principios de libertad de pensamiento y las libertades civiles de las personas;

Por cuanto:

El bloqueo estadounidense contra Cuba es causa de sufrimiento humano, priva a los cubanos de los alimentos y medicinas que tanto necesitan, y ha tenido un terrible impacto en las vidas de niños, mujeres, ancianos y enfermos;

Por cuanto:

La guerra fría ha concluido y Cuba no constituye una amenaza para la seguridad nacional de los Estados Unidos;

Por cuanto:

La Asamblea General de las Naciones Unidas ha aprobado 9 resoluciones, con el apoyo abrumador de la mayoría de las naciones, en las que se condena el bloqueo;

Por tanto:

Se resuelve que la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA) se pronuncie a favor del cambio de la política norteamericana hacia Cuba, de manera que se establezcan plenas relaciones económicas, académicas, científicas, culturales y diplomáticas entre los Estados Unidos y Cuba.

Por tanto:

Se resuelve que la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA) se pronuncie en contra de la inclusión de Cuba en la lista de países terroristas establecida por el Departamento de Estado de los Estados Unidos.

Affirmative: 801

Negative: 89

Blank: 27

Statement on Cuba

The following Statement was generated by the LASA Committee on Academic Freedom and Human Rights, and approved by the LASA Executive Council April 16, 2003.

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA), an international professional body with 5,000 members in Latin America and the United States, has for many years sought to promote and ensure the participation of Cuban scholars and academics in the activities and meetings of the Association.

On a number of occasions, including the most recent International Congress of LASA in Dallas at the end of March, delays by the United States Department of State in approving visa applications by Cuban scholars have prevented or obstructed scholarly exchanges between Cuba and the United States. LASA members have repeatedly criticized U.S. Government actions that restrict scholarly exchanges between Cuba and the United States, including the delays that reduced Cuban participation at the Dallas meeting.

LASA members and LASA committees have also repeatedly criticized the persecution of academics, journalists and human rights workers throughout the hemisphere who have been singled out for attack because they exercised basic rights of freedom of expression and association.

Beginning on March 17, 2003, the Government of Cuba recently arrested approximately 80 people including journal prominent dissidents, human rights activists, independent journalists, independent unionists and directors of independent libraries. The Government of Cuba has condemned many of those arrested to 20 years or more through summary trials. All of the people arrested were involved in peaceful, non-violent expression of their academic and political views.

The Committee on Academic Freedom and Human Rights of LASA and the LASA Executive Council condemn these arrests and convictions, and calls upon the Government of Cuba to immediately release those arrested and convicted.

CALL FOR PAPERS

FOR

LASA2004

MAILED WITH THIS *FORUM*

Please note carefully all instructions and the submission deadline of

NOVEMBER 1, 2003

We'll see you October 7-9, 2004!

Ciencias sociales en América Latina

Mirando hacia el pasado y atisbando el futuro

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[Salvo algunos ajustes gramaticales, lo que sigue es transcripción literal de las palabras que, en tono a veces coloquial, pronuncié al recibir el premio Kalman Silvert, con el que fuera honrado en el Congreso de LASA en Dallas, Abril del 2003. Aprovecho la ocasión para, un poco de contrabando, agradecer nuevamente a los/as amigos/as y colegas que tomaron parte de la decisión de ese premio, los generosos comentarios que Peter Smith y Tom Holloway hicieron y citaron en esta oportunidad, y a los muchos que me acompañaron en ese, para mí, tan grato como inolvidable momento.]

En una ocasión como esta supongo que es inevitable adoptar un tono, si no necesariamente melancólico, reminiscente. Un honor como éste es, me temo por Uds., una invitación casi irresistible a mirar hacia atrás. Claro que la tentación a ser vencida es mirar narcisísticamente a la propia obra. Mas bien se trata, me parece, de mirar hacia atrás intentando reconstruir algunos aspectos y momentos que rodearon, inspiraron y motivaron esa obra, en la presunción que de ellos se pueden extraer reflexiones de algún interés actual.

Comienzo por comentar que me parece muy acertado el tema general de este Congreso, "Lo global y lo local. Repensando los estudios de área." Este tema lo he tomado como un oportuno desafío para organizar mis reminiscencias. Para empezar, parece claro que las artes plásticas, la literatura, la poesía, y más recientemente la cinematografía de América Latina tienen significado e impacto universal; pero lo tienen precisamente porque son tan típica, identificablemente latinoamericanas. Sería aventurado argumentar que las ciencias sociales e históricas (o, para decirlo tal vez mejor, el conocimiento social) latinoamericano ha alcanzado o merecido ese impacto y significado. Pero no deja de ser cierto que hemos hecho algunas contribuciones que, partiendo de la especificidad histórica de América Latina, han alcanzado interés y difusión bastante más allá de nuestra región. Creo que esto ocurrió no sólo porque esas contribuciones reflejaban aquella especificidad sino también porque aludían a temas y problemas que, con sus características propias a cada región, también aparecían, y aparecen, en otras partes del mundo.

Uno siempre piensa y escribe desde algún lugar, desde alguna circunstancia histórica y social, y contra alguna interpretación de ese lugar. Salvo para quienes creen equivocadamente, aunque hoy no sean pocos, que el conocimiento de lo social puede ser una ciencia aséptica, uno siempre está, concientemente o no (y mejor que lo esté concientemente), en algún debate, en alguna lucha de ideas. Esta es al menos mi experiencia personal y, que yo sepa, la de lo mejor de las ciencias sociales y la historia latinoamericanas.

Me apresuro a aclarar que me voy a referir a contribuciones hechas desde América Latina. Esto quiere decir por latinoamericanos y también, por cierto, por no latinoamericanos que asumieron como

propio algún problema de la región, que intentaron entenderlo en sus propios términos, que se dedicaron seriamente a conocerlos, y que a partir de ello contribuyeron valiosamente al estudio de nuestros países. No todo latinoamericanista cumple este perfil, pero no pocos, incluso muchos de los aquí presentes, lo hacen. A ellos, luego de tantos encuentros, discusiones y colaboraciones entendidas como auténticos diálogos entre pares, va mi fraterno saludo.

Lo que acabo de decir implica criticar la falacia de los ataques a los estudios de área (*area studies*), que comienzan por desconocer que aquéllos que propician su eliminación o subordinación también escriben desde algún lugar. Ocurre que ese lugar es el de un centro dominante que, por serlo, no se reconoce como otro lugar entre muchos. Al contrario, tal como ha sido la tentación histórica de los centros dominantes, desde Roma y la Gran Bretaña imperial y hoy Estados Unidos, no pocos de sus intelectuales se creen portadores de un punto de vista universal frente a las particularidades del resto del mundo.

Las ciencias sociales latinoamericanas han producido, producen y deben seguir produciendo datos y teorías, ambas cosas. En particular, las contribuciones que voy a comentar no me parece que pertenezcan a un museo de las ideas. Ellas plantearon problemas y exploraron caminos que conservan, al menos en algunos sentidos, rigurosa actualidad. En esas contribuciones sin duda repercutieron las condiciones históricas y sociales de nuestra región. Pero seguir haciendo esas contribuciones (y, por cierto, hacerlo a un alto nivel de profesionalismo) implica negarse a reproducir, en las ciencias sociales y en la historia, algo muy semejante a la ecuación de la dependencia originaria de América Latina.

Me explico acerca de un fenómeno que tal vez sea particularmente agudo en la ciencia política y en la economía, pero que dudo les sea exclusivo. Concebirnos sólo como asistentes de investigación de hecho o de derecho, como recolectores de datos que luego son procesados por los teóricos del Norte, es equivalente a exportar materias primas de escaso valor agregado, para que sean procesadas por las industrias del Norte. Por el otro lado, el de la importación, ese papel subordinado corresponde a "aplicar" mecánicamente teorías ya elaboradas en el Norte, lo cual es equivalente a importar industrias o tecnologías llave en mano, a las cuales cuanto más se les hacen algunas adaptaciones teniendo en cuenta la calidad de las materias primas o del trabajo disponibles en nuestros países.

Este papel subordinado, de exportadores de datos casi en crudo y de importadores de teorías ya cocinadas, refleja, claro está, en el pequeño mundo de las ciencias sociales y de los vínculos entre diversos ambientes académico/universitarios, relaciones asimétricas de poder. No es fácil combatir las, en parte por esas mismas asimetrías y en parte porque no bastan las declamaciones

en contra de ellas—de hecho, a veces las meras declamaciones tienden a acentuar esas relaciones.

Hoy no es fácil remontar estas tendencias. Pero nunca lo fue, aunque las asimetrías de poder probablemente se han agudizado. Tal vez por eso tenga algún interés recorrer, aunque tenga que ser breve y esquemáticamente, algunas contribuciones nuestras, de los latinoamericanos y los verdaderos latinoamericanistas que ya he mencionado. Como soy parte de algunas de las generaciones que han hecho estos aportes, y por lo tanto soy cualquier cosa menos un testigo imparcial, pido desde ya una cuota de benevolencia por lo que voy a decir. Pero creo que esas contribuciones no sólo tienen interés arqueológico; al contrario, ellas apuntaron a temas y problemas históricos y estructurales de América Latina que nos afectaron y siguen afectándonos profundamente.

Yo creo que lo mejor de las ciencias sociales latinoamericanas se ha caracterizado por: 1. Indagar siempre la especificidad histórica de sus temas y casos; 2. Hacerlo con un espíritu crítico que se negó a proveer un comentario halagador o racionalizador de los poderes existentes; y 3. Para mejor y a veces para peor, estar muy cerca de la política y de los conflictos que se han tejido alrededor de ella. La política y sus conflictos han provisto nuestra temática, no tanto el deseo, justificable tal vez pero ajeno a las condiciones de producción del conocimiento social latinoamericana, de llenar tal o cual agujero en la literatura teórica existente. Ese origen directo desde la política y sus conflictos ha dado a esas contribuciones lo que llamaría un tono, punto de partida y hasta maneras de escribir que tienen un sello propio.

Creo también que los problemas que estas ciencias sociales nuestras han abordado siguen con nosotros, aunque por supuesto han ido adquiriendo en algunos aspectos novedosas facetas. Contra las pretensiones unificadoras de nos podesos del centro, me parece importante reconocer la legitimidad de diversos estilos de trabajo. Como lo encarnan tan bien LASA y sus diversas publicaciones, de lo que se trata entre culturas, incluso en ese segmento de la cultura que son las ciencias sociales y la historia, es de instaurar diálogos basados en el mutuo respeto y re-conocimiento de quienes se saben, en el Sur y en Norte, portadores de especificidades que contienen, todas ellas, aspectos importantes de validez e interés.

Hago entonces un breve recorrido de las contribuciones a las que he estado aludiendo.

I. CEPAL y el intercambio desigual

En los 50 y 60, con el aporte central de grandes intelectuales como Raúl Prebisch y Celso Furtado, desde la CEPAL se planteó el tema del deterioro secular de los términos del intercambio. Dado que estaban en un organismo de las Naciones Unidas, esos intelectuales no pudieron usar muchos adjetivos ni extender su análisis a temas abiertamente políticos. Pero sus formulaciones contenían, más o menos explícitamente, cuestiones tales como la necesidad de construir estados capaces de promover y articular el desarrollo, de sustentar burguesías nacionales (es decir burguesías que realizaran lo principal de su acumulación de capital en el ámbito de sus países y con cuyo destino por lo tanto se sintieran solidarias) y, entre ese estado y esa burguesía, promover

un desarrollo razonablemente dinámico y equitativo. Pocos países de América Latina se aproximaron a estas metas; los otros, la mayoría, muestran en la profundidad de su actual crisis el fracaso en el logro de ellas. Atrás del argumento, que la historia por cierto no ha desmentido, de la tendencia secular a la declinación de los precios relativos de casi todas las materias primas exportadas por América Latina, estaba la advertencia de que en caso de que no se lograran las metas propuestas, ocurriría lo que indica el título de un artículo de 1969 de otro importante intelectual de este grupo y justamente reconocido con el premio Kalman Silvert, Osvaldo Sunkel, "Capitalismo transnacional y desintegración nacional." Señalo rápidamente dos cosas. Una es que contra estas posiciones de la CEPAL se realizaron duras críticas, por parte de economistas e instituciones públicas y privadas del Norte, y sus amanuenses locales, que se escandalizaban porque esas ideas exóticas contravenían los dogmas de las teorías del comercio internacional y las convergencias que ellas postulaban por medio sobre todo de la teoría de las ventajas comparativas, de las cuales resultaba, claro está, que América Latina no debía apartarse de su condición de exportadora de materias primas. Ciertamente, el mundo ha cambiado desde entonces, y en nombre de las ideas de CEPAL se adoptaron no pocas políticas equivocadas. Asimismo, para aplicar las ideas de CEPAL las políticas específicas hoy deberían ser en parte diferentes a las entonces propiciadas. Pero no me parece que esto haya invalidado en absoluto las metas que, contra la ortodoxia de su época, y por cierto de la actual, propusieron esos intelectuales de CEPAL. El segundo punto que quiero destacar es que el fantasma aludido por el título de Sunkel pende como nunca sobre nuestras cabezas.

II. Las teorías de la dependencia

Estos temas Cepalinos inspiraron algunas de las primeras formulaciones de la dependencia, sobre todo el famoso libro de Fernando Henrique Cardoso y Enzo Faletto, *Dependencia y Desarrollo*, escrito en la segunda mitad de la década del 60, precisamente, en la CEPAL. Este libro ya en su título enunciaba su contenido y los términos del debate en el cual se inscribía: dependencia Y desarrollo, es decir una visión que aunque reconocía y elaboraba la importancia de la dependencia, no negaba la posibilidad de un desarrollo capitalista de nuestros países. Esta visión se contraponía a otra, más radical, que afirmaba que la dependencia producía ineluctablemente subdesarrollo, ya indicada en el título del libro de 1969 de André Gunder Frank, *Capitalismo y Subdesarrollo en América Latina*. Esta visión conducía a una opción socialista y revolucionaria, también indicada en dos títulos, uno de otro libro de Frank, *América Latina: Subdesarrollo o Revolución* y de Thetonio dos Santos, de 1971, *Socialismo o facismo. El dilema latinoamericano y el nuevo carácter de la dependencia*.

En conjunto estas obras y las que mencionaré en unos momentos trazaron las tres grandes líneas de debate político que marcaron las ciencias sociales latinoamericanas en las décadas del 60 y 70, sacudidas primero por la revolución cubana y poco después por la emergencia, en Brasil en 1964 y luego en los 70 en Chile, Uruguay y Argentina, de nuevos estados burocrático-autoritarios. En estos debates se alinearon, por un lado, los apologistas de esos estados, quienes en sus versiones relativamente sofisticadas, aunque sin lograr ocultar el sentido de venganza social que sustentaba sus

posiciones, argumentaban que esos autoritarismos producirían un indispensable “empujón” hacia el desarrollo, especialmente por medio de aislar los gobiernos de las demandas populares (ecos, acoto, del tema de la “insulation of economic policy-makers” del que tanto oímos durante la década pasada). Por otro lado estaban los que preconizaban un salto revolucionario al socialismo, lo que en algunos pero no en todos los casos—Chile de la Unidad Popular es la excepción fundamental aquí—se asoció a una estrategia de lucha armada que tuvo a Cuba como su principal pero no único referente. Esta opción, como sabemos, fue en casi todas partes cruelmente aniquilada.

Y por un tercer lado, los que nos volcamos a lo que llamaría un estudio crítico, de inspiración democrática y reformista, de esos autoritarismos.

Pero antes de entrar a este tema, cualquiera que fuere la orientación final con que se planteara el tema de la dependencia, caben tres observaciones sobre esta literatura. Una es que, igual que lo que pasó con la CEPAL, la problemática dependentista fue rechazada en el Norte con el argumento, en un sentido trivialmente cierto y en otro profundamente equivocado, que todos los países son interdependientes. Esto ignoraba, antes y mas aun hoy, que hay grados importantes, y a veces decisivos, de asimetría de poder, no sólo entre países sino también en relación a otro sujeto, las compañías transnacionales, que esos autores de la dependencia fueron pioneros en problematizar como un fundamental tema no sólo económico sino también político.

La segunda observación es que, aun con sus importantes diferencias, los autores de la dependencia coincidieron en señalar algo que me parece fundamental: las relaciones de asimetría de poderes que encarnan la dependencia no son sólo externas; ellas se interiorizan a cada país, mediante alianzas con diversos sectores y clases que se benefician grandemente de esas relaciones y que al mismo tiempo ayudan a reproducir la subordinación de buena parte de la sociedad nacional. Esta visión, además de empíricamente correcta, es fundamental para aventar opiniones simplistas, si no paranoides, que no faltaron entre nosotros, según las cuales todo lo malo se impone desde el exterior sobre países enteramente inocentes.

La tercera observación es que esas constelaciones de poder, transnacionales y a la vez profundamente interiorizadas, y aparentemente cada vez menos promotoras o siquiera interesadas en una elevación general de sus sociedades nacionales, gozan hoy, por cierto, de buena salud. Ellas invitan a reinvestigar y repensar de qué maneras se da y se reproduce la dependencia en nuestros países, sobre todo la medida en que esas alianzas están dibujando, tal vez cada vez más duramente, el horizonte de posibilidades de los mismos. Las teorías de la dependencia hace tiempo que han dejado de ocupar a la academia, pero creo que los problemas a los que ellas apuntaron siguen estando ahí, más fuertes y determinantes que nunca. Pero debemos darnos cuenta que reconocer este tema como el inmenso problema que es, no es algo que naturalmente se hará desde un centro que se beneficia grandemente de estas relaciones asimétricas de poder a las cuales, desde ese punto de vista no sorprendentemente, llama bonachonamente de “inter-dependencia.” El estudio serio de

estas cuestiones, no provendrá, lógicamente, del centro. Debe ser tarea nuestra, retomando y actualizando las contribuciones de la CEPAL así como las de los autores llamados “dependentistas.”

III. Colonialismo Interno

Por los mismos años de la eclosión de las teorías de la dependencia, apareció con gran impacto otra serie de estudios que planteó problemas que en el fondo eran análogos a los de aquélla, en el sentido de referirse a relaciones asimétricas de poder entre centros y periferias. Pero esta vez, claro está, tanto el centro como la periferia se daban al interior de cada país. Me refiero a las teorías de colonialismo interno. En México Pablo González Casanova y Rodolfo Stavenhagen (quien en este mismo congreso es merecidamente honrado con la conferencia de la Cátedra Martin Diskin), y en Perú José Matos Mar y Julio Cotler hicieron contribuciones fundamentales a esta temática, no casualmente desde países donde el colonialismo interno se superponía con con la explotación y exclusión de pueblos indígenas.

Esta literatura, aunque corrió por cuerda separada de la de la dependencia, planteó un problema similar: relaciones de poder que operan sobre y contra regiones que tienen en diversos sectores y clases dominantes locales indispensables aliados y beneficiarios del poder ejercido desde el centro nacional. Casi la misma historia entonces, pero ahora introyectada hacia la periferia de nuestros países y, como la otra, la de la dependencia, hoy tanto o más actual que entonces.

IV. Marginalidad y Mercado Informal

Algo después, y concentrado como problemática en el Cono Sur y Brasil por razones demasiado largas para exponer ahora, surgió un tema convergente con el anterior: el de la marginalidad social. Aquí fueron decisivas las contribuciones iniciales de José Nun y, poco después, la dura polémica que se desató entre éste y Cardoso. Aquí los términos del debate eran si se trataba realmente de masas marginales que estaban siendo expulsadas de los circuitos económicos, incluso de los patrones capitalistas de reproducción de la fuerza de trabajo, o si, como argumentó Cardoso, adoptando una posición más ortodoxamente marxista en un debate ocurrido dentro de este universo discurso, se trataba de un ejército industrial de reserva, es decir trabajadores al menos potencialmente reabsorbibles en los canales formales de la economía. Tal vez el calor de esa polémica y su universo de discurso ayudaron a que no tardara en hablarse, como lo hizo Janice Perlman en un influyente libro, del “mito de la marginalidad.” Creo sin embargo, y desgraciadamente, que los tiempos han dado razón a Nun. Esto se ve, en casi todos nuestros países, en las ingentes masas reducidas a sobrevivir mediante precarias actividades en el llamado mercado informal y con nulas o muy escasas posibilidades de incorporarse a los circuitos formales de la economía. Un poco como heredera de la temática de la marginalidad, pero con una orientación más decididamente empírica, el impresionante tamaño y crecimiento del mercado informal ha dado lugar a otra literatura, encarnada especialmente en Víctor Tokman y Alejandro Portes. Esta literatura, como las anteriores, ha tenido notables repercusiones en otras partes del mundo.

V. Autoritarismo burocrático

Dejamos ahora temas de los 60 y tempranos 70 y entramos en la segunda mitad de los 70 y buena parte de los 80. El trasfondo del nuevo tema fué la cruel interrupción del experimentos socialista y democrático de la Unidad Popular en Chile, la derrota aplastante de diversos intentos revolucionarios armados y la emergencia en varios países de los que llamé BAs, sigla del largo y feo nombre "autoritarismo burocrático."

Frente a esa emergencia la primera tarea era saber de qué se trataba. Me pareció, nos pareció a algunos, que, como lo indica el título del influyente libro que David Collier organizó en esa época, se trataba de un "nuevo autoritarismo." No eran autoritarismos tradicionales (basados en una población poco urbanizada y movilizada políticamente) ni populistas (ya que, en contraste con estos los BA no intentaban movilizar controladamente, sino al contrario, desmovilizar represivamente al sector popular). También nos pareció claro que no se trataba de facismos, o neo-facismos, o facismos coloniales.

Me permito ahora un recuerdo personal. Junto con un pequeño grupo, entre los que me alegra ver hoy aquí a Marcelo Cavarozzi, creamos en Buenos Aires CEDES (Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad), en Junio 1975. En esos momentos ya nos parecía inevitable el golpe de estado que acabó ocurriendo en marzo de 1976. Frente a eso teníamos la pretensión tal vez algo ilusa, o loca, de mantener un ámbito de libertad intelectual en lo que veíamos iba a ser un período de cruel autoritarismo.

A principios de 1975 participé en un congreso realizado en Campinas, donde Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro y Manoel Tosta Berlinck habían tomado lo que para entonces, en Brasil, era el importante riesgo de discutir regímenes autoritarios. Este fue uno de los mejores congresos a los que he asistido, con grandes intelectuales como Eric Hobsbawm, Juan Linz y Arno Maier no sólo presentando excelentes ponencias sino también haciendo clara su solidaridad con los amigos brasileños. Por mi parte llevé un texto que poco después el entonces joven y dinámico editor de *LARR*, Joe Tulchin, se tomó el generoso trabajo de traducir y publicar; este texto fue importante para que se conocieran mis ideas sobre los BA en el mundo anglosajón. Fue en este congreso que conocí a Kalman Silvert y le planté nuestro propósito y un pedido de apoyo de la Fundación Ford. Me contestó que si nuestras previsiones eran de un inminente y cruel golpe, teníamos nosotros que estar locos en querer crear un Centro y él en apoyarnos en la Fundación Ford. Supongo que le gustó que le contestara que estaba de acuerdo con él, ya que poco después tuvimos la alegría de saber que nos habían acordado el *grant*. Con este apoyo y el no menos generoso y "loco" apoyo de la agencia sueca de desarrollo, SAREC, comenzamos CEDES. Cuando el golpe argentino ocurrió en marzo de 1976, el BA brasileño continuaba aparentemente inamovible y Chile y Uruguay ya habían caído. Durante esos años de plomo recibimos la emocionante solidaridad de muchos colegas y amigos de Norte América, de Europa, de México y conocimos funcionarios de la Fundación Ford y otras—no puedo dejar de recordar agradecidamente en este momento a Nita Manitzas, Richard Dye y Jeffrey Puryear, además por supuesto de Kalman—quienes tanto ayudaron a que se mantuvieron en esos países algunos espacios de libertad intelectual. Esa ayuda no fue sólo

institucional; ellos fueron valerosos, ya que no pocas veces debieron digerir las amenazas que, también a ellos, les proferían los gangsteriles poderes que esos monstruos autoritarios habían desatado.

La discusión, ahora sobre estos nuevos autoritarismos, siguió, como antes, por tres carriles. Por un lado una derecha siempre dispuesta a apoyar estos y otros autoritarismos y por el otro quienes, al hacer la lectura de que eran facismos concluían—aunque la premisa del razonamiento en rigor no lo exigiera—que la única forma de liberarnos de ellos era por medio de un salto revolucionario que tenía a algún tipo de socialismo como su horizonte. Y, si se quiere en el medio, los que creíamos que la mejor y en realidad la única vía posible fuera de esos BA era mediante la implantación de un régimen democrático, a ser lograda mediante una no violenta pero decidida y pertinaz oposición a aquéllos en todos los campos, no sólo el político, así como también, en algún momento, con negociaciones con los sectores menos brutales de esos mismos BA. Esta posición se sustentaba, aparte de obvios valores cuya brutal negación por los BA hacía particularmente importante reafirmar, en la convicción que a pesar de su fachada a veces imponente y de su gran capacidad de represión, esos BA eran frágiles, y que por lo tanto era importante estudiar y develar sus tensiones, las internas y las externas con la sociedad, para ayudar a derrotarlos. La verdad es que, como parte de este debate a tres bandas, yo y otros no nos pusimos a escribir teoría; en realidad usamos conceptos teóricos, algunos preexistentes y otros que hubo que inventar sobre la marcha de los acontecimientos, para escribir textos cuya intención era profunda, primariamente política y, en nuestro caso, también democrática.

Esto dio lugar a otra literatura que, en lo respecta a mí y casi todos sus otros autores, aunque lidiaba con un tema en sí mismo nuevo, los BA, tenía raigambre en los trabajos cepalinos y dependentistas a la vez que, como estos, recogía lo que parecía mejor y más aprovechable de la literatura producida en otras regiones—en mi caso, en especial, las contribuciones de dos de mis mentores, las inspiradas en África de David Apter y en España de Juan Linz. Estas contribuciones—estudios de casos sobre otras regiones—son, dicho sea de paso, ejemplos del valor universal de excelentes estudios sobre casos específicos.

Hoy, es cierto, este es el único de los temas que he recorrido hasta ahora que parece haber perdido actualidad. Sigue habiendo, para decirlo genéricamente, severas desigualdades en el intercambio internacional, estrecha dependencia, voraces colonialismos internos, y creciente marginalidad e informalidad. Pero no hay propiamente BAs, aunque no faltan regímenes autoritarios de otro tipo y frágiles democracias que cada vez ocultan peor su lado autoritario.

Pero, por otro lado, los que trabajamos sobre los BA insistimos que ellos hundían sus raíces en una generalizada vocación represiva de la movilización y las demandas populares, así como también en un extendido autoritarismo implantado en numerosas relaciones sociales, de clase, de género, étnicas y otras. Este autoritarismo social, así como sus orígenes históricos en una aguda desigualdad que no se ha paliado en los años recientes, sigue estando tan presente como en la época de los BA y bien puede ser el punto de apoyo de otra noche cerradamente

autoritaria en América Latina.

VI. Transiciones

Comienzo por lo obvio: la principal y fundamental motivación de casi todos los que nos ocupamos de las transiciones fue liberarnos de los BA. Esta motivación partía del análisis crítico que habíamos hecho de esos BA y se alimentaba de la convicción, que ya he mencionado, de que el camino mejor y probablemente único posible era hacia un régimen democrático.

También, es cierto, teníamos la esperanza, que compartimos con tantos de Europa central y del este, que una vez liberados de los déspotas, con la fuerza y el apoyo político de los sectores populares victimizados por los BA, sería posible también avanzar en la democratización civil, económica y social de nuestros países, no sólo en la política. Este fue, debo reconocerlo, un serio pero en su momento útil engaño.

Poco después de entrar en el tema de las transiciones me fui de la Argentina y llegué a Brasil, donde primero gocé de la generosa hospitalidad del IUPERJ en Río de Janeiro y más tarde del CEBRAP en São Paulo. En 1983 comencé a dividir mi tiempo entre CEBRAP y el Kellogg Institute de la Universidad de Notre Dame. Fui persuadido de ir a Notre Dame por el enorme carisma de su entonces presidente, el Padre Ted Hesburgh y por los invencibles argumentos de mi co-Director del Instituto y desde entonces amigo, el padre Ernest Bartell. La idea tentadora fue participar con Bartell y con Alejandro Foxley, con quien habíamos trabado amistad en diversas reuniones en medio de las desgracias que afligían a nuestros países, en la dirección intelectual del Kellogg Institute. Desde entonces, allí, en Kellogg y Notre Dame, no sólo encontré amplio apoyo y plena libertad académica sino también excelentes amigos, incluso un padrecito, Tim Scully, que quería aprender ciencia política, lo hizo brillantemente (lecturas iniciales de Weber mediante) y que hoy es algo así como mi jefe en su condición de vicepresidente de Notre Dame... En el Instituto, hasta que tuve el tino de terminar mi gestión como director académico en 1996, me di el enorme gusto de promover diversos temas, de ganar excelentes colegas y de acoger como *fellows* a muchos latinoamericanos y latinoamericanistas que nos enriquecieron intelectualmente. Por eso desde mi llegada allí, Notre Dame se ha convertido en mi casa, entre otras cosas porque, con comprensión y generosidad, se me ha permitido conservar mi identidad como latinoamericano y mis raíces en Argentina y Brasil.

Para el tema de las transiciones fue fundamental el papel del Programa Latinoamericano del Wilson Center, entonces dirigido por Abe Lowenthal. Además de sus numerosos talentos, Abe tuvo la excelente idea de inventar un Consejo Académico del Programa; este Consejo, presidido por Albert Hirschman e integrado por un destacado número de colegas, era una verdadera usina de ideas. La idea inicial de estudiar transiciones, originada en Cardoso, Schmitter y yo, y de la cual cuento detalles en el prólogo de mi libro *Counterpoints* que no tengo tiempo de repetir ahora, se inspiraba tanto en nuestra crítica de los BA como en los alentadores, aunque aun indecisos ejemplos de las transiciones en España, Portugal y Grecia. La idea era estudiar comparativamente las transiciones de esos países y las posibles en América Latina; ella fue entusiastamente recibida por

Lowenthal, Hirschman y el resto del Consejo. Sin embargo, una vez más, un tema traído desde América Latina tropezó con el escepticismo de muchos en el Norte, incluso entre las principales autoridades del Wilson Center. Lo veían como un ejercicio de ilusiones (*wishful thinking*) por parte de un grupo de intelectuales marginados en sus respectivos países. Para contrarrestar esto, y obtener los fondos necesarios, fue necesaria la lucidez y empeño de Abe, junto con el apoyo de Hirschman y el Consejo, junto con el estupendo *sound bite* con el que el primero descocoló a no pocos de los escépticos: este no era un proyecto de *wishful thinking* sino de *thoughtful wishing!* (tal como Abe menciona en su introducción a los volúmenes que resultaron).

Cuando quedó claro que uno de los integrantes del trío originario, Cardoso, no podría ocuparse de co-dirigir el proyecto porque su suplencia en el Senado federal brasileño se había convertido en efectiva, tuvimos la suerte que Laurence Whitehead aceptara ese papel. De esto resultaron los cuatro volúmenes organizados, en orden alfabético, por O'Donnell, Schmitter y Whitehead. Los terminamos luego de dos semanas de intenso trabajo en la bella casa de Philippe en Florencia. Como correspondía al momento y al lugar, habíamos planeado cenar en una casa que perteneció a Maquiavelo, pero antes de partir tuve la poco brillante idea de tomar un baño y romperme mi mala pierna. Creo que sólo fue en parte bromeando que Philippe me dijo entonces algo así como que "Estos argentinos no pueden dejar de hacer tangos!"...

Respecto de estos volúmenes, en especial el cuarto, el que escribimos con Philippe, no resisto comentar cómo uno aprende que los textos dejan de ser propios una vez que los publica. No pocos han comentado críticamente que nuestro esquema es "elitista," olvidando la importancia que damos a lo que llamamos la resurrección de la sociedad civil y el *popular upsurge* como factores fundamentales para empujar las decisiones y negociaciones de los líderes mucho más allá que lo que buena parte de ellos suele querer. Asimismo, y ahora en relación con otros autores que parecen creer que estos volúmenes son sobre transiciones a la democracia, ellos son, como lo indica su propio título, sobre transiciones desde regímenes autoritarios. Es decir, dejamos abierto, y dijimos explícitamente, que la inauguración de un régimen democrático es sólo uno de los resultados posibles de estas transiciones.

Termino con esto mi rápida, que por rápida espero Uds. tengan la benevolencia de no condenar como simplista, mirada a algunas de nuestras contribuciones. Antes de entrar al tema final de mi presentación quiero hacer una digresión, en memoria de los tiempos de la represión y de las incertidumbres de las transiciones. Es una digresión sobre el miedo que no deberíamos olvidar. En la época de los BA nosotros, los privilegiados, aprendimos lo que es el miedo, el miedo permanente de ser víctima de la violencia física, el miedo de ser humillados sin recurso a protesta, y, como dijo alguien que también sabía de esto, Judith Shklar, el miedo a seguir teniendo miedo. Este es un aprendizaje que no tenemos derecho a olvidar, porque lo han sufrido desde siempre muchas, demasiadas categorías de individuos en nuestros países, y porque no pocos lo siguen sufriendo, aun hoy, bajo regímenes democráticos. Son los que de hecho no tienen derechos civiles, para qué decir derechos sociales, y sufren sus privaciones, desde violencia en sus casas hasta la que ejercen policías descontroladas.

Esta memoria, que debería ser indeleble, del miedo que sufrimos nosotros, sugiere una agenda política, orientada a que, por lo menos de lo menos, deje de haber en América Latina gente sometida a esos miedos. O, puesto más positivamente, esa memoria postula una agenda que logre que al menos básicos derechos civiles sean realmente efectivos para todos. Suena a poco, pero los que conocemos América Latina sabemos que no es esta menuda tarea.

Lo que he dicho hasta ahora desemboca en la que me parece la gran pregunta de los tiempos actuales: ¿Qué son estas democracias que hoy tenemos? Por supuesto, este es un tema demasiado amplio y complejo, sobre el que algo he escrito en los últimos años, como para analizarlo en este momento. Puedo ofrecerles sólo algunos comentarios generales, no tanto, como con los temas anteriores en resumen de trabajos ya hechos sino como invitación a proseguir y reforzar trabajos y reflexiones actualmente en curso.

Básicamente, creo que una vez más las opciones se abren en tres direcciones. Una de ellas consiste en demandar que *don't rock the boat*, es decir “tenemos la democracia que tenemos y no empujen por más porque van a poner en peligro estas libertades que hemos conseguido.” Esta es, obviamente, una opción conservadora, a la que suelen hacerse adeptos los que llegan al gobierno, aunque provengan de otras latitudes ideológicas. Creo que esta opción cauta y últimamente restrictiva es, en el mediano y largo plazo, inviable. Frente al desastre social que sufren no pocos de nuestros países, ella sólo podría sostenerse mediante una extensa represión que acabaría por cancelar cualquier aspecto de democracia subsistente.

Otra opción es ver a estas democracias sólo como la fachada tramposa de una cada vez más dura dominación social, el privilegio de privilegiados—intelectuales por supuesto incluidos. A partir de esta visión la estrategia que sigue casi naturalmente, aunque no necesariamente como un lógico corolario, es alguna forma de insurrección. Me parece que no habría derecho a ignorar que este camino volvería a desatar, pero ahora con más medios tecnológicos y con decidido apoyo de Estados Unidos y otros países centrales, una terrible represión.

Una tercera posibilidad es seguir apostando a la democracia, a su extensión y profundización, al mejoramiento de su hoy pobre calidad. Y esto hay que hacerlo en todos los frentes, incluyendo la “gran” política, los movimientos sociales, las ONGs y tantos otros lugares. Como intelectuales creo que nos compete, sobre todo, hacer una persistente, seria y fundada crítica democrática a estas democracias tan socialmente sesgadas. Esto no implica buscar los “amplios consensos” que se ha puesto de moda invocar. Se trata más bien de no temer los conflictos que sin duda desatarán los intentos de extender los aspectos civiles, económicos y sociales de estas democracias. Se trata también de ayudar a que esos conflictos se desplieguen dentro de los parámetros de la legalidad democrática, aunque esos mismos parámetros deberán ser ampliados a lo largo de esas luchas.

Creo que esta opción por la crítica democrática a la democracia se sustenta en por lo menos tres razones. Una es lo que debería ser el recuerdo indeleble de la brutalidad autoritaria, frente a la cual las libertades que por definición tiene que garantizar un régimen

democrático, de expresión, de asociación, de movimiento y otras, relucen en todo su importante valor. Una segunda razón es que la historia nos enseña que los derechos nunca han sido regalados; siempre han sido producto de duras luchas, libradas contra las predicciones catastrofistas de los conservadores, como nos ha recordado Hirschman en su libro sobre “la retórica de la reacción.” La tercera razón es que si hay otra lección histórica ella es que las conquistas de esos derechos sólo han perdurado cuando fueron inscritas en una legalidad democrática que se ha expandido al ritmo y como consecuencia de esas luchas. Esta es, creo, la mejor justificación para, a pesar de muchos desengaños, seguir apostando tosudamente por mejorar la calidad de estas democracias que tenemos. Parte de estas luchas será apostar a otras posibilidades, otras modalidades de política económica y social. Hay muchos experimentos e ideas, emanados de la sociedad y de intelectuales latinoamericanos y de otras regiones, a tener en cuenta. Pero para ello, claro está, habrá que remontar, con seriedad profesional y con pasión de ciudadanos/as, las prohibiciones intelectuales y políticas de la actual ortodoxia económica. Estos avances plantean un desafío fundamental a la creatividad y seriedad del pensamiento social e histórico latinoamericano. Si y a medida que se logren, esos avances permitirán que los propios actores vayan respondiendo a las preguntas centrales en una democracia que no se encierra en los límites indispensables pero estrechos del régimen político: ¿Cuanto valen en realidad las libertades políticas? ¿Quiénes pueden usarlas? ¿Cómo pueden hacerlo los que están privados de muchos otros derechos?

Estas preguntas, claro está no tienen respuesta anticipada. Sus respuestas (o falta de ellas) serán fruto de luchas democratizantes a las que nosotros, intelectuales, tenemos un claro deber moral de apoyar. Para eso no encuentro nada mejor que transcribir parte del párrafo final del gran artículo sobre “La política como vocación” que, en difíciles circunstancias de su país, escribió Max Weber:

La política es un lento y esforzado pulir de duras maderas, hecho con una combinación de pasión y buen juicio. Es por cierto enteramente correcto, y un hecho confirmado por la experiencia histórica, que lo que es posible nunca hubiera sido logrado si, en este mundo, la gente no hubiera intentado repetidamente lo imposible.

Los intelectuales somos molestos. Somos también grandes privilegiados que tenemos la posibilidad de enseñar, investigar y escribir. Estoy persuadido que este privilegio marca una especial obligación en una región de tanta desigualdad y tanta pobreza: orientar nuestros conocimientos a ayudar el logro de sociedades decentes, en la que todos tengan al menos un piso básico de necesidades materiales, sociales y culturales satisfechas, y en las que nadie sea discriminado o humillado. Creo, como ya dije, que colaborar en esto pasa por hacer una persistente crítica democrática a estas democracias y con ello cumplir nuestra vocación—y obligación—de ser molestos. De esto se ha tratado y se sigue tratando en las ciencias sociales y en la historia latinoamericanas.

Muchas gracias, nuevamente.

Preguntas sobre el futuro de LASA

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El latinoamericanismo no puede seguir siendo lo que fue en las últimas décadas. Una de las razones es la incertidumbre sobre si América Latina tiene porvenir como región, como conjunto de naciones y culturas capaces de reproducirse con un mínimo de autonomía. Otro argumento procede del replanteamiento radical en la relación de Estados Unidos con el mundo, y por tanto con los países latinoamericanos, a partir del 11 de septiembre de 2001. Cabe indagar, entonces, si LASA, como foro mayor de información, elaboración y confrontación sobre América Latina, sería capaz de ser algo más que un conglomerado de mesas redondas donde se comunican brevemente, cada 18 meses, resultados de investigaciones y reflexiones dispersas.

No quiero disminuir el valor de estos diálogos entre varios miles de latinoamericanistas. Tampoco pretendemos arribar, dada la variedad de posiciones y enfoques convergentes en estas reuniones, a declaraciones políticas conjuntas, ni siquiera a conclusiones mayoritarias sobre las soluciones para la región. La primera pregunta es si podríamos encontrar un modo de intercambio y cooperación entre latinoamericanistas residentes en los Estados Unidos y latinoamericanistas de América Latina que permita construir una agenda actualizada de las encrucijadas y las impasses en que se desespera esta región. La segunda cuestión es si la sola construcción de esta agenda, ahora inexistente salvo en el nivel acotado de la pragmática empresarial, podría reequilibrar—respecto del predominio financiero y bélico—los lugares de lo social, lo cultural y lo político.

Creo innecesario convencer a los especialistas en América Latina de que la palabra desesperación no es exagerada. Desarrollo estancado o regresivo desde hace dos décadas, agravado por la impagable—y en varios países sobrepagada—deuda externa, incapacidad de beneficiarse con acuerdos de “libre” comercio que destrozan las economías nacionales y no dan real acceso a las naciones del hemisferio norte, migraciones masivas que hicieron perder a muchos países latinoamericanos en la última década entre 10 y 15 por ciento de la población (a veces la técnica o profesionalmente más calificada), deterioro social extenso y minucioso, “administrado” por una clase política y empresarial cada vez más irrepresentativa y desconfiable. Después de vender petróleo, energía, bancos, teléfonos, aerolíneas ¿con qué recursos reconstruir lo que el asalto neoliberal vació?

Al mismo tiempo, urge repensar el lugar de América Latina en la actual recomposición geopolítica y geocultural en la que la prepotencia imperial del gobierno y algunas instituciones de Estados Unidos está asfixiando lo que la globalización tecnológica y comunicacional permitía concebir como interdependencia y conocimiento recíprocos. Etienne Balibar dice en su último libro, aún inédito (*Europe, quelle puissance?*, Editions La Découverte, 2003), que intelectuales estadounidenses como Bruce Ackerman, Immanuel Wallerstein, Timothy Garton Ash y Edward Said encuentran todavía en Europa la posibilidad de resistir la

militarización estadounidense de la política desde las tradiciones jurídicas del viejo continente, su capacidad de trabajar en la reconstrucción de un equilibrio multipolar y su concepción del mundo menos maniquea que la prevaleciente en Estados Unidos. Los últimos alineamientos de nueve países europeos con la ofensiva bélica de Bush hacen dudar de que Europa, para colmo dividida, tenga la capacidad de cumplir con estas misiones históricas. Si reunimos estos movimientos contradictorios con las multitudinarias manifestaciones recientes contra la guerra, es posible pensar que la resonancia diversa del belicismo bushiano en Europa la convierte en la escena donde se constata la dificultad de practicar algún tipo de relativismo antropológico y de humanismo moderno o posmoderno, y a la vez un lugar para imaginar que esas esperanzas no están abandonadas.

¿Qué decir de América Latina? Sabemos que se halla aún más lejos de la ilusión de contrarrestar, o siquiera actuar con cierta independencia, del poder estadounidense. A la vez, se ha vuelto escenario de demostración de la inviabilidad social y cultural del capitalismo periférico. Entre sus pocas fuerzas, queda este recurso paradójico de exhibir que la modernización más temprana de sus sociedades que en el resto del tercer mundo (mayor nivel educativo y unificación lingüística que en Asia y África) al derrumbarse por la privatización masiva de empresas públicas, la obediencia sumisa a las recetas del FMI y gobiernos corruptos e ineficientes, aniquila los salarios, aumenta bruscamente el desempleo, desindustrializa, engendra migraciones multitudinarias y retorno de enfermedades del siglo XIX (tuberculosis, sarampión, etc.). En otra época el problema parecía ser si existía una *identidad* latinoamericana; hoy la cuestión es en qué sentido América Latina es aún *reconocible* como un espacio significativo.

¿Cabe esperar que en el nuevo re-conocimiento latinoamericano desempeñen un papel los organismos de la región, y los que la estudian desde Estados Unidos? Serían pasos apreciables que se produjeran diagnósticos actualizados, combinando enfoques del norte y del sur con rigor académico, más allá de los sesgos interesados de inversores y deudores. Sin embargo, carecemos de pronunciamientos de las instituciones que disponen de los circuitos y las escenas donde valorar intelectualmente los procesos que condujeron a la decadencia presente. Es difícil hacernos oír como investigadores individuales, y más aún potenciar la capacidad explicativa de los estudios aislados y las propuestas para reorientar los procesos económicos, sociopolíticos y culturales.

Podríamos imaginar que organismos como LASA—y también el Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), la Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), la Federación Latinoamericana de Facultades de Comunicación Social (FELAFACS)—por su historia y su capacidad de convocar a investigadores con larga especialización aprovecharan estas condiciones para elaborar diagnósticos sociopolíticos,

económicos y culturales que pusieran en evidencia, con datos y argumentos creíbles, la gravedad de la descomposición latinoamericana. Por dar algunos ejemplos: las consecuencias sociales del avance del desempleo, la desnutrición y la deserción escolar; los efectos de la pérdida de soberanía económica por las privatizaciones y la enajenación del sistema bancario; la desposesión del patrimonio cultural por la venta de editoriales, medios de comunicación, monumentos históricos y obras de arte entregados junto con los bancos porque forman parte de su acervo económico; la caída de inversiones en desarrollo científico y tecnológico; el pasaje no sólo de la fuerza de trabajo al sector informal y desprotegido, sino de ciudades y regiones enteras al control del narcotráfico y la delincuencia internacional.

No se trata, como decía al comienzo, de violentar la pluralidad y las valiosas divergencias dentro de LASA para producir declaraciones políticas conjuntas, ni recomendaciones que sólo representen a una tendencia. Pero en vista del paisaje preocupante de la región cabe preguntarse sin complacencias de qué sirven las investigaciones y los congresos aluvionales. En medio del abismal descreimiento hacia gobernantes y partidos, un trabajo académico, con información confiable y perspectivas razonadas, podría renovar y ampliar la agenda demasiado protocolar, de corto horizonte, que caracteriza a las reuniones de presidentes y ministros de la región. La cercana formalización del Acuerdo de Libre Comercio de las Américas, en 2005, preparada casi exclusivamente por políticos y empresarios poco atentos a los efectos sociales y culturales a largo plazo, nos plantea la necesidad de mostrar las implicaciones destructivas y

duraderas de lo que se llama liberalización comercial. Se trata de hacerlo en condiciones que contribuyan a corregir la asimetría en la información, la división desigual del trabajo intelectual y los diagnósticos desencontrados entre el norte y el sur del continente.

Podría pensarse que esta utopía de un intercambio que nos ayude a sacar el trabajo intelectual de su creciente servicio a los mercados—empresariales, financieros e incluso académicos—suena especialmente paradójica en vísperas de la siguiente reunión de LASA, que se hará en Las Vegas. Es como proponer un simposio sobre las ventajas del ateísmo dentro del Concilio Vaticano. La cuestión va más allá de las ciudades que se eligen en Estados Unidos: tiene que ver con la decisión de que los latinoamericanistas nos reunamos cada vez más en ciudades donde el español y el portugués son minoritarios, donde los procesos sociales de América Latina son relatados a distancia.

¿No sería justamente este momento histórico, en que crece el riesgo de que confundamos el mercado (y la sociedad) con un sistema de apuestas, cuando importa redefinir para qué estudiamos, dónde y con qué fines nos reunimos? Los lugares de encuentro pueden favorecer que respondamos de un modo u otro *juntos* a esta pregunta, quienes trabajamos en las sociedades donde lo latinoamericano se desenvuelve y en Estados Unidos, donde existe el mayor número de centros, bibliotecas y publicaciones latinoamericanistas. La elección de sedes alternadas en el norte y el sur nutriría de otro modo la agenda y las propuestas, cambiaría las estrategias para hacernos oír.

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LASA y las cambiantes realidades de los estudios latinoamericanistas

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La fragmentación latinoamericana en diversos Estados naciones cuando, por otro lado, son numerosos los procesos socio históricos y culturales que de diversas maneras se comparten, torna imperativo la necesidad de construir instancias institucionales que, reconociendo la heterogeneidad y respetando la diversidad, faciliten el intercambio de ideas a nivel continental. Aunque el paradigma analítico decimonónico europeo—del Estado nación y la cultura nacional—ha predominado y aún hegemoniza la tradición de las ciencias humanas en nuestro continente, las instancias institucionales de intercambio intelectual regional han jugado un papel fundamental en el desarrollo de las diversas disciplinas académicas. Por décadas, ello se expresó, principalmente, en el enriquecimiento de los análisis “nacionales” que generaba la perspectiva comparativa. Los académicos de cada país seguían haciendo estudios sobre su país, pero éstos resultaban más ricos si dichos académicos contaban con el beneficio de conocer lo que estaban haciendo los otros académicos en sus respectivos países.

Así, centrándome en el caso de las ciencias sociales que por formación conozco mejor, se produjeron obras colaborativas directamente comisionados por (o, al menos inspirados en la experiencia del) Consejo Latinoamericano de las Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO), entre otras instancias institucionales regionales, que constituyen todavía “trabajos clásicos” para el conocimiento de la región. Entre ellos podemos incluir algunos trabajos producidos en los años 70 del siglo pasado, tales como *América Latina: Economía y política* (James Petras, compilador), o *La América Latina en los años 50* y *América Latina del medio siglo* (Pablo González Casanova, compilador). Asimismo, podemos incluir antologías ya compiladas en los años 80 y 90, tales como *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina* (González Casanova ed.), *Relaciones Internacionales y estructuras socio-políticas en el Caribe* (Gerard Pierre-Charles ed), *Trabajadores y sindicatos en América Latina*, *Reflexiones sobre su historia* (Carlos Zubillaga, ed), *La investigación urbana en América Latina*, *Caminos recorridos y por recorrer* (Fernando Carrión, ed.) y varios volúmenes editados por Fernando Calderón y Mario Dos Santos desde CLACSO. Sin menoscabar algunos trabajos pioneros (sobre todo—interesantemente—de analistas brasileños, que además intentaban ubicar al Brasil en América Latina, históricamente separado por ser otra su potencia colonial, como Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Octavio Ianni, Florestán Fernández y Theotonio Dos Santos) los análisis que rebasaban la perspectiva “nacional” y se centraban en procesos más amplios heterogéneamente compartidos, provenían en su mayoría de latinoamericanistas no latinoamericanos. Así, en un trabajo colaborativo tan seminal para el análisis social de la región como *Las clases sociales en América Latina* (coordinado por Raúl Benítez Zenteno en 1973) las presentaciones generales—con la excepción de una de Florestán Fernández—las realizan

estudiosos europeos, las cuales comentan desde sus experiencias “nacionales” los analistas latinoamericanos participantes. En la secuela de este trabajo, el libro *Clases sociales y crisis política en América Latina* (del 1977, coordinado también por Raúl Benítez Zenteno) ya muchos analistas latinoamericanos presentan las ponencias generales, aunque se nota aún el peso del paradigma analítico con base en la experiencia “nacional”.

La *Latin American Studies Association* (LASA) se constituye originalmente como una organización de intercambio entre los latinoamericanistas residentes en los Estados Unidos. Por muchos años, tuvo muy poco impacto entre los analistas latinoamericanos. Aquellos que éramos, de vez en cuando, invitados a sus congresos, íbamos más a “exponer” las investigaciones que realizábamos, que a “intercambiar” ideas, preocupaciones, modelos analíticos.... Los trabajos de muchos de sus miembros, aunque se llevaban a cabo físicamente fuera de los ámbitos “nacionales” y por autores en su mayoría “extranjeros”, mantenían el paradigma de la prominencia de las “realidades nacionales”. Muchos eran valiosos por el rigor en la obtención de datos, pero orgullosamente pensábamos que aquellos que vivíamos directamente dichas “realidades” podíamos interpretar aquellos datos mejor. Esta *altanería* se sustentaba sobre algunas bases concretas. Por ejemplo, en las ciencias sociales, experimentábamos la prominencia internacional alcanzada por las corrientes analíticas generadas desde el continente, sobre todo las diversas vertientes de los llamados *Estudios de la dependencia*; en otros ámbitos, como la literatura, se vivía la euforia del llamado *boom*; y, a nivel político, resultaban esperanzadores y ejemplares, experimentos como aquellos de la revolución cubana, el gobierno de la Unidad Popular en Chile o La Nueva Joya en Granada.

Pero ello fue paulatinamente cambiando; y en los últimos años la transformación podría catalogarse incluso de “radical”. Ello merecería investigaciones más a fondo de la historia intelectual, pero podríamos adelantar acá algunas hipótesis preliminares. Para empezar, es obvio el carácter desmoralizante de las derrotas de las políticas alternativas, que vinieron además acompañadas de un estancamiento económico, experimentado globalmente, pero de manera más dramática en nuestra región. Pero de más impacto aún, en lo que significaban instituciones como LASA *vis a vis* las instancias institucionales latinoamericanas de intercambio entre académicos, fueron, a mi juicio, los cambios por los que ha atravesado el clima intelectual. Ello conlleva, a su vez, numerosas ramificaciones, imposibles de analizar en este corto comentario; pero entre las cuales no podemos dejar de considerar la nueva—y aplastante—hegemonía alcanzada por el mundo anglófono en la academia, para el cual—hoy por hoy—las contribuciones intelectuales que no estén disponibles en inglés son absolutamente ninguneadas y pasadas por alto. He leído numerosos artículos en revistas norteamericanas y ensayos en

readers sobre América Latina (es decir, una región de habla española, principalmente) que no incluyen en su bibliografía escrito alguno que no esté en inglés.

Tampoco podemos dejar de considerar los cambios de las últimas dos décadas respecto a la ubicación institucional de los académicos latinoamericanos. Si bien es cierto que durante todo el siglo XX importantes académicos latinoamericanos establecieron residencia permanente en los Estados Unidos o Europa, y que fue siempre común que otros con residencia en sus países pasaran temporadas en el "Primer mundo", en las últimas décadas podemos observar una tendencia exponencialmente creciente entre los académicos latinoamericanos a enclavar su ubicación institucional principal fuera de la región. Ello es particularmente cierto entre académicos jóvenes, ante una creciente estrechez en el mercado de oportunidades en nuestros países. Muchos de los latinoamericanistas residentes en los Estados Unidos son cada vez más de origen latinoamericano.

Otro fenómeno de enorme importancia lo constituye el hecho de la creciente proporción de población de origen "periférico" en los llamados "países del centro", no sólo académicos, sino principalmente obrera o marginal. En los Estados Unidos fuimos pioneros los mexicanos y puertorriqueños; pero ya se trata de un fenómeno bastante generalizado en la mayoría de los países de la región. Estos fenómenos migratorios van tornando cada vez más limitante el antiguo paradigma analítico con base en "lo nacional" como realidad territorial. Parte de la realidad de los países latinoamericanos es que muchos de sus procesos sociales y culturales no están circunscritos a su territorio. Y parte de la realidad "nacional" de los Estados Unidos y algunos países en Europa es que su sociedad y cultura está siendo crecientemente marcada por inmigrantes que muchos de sus tradicionales "nacionales" no consideran parte del país; inmigrantes, por otro lado, muchos de los cuales que no han dejado de sentirse "nacionales" de su país de origen.

LASA se ha convertido en un espacio de intercambio intelectual fundamental para el mundo académico latinoamericano. A la vez, mantiene su importancia para la academia latinoamericanista en un momento en que esas distinciones van perdiendo sentido; o, al menos, van reformulando su sentido. Considero que esas transformaciones aquí meramente bosquejadas abren enormes retos para esta organización. El hecho de que fuera electo Presidente por primera vez un latinoamericanista latinoamericano (con base institucional permanente en los Estados Unidos) apunta hacia las transformaciones que se abren como posibilidades en esta. Considero que LASA necesita delinear una política institucional más clara de acuerdo a los cambios en que está involucrada:

- Organizar actividades que tomen en cuenta su potencial papel de enlace entre los estudiosos de América Latina en los Estados Unidos (y otros del "Primer mundo") y académicos residentes en América Latina, valorando, como merecen trabajos de latinoamericanos en sus idiomas originales. (El Premio Iberoamericano—que tuve el honor de recibir en el 2000—es un paso positivo; pero pienso que se podrían desarrollar otros programas al respecto).
- Idear formas de incorporar con más fuerza los estudios "latinos" (i.e. de los inmigrantes o sus descendientes) en los estudios latinoamericanos. Asimismo, desarrollar actividades en que se enriquezcan y nutran mutuamente estas áreas de estudio que—hasta ahora—han corrido más bien paralelas (con pocas intersecciones).
- Estimular el análisis de procesos que rebasan las tradicionales fronteras entre los estudios de casos "nacionales". Es decir, asumir más plenamente los estudios latinoamericanos como tales, y no como meras sumas de "casos nacionales".
- Fortalecer las implicaciones de aquellas contribuciones de los estudios latinoamericanos al análisis del mundo contemporáneo (lo que, desde los Estudios latinoamericanos, podemos los latinoamericanos y latinoamericanistas enseñarles al mundo). Así como las contribuciones, desde los estudios de nuestras realidades, al debate conceptual y teórico de las disciplinas y su necesariamente creciente transdisciplinariedad.

The Influence of United States Culture in Guatemala Evidence from Three Library Collections

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Background

Four times in five years, I have spent a month or more studying and traveling in Guatemala. During my visits, I have asked two related questions that would naturally occur to a professor of American Literature: How widely read are the great U.S. writers, and what influence have writers from outside Latin America had on Guatemalan writers and intellectuals? During my research in June and July, 1999, I began an investigation of these questions by talking informally with University faculty and students, and

conducting a standard bibliographic search in three major libraries in Guatemala City, location of the country's major libraries and universities.

At the same time I was beginning this inquiry, there was much discussion in the media and among politicians and intellectuals, about the formation of a Central American Free Trade Zone, comparable to NAFTA (the North American Free Trade zone), that would eventually link up with the NAFTA countries. It was interesting to note the level to which the discussants were

informed about the cultures of their northern neighbors to which they wished to establish commercial relationships. This is a report on the first phase of that research and its results.

Materials and Methods

This phase of the study operates from the premise that we can best begin to learn something relevant to the posed questions by reviewing the holdings of the major libraries available to the people. Three libraries were chosen as representative for this sample: the Biblioteca Nacional, the central depository library of Guatemala and central public access library for the city; the library of the Universidad de San Carlos, Guatemala's public university and the largest university in Guatemala, with the largest enrollment of young people from the working and middle classes; and the library of the Universidad Francisco Maroquín, one of the most elite of the private universities in Guatemala. Finally, the holdings of one popular bookstore were reviewed to help establish popular circulation of the chosen writers.

Five major U.S. writers of the 19th century and five of the 20th were chosen, and the holdings of each library examined: From the 19th century, poets Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson, fictionalists Mark Twain and Herman Melville, and essayist and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson; from the 20th century, poets Robert Frost and Wallace Stevens, fictionalists Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner, and dramatist Eugene O'Neill. These writers were chosen based on a general consensus in the United States that Whitman and Frost, Twain and Hemingway are at present the most widely popular great poets and fictionalists, respectively, of the U.S. 19th and 20th centuries, and Dickinson and Stevens, Melville and Faulkner the most widely read "experimental" poets and fictionalists; Emerson is often seen as the most important and influential essayist of the late 19th century, O'Neill the most respected dramatist of the 20th. T.S. Eliot was not examined in this phase because of the controversy regarding whether he is properly categorized as a U.S. or British poet, but holdings of his work will be reviewed when British material is reviewed, and an appropriate conclusion drawn then.

Results

As might be expected, the University libraries had a fair number of holdings from Whitman, Frost, Twain, Hemingway, and Faulkner. Dickinson, Stevens, and O'Neill, however, were poorly represented. Melville and Emerson fell in between. Some titles may be temporarily missing from the stacks. A bibliography for each library is appended.

Biblioteca Nacional (BN): The national library, and Guatemala's largest public access library, holds only one title each by Melville, Faulkner, and Hemingway, none by the other authors. All titles are in Spanish language editions. The BN holds only one work about Faulkner, from Mexico, and no works about any of the others.

Universidad de San Carlos (USC): Guatemala's largest university holds a relatively diverse selection overall.

19th Century. From Whitman, it holds eight collections of

poetry, seven in Spanish, and two collections of essays in Spanish. There is only one book-length study. From Dickinson, it holds no collections of poetry, but has two book-length studies, both in Spanish. From Twain, it holds eleven novels or short story collections, six in Spanish, including multiple copies of *Huck Finn* (3) and *Tom Sawyer* (2), and two copies of the autobiography, one each in Spanish and English. It also holds four book-length studies, all in Spanish. From Melville, it holds five books, four in Spanish including two copies of *Bartelby*. No book-length studies were found. From Emerson, it holds five collections of essays, three in English.

20th Century. From Frost, it holds three older collections of poetry, all in English, and no book-length studies. From Stevens, the library holds no book-length collections and one critical study. From Hemingway, it holds thirteen titles, ten in Spanish, including multiple copies of *El viejo y el mar*, and three critical studies, two in Spanish. From Faulkner, it holds six novels, all in Spanish-language editions, and three critical books, also in Spanish, with duplication of *Mientras yo Agonozco*. From O'Neill, it holds one play and three book-length studies, one in Spanish.

Universidad Francisco Maroquín (UFM): Guatemala's representative elite university also holds a diverse selection, though for the 20th century its collection is more idiosyncratic than USC.

19th Century. From Whitman, it holds four collections of poetry, three in Spanish, one collection of essays in Spanish, and four book-length studies, all in Spanish. From Dickinson it holds one collection of poetry in English, and four book-length studies, three in Spanish. From Twain it holds fourteen novels, short story collections, and essay collections, three in Spanish, with multiple copies of *Tom Sawyer* (5) and *Huck Finn* (2), and two copies of the autobiography, in English. It also holds five book-length studies, four in Spanish. From Melville it holds eight titles, six in Spanish, with two copies each of *Bartelby* and *Moby Dick*, and two book-length studies, both in Spanish. From Emerson it holds five collections of essays, one with poetry, three in English, and two book-length studies, one in Spanish.

20th Century. From Frost, it holds one collection of prose, in Spanish, and no critical studies. From Stevens, it holds one book-length study. From Hemingway, it holds four English-language titles and three Spanish-language, with two duplications. From Faulkner, it holds twelve items, three of his prose works in Spanish, three in English, and five critical studies in Spanish, one in English. From O'Neill it holds two copies of one collection of early short plays and two book-length studies, all in English.

Artemus & Edinter Book Store: This large bookstore is located in a three-level mall in the southern half of Zona 10, the most cosmopolitan part of Guatemala City. It contained no books by or about any of these authors, but had a generous selection of Spanish and English editions of Stephen King and Tom Clancy. [Ed. Note: For a complete list of the titles held of works by noted U.S. writers, please contact the author]

Discussion

This investigation is interesting beyond its academic component because of the continuing controversy surrounding the increasing

influence of U.S. culture and the globalization of local economies and societies. Just how deeply into a society does U.S. culture penetrate? Doomsayers will prophecy the elimination of local cultures and economies into the global leviathan. More conservative critics will acknowledge a superficial acceptance of U.S. products, but contend the essential values of these cultures will be modified only slightly, as each country asserts its national independence and preserves its culture patrimony as a crucial part of that independence. So, in which direction does the evidence on the ground tend to lead?

Because this is the first phase of a larger study involving holdings in literature from other countries and continents, firm conclusions would be inappropriate. Most clearly, any influence felt in Guatemala from these U.S. authors would probably be limited to university students and the country's writers and intellectual elite. Books by the surveyed writers simply will not be found in locations accessible to the "person on the street," as would be true in the United States.

Both universities held roughly comparable collections of U.S. writers, yet all three collections together do not represent a sufficiently significant group of texts to give students or intellectuals a broad or deep entrée into the literary culture of the United States. Since we can assume that a library's book collection is likely to follow the priorities of its major stakeholders, the data seem to indicate that no constituency sees detailed study of U.S. culture a compelling undertaking. Conversely, this would indicate that other areas of study not reviewed are stronger priorities for Guatemala today, possibly the more "practical" areas of applied technology, agriculture, and commerce. This speculation was supported by a cursory review of holdings in those areas and discussions with university faculty.

Further, this is evidence that perhaps the influence of the United States on Guatemala is in more superficial areas of popular consumption that do not penetrate to serious intellectual or cultural depths. Clearly, Guatemala is not interested in "all things American." This would tend to support a more conservative stance in the discussion of U.S. "contamination" of the national culture. However deeply it may hurt some American pride, Guatemala simply may not be that interested in the United States, except as an economic resource.

The primary international literary influences on Guatemalan literature and culture are probably Latin American and Spanish, given the sources of many of the books listed in the bibliography. As another example, Pablo Neruda was richly represented in all

four collections reviewed, though no precise count was made for this phase of the study.

This leaves one last question to be discussed, a question larger than this study at present: If Guatemala is to move confidently into a global cultural, as well as economic, age, how well prepared is it in its understanding of the major powers at play in that global culture? Globalization is powered by the G-7 nations, and operates according to its own set of cultural, as well as economic, needs and requirements. Guatemala may need to better understand the nature of the leading country in that movement if it is to integrate into that brave new world while avoiding economic and cultural colonization. Preliminary indications from this study and associated interviews tend to show that Guatemala is not moving in that direction.

Conclusions

While many critics of U.S. culture point to the "Americanization" of the world, preliminary inspection of the libraries and universities of a country that is not in immediate proximity to the United States shows this "Americanization" may be at a more superficial level than more apocalyptic critics would have us believe. This preliminary study indicates that a more balance stance is appropriate, and Guatemalan culture may remain, at heart and in its most refined expressions, thoroughly Guatemalan.

At the same time, viewing Guatemala's indifference to the United States from a broader perspective shows a potentially serious trap in this attitude. Declining to study the United States means declining to study the growing forces of globalization that are already affecting Guatemala's economy and popular culture. Isolationism is a dangerous posture for a country within the U.S. sphere of influence. For Guatemala to survive well, a more cosmopolitan intellectual culture is necessary, and this means, in part, a closer study of the culture of the United States.

Additional research is obviously needed. A more extensive review of library and book story holdings should follow, along with a closer examination of the literature and language curricula of the two representative universities. This should then be extended to formal interviews with students, University faculty, intellectual leaders, and most importantly, locally recognized Guatemalan authors. My own focus will remain literature, my field of expertise, and I welcome the collaboration of scholars in other areas, to develop a more "holistic" study of the full range of cultural influences on contemporary Guatemalan culture and life.

CALL FOR PAPERS FOR LASA2004 MAILED WITH THIS FORUM

Please note carefully all instructions and the November 1, 2003 submission deadline

We'll see you October 7-9, 2004!



The Success of Community and Integrity A Note from the LASA2003 Program Committee

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A partir del acto de inauguración del vigésimo cuarto Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA), la noche del 26 de marzo pasado, la comunidad de nuestra asociación desplegó durante tres días intensidad académica, pasión y ética no sólo para los temas de particular interés de los miles de participantes, sino también para reflexionar sobre los eventos políticos que sacuden nuestro presente. El Congreso se inauguró en el Atrium del hermoso Museo de Arte de Dallas, donde el Provost George C. Wright y el Profesor Manuel García y Griego, de la Universidad de Texas, Arlington, y el Provost Asociado Larry D. Terry y el Profesor Rodolfo Hernández, de la Universidad de Texas, Dallas, nos dieron a todos una cálida y hermosa bienvenida.

Now just hours after my return from Dallas, I must reflect on what made possible the success of LASA2003 International Congress. The organization of this Congress has been an exciting learning process and also a roller coaster of work and emotions. It has been a learning process because as Program Chair of the LASA2003 Congress I have had the honor to read wonderful proposals from the humanities, social sciences, arts, activists, special interests groups, etc. I have had the pleasure to work with brilliant and tireless colleagues. The twenty-nine colleagues who served as chairs of the twenty-seven tracks in which this Congress was divided have constantly showed me their support and informed advice. It did not matter if they were in Mexico, as Mónica Szurmuk and Francisco Zapata, in Chile, as Anthony and Denise Bebbington, or next door as Michael Coppedge and Jaime Ros, they were always ready to work, to contact colleagues to serve as panel chairs, to review late submissions, to answer my endless questions when I tried to find a panel for a strong proposal which seemed impossible to fit in the track or tracks indicated by its author. I could not ask for a better team. I am extremely grateful to all of them. My respect for each one of them as scholars, colleagues and friends has grown immensely.

Of course, I have had the enormous pleasure to work with an old friend, Arturo Arias, President of the Association, who showed me his multiple talents, this time as an administrator, diplomat and accomplice in trying to create the most exciting and intellectually solid Congress. Arturo and I contacted friends and colleagues who are widely recognized by their research and publications, and invited them to organize panels and workshops for LASA2003. These featured sessions were scheduled throughout the entire Congress, and proved to be extremely successful. Renowned writers and Latin American personalities were in Dallas. Writers such as Elena Poniatowska, Marosa Di

Giorgio, Nancy Morejón, and Jesús Urzugasti among others, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Tum, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Jean Franco and a cohort of distinguished critics enriched with their presence our Congress.

There were important absences, some irreversible such as the one left by the death of Augusto Monterroso on February 8th, 2003. The session in which Monterroso was going to read was substituted by a reading of one of his famous short stories, "El eclipse", and by the first forum on the war against Iraq, as homage to the great Guatemalan author. Professors Arturo Arias, Boaventura De Sousa Santos, James Green, and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Tum reflected on the ethics of war, violence and the destructive role of neoliberalism in the world system. Thus, Augusto Monterroso's voice and soul were heard and felt by what is immortal in all great writers, his work and ideology. Although I am very saddened by the departure of a literary master, I am pleased that LASA has become one of the first forums in the United States to honor him. Furthermore, symbolically he opened the first space at the Congress to discuss the position of the Association regarding the war against Iraq.

Arturo Arias has been a great companion to sail the calm as well as the very rough waters of the organization of this Congress. Together we arrived at the airport in Dallas, and a good number of members followed us. We also know that many others who were not physically at the Congress accompanied us from Latin America, Europe and Asia. When President Bush invaded Iraq, just days before the beginning of our Congress, many colleagues were afraid to fly to the United States. Panic, indignation and frustration resonated in the heart of our Association, and cancellations started to arrive at the LASA headquarters at the University of Pittsburgh and the University of Notre Dame. Still, nearly 3,000 members attended the XXIV LASA International Congress. Thus, in spite of what some would have expected, especially under the present political circumstances, I am very happy to have accepted Arturo's invitation to chair a Congress of this magnitude. The adventure has been unbelievable.

I have had the fortune of working with the expert team of the LASA Secretariat at the University of Pittsburgh. Professor Reid Reading, Executive Director of the Association, Milagros Pereyra, Kristen Patton and Sandy Klinzing are the people who carried out the decisions there. They gently reminded me of deadlines. Sometimes they were forced not to be extremely charming, for the sake of the Congress. As Reid kept saying, "The Congress has to go on so the program has to go to press". Without them,

LASA2003 would have been impossible. I feel very honored to serve the Association as Program Chair during the last year of Reid's administration. He is the person who knows the history and regulations of the Association better than anybody else. This year in particular, I worked intimately with Milagros since we accepted the task of creating the infrastructure for the transition from paper submissions to electronic and paper submissions for LASA2004. To Reid, Milagros, Kristen and Sandy my heartiest thanks and friendship.

I noted that the organization of this Congress has been a roller coaster of work and emotions. I know that you understand the ups and downs of work. There were times when piles and piles of mail invaded the office of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures. LASA headquarters at Notre Dame received close to 4,000 submissions. I also received an amazing amount of daily emails. As Program Chair of LASA one has to work intensively. Nevertheless, with the great assistance of the LASA team at Pittsburgh, my track chairs, Arturo Arias, the members of the Executive Council, the College of Arts and Letters, the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of the University of Notre Dame, the Kellogg Institute, and my assistant, Joshua McFadden, it has been a rewarding work.

The roller coaster of emotions has been my most difficult experience. The organization of LASA2003 started right after the collapse of the twin towers into flaming metal, rubble and dust on September 11th. It was very difficult at that time to think of ways to attract colleagues to get together at a Congress. But Latin Americanists were eager to gather, to exchange ideas and to reflect on our roles as scholars working on Latin America. We received an unprecedented number of travel grant submissions, and I was very sorry that many colleagues could not travel to Dallas because of lack of funds.

As I mentioned, just days before the Congress, the United States became a country in war, and the membership of the Association responded to this brutal display of power in different ways. I thank all of you who attended the Congress and decided to use LASA as an ideal forum to exchange ideas and take positions. I also respect those who decided to attend LASA as a political act. I also understand family members and their loved ones who thought that it was not safe to travel under the present conditions. From fear, in the beginning, after the symbolic chasm created by the atrocious events of September 11th, to the excitement of seeing how colleagues had responded to the call for papers for the XXIV International Congress in Dallas, and to anger and deception for the present war, I have lived a roller coaster of emotions. Now, after the success in Dallas, I have to say that sailing through the reefs and shoals of political and economical instabilities as Program Chair of this Congress has been an extremely valuable experience.

The next Congress will be in Las Vegas and I am honored to inform you that the Program Chair of LASA2004 is Professor Kristin Ruggiero, who has served this year as Chair of the History Track. Kristin is already working in the creation of her team of track chairs. I know that she will be a superb Program Chair.

I cannot close this report without thanking Sandy, Milagros and Kristen for the most extraordinary band the *Gran Baile* has had in many years. The rhythm of "Havana NRG" was cathartic for many of us.

¡Muchas gracias a todos por el apoyo y la amistad! La Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos es una casa donde lo intelectual, lo político y lo humano se enlazan.

The Ethics of Commitment in Latin American Studies

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Ethical dilemmas are not new to students of Latin American affairs, who have frequently, in their fieldwork, encountered situations that raise human rights issues, although it is only in recent decades that they have dealt with them in the language of human rights. Let me simply recall the scandal surrounding the involvement of sociologists and political scientists in research commissioned by the U.S. government to prevent Salvador Allende from attaining the presidency of Chile in the middle-sixties: the infamous Plan Camelot; or similar involvement by anthropologists surrounding the turbulent relations between Miskito Indians, Sandinistas and *contras* in Nicaragua in the early eighties.

Social scientists studying peasant and indigenous societies have been especially involved in human rights issues, and the work

and life of Martin Diskin, whom we commemorate today, is an inspiring example of how academic research is not incompatible with ethical commitment to justice and rights. This is why I will focus my remarks mainly on the work of anthropologists involved with peasant and indigenous societies. During the thirties and forties of the last century, authors of community studies would concentrate on societies different from their own and emphasize the singularity of the cultures that they studied from the outside; in later years they turned their attention increasingly to asymmetrical relations within complex societies, economic exploitation, and various forms of inequality. This perspective, as Martin Diskin demonstrated, opened the door to concern with human rights issues.

Beginning in the 1940s, Latin American anthropologists became advocates for indigenous peoples, and many of them were actively involved in *indigenismo*—government programs and policies designed to promote community development and incorporate Indians into the nation-state. The Inter-American Indianist Institute, founded in 1940 by Manuel Gamio, Mexico's first academically trained anthropologist (he studied under Franz Boas at Columbia University), furthered the involvement of anthropologists in government programs. (Gamio published a path-breaking book in 1916 under the title *Forjando Patria*). Archaeologist Alfonso Caso founded the Instituto Nacional Indigenista in 1948 and similar institutions were created in other Latin American countries (Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Guatemala, and Peru). In fact, the training of anthropologists in some Latin American countries came to be closely linked to government programs, and almost the only jobs available were in the state bureaucracy.

At the core of *indigenista* policies was the belief that cultural differences, particularly with regard to indigenous peoples, are inseparable from socio-economic inequality and social and political exclusion. In order to improve the socioeconomic situation of indigenous communities, the long-term objective of *indigenismo* was the "integration" or "incorporation" of indigenous communities into the national mainstream, represented by the hegemonic *mestizo* culture. *Indigenista* policies brought new generations of anthropologists into close contact with the social and economic problems of indigenous populations (referred to in public discourse as *el problema indígena*) as well as with *indigenista* core beliefs. These policies constituted the framework through which scholars theorized the modernization and acculturation of indigenous populations. In countries such as Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru, the professional practice of social anthropology became coterminous with *indigenismo*; the perceived interests of the nation and of the state thus became the theoretical and practical guiding principles of anthropological activities.

By the 1960s, a number of young anthropologists expressed their doubts about these state policies. They became increasingly critical not only of specific government programs and projects, but of the nation-state's strategies regarding indigenous populations. The culture wars were brewing.

At the same time, some scholars became more closely involved in the emerging indigenous movement in Latin America. As various currents of the then fashionable New Left spread through academic circles, the anti-colonial struggles in the Third World and various rebel movements in Latin America also effected a reconceptualization of indigenous peoples that transformed anthropological perceptions and practices. Human rights issues, having been referred to only sporadically during the preceding years, soon became the center of the new discussions. The three Barbados Seminars, held in 1971, 1977 and 1993, in which anthropologists and indigenous intellectuals debated these issues, synthesized this new thinking.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the horrors of the civil wars in Central America and the burgeoning public indignation, both nationally and abroad, about massive human rights abuses committed against indigenous populations further impelled social researchers to turn their human rights concerns into practical commitments.

The trek from academic research to applied anthropology, to indigenous advocacy, to human rights activism brought many scholars into direct contact with the complex world of government bureaucracies, politics, the legal system, military security, big business, revolutionary movements, and international organizations. Researchers were expected to provide their first-hand knowledge of community life and their understanding of indigenous cultures: to serve, in a way, as "honest brokers" between the indigenous world and that of the *mestizos*.

A number of these mediators, however, soon became spokespersons for the excluded and the marginalized, giving, as Guillermo Bonfil put it, a "voice to those society refused to see or hear". Such advocacy required making personal choices, getting involved in sometimes conflictive and dangerous situations, and taking personal risks that are not usually considered in graduate school. This change in professional perspectives and roles not only tested personal commitments; it also helped scholars to rediscover historical context and the need to account for local, regional, national, and international power structures. Martin Diskin, in the United States, was one of those who were in the forefront of this transformation, and fortunately he was not alone.

The agrarian reform issue, the peasants' struggle for land, first brought many field workers face to face with human rights issues in Latin America. Local-level researchers and practitioners increasingly learned about, and involved themselves in, the struggles by rural populations for redress of ancient grievances and against the indignities and injustices long suffered by indigenous and peasant communities.

Cases such as the genocide of the Ache Indians in Paraguay, the oppression of the Matabo in Argentina's Gran Chaco, the struggle of the Mapuche and Pehuenche of Chile against encroachment by multinational corporations, the defense of the territory of the Yanomami and other indigenous peoples in the Brazilian Amazon, the massacre of Maya peasants by military governments in Guatemala, and others, became well-known bywords at anthropological meetings and in human rights circles.

During the 1980s, anthropologists were active on both sides of the Miskito question in Nicaragua. Some defended Sandinista policies (the defense of the revolution against the counter-revolutionary activities supported by the Reagan administration), while others denounced perceived Sandinista abuses against indigenous communities. (When I asked Tomás Borge, then Sandinista Minister of the Interior, in 1986, about these issues he admitted that as revolutionaries they had made mistakes and added wryly: "we are not anthropologists").

Beginning in the 1960s, social anthropologists involved with indigenous and peasant communities launched a full-scale ideological assault on state-sponsored *indigenismo* from two major vantage points. One came from the perspective of class analysis and politics, and the other from the emerging multiculturalist post-structuralist (and some would add post-modernist) point of view. *Indigenista* policies, which promoted the integration of indigenous populations into the national mainstream and their adoption of *mestizo* culture, were decried as “ethnocidal” in their intent and their results. Many anthropologists took up the banner of “cultural survival” of indigenous peoples, which led them to consider cultural rights *qua* human rights, and to recognize culture as a contested space in power politics.

During the 1970s, more and more research focused on the historical and structural determinants of cultural differences, socio-economic inequality, and political exclusion. Scholars doing such work wanted to explain the nature and dynamics of the “system” rather than the particularities of the underdogs. Concern with economic exploitation and power structures, moreover, drew attention to the existence of peasant, urban, and indigenous social conflicts and social movements.

Studies of peasant leagues in Brazil, agricultural workers unions in Colombia, agrarian struggles in the Peruvian highlands among others, begun during the previous decade, marked a change from emphasis on “structure” to a search for the identity of the “actor”. Many of the social movements so studied suffered repression at the hands of local power-holders and the state, and some of them were involved in violent conflicts; their leaders were harassed, jailed, and sometimes murdered.

As a result, numerous researchers, particularly among the younger generations, became politically involved; some turned into activists and militants, and a few lost their lives in the process. Human rights abuses began to be seen not as isolated and occasional incidents, but as a dominant pattern, embedded in the nature of Latin America’s authoritarian and dependent societies, as Guillermo O’Donnell has demonstrated in his important contributions.

While, at the beginning, scholars as activists concentrated their efforts on the defense of the individual victims of abuses, they soon became involved with structural violations of human rights of peasant and indigenous communities, rural migrants, urban shanty-town dwellers, and the internally displaced. Counter-insurgency tactics and low-intensity warfare practiced by military governments from the Southern Cone to Central America brought human rights violations (and, especially, their social and political determinants) to increasing public attention.

The emerging indigenous movement of the eighties provoked intense debates regarding the cultural rights of indigenous peoples. Language rights and educational rights were now included together with land rights and other economic rights in a package of claims that indigenous organizations addressed to

the national governments and the international human rights community. Social scientists became involved in these debates, and to the extent that cultural rights were to be recognized as such, they implied the necessary transformation of *indigenista* state policies. The Maya movement in Guatemala, which emerged during that decade, was able to put its demands on the negotiating table for the peace accords, which were signed in 1997.

Highly controversial were the discussions concerning culture and the rights of women. Field research had shown that indigenous women and particularly young girls were the victims of multiple human rights violations. Whereas it took the human rights movement some time to focus on these issues, the indigenous organizations—where males predominated—at first ignored the question altogether.

After the Beijing Conference and the adoption by the United Nations of the Convention on the Rights of Women, the situation of indigenous women in Latin America could no longer be neglected. A burgeoning academic literature testifies to this changing situation. Indigenous women became prominent human rights leaders in their own right: the role of Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchú cannot be underestimated in this regard—though she has been somewhat manhandled by members of the U.S. academic establishment. In Ecuador, the indigenous leader Nina Pacari is now foreign minister in the current government, and in Guatemala Otilia Lux de Cojti, who defended indigenous women’s rights against the military dictatorships, is currently minister of culture.

But the issue of the rights of women has also been raised, of all people, by those who do not wish to recognize the cultural rights of indigenous communities, particularly the controversial issue of the recognition of customary law. They argue, without sufficient evidence, that indigenous *usos y costumbres* (customs and *mores*) normally violate the rights of women and therefore should not be recognized. The issue is still not solved and continues to be debated in the media, the legislative chambers and the lawyers’ associations. That some indigenous communities are as *machista* as non-indigenous peasant societies has been well documented. One of the first “laws” enacted by the Zapatistas in 1994 concerns the rights of women in indigenous societies. Gender issues—pursued by academics—have now reached the indigenous human rights scenarios as well.

By the 1980s, human rights defense associations had sprung up and mushroomed in most Latin American countries, and so had the indigenous movement, which passed within a few years from a handful of small organizations to large-scale political participation at the regional and national—as well as international—levels.

Academics participated on both tracks, but sometimes it was hard for them to keep up with the changes. Indeed, occasionally they were not only ignored but actually pushed aside by the new indigenous leadership. At some of the Inter-American Indianist Congresses held during the eighties, the newly assertive

indigenous leadership challenged not only the dignified government delegates who took some time to understand what was going on, but also the smug community of social anthropologists who had for many decades considered the *indigenista* institutions as their own sacred property. Cynics might comment that they had succeeded in working themselves out of a job.

The question many of them faced at some point in their careers was: whose side are you on? This was nowhere spelled out more clearly than during the drawn-out—and in the end unsuccessful—negotiations between the Mexican government and the Zapatista National Liberation Army during 1995-96. Both sides called on academics and scholars to advise them in the negotiations—after all, weren't academics supposed to know everything about indigenous peasant communities? The *zapatistas*, it must be admitted, were able to put together a blue-ribbon ensemble of academic advisers. Everybody who was anybody in Mexico's academe wore the label of "*consejero de los zapatistas*" as a badge of honor. The government, on the other hand, had trouble bringing together a modest slate of its own government officials who had some academic credentials, and most of them turned out to be more sympathetic to the *zapatista* positions than to those of the Zedillo administration.

Obviously there are risks involved in taking sides, and I don't only mean grave risks to life and personal physical integrity as Ricardo Falla from Guatemala spoke about when he delivered the Martin Diskin lecture at LASA in 1998. Or as anthropologist Myrna Mack experienced when she paid with her own life her decision to document the truth, the victim of a brutal murder committed by members of the Guatemalan military.

Indeed, the role of social scientists in generating information for the various truth commissions that operated in the eighties and nineties has not been sufficiently acknowledged. Argentina's forensic anthropologists helped identify the remains of the "disappeared" and provided advice to other countries. Others are actively engaged in recovering the collective memory of genocides and atrocities during the years of imposed silence, and for this suffer harassment, threats or worse.

I also refer to more modest risks: the loss of innocence, for one. How can a scholar who turns into that ambiguous figure of a public intellectual, "talk to crowds and keep his virtue or walk with kings nor lose the common touch"? What happens to hallowed scientific objectivity? Can you be objective in your judgment but not necessarily impartial? Will you sacrifice your scholarly aspirations to your ethical urges? Will you taint your academic halo by speaking out on social issues? Or will you neglect your moral duties to your fellow human beings (remember: no man is an island unto himself), because of departmental turf wars and the longed-for tenure-track appointment?

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a series of exciting constitutional reforms in most Latin American countries, involving, in many instances, the first time ever recognition of indigenous peoples

and their rights. While these reforms have mainly interested the likes of constitutional lawyers, legal historians and political scientists, in a number of cases anthropologists were called upon to do some of the footwork. For example, they had to convince legislators that indigenous peoples actually exist, that they had internationally recognized rights, that cultural identity was not some sort of post-modernist afterthought but a reality to be reckoned with, that the imagined community might well think of itself as multinational and pluri-ethnic without falling into pieces, and so on. The culture wars blossomed once more, political correctness and civil incivilities were bandied about like so many soccer balls, and if the scholar-as-activist didn't make the editorial pages of the newspapers or an evening talk-show at least once a month, then something must have gone wrong.

I met Martin Diskin a number of times, but we never had the opportunity to become close friends. I believe we shared some common elements in our personal biographies, which may have led each of us to become engaged in the good fight (why not use the term?) in our respective academic trenches.

Let me share with you briefly some experiences that I feel shaped my own professional orientation in this field. As a young student of anthropology, almost half a century ago, I had the opportunity to work for the Mexican government in the Papaloapan multi-purpose dam area. Together with some of my fellow-students we had to convince the local Mazatec population that it was in their best interest to move out of their hamlets because these were going to be flooded by the rising waters of the dam. The government promised them a new and better life in distant modern, planned settlements, and we were responsible for seeing it happen. Of course things didn't quite turn out that way, and a few years later I visited the village I had helped create, and was struck more by what these people had lost than what they had gained. I continued questioning my own role in this process, as the unwitting servant of a power structure that clothed itself in revolutionary rhetoric and of which the local Indian population was, as usual, the victim rather than the subject.

Years later, with a group of like-minded citizens, I was involved in the founding of the Mexican Academy of Human Rights, in the early eighties, as a private association. There was nothing like it in the country, and it flourished because there was a pent-up need of this kind of organization. Now, twenty years later, there are dozens of human rights associations and a whole nationwide public system of human rights commissions. This proved to me once again the power of ideas and the crucial role, at the right moment, of the so-called public intellectuals. In Latin America, this figure has often been associated with the universities, ever since the nineteenth century.

As we all know, or at least should know, the struggle for human rights is not a one-way street and is a dangerous, complex and sometimes ambiguous thoroughfare. In a Mexican town, some time ago, I saw a billboard announcing that "Human rights defends criminals"—suggesting that "criminals" have no rights, a challenge to the whole concept of human rights protection. A few months

ago, I visited an indigenous community at the end of an unpaved winding mountain road far up in the Philippine Cordillera, in my capacity as UN Special Rapporteur for the Human Rights of Indigenous People, and I was greeted by a large painted sign stating "Welcome Human Rights". I tell you, it is a humbling experience.

Perhaps there is not much innocence left to lose. Under the present circumstances, human rights are in retreat, particularly as a result of 9/11, the threat of more terrorist attacks and the current war craze which is overwhelming the U.S. government.

Let me conclude by saying a few words about this war. We know the invasion of Iraq is not only illegal but also morally wrong. It is the wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place and for the wrong reasons. Whatever the immediate military outcome might be, its long term effects on human rights are likely to be catastrophic, and in various parts of the world indigenous peoples will be, as always, particularly vulnerable. It is tempting for states

to label legitimate indigenous and peasant protest movements as being "terrorist", and if this happens then the outlook for human rights will be bleak indeed. We are already seeing some of this happening in Colombia but not only there. A few days ago I spoke with representatives of the Tohono O'dham Native American tribe who reside on a reservation in Arizona that borders on Mexico. Some tribal members live on the Mexican side of the border, and all of them have always been able to cross easily back and forth. Several thousand members of the tribe who were born on the U.S. side do not have a legal birth certificate, and under the recent anti-terrorist legislation they may be arbitrarily detained and deported. The tribal representatives are justifiably concerned about these developments, but the rights of indigenous peoples are not usually mentioned when immigration and border issues are raised.

If Martin Diskin were with us today he would surely be once again in the forefront of the struggle for peace and human rights. It is up to us to keep that legacy alive.

FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

I ran into a colleague on the first day of the meeting. We share the same institutional affiliation. He hadn't been to "a LASA" for many years, but was a panelist this time around. His comment went something like "I can't believe how many people are here from Latin America!"

There are so many things about our Congresses to be pleased with. Near the top of the "top ten" surely must be LASA's ability to gather so many colleagues from so many places on the globe. There is a lot of energy, dedication, sacrifice and funding at work here!

Our numbers would have been even larger if visas had not been denied to several scholars, accepted to LASA2003 and considered critical to the complete success of our enterprise. Arturo Arias already has noted the case of Cubans on the Island. (See yet another example of the effort made on LASA's behalf by Senators Christopher Dodd and Jeff Bingaman in the "Letters" section of this *Forum*).

Two Cuban citizens who received Congress acceptance letters happened not to be residing in Cuba at the time of the meeting; both were refused visas. (This is pretty much the experience of Cubans outside Cuba for the last few meetings). And, there are Cuban-related "side risks" involved. Note portions of a letter from LASA member Francisco Sobrino: "I regret to inform you that I have just been refused a U.S. visa by a consular officer in Buenos Aires. I had showed them the LASA2003 letter approving the session I should chair: 'Cuba and Brazil Facing the 21st Century.' The essence of the official written explanation was that he did not comply with regulations: "*Bajo las leyes de los EE. UU. se presume que toda persona que solicita una visa de visitante es un inmigrante en potencia hasta que establezca lo contrario.*"

Those of us who reviewed this denial, and the proceedings, considered them unreasonable, if not outrageous.

Other attempts to enrich LASA2003 were foiled. Among the most notable involved the denial of U.S. visas to four scholars from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Eric Hershberg of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) encouraged the submission of the proposal and worked very hard to make the session "Comparing Economic Reforms in Latin America and China: The Perspective of Chinese Scholars," funded by the SSRC, a reality. Two days before departing for Dallas, I got the following email from Jiang Shixue, chair of the panel: "Early this month when we were about to apply for the visa, it turned out that the U.S. embassy in Beijing had stopped to accept applications from anyone holding passports for public affairs. It seems that we cannot come for the conference...."

With these developments, and others mentioned elsewhere in this issue, we forged on, a bit demoralized. LASA2003 proceeded in spite of all the unreasonableness—and the war.

Meanwhile, where to begin on the way to thanking those responsible for "the gathering" and for other critical aspects of the Congresses? I draw heavily on my acknowledgements page of the LASA Program Book—even quoting at times—to expedite publication of this already-delayed issue.

We can point out time and time again the vital contribution of a host of foundations and institutions to our meetings and it still seems inadequate—we simply could not do what we do without them. The Ford Foundation's \$2,000,000 contribution to the LASA Endowment Fund was designed to support far into the future the travel of Congress participants from their cities and towns in

Latin America and the Caribbean to our meetings. We also deeply appreciate the generosity of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, UNIFEM, Oxfam America, and Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies. Many thanks to LASA members who donated to the Endowment Fund, to the LASA2003 Travel Fund, and to the new Student Fund.

The contribution of the University of Notre Dame to LASA2003 has been tremendous, as noted in the report of the LASA2003 Program Chair. In addition to providing office space and equipment, the University provided overhead costs for the Program Office and special consideration to our highly dedicated LASA2003 Program Chair, Professor **María Olivera-Williams**. (Only ex-Program Chairs can have any idea!). Deans and Department Chairs who have Congress Program Chairs on their faculties always have been great sources of support, and Notre Dame continues in this grand tradition! And what can we say about María Rosa? Never enough! Only if you absolutely prove to me that you could find a more gracious, caring and dedicated person would I believe it. ¡Un millón de flores, María Rosa! You and LASA President **Arturo Arias** created a truly fine event! Thanks again to both.

For LASA2003, the LASA Secretariat assumed responsibility for database design, management, and data entry, for which we have to thank the wonderfully competent **Milagros Pereyra Rojas** as well as **Kristen Patton**, who worked under Milagros's direction, and **Juana (Juany) Román**, who expertly entered mountains of data. **Sandy Klinzing** sees to countless details for each International Congress. And thanks once more to programmer **Joe Oliveira**, McGill University, whose skills in helping with LASA2001 led to bridging to LASA2003.

The Secretariat conveyed a very sharp crew from the University of Pittsburgh to Dallas to help with on-site duties. Accompanying Milagros, Kristen, Sandy, Juany and me were **Jennifer Crawford**,

Vanessa Fontanez, Sarah Heard, Rachel Klipa, Shakti Poornima, Lena Soudi, and Jessica Wigton. Thanks to all for working hard, long—and expertly!

The contributions of **LaVonne (Bonnie) Poteet**, coordinator of the LASA Film Festival and Exhibit for 20 years, were duly and more than deservedly noted in the award ceremony preceding Friday's Business Meeting. It has been great, Bonnie! My only regret is that more people don't get a chance to slip into the screening room to see what a great job you do, along with the creators of those visual wonders. (I was gratified to learn that while I am "terminal," you may not be; thanks for being open to future "calls").

And you, **Harve Horowitz**, creator of the LASA Exhibits, know how much your work is appreciated, since I think I say it lots!

Finally, even though their fine contributions have been noted by several people, I would be remiss not to thank once again six individuals from two local institutions who answered the call from LASA to help us kick off LASA2003: **Robert E. Witt**, President, and **George C. Wright**, Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs and Provost, The University of Texas at Arlington, and **B. Hobson Wildenthal**, Executive Vice President and Provost, and **Larry D. Terry**, Associate Provost, The University of Texas at Dallas, respectively extended financial support and other considerations to **Manuel García y Griego**, Director, Center for Mexican-American Studies, The University of Texas at Arlington and **Rodolfo Hernández Guerrero**, Director, Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, The University of Texas at Dallas, as these two scholars carried out the planning of our fine **Welcoming Reception at the Dallas Museum of Art!** Many thanks also to Museum personnel, who offered both close collaboration and special consideration.

Another page from LASA's history. On to LASA2004!

Two Much Appreciated Farewells



Reading receives an honorary certificate in Latin American Studies from Kathleen De Walt, Director of the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Latin American Studies. Over 35 years he served the Center in various capacities.



LASA President Arturo Arias presents Reading with a plaque at the LASA2003 business meeting. For Reading, the clock in the plaque was a reminder, among other things, of how little time was left to make a smooth transition.

Report of the LASA Business Meeting
XXIV International Congress
Dallas, TX, March 28, 2003

President Arturo Arias began the meeting at 7:30pm with a welcome to all in attendance. He introduced the individuals at the head table, including Thomas Holloway, LASA past president, James Greene, President of BRASA, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Túm and vice president Marysa Navarro. He then read the names of the newly elected officers to the Executive Council, including **Sonia Alvarez** as incoming vice president, and **George Yúdice**, **Merilee Grindle** and **Joanne Rappaport** as members of the Executive Council. Arias indicated that immediately following the Awards Ceremony the Business Meeting portion of the program would take place, followed by a plenary speech by Menchu Túm.

PRESENTATION OF LASA AWARDS

President Arias indicated that the Association's highest honor, the **Kalman Silvert Award**, had been presented to Guillermo O'Donnell at the Silvert Lecture earlier in the day. The Silvert Committee was constituted by immediate past president Thomas Holloway, past presidents Franklin Knight and Susan Eckstein, and Peter Ward, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*.

The 2003 recipients of the **LASA Oxfam-America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureships** would be honored at the Diskin Lecture the following day. President Arias identified them as Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Rosalva Aida Hernández Castillo. Suzanne Jonas will be presenting the awards on behalf of Tracy Fitzsimmons, committee chair. Other committee members included Norma Chinchilla, Victor Montejo and Ray Offenheiser, President, Oxfam America.

The **Bryce Wood Book Award** for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences published in English between January 1, 2001 and June 30, 2002, was presented by Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal, committee chair. Committee members included Martínez-Echazábal, Jennifer Burtner, Claudia de Lima Costa, Edmund Gordon and Agustín Lao-Montes. The 2003 recipients are Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena León, Co-authors, *Empowering Women: Land and Property Rights in Latin America*. In presenting the award, Martínez-Echazábal lauded the book as "a landmark piece of research and writing that draws on and has applications for those working in fields ranging from gender studies and development to law, economics, public policy, history, sociology, and anthropology (the list could be much longer). Its depth and breadth are equally impressive, reflecting decades of experience, knowledge, research and debate in all of these fields." Francine Masiello was selected for a **Bryce Wood Honorable Mention** for *The Art of Transition: Latin American Culture and Neoliberal Crisis*.

The **Premio Iberoamericano** was presented posthumously to Edgar Balsells Tojo, author of *Olvido o memoria. El dilema de la sociedad guatemalteca*. The **Premio** is awarded for the

outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese between January 1, 2001 and June 30, 2002. Committee members included Raúl Bueno-Chávez, chair, Gilberto Arriaza, Manuel Ángel Castillo, Livia Reis and Victoria Sanford. Rigoberta Menchú accepted the award from Manuel Ángel Castillo on behalf of Balsells Tojo.

Claudia Ferman presented the **LASA Media Award** in place of Gregory Grandin, committee chair. The 2003 honoree is Eduardo Anguita, whose work Ferman heralded as distinguished not only by the variety in its methods of expression, i.e. newspaper, television, movies and literature, but by the range and impact of its production. She further characterized his work as "representativo de las tres últimas décadas de producción periodística latinoamericana, los cambios en este medio, y las nuevas direcciones en él que se desarrolla." Other Media Committee members included Beatriz Cortez and Carlos Figueroa. Professor Ferman accepted the award for Anguita.

LaVonne Poteet was honored with a special award for her 20 years of uninterrupted work in organizing the LASA Film Festival (first produced in 1983). Presenter Claudia Ferman called the Film Festival "a pioneer work that enabled the best of Latin American film production to be present at our meetings."

Special recognition was paid to **LASA Executive Director Reid Reading**, who will be retiring on June 30, 2003. In presenting an inscribed clock on behalf of the association, President Arias praised Reading for his untiring efforts and dedication to the association during his 17 years as executive director.

LASA BUSINESS MEETING

President's Report

President Arias reiterated the results of the recent election, as noted in the Award Ceremony, above.

Arias indicated his pleasure with seeing everyone at the Congress, especially since the previous week had been one of the most difficult in LASA's history. Many individuals slated to present papers at the last minute had chosen not to participate, out of concern about flying or a desire not to attend. The Association had lost considerable funds in non-refundable tickets for travel grantees.

Arias reported he had completed his electoral promise of seeing through the strategic planning process and the plan was now completed. The LASA Strategic Plan 2003-2006 could be found on the LASA website in English and soon would be available in Spanish and Portuguese as well. He thanked the consortium UNC/Chapel Hill and Duke for their assistance in facilitating the final phase of the strategic planning process, singling out for special recognition Natalie Hartman; Richard Soloway, Dean of Arts and Sciences; James Peacock, Director of the Center for

International Studies at UNC/Chapel Hill; and Gil Merkkx, Vice Provost for International Affairs at Duke.

Report of the LASA Secretariat

Executive Director Reid Reading indicated that a full report on the transition to a new executive director would be forthcoming in the *LASA Forum*. Reading affirmed he was leaving the Secretariat in good hands and spoke of his great satisfaction with the LASA staff.

Report of the XXIV Congress Program Chair

María Rosa Olivera-Williams acknowledged that she had been pleased to work with outstanding program track chairs and thanked them for their willingness to work hard. Her respect for all of them as scholars, colleagues and friends had grown immensely. Olivera-Williams had also taken pleasure in working with her old friend, Arturo Arias, in trying to create an exciting and intellectually solid Congress. She noted having the good fortune as well to work with the excellent team at the Secretariat. Overall, Olivera-Williams indicated that serving as LASA2003 Program Chair had been "an extremely valuable experience. [*Professor Olivera-Williams report, this issue, was the basis for the report in the Business meeting*]

President Arias thanked the members of an ad hoc group from the Rockefeller Center of Harvard University, led by John Coatsworth, who traveled to Washington DC after a series of Cubans had been denied U.S. visas even without interviews. As a result of the conversations between the Harvard group and State Department officials, a large number of Cubans eventually were given visas. The situation was not so positive, however, for participants from the People's Republic of China, who were denied visas.

Vice President's Report

Marysa Navarro read an article of the LASA By-laws, which require a statement by the incoming president about forthcoming plans and issues. Navarro indicated that LASA is in transition both from the departure of Executive Director Reid Reading and the implementation of the new Strategic Plan. One of her tasks as defined by the plan is to assemble a fund raising committee, and prepare a comprehensive fund raising plan. The committee has been formed and had already met at the Congress. The committee will first work to secure the funds needed for travel grants and for plenary speakers for LASA2004. Navarro has also succeeded in securing the commitment of Kristin Ruggiero to serve as Program Chair for LASA2004. Ruggiero is a historian who specializes in Argentina.

Navarro concluded with a report on the search for a new executive director. The search committee was unsuccessful, but a new committee is to be appointed and an interim executive director named.

Proposed Resolutions

Marysa Navarro noted the provision in the By-laws dealing with the proposal, discussion and vote on resolutions. "Proposed resolutions must be signed by at least 30 LASA members in good standing and received by the LASA Secretariat 30 days prior to the beginning of each Congress...All proposed resolutions must be reviewed by a committee on resolutions consisting of the LASA vice president and two other members of the Executive Council (EC) appointed by the LASA president...The subcommittee shall report its findings to the full EC and recommend actions to be taken. Resolutions approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the EC shall be read at the business meeting, discussed and emailed to each LASA 2003 member no later than fifteen days after the close of the Congress. Votes must be received within sixty days of receipt of the email. The results of the vote will be published in the subsequent issue of the *LASA Forum* and posted on the LASA website."

The LASA Secretariat had received in time two proposed resolutions on Cuba and one on the war in Iraq. The two proposed resolutions on Cuba were combined as one. Navarro then read the proposed resolution on Iraq. President Arias reminded members that there was a provision in the By-laws for motions that address unforeseen new events. Such motions must be presented in writing at least 24 hours before the business meeting. The work of the ad hoc committee which resulted from the first emergency panel on the war with Iraq was read by Isabel Quintana. Discussion ensued on the proposed resolution. Navarro reminded members that amendments could not be made to the proposed resolution nor could a vote be taken at the meeting. President Arias articulated the sense of the meeting: those present wished the Association to produce a strong document condemning the war in Iraq.

David Barkin then withdrew the original motion on Iraq. He was reminded that he must obtain the agreement of all signatories on the resolution before it could be withdrawn. He agreed to consult with all signatories. The final version of the proposed resolution would be submitted for electronic vote by the LASA membership.

Navarro then read the second proposed resolution, which dealt with Cuba. The proponents of the resolution indicated their desire to amend the resolution, which had been drafted before the efforts to obtain visas for Cuban travel. The amendment would leave only the portion in Spanish, which had been drafted in Cuba. Since this opportunity was not available, they wished to have the record of the meeting reflect their desire. Navarro suggested that the proponents obtain the approval of all signatories in order to withdraw a portion of the proposal. The resolution would be submitted to an electronic vote by the LASA membership.

(Both resolutions were subsequently sent out for electronic vote.)

The meeting concluded with a plenary speech by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Tum.

Thomas Holloway presents the 2003 Kalman Silvert Award to Guillermo O'Donnell



LASA2003 HONOREES



Carmen Diana Deere and Magdalena León are presented the Bryce Wood Award by committee chair Lourdes Martínez Echazábal



The Premio Iberoamericano was presented posthumously to Edgar Balsells Tojo. On behalf of Raúl Bueno-Chávez, committee chair, Manuel Angel Castillo presents the award to Nobel Laureate Rigoberta Menchú Tum



Rodolfo Stavenhagen is honored by Suzanne Jonas as co-recipient of the 2003 LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship



Rosalva Aida Hernández Castillo is honored as co-recipient of the LASA/Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship, also by Jonas

MORE SHOTS OF LASA2003



Claudia Ferman presents a special award to LaVonne Poteet in recognition of her 20 years of organizing the LASA Film Festival



Program Chair María Rosa Olivera-Williams with husband Julio Pablo Benvenuto, Maria Herminia Tavares de Almeida, and Heinz Sonntag



Larry Terry, UT/Dallas; Manuel García y Griego and George Wright, UT/Arlington; Arturo Arias; Rodolfo Hernández Guerrero, UT/Dallas



Guillermo O'Donnell, Gabriela Ippolito, Tom Holloway, and Peter Smith



Tom Holloway with Mary Jo Dudley and future LASA member Sofia

AND MORE



Helen Safa and John Dumoulin



Rosa Isolde Reuque Paillalef, Florencia Mallon, Arturo Arias, Jill Robbins, Heinz Sonntag, and Carmen Diana Deere



Marysa Navarro and student Robert A. Karl



Rosario Espinal and Tommie Sue Montgomery



Marysa Navarro, Carmen Diana Deere, Reid Reading, Tom Holloway, and Suzanne Jonas



NEWS FROM LASA

LASA MEMBERSHIP REPORT

by Sandy Klinzing

Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement

A comparison of the Association's membership demographics from year to year allows us to note trends and to share them with you. The following are figures for the 2002, the last full membership year. For additional information please contact us at <lasa@pitt.edu>.

Individual Memberships

Total memberships for 2002: **4351** (21 % decrease from 2001)*

New members: 493 (22 % of total membership)

Renewed from 2001: 3417 (79 % of total membership)
(62 % renewal rate)

Renewed lapsed members: 441

Student members: 806 (19 % of the membership)

Member residency:

U.S. residents: 3190 (73 %)

Latin American residents: 728 (17 %)

Other Non-U.S. residents: 433 (10 %)

Members continuing or initiating membership for a three-year period: 748

Major disciplines represented:

Political Science: 778

History: 747

Literature: 662

Sociology: 424

Anthropology/Architecture: 414

Previous year memberships over ten years:

2001: 5530 (15 % *increase* over previous year)

2000: 4810 (19 % *increase*)

1999: 4044 (15 % *decrease*) (Non-Congress year)

1998: 4757 (11 % *increase*)

1997: 4269 (5 % *increase*)

1996: 4066 (8 % *decrease*) (Non-Congress year)

1995: 4404 (30 % *increase*)

1994: 3389 (11 % *increase*)

1993: 3041 (4 % *decrease*) (Non-Congress year)

1992: 3165

Institutional Memberships

Total members: **115** (5 % decrease from 2001)

New members: 11

Renewed from 2001: 96 (79 % renewal rate)

Renewed lapsed members: 8

Institution location:

United States: 94

Latin America: 9

Other Non-U.S.: 12

Previous year memberships over ten years:

2001: 121

2000: 104

1999: 102

1998: 90

1997: 97

1996: 97

1995: 109

1994: 74

1993: 97

1992: 89

* There is a pattern of individual membership decrease in a non-Congress year, with the decrease inversely proportional to the increase in membership during the previous Congress year.

LASA VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

by Sandy Klinzing

Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement

Once again how LASA members rallied around a worthy cause! LASA2003 was the first Congress for which student members could receive travel grants from the new LASA Student Fund. When it appeared that we would not make our goal of a minimum of \$1800 to provide six students with \$300 grants each, a letter was sent to all past donors to the Fund. The response was both immediate and gratifying. Over \$3600 was raised! Our most sincere thanks to you and to all who supported travel to LASA2003. The LASA Travel Fund provided over \$9400; contributions to both Endowment Funds will support future Latin American and Caribbean travel to the Congresses. Thank you to all for your generosity!

Contributors to the **Student Fund** since our last report include:

Jeremy Adelman
Electa Arenal
Shirley Aumand
John Bailey
Edmundo Pablo Beteta
Kirk Bowman
Jeff Boyer
Kristina Boylan
Damarys Canache
Cecilia Cervantes
Jack Child
Theo Crevenna
Stuart Day
Susan Deeds
Ralph Della Cava
Molly Doane
Arturo Escobar
Jonathan Fox

John French
Lesley Gill
Bruce Goldstein
Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida
Amarilis Hidalgo de Jesus
Gwen Kirkpatrick
Horacio Legrás
Ryan Long
Marta Guadalupe Loza Vázquez
Rachel McCleary
Eduardo Mendieta
Luis Murillo Urrutia
Marysa Navarro
María Rosa Olivera-Williams
Max Parra
Stephen Perz
David Popper
Mary Louise Pratt

Patricia Price
Susan Quinlan
Rossana Reguillo
Jill Robbins
Jeffrey Rubin
Clay (Matt) Samson
Patience Schell
Barbara Sommer
Ximena Sosa-Buchholz
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PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Nancy P. Appelbaum, State University of New York, Binghamton, is author of *Muddied Waters: Race, religion, and Local History in Colombia, 1846-1948* (Duke University Press, 2003). Employing archival, secondary, and oral history sources, this work "vividly illustrates the relationship of mythmaking and racial inequality to regionalism and frontier colonization in postcolonial

Latin America." A review notes that the book "offers rich comparative insights into societies where race and place have become historically intertwined"

La cultura letrada en la Nueva España del siglo XXVII (Siglo Veintiuno, 2002), the second volume of "an ambitious new history

of Mexican literature” is edited by **Raquel Chang-Rodríguez**, Graduate Center-City College of The City University of New York. The volume responds to “new scholarly concerns in the area of colonial studies, underscoring the importance of ecclesiastical and print culture, linguistics and philology, the diversity of social subjects, the impact of Latin, and the hidden messages encoded in poetry and prose.”

Julie A. Charlip, Whitman College, is author of *Cultivating Coffee: The Farmers of Carazo, Nicaragua, 1880-1930* (Ohio University Press, 2003). The book “demonstrates the complexity of the processes of transition to expanded export agriculture in the 19th and 20th centuries” and among other things challenges the notion that the introduction of coffee forced most people to become landless peasants.

Matthew C. Gutmann, Brown University, is co-editor, with LASA members **Feliz V. Matos Rodríguez**, Hunter College CUNY; **Lynn Stephen**, University of Oregon; and **Patricia Zavella**, University of California, Santa Cruz, of *Perspectives on Las Americas: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation* (Blackwell Publishing, 2003). The volume is designed to demonstrate the “limits of neatly demarcating the regions of ‘Latin America’ and the United States,” as well as challenge the barriers between Latina/o studies and Latin American/Caribbean studies. Professor Gutmann also is editor and contributor to *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America* (Duke University Press, 2003). Chapter authors include **Daniel Balderston**, University of Iowa; **Peter M. Beattie**, Michigan State University; **Norma Fuller**, Pontificia Universidad Católica, Lima; **Donna Guy**, Ohio State University; **Florencia Mallon**, University of Wisconsin, Madison; and **Richard Parker**, Columbia University. This compilation “investigates what, if anything, is distinctive about and common to masculinity across Latin America” and “illuminate the changing relationships between men and women and among men of different ethnic groups, sexual orientations, and classes.

Tace Hedrick, University of Florida, Gainesville, is author of *Mestizo Modernism: Race, Nation, and Identity in Latin American Culture, 1900-1940* (Rutgers University Press, 2003). The author examines the works of four key Latin American modernists—César Vallejo, Gabriela Mistral, Diego Rivera, and Frida Kahlo—to discover “what being ‘modern’ and ‘American’ meant for them.” A reviewer notes that Professor Hedrick’s “subtle command of the theoretical and critical material in modernity, her shrewd, original readings of text and art, make this book a delight to read.”

Reconstructing Childhood: Strategies of Reading for Culture and Gender in the Spanish American Bildungsroman (Bucknell University Press, 2003) is the latest book by LASA member **Julia A. Kushigian** of Connecticut College. “Beginning in the 19th century and ending with the postmodern close of the twentieth, the work explores issues of race, class, sexuality, social justice, truth, poverty and aging” across several Spanish-American countries.

Floyd Merrell, Purdue University, is author of *The Mexicans: A Sense of Culture* (Westview Press, 2003). Designed to depict “the intriguing complexities of daily life in Mexico...”, one reviewer appraises the volume as “a highly nuanced and richly textured book that will prove to be both informative and illuminating to readers seeking to deepen their knowledge of Mexico.”

Alice A. Nelson, Evergreen State College, is author of *Political Bodies: Gender, History, and the Struggle for Narrative Power in Recent Chilean Literature* (Bucknell University Press, 2003). Professor Nelson sees “the recent struggle for narrative power in Chile” as a contest about gender ideologies. A prominent reviewer sees the work as a landmark for cultural studies, combining “a subtle analysis of literary works with a brilliant approach to the ways in which changes in society and politics affect artistic choices of representation.”

Duke University Press has just published *From Popular Medicine to Medical Populism: Doctors, Healers, and Public Power in Costa Rica, 1800-1940* by **Steven Palmer**, University of Windsor, Ontario. Professor Palmer argues that there was “significant overlap” between popular and professional medicine and that the relationship of practitioners of each “was marked by coexistence, complementarity, and dialogue as often as it was by rivalry. One reviewer characterizes the work as a “splendid contribution to an emerging literature on the social history of medicine in Latin America.”

Sinclair Thomson, New York University, is author of *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2003). Noting that the powerful anticolonial movement that swept across the highland Andes in 1780-1781 has received little attention from historians of the “Age of Revolution,” and noting as well the error in characterizing the initial stage of the movement in La Paz as a race war, the author proceeds to explore the complex dynamics of the struggle at the local level. The work has been depicted as “dramatically remolding our understanding of the political upheaval of the 1780s and its consequences.”

LASA member **Lourdes Torres**, De Paul University, is co-author with Inmaculada Pertusa-Seva, of *Tortilleras* (Temple University Press, 2003). The book examines the works of several Hispanic or Latina lesbian writers and performing artists, creating a picture of their complex and multi-textured contributions to literature and culture. One reviewer sees the volume as vital, showing “how studies in gender and sexuality must lie at the heart of our work.”

Thomas W. Walker, Ohio University, has just completed the fourth edition of *Nicaragua: Living in the Shadow of the Eagle* (Westview Press, 2003). Hailed as “brilliantly written and thoroughly researched,” the new edition is completely revised and “documents how the more enduring reality of this Central American country may not be the Sandinista Revolution, but the historical and ongoing interventions by which the United States—the “eagle” to the north—continues to shape Nicaraguan political, economic, and social life.”

IN MEMORIAM

[One of the great masters of the short story, writer Augusto Monterroso, was scheduled to give the premier literary reading at LASA's XXIV International Congress. Unfortunately, this was not to be. Monterroso passed away on February 7th. This short tribute is written by one of his most devoted disciples, a true heir to Monterroso's mastery of the short form. Arturo Arias]

Era tan inteligente que parecía inmortal. Tenía 81 años y la muerte de **Tito Monterroso** nos golpeó, latigazo y sorpresa, como si contáramos con él para toda la eternidad, como si todos le atribuyéramos una condición sobrehumana derivada de la admiración hacia su literatura, o, quizá, con menos énfasis, derivada del cariño natural que fluía hacia una persona afable, de gestos suaves, hospitalaria y sonriente. Tito detrás de sus gafotas de lupa que le aumentaban los ojos grandes y móviles, Tito caminando despacio (se nos olvidaba que ya tenía su edad) por calles estrechas y pedregosas, Tito regalando alguna de sus picardías para que después los amigos repitieran la fama sarcástica e ingeniosa. Al mapa de la Guatemala peregrina que todos llevamos dentro, un mapa que no se corresponde con el oficial de las cartografías, se le ha perdido una parte, y desconsolados, comprobamos que sí, que el escritor Augusto Monterroso ha escrito obras que se recordarán siempre, no solamente en una nota al pie de página de los libros escolares. Al mismo tiempo, nos hace falta Tito, ir a México, bajar en Miguel Ángel de Quevedo, caminar por el empedrado de Chimalistac y tener la calidez y el afecto y la comprensiva conversación de un ratoncito sonrosado y sabio, como de fábula, que nos hacía sentir mejores de lo que realmente éramos.

*Dante Liano, Guatemalan novelist
University of Milan*

A great friend of Brazil has died. **Brady B. Tyson** (1927-2003) lived a life dedicated to social justice and equality. He was a leading activist in the United States in the campaign against the Brazilian military dictatorship and for human rights in Latin America. He will be greatly missed.

Tyson was a graduate of Rice University in Houston, Texas, and the Perkins School of Theology of Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. He received a doctorate in International Relations from American University in Washington, D.C. and taught at that institution from 1967 until he retired in 1994.

Brady was often in the eye of a storm. In August 1965, in São José do Rio Preto, São Paulo state, he criticized Washington's foreign policy and the Brazilian military regime. He was subsequently ordered to leave the country or face trial for subversive activity. With a family to care for, Brady decided to leave Brazil, but he did not renounce his criticisms of the military. As the dictatorship tightened its grip in December 1968, Brady and a group of activists, clergy, and Brazilian exiles living in the United States began a systematic campaign to denounce the excesses of the military regime, including the increase in torture of political prisoners. Because of his close connections with the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, Tyson was able to approach Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young, and others to sign the 1970 statement "We Shall Not Remain Silent" that denounced the torture of Brazilian political prisoners.

From 1977 to 1981 during the Carter administration, Brady worked as a Human Rights Officer, attached to the staff of then Ambassador Andrew Young at the U. S. Mission to the United Nations. In March 1977, Brady caused an international uproar. In a statement to the UN Commission on Human Rights he declared, "In discussing Chile we would be less than candid, and untrue to ourselves and to our people, if the delegation from the United States did not . . . express its profoundest regrets for the role that some U.S. government officials, agencies, and private groups played in the subversion of the previous, democratically-elected, Chilean government, that was overthrown by the coup of September 11, 1973." Although the Carter administration distanced itself from Brady's remarks, the gesture toward the Chilean people has been remembered over the years.

*James N. Green
California State University, Long Beach*

We were deeply saddened at the sudden and unexpected death of Janet Kelly at the end of March in Caracas, Venezuela, of an apparent suicide. Kelly had been Professor of Political Economy at the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA) since 1982. During her years with IESA she had served as Director of Research, Coordinator for the Center of Public Politics, and President of Ediciones IESA. Most recently she had also taken on responsibilities as Editor of the Venezuelan newspaper *Daily Journal*.

Kelly received her doctorate from Johns Hopkins in 1975, with her work in the area of international relations. She served as professor at the University of Massachusetts and at the Universidad Simón Bolívar, as well as researcher at the Center for International Issues at Harvard. Kelly was Director of the Paul E. Kelly Foundation, and a member of the governing council of the Center for Reconciliation and Arbitration of VenAmcham (CEDCA) and the International Women's Forum.

Kelly's students at IESA lauded her as "una apasionada por Venezuela", and at the IESA website she is honored for "el influjo de su espíritu crítico, de su ánimo emprendedor y de su lúcida inteligencia: siempre al servicio de los más nobles fines del país."

At the LASA2003 business meeting of the Venezuelan Studies Section, Kelly was eulogized by colleagues and friends Rosa Amelia González de Pacheco and Dan Levine. González praised Kelly for her "vivaz inteligencia, su rechazo a los lugares comunes, su exigencia, su peculiar cinicismo y sobre todo su dedicación". Levine concluded "Her voice, her presence that could fill a room, her honesty and generosity—it is truly a great loss."

Sandy Klinzing

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LETTERS

March 12, 2003

The Honorable Colin L. Powell
Secretary of State
Department of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express our deep concern that Cuban scholars are being prevented from attending the Latin American Studies Association Congress (LASA), to be held in Dallas, Texas on March 27-29, 2003. Reports received from U.S. scholars state that their Cuban counterparts are being denied visas under Section 212 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, which allows the President to prohibit entry into the United States of any alien or class of aliens whose entry would be considered detrimental to the interests of the United States, with specific reference to the entry of employees of the Cuban government and members of the communist party of Cuba. A number of these scholars are being told that their names and birthdates match with known terrorists. Others are being asked to submit additional documents, which essentially has forced them to re-initiate their applications and pay further fees. In every case, there is a distinct and pervasive lack of clarity about what kinds of documents should be provided by the scholars, the timetable within which the documents should be provided, the ultimate cost of the application, information about what kinds of applications will not be considered, the criteria necessary for fingerprints, and under what circumstances applications can be delayed or denied.

We understand the new international circumstances that confront the United States and are sympathetic to efforts by the United States government to ensure the safety of its citizens here and abroad. We have supported those efforts in the Senate and will continue to do so in the future. That said, it appears that the current visa application process is arbitrary in nature and is limiting the ability of pre-eminent scholars—many of whom have held prestigious positions at some of the best universities in the United States—to travel to our country. It is our view that intensive academic interactions like those that occur at LASA allow an open exchange of ideas and act as an important catalyst for political economic change in Cuba.

We ask for three specific actions at this time. First, we would ask that you establish an application process that is efficient and transparent so that the complaints mentioned above will be remedied. Second, we ask that you provide us with a summary of the revised application process. Third, as time is limited, we ask that you expedite appropriate applications of Cuban scholars attempting to travel to the LASA Congress.

We look forward to your response on each of these issues.

Sincerely,

Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senator

Jeff Bingaman
United States Senator

cc: Mr. Kurt Struble
Acting Assistant Secretary
Western Hemisphere Affairs

Dear Arturo [Arias]:

I am well aware that it is much too late to do anything about scheduling at the LASA Congress; however, I write in the hope that my concern is shared by others and will be taken into account by the next program chair(s). My concern arises from the fact that the roundtables for the Central America Section are scheduled for 6:00pm Friday afternoon. This is NOT a complaint about the scheduling of these roundtables per se; rather it is to suggest that scheduling ANY panels at that hour is foolish beyond permission.

Congress days have been very long for years—often beginning with breakfast at 7:00am and not ending until 11:00 at night. I can tell you that, by 6:00pm I am in no condition to absorb one more idea—no matter how brilliant—from a panel, much less chair a panel, or roundtable, as I will be doing on March 28th. I know many colleagues who feel the same way. What this means is that the roundtable and panel participants are likely to be talking to themselves—or to each other!—because there will be very few LASA members joining them.

Friday is particularly difficult because, assuming the 6:00pm panels/roundtables run for 90 minutes, that gives participants 90 minutes to return to their rooms, refresh themselves, eat dinner, and get to the *Gran Baile*—which is another reason why attendance at any 6:00pm event is likely to be scant.

Clearly there are too many panels—so it is time to begin exercising some judgment regarding which panels are selected. I recall this debate several years ago and the de facto decision was that, if people want/are able to put together a panel, LASA should make room for them. The logical extension of that argument is that every professional journal should accept every article that is submitted. We exercise judgments all the time in academia so there is no reason why judgments, based on reasonable criteria, shouldn't be exercised by the program chairs.

The easiest way to do begin exercising judgment is to say that there will be five 2-hour time slots each day, beginning at 8:00am and ending at 6:00pm. The program chairs will know how many

slots they have to work with (5 x rooms available x 3 days) and that's the limit. Some preliminary criteria may be set out:

- (1) Is the proposed panel effectively a repetition of panel(s) at the previous one or two congresses?
- (2) Have the proposed panelists given similar papers at the previous one or two congresses? My sense, over more than 25 years of attending LASA Congresses, is that, too often, the same topics are presented over and over again with little new ground broken.
- (3) Is the panel topic new, or one that hasn't been addressed in at least three years?
- (4) Should the number of Section panels be reduced by increasing the number of Section members per panel awarded? And so on....

With LASA's database, it should be easy for the respective program chairs to determine who are new, proposed participants, what are new topics or refreshing angles on old topics (which should be given priority) and who has been talking about the same topic for the last 10 years—or more. I really don't want to offend anyone who is reading this, but some criteria must be established because clearly the program is out of hand.

All the best,

Tommie Sue [Montgomery]
Trent University

To the Editor

I will not be able to be at LASA this year. But I would just like to remind people when they are discussing reducing the number of sessions that a large portion of those who attend LASA meetings are able to do so only with funding from their institutions which in a large number of cases is only available to those who "present" a paper. Many institutions will not even fund travel for officers of the organizations holding the meeting LASA officers and the amount of funding available will dwindle dramatically in the budget crises of the next few years. So reducing the number of people on the program as presenters effectively means a number of interested and dedicated people will not be able to attend LASA meetings for lack of funds. (Remember that even when an institution provides funds for presenters, it may cover only a portion of the costs). This situation affects younger scholars disproportionately but even many people at senior ranks cannot afford to pay all of the costs of their trip, especially if they are required to attend another expensive conference in their discipline at their own expense. Those whose institutions are more generous in the amount of the funding or more liberal in their criteria for funding may not have the same sensitivity to this issue as those of us who are affected by it do.

I hope that you will keep this in mind when coming to a decision.

Norma Chinchilla
California State University, Long Beach

To the Forum:

As LASA reinvents itself to meet the challenges of diversity, I hope we can all agree that it's still important to be accurate. If so, I am obliged to correct our outgoing president. In his response to my letter in the Winter 2003 *Forum*, Arturo Arias says that I "conveniently fail to quote any Guatemalan sources from the 1980s," but my book *Rigoberta Menchú and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* cites Mario Payeras, Ricardo Falla, Victor Montejo, Silvia Solórzano, Alaíde Foppa, and Arias himself.

Arias says that my contribution to his edited collection disparages Menchú's story as "'propaganda,'" but this term appears nowhere in my essay, hence should not be put in quotation marks to imply that he is quoting me.

Arias objects to how I spell the name of the Nobel laureate's brother "Petrocinio," but this is how the Verso edition of *I, Rigoberta Menchú* spells his name, as do various contributors in the collection that Arias himself edited.

Arias says *I, Rigoberta Menchú* has been dropped by numerous high schools and colleges, but Verso Books tells me that course adoptions have continued more or less the same.

Arias says I have "carried out much of the debate in newspapers, magazines and radio talk shows in the conservative public sphere," but my invitations from Menchú's rightwing critics petered out in 1999, because of my insistence that she is not a fraud. The last radio talk show I did was in November 2000, for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Arias suggests that he has been excluded from non-academic venues celebrating my work, without naming any, but he himself is one of the few people who continues to publish on the controversy, with at least nine contributions to date. I wish he were correct that the Guatemalan press always respects the "derecho de respuesta," but not at *El Periódico*, the newspaper that published three of his attacks between October 2001 and May 2002. Some months after receiving my right-to-respond, in January 2003 editor Luis Aceituno informed me that his newspaper is under no obligation to publish it because Arias is a columnist, not an employee, for whom *Periódico* takes no responsibility and whom it has discontinued.

My work, Arias charges, "seems aimed at swaying an anxious, uninformed U.S. audience, reinforcing their suspicions that we—uppity Latin Americans, ethnic minorities and people of color—are naturally untrustworthy and bent on destroying their way of life." And so our outgoing president plays the last card in his hand, the race card. Is this the kind of argument that is to trump all others in the new LASA as Arias envisions it? I hope not, because it is a rationale for dismissing anyone who upsets him, including other Latin Americans.

David Stoll

Middlebury College



EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Smith College, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, has available a three-year, renewable position for a Lecturer in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies. Ability and commitment to dynamic teaching of all levels of Portuguese language, culture and literatures of Brazil, Portugal, Portuguese-speaking Africa and/or Portuguese communities in the United States. Native or near-native fluency in Portuguese and English; ability to teach Spanish highly desirable. Excellence in language teaching and curricular vision for an undergraduate Portuguese program with growing enrollments. Potential for the development of issues-oriented courses as well as for linking Lusophone literary and cultural studies to Spanish, to area studies such as Latin American or African Diaspora Studies, to performance studies or to candidate's other transdisciplinary interests. Ph.D. in hand preferred. Smith College is an equal opportunity employer encouraging excellence through diversity. Please send letter of application, CV, writing sample and three letters of recommendation to:

Chair of Portuguese Search Committee
Hatfield Hall
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
Smith College
NORTHAMPTON MA 01063

Work of applications began February 1, 2003 and will continue until position is filled.

The Humanities Department, **San Francisco State University**, seeks an outstanding candidate for a tenure-track position in the comparative and integrative study of the arts and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean, with appointment effective Fall, 2003. Qualifications and Duties: Knowledge of at least one major Latin American/Caribbean textual and cultural tradition; capability of teaching in several comparative and interdisciplinary contexts; ability to draw comparisons between Latin American/Caribbean cultures and those of North America, Europe, and/or Africa; record of interdisciplinary research and teaching; facility in Spanish or Portuguese; familiarity with current trends in humanistic scholarship; willingness to develop courses relating to the culture of cities; Ph.D. in any disciplinary or interdisciplinary field in the humanities. Duties include excellence in teaching, scholarly research and publication in the humanities, curriculum development, directing M.A. theses and projects, advising,

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Chair of the Hiring, Retention, and Tenure Committee
Department of Humanities
San Francisco State University
SAN FRANCISCO CA 94132.

Interviews began in February, 2003, and will continue until a suitable candidate is selected.

The Department of History at **Case Western Reserve University** invites applications for a tenure-track appointment beginning July 2004 as Assistant Professor in Latin American history. A strong commitment to research and publication, and demonstrated teaching excellence are essential. The department will interview selected candidates at the January 2004 AHA conference in Washington D.C. Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer; applications from women and minorities are especially encouraged. Send letters of application, curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation to:

Prof. Jonathan Sadowsky, Chair
Latin American Search Committee,
Department of History,
Case Western Reserve University
11201 Euclid Avenue
CLEVELAND OH 44106-7107.

Deadline for receipt of applications is **November 21, 2003**



RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars announces the opening of its 2004-2005 Fellowship competition. The Center awards approximately 20-25 academic year residential fellowships to individuals from any country with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues. Projects should have relevance to the world of public policy or provide the historical and/or cultural framework to illumine policy issues of contemporary importance. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional experience. Fellows are provided stipends which include round trip travel, private offices, access to the Library of Congress, Windows-based personal computers, and research assistants. For more information and application guidelines please contact the Center at:

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<<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/fellowships>>

Application deadline is **October 1, 2003**

The United States Institute of Peace invites applications for the 2004-2005 Senior Fellowship competition in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan institution created by Congress to strengthen the nation's capacity to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflict. Twelve to fifteen fellowships are awarded annually to scholars and practitioners from a variety of professions, including college and university faculty, journalists, diplomats, writers, educators, military officers, international negotiators, NGO professionals, and lawyers. The Institute funds projects related to preventive diplomacy, ethnic and regional conflicts, peacekeeping and peace operations, peace settlements, democratization and the rule of law, cross-cultural negotiations, nonviolent social movements, U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century, and related topics. This year the Institute is especially interested in topics addressing problems of the Muslim world, post-war reconstruction and reconciliation, and responses to terrorism and political violence. Projects which demonstrate relevance to current policy debates will be highly competitive. Fellows reside at the Institute in Washington, D.C., for a period of up to ten months to conduct

research on their projects, consult with staff, and contribute to the ongoing work of the Institute. Books and reports resulting from fellowships may be published by the USIP Press. The fellowship award includes a stipend of up to \$80,000, travel to Washington for the fellow and dependents, health insurance, an office with computer and voicemail, and a half-time research assistant. The competition is open to citizens of all nations. Women and minorities are especially encouraged to apply. For more information and an application form, please visit the Institute's website at <www.usip.org>, or contact:

The Jennings Randolph Program
U.S. Institute of Peace
1200 17th Street, NW, Suite 200
WASHINGTON DC 20036-3011
Phone 202-429-3886; fax: 202-429-6063,
E-mail <jrprogram@usip.org>

All application materials must be received by **September 15, 2003**.

The United States Institute of Peace invites applications for the 2004-2005 Peace Scholar dissertation fellowship competition of the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. The Peace Scholar program supports doctoral dissertations that explore the sources and nature of international conflict, and strategies to prevent or end conflict and to sustain peace. Dissertations from a broad range of disciplines and interdisciplinary fields are eligible. Peace Scholars work at their universities or appropriate field research sites. Priority will be given to projects that contribute knowledge relevant to the formulation of policy on international peace and conflict issues. Citizens of all countries are eligible, but Peace Scholars must be enrolled in an accredited college or university in the United States. Applicants must have completed all requirements for the degree except the dissertation by the commencement of the award (September 1, 2004). The dissertation fellowship award is \$17,000 for one year and may be used to support writing or field research. For more information and an application form, please visit the Institute's website at <www.usip.org>, or contact:

The Jennings Randolph Program
U.S. Institute of Peace
1200 17th Street, NW, Suite 200
WASHINGTON DC 20036-3011
Phone 202-429-3886; fax: 202-429-6063,
E-mail <jrprogram@usip.org>

All application materials must be received by **January 9, 2004**



CONFERENCES

The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE) will be holding its Thirteenth Annual Meeting in Miami, Florida, August 7-9, 2003, at the Omni Colonnade Hotel, Coral Gables. ASCE invites papers on a variety of subjects related to the Cuban economy and society, including: macroeconomics; banking and finance; agriculture and the sugar industry; tourism; social and political aspects of economic development; education; health; environmental policy; law and legal institutions; civil society; gender issues; governance; infrastructure; and civil-military relations. The main theme for this year's meeting will be "Cuba's External Sector: Developments and Challenges." For more information, contact:

Jorge Pérez-López, Chair
Program Committee
5881 6th Street
FALLS CHURCH VA 22041
<jperezlopez@cox.net,>

Ya está en marcha la convocatoria a presentación de ponencias para la IV Conferencia Regional de América Latina y del Caribe de ISTR, **International Society for Third Sector Research**, "El Papel de la Sociedad Civil en los Procesos de Desarrollo (Un Diálogo Multisectorial)," que tendrá lugar el próximo 8, 9 y 10 de octubre de 2003, en la Universidad de Costa Rica, San José, Costa Rica. El nuevo contexto latinoamericano se caracteriza por una serie de procesos como la apertura de mercados, privatización, reestructuración económica, democratización, nuevos patrones para el manejo de recursos naturales y el rediseño de instituciones públicas. En este contexto de transición, las organizaciones de la sociedad civil están en un proceso de redefinición de sus papeles en el desarrollo social y económico de la región. Sin embargo, es poco lo que se conoce sobre las características y dinámicas del sector. Ante esta realidad, la Red Latinoamericana y del Caribe de la Sociedad Internacional de Investigación para el Tercer Sector (ISTR-LAC, siglas en inglés) reconoce la importancia de promover espacios de intercambio y generación de conocimiento para que los y las investigadoras, junto a la sociedad civil organizada y

otros actores claves del desarrollo, contribuyen a la construcción de sociedades más justas, participativas e inclusivas".

ISTR-LAC invita a todas las personas que trabajan en investigación sobre la sociedad civil organizada a presentar ponencias para la IV Conferencia Regional de América Latina y del Caribe de ISTR, la cual tiene como objetivo principal crear un espacio de encuentro para la reflexión sobre el papel de la sociedad civil organizada en los procesos de desarrollo de América Latina y el Caribe, desde una perspectiva multisectorial. Para mayor información, véase <http://www.lasociedadcivil.org/new_index.phtml?ac=istr> o póngase en contacto con:

Secretaría de la IV Conferencia
Fundación Acceso,
Apartado Postal: 288-2050.
San José, Costa Rica
info@acceso.or.cr.
Contacto: Tanya Lockwood o Rosa Cheng L

A two-day conference, "International Migration in the Americas: Emerging Issues," originally scheduled for May 2-3, 2003 at the McLaughlin Jr. Common Room, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, *has been postponed*. When rescheduled, the meeting will bring together scholars (faculty and graduate students) from countries in the Caribbean basin (Central America and the Caribbean, Mexico and the United States) and Canada, as well as selected activists and members of NGOs, to share findings and discuss policy and research agendas. The conference has four interrelated objectives: 1) fostering research on Latin American and Caribbean populations in Canada, a relatively understudied area; 2) highlighting connections between certain features of current globalisation on one hand, and migration and the possible creation of diasporic or transnational communities on the other; 3) identifying key policy implications of Canadian-LAC connections; and 4) contributing to setting an agenda for future research and policy-related work relevant to NGOs and relevant government ministries. Please go to: <<http://www.yorku.ca/cerlac/EVENTS.html#Migration>> for updates.



PUBLICATIONS

Essays are invited for a special issue of the journal *Cuadernos de literatura* on the intersections of art and literature in Latin America, any period. *Cuadernos de literatura* is a journal published by the Department of Literature of the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, Colombia. Essays, in Spanish, should follow MLA style and should not exceed 25 pp. (including notes and list of works cited). For inquiries or submissions, please contact:

Luis Fernando Restrepo
Dept. of Foreign Languages
University of Arkansas
FAYETTEVILLE AR 72701

<lrestr@uark.edu >
or Carmen Millán de Benavides
Instituto Pensar
Pontificia Universidad Javeriana
Carrera 7
Bogotá, Colombia
<cmillan@javeriana.edu.co>.

For more information on *Cuadernos de literatura*, see:
http://www.javeriana.edu.co/Facultades/C_Sociales/Facultad/cuadernos_literatura/inicio.htm
Deadline for submissions is **August 1, 2003**

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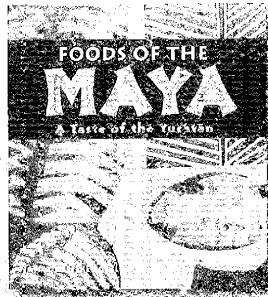
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