

LASA FORUM

Latin American Studies Association

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LASA Forum

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President's Report

by Sonia Alvarez

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Thanks to the exceptional leadership, boundless energy, and innovative management of Past President Marysa Navarro and Executive Director Milagros Percyra-Rojas and to the diligence and dedication of the LASA Secretariat staff, the Association made impressive headway in implementing crucial operational dimensions of our Strategic Plan. The overhaul of nearly all administrative procedures, the updating of the Association's "virtual" capabilities, and the revamping of the Congress submission, selection, and organizational processes, among many other innovations, have transformed LASA into a more agile, transparent, and "user-friendly" organization—one now optimally equipped to better serve its diverse membership.

Marysa and Mili's successful efforts at revitalizing LASA's administrative apparatus laid the ground for the more effective pursuit of two other priorities set forth in the Strategic Plan: to "[i]ncrease participation by under-represented groups" in LASA and foreground "unheard voices and under-heard perspectives, knowledge producers and social actors" in the Association's activities, representational instances, and Congresses; and, to reinvigorate LASA's tradition of engagement in the public debate, especially concerning issues that are most "relevant to our members, areas of study, and peoples of the region." Indeed, these two strategic goals are inextricably intertwined, as augmenting the contributions of diverse voices and perspectives in the Association would greatly enhance our ability to intervene more effectively in a broader range of vital intellectual and policy debates.

In striving towards these goals, one of our first steps has been to boost the role of the *LASA Forum* as a venue through which our members can engage in fruitful exchanges about issues of pressing concern in the Americas—to be featured in a new permanent section entitled "Debates." This issue inaugurates that Debates section with a series of incisive essays on recent national and local elections—in the United States, Uruguay, and Brazil—that have reverberated throughout the hemisphere. The *Forum's* renewed mission, revised editorial structure, restructured format, and planned "new look" are described in detail later in this issue in a report by former LASA president, Arturo Arias, who has graciously agreed to serve as its first Associate Editor. The editorial Working Committee particularly wishes to encourage contributions by activist-intellectuals and other alternative knowledge producers, historically under-represented groups, and younger scholars (especially graduate students) and to provide space for "less orthodox scholarship production." We also reaffirm the *Forum's* commitment to publishing essays received in any of LASA's three official languages, as Céli Pinto's piece in the present issue attests, and further commit to translating materials submitted in any one of the scores of indigenous and creole languages spoken in Americas.

To further stimulate "civic engagement through network building and public debate," as mandated by our new mission statement, we also hope to draw systematically on the collective expertise and transnational

collaborations embodied in LASA's thematic and geographically focused Sections. Building on Past President Navarro's appointment of an expert Task Force on Cuba to intervene in the policy debates ensuing from the denial of visas to Cuban scholars, we now plan to create a LASA "Public Information Network." Pending formal approval by the Executive Council (EC), the Network would be comprised of liaisons, to be designated by each of the Sections, who would serve as "first contacts" for media, educational and research institutions, and policymakers on questions related to a given Section's area(s) of expertise. In response to crises such as the visa denial situation, as well as to quotidian requests for information about particular political, economic, or cultural developments in the Americas, the EC or the Secretariat could ask liaisons to "activate" her/his Section's relevant networks of experts to provide information that could then be more quickly and effectively disseminated to the pertinent publics.



LASA President Sonia Alvarez

Fostering productive civic engagement is imperative in a regional and global conjuncture which, as the articles in this issue's Debates section make clear, is brimming with threats to, as well as fresh opportunities for, the expansion of human rights and social justice. LASA can work toward expanding the opportunities by strengthening action-research networks that are genuinely multicultural and transnational. One small step in that direction has entailed a vigorous effort to incorporate more fully Latin America-based and Latino/a scholars and activists, as well as other constituencies presently under-represented in LASA, into the Association's working committees and other governance structures. The avid pursuit of diversity, in all its dimensions, is central to the specific charge of *all* LASA committees I've appointed for the present term, especially of the Nominations and Diskin committees.

Program Chair Frances Aparicio and I also were particularly concerned to incorporate racial-ethnic, national-origin, and gender diversity, as well as disciplinary and geographical diversity, into the constitution of the 2006 Program Committee and in our designation of the San Juan Congress program tracks. Indeed, with Frances' keen cross-border and trans-disciplinary programming insights, her extensive contacts among Puerto Rican(ist) and Latina/o Studies scholars, the input of our distinguished and diverse Program Committee, and the invaluable assistance of the Puerto Rico Advisory Group—assembled at the initiative of Helen Safa and Edna Acosta-Belén—the 2006 Congress will provide a unique opportunity to expand LASA's outreach to Puerto Rican and other Caribbean intellectuals and activists on the islands and in the diaspora alike. Our chosen theme for the 2006 Congress, "De-Centering Latin American Studies" (described in Frances' report in this issue), is intended precisely to further a more thoroughgoing transnationalization of the field by promoting reflection on how the study of Latin America, the Caribbean and its peoples might be collectively re-imagined from the vantage point of diverse "approaches and epistemologies emerging from multiple positionalities and geopolitical locations." We hope you'll join us in that effort in San Juan and beyond.

Associate Editor's Report

by Arturo Arias

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In LASA's past life, the editing process of the *Forum* fell under the Executive Director's job description. Nevertheless, there were no guidelines in terms of what the ED's prerogatives were, nor to what degree a LASA president could either intervene and/or modify parts or even the totality of this editorial process. As a result, significant confusion ensued whenever a LASA president attempted to redynamize the *Forum*, include specific articles in it, or else modify any of its structures. In this confusion there were even instances when letters and/or articles contrary to a president's position were published without her/his knowledge.

Now, as a result of the overhaul that LASA is presently undergoing because of the implementation of its recently-approved Strategic Plan, the *LASA Forum* has come in for some important modifications. At the last Executive Council meeting in Las Vegas, its objectives were redefined, its organizational structure transformed.

The *Forum's* objectives are now defined as follows:

1. The *LASA Forum* should be the primary vehicle for conveying news about the Association to its members.
2. Given the enormous diversity and heterogeneity of its members, the *LASA Forum* should provide new spaces for discussion and engagement for intellectual and/or activist communities in the Americas, informing its members, in a proactive way, about new developments and problematics in the fields comprised by LASA, substantive academic debates, and analogous items.
3. The *LASA Forum* should nurture its members' traditional involvement with policy debates, areas of study and peoples of the region (e.g., defense of equality and democracy, promotion of sustainable development, and broadening of social justice within and between nations).
4. The *LASA Forum* should, in all instances, abide by LASA's values, as established in the 2003 Strategic Plan.

In this same spirit, and to avoid the confusions of the past, an entirely new organizational structure has been created for the *Forum*, with specific assignments for each of these positions. They are the following:

Editor: President of the Association

- Responsible for substantive contents portrayed in the "On the profession" section.
- Responsible for section for debate and discussion.
- Responsible for less orthodox scholarship production section.

Managing Editor: LASA Executive Director

-Responsible for news, personal and professional notes, announcements, obituaries, job opportunities, and other miscellaneous items.

-Responsible for the copy editing, production and circulation of the *Forum*.

Associate Editor: Scholar named by Editor.

-Responsible for some (or all) of the sections under the formal control of the Editor, for either one or more issues, at the discretion of the Editor.

As a result of these changes, the *LASA Forum* Working Committee, responsible in its entirety for the production and circulation of the *Forum* is now integrated by the Editor, Managing Editor, and Associate Editor. President Sonia Alvarez was kind enough to name me the *LASA Forum's* first-ever Associate Editor, thus enabling me to bring to fruition some of the initiatives I originally launched with the Strategic Plan. As a result, the *Forum's* Working Committee at present consists of President Sonia Alvarez, Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas, and myself.

Some of the initiatives launched by this Working group include changing the design and colors of the *Forum*, creating a space for debate and discussion, creating as well a space for less orthodox scholarship production, and one for graduate students. At the administrative level, it will make the *Forum's* budget available to the Ways and Means Committee, to facilitate closer accounting procedures both by the Committee itself as well as by a professional firm hired to oversee LASA's finances, and, eventually, it will have to make the decision on whether the *Forum* will continue to circulate as hard copy, or else become electronic in the future.

Regarding the change of design and colors, a contest open to all LASA members is being announced elsewhere in this same issue. We hope to close this contest by May 1, 2005, and to announce the winner, and begin implementing the new design selected by fall of the same year.

Hopefully, this very issue, dedicated to the evaluation of various recent electoral results in the Americas, is already evidence of a greater involvement in policy debates and a broadening concern for social justice in the region.

We hope you like our joint efforts to improve your Association. All suggestions on how to keep making the *Forum* better, a more practical and useful tool for our members, are most welcome. Please email us whenever you wish. In the meantime, enjoy your reading.

Lessons from Action-Research Partnerships

by Jonathan Fox

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I am very grateful to LASA for this honor. Martin was first my teacher and mentor, then a research and teaching colleague, and always a friend. Not so long ago, I was thinking about him a great deal while reading his brother Saul's moving book, *The End of the Twins*. Here one can learn what it takes to face the life-threatening illness that was looming behind Martin's smile for so many years, unbeknownst to all but family. Like so many defenders of human rights, he sustained an intense commitment to justice for all, in spite of an ever-present arbitrary threat to his own existence.

This essay focuses on some of the lessons that emerge from one specific approach to bridging activism and scholarship: the *collaborative research partnership* between scholars and activists. Here follow nine lessons that all focus on recognizing difference in order to bring people together.

1. Different traditions of action-research are complementary, but they are different

This point builds on the two brilliant Diskin lectures from the 2003 LASA congress, when anthropologists Rodolfo Stavenhagen and Aída Hernández shared their insights into Latin American action-research, past and present. This approach emphasizes grassroots participatory action-research. Over time, this tradition shifted from the implicit assumption that the researchers' job is to help to "raise the awareness" of social actors — which sometimes involved unconsciously paternalistic assumptions — to a much more balanced goal of *mutual* learning and agenda-sharing. One could call this a shift from trying to *build* the movement to partnering *with* the movement.

I have learned a great deal from this world of specifically participatory action-research, but my work also draws on a parallel North American tradition: *power structure research*. This approach was inspired in part by a century of muckraking investigative journalism, which was dedicated to exposing injustice, hypocrisy and abuse—and was also informed by the structural analytical frameworks that dominated our field in the 1960s and 1970s. For North Americans committed to Latin America, the power structure research strategy was pioneered by NACLA, which had a formative impact on many of us. This approach builds on but goes beyond investigative journalism because it both goes behind the headlines and prepares us for what the future headlines are likely to be.

In contrast to participatory action-research, power structure research follows an *indirect* strategy for encouraging and facilitating participation. The goal is to produce information and analysis that are both accessible and counter-hegemonic. The

resulting tools seek to reveal how powerful institutions really work. We used to have "citizens' guides" to your favorite corporation or university. They would reveal the vested interests behind the façade of neutral scholarship, document the interlocking directorates, and the many faces of the military-industrial complex. Now we have handy websites that make Freedom of Information documents accessible in practice and not just in theory.

But how does power structure research actually work? The link between ideas and action is often taken for granted, but to make it explicit, there are two distinct steps involved. The first goal is get people to say "ah-hah! so that's what's *really* going on..." — what you could call the "emperor has no clothes" effect. The hope is that revealing injustice and hypocrisy will provoke the anger that is so crucial for motivating action. But anger is not enough—it can motivate people to *want* to make a difference, but it is not enough to show *how* people can make a difference. Showing what's wrong isn't enough. Here power structure research contributes a crucial second step: it serves as a guide for how to be strategic about public action by revealing the pressure points in the system. The phrase "*follow the money*" sums it up—or *quien paga manda*.

Another action-research strategy involves exposing injustice in ways that make invisible problems visible, redefining what "counts" as a problem. Consider the U.S. environmental justice movement, which from its origins in the 1980s to this day has been moved forward by partnerships between engaged researchers and grassroots organizations. Quantitative analysis was the key battleground for revealing the racial and class imbalance in exposure to toxic hazards. Alternative numbers empowered alternative ideas, turning them into mainstream common sense while retaining their power. Here the investment in harnessing mainstream methodologies paid off. Academic research helped to recast environmental threats as issues of race and class, broadening the environmental movement while honing in on the polluters with greater precision.

Coming from a humanist tradition, testimonial action-research took off in the 1970s. Led by feminist scholars, this approach projects the voices, histories and perspectives of grassroots leaders as individuals who are embedded in families and communities as well as social movements. Over time, the testimonial approach came to explicitly recognize the implications of the researcher as protagonist, leading to a rich interpretive literature on agenda-setting and framing. For our teaching, this now vast library helps our students to understand the "other."

These different methodologies are complementary, not contradictory. Much of my own research brings together the first two approaches, looking for cracks in the system in partnership

*This version was edited because of space limitations.

with social organizations and public interest groups. The term “vertical integration” describes an action-research strategy that brings together different kinds of activists to monitor the “powers that be,” from the global to the local, without skipping the national and regional in between.

2. Most action-research thinks *inside* the box

This raises the question: “what counts” as action-research? Only the kind we agree with? Then we’d miss the big picture. Let’s keep in mind that academic research in partnership with social movements or public interest groups represents just a tiny fraction of the broader world of so-called “applied” research. This gets to our definitions—if action-research is defined as *research designed to inform strategies for practical action*, then it would also include the vast array of intellectual resources that are at the service of those in power. For example, a great deal of applied research documents problems without addressing their causes—not to mention the huge body of conventional research on social issues that blames the victim.

We could define away this question of “what counts” by simply saying that action-research refers only to that which is designed to serve actors who promote social change, but that might overstate what is different about what we do. Social and political actors across the spectrum each have their intellectual allies to provide ammunition in the battle of ideas. Probably the biggest difference between conservative, mainstream and alternative action-research is that alternative approaches receive much less institutional support.

It is worth keeping in mind that some of this vast amount of conventional research is actually relevant to public interest groups. For example, if we manage to make an invisible problem visible enough to get mainstream research funders to address it, then that is an indicator of impact (even if we may not be happy with the way it is transformed in the process). Plus, how many times have we read a powerful progressive critique that says “*even* (fill in the blank of your favorite mainstream research producer) recognizes that “*even they* admit that...” Here scholars can help social actors by wading through, deciphering and boiling down the mind-bending quantities of arcane and hard-to-access information produced by mainstream institutions.

3. Who’s who: *Fronteras claras* between activists and academics

A movement intellectual visiting from Colombia recently shared lessons about what makes research collaboration with academics work. He responded that the academic and the activist need “*fronteras claras*” in terms of their respective roles. This may seem obvious, but it is easier said than done. He added that success depends on the specific moment, on the specific academic, and on the specific activist. I took this to mean that both need to be willing and able to make collaboration a priority—at the same time. He also pointed out that the research will only be seen as relevant if the movement is interested in the circulation of ideas, in addition to their immediate front-line commitments.

As academics, we also need to be clear on the nature of our own contribution. Is our role to disseminate knowledge *from* and about the movement to other constituencies, perhaps providing academic legitimacy to “movement common sense”? If so, then it’s worth recognizing the risks of perceived distortion that come with the scholarly repackaging/interpreting process. Or does the scholar contribute by providing information and analysis about other actors or issues *to* the movement? In other words, it’s worth recognizing the *directionality* of the researchers’ goals—are we drawing from the movement to project analysis *outward*, or are we drawing from the external environment to project analysis *inward*?

4. There *are* tensions between activist and scholarly research agendas

The *fronteras claras* issue is an example of a broader point, which is that there *are* possible tensions built into these partnerships. By recognizing before they emerge, we can look for creative ways of dealing with them, starting with agenda-setting. Each side comes to the process with different criteria that inform our research questions.

The reality is that our questions are informed by different sets of priorities. Some are our own and others are imposed by the logics of the institutions in which we are embedded. As a result, an *interesting* question may not be seen as *relevant* and a *relevant* question may not be seen as *interesting*. Sustained research partnerships need to be driven by questions that both sides see as *both* interesting and relevant.

For public interest campaigners, the most valuable research agendas support existing claims and campaigns, legitimate struggles, expose abuses of power, make abstract problems tractable and immediate, document movement accomplishments, project the voices of movement participants and reveal invisible problems and enemies. Scholars may well share these goals, but when it comes to deciding what research questions are worth pursuing, we often bring an additional set of priorities to bear. Different status hierarchies are in effect, whether internalized or imposed by the expectations of the disciplines that control our access to employment.

The most obvious high status academic question would be: “what does this tell us about theory?” Then we have “what is this a case of?” and “how does this contribute to the ongoing debate in the literature over (fill in the blank)?” Without getting into the issue of the ebbs and flows of theoretical fashion, we are trained to try to preemptively answer the question: “Why should someone who is not interested in the specifics of your work care?” And we all know that academics are expected to be ready to answer that classic seminar-stopper: “but what’s really new here?” More work on “old problems” doesn’t count for much in this status hierarchy, even if the old problems are still with us—unless they are thought about in new ways, which can make them both relevant and interesting.

The status issue is of course refracted through the contested terrain of “what counts” as productivity—the “quantity” question, the “pecking order among journals” question, the “disciplinary vs. interdisciplinary audience” question, the “how to weigh

collaborative research” question and the “what languages one publishes in” question—not to mention how to assign relative weights between scholarly research and other kinds of intellectual productivity. To sum up, we are best prepared to find positive synergy between activist partners’ needs and scholars’ empirical and analytical rigor if we recognize the tensions between the forces that shape the two agendas.

5. Sustainable partnerships rest on realistic expectations

Whether we are looking at movement-to-movement coalitions or at cross-sectoral partnerships like activist-researcher joint ventures, it’s safe to say that misunderstandings are almost inevitable, and they often involve conflicting expectations. It is easy to get carried away about what is really possible, leading to expectations that may be difficult to fulfill.

Activist-scholar partnerships need to be based on an understanding of the other, respect for difference, shared tractable goals and a willingness to agree to disagree. Ideas like partnership and coalition—more than the term solidarity, for example—recognize that the participants are autonomous actors that each bring their/our own agendas, priorities and—whether we recognize it or not—baggage to the table. Most coalitions and partnerships that last are grounded not only in shared values, but in shared interests as well.

Building on the earlier point about agenda-setting, activists and scholars often bring different approaches to the table regarding key process issues, such as methodology, how to spend money and dissemination strategies. There are costs involved in working together on research. Those costs may or may not be compensated, and they may or may not be shared equally. Movement leaders may have to spend scarce time looking after researchers, orienting us, or just keeping us out of trouble. Some academic theories or research methods can be experienced as alienating by activists. Activists recruited to the information-gathering process may feel more like instruments than partners. Given scholars’ relatively high degree of autonomy, especially when publishing in languages and publications that are remote from the activists, it’s worth recognizing that activists take risks by partnering with researchers whose products they usually cannot control.

This kind of partnership-based research is an investment for both—a gamble, really. Will it pay off? By what criteria? For the activists, will the scholar come through with something they find useful? For scholars, will there be an academically viable product? The career risks are very real, not to mention the costs to family and community that come from trying to meet high levels of both academic and activist expectations at the same time.

The reality is that the costs and benefits of working together are often not clear up front. How often have we said, “if I’d only known how much work it would be, then....?” Imagine what activists partners might think, when the final product appears only years later and far away, sometimes with no budget left over for translation or the popular education outreach version of the findings. To sum up, let’s look out for some of the *pedras en el camino* so we don’t trip over them while we are *haciendo el camino al andar*.

6. Invisible actors might question our assumptions

One kind of scholarly question that ranks high for me in terms of what counts as both “interesting” and “relevant” involves looking for *unexpected outcomes*. On one level, this is a contradiction in terms—how can you look for what you can’t see? How can you find actors that conventional analytical frameworks say do not exist?

My own search for invisible actors was influenced by my dissertation research, which found dynamic mass *campesino* and indigenous movements organized around collective identities and interests as rural consumers. This wasn’t supposed to happen, since back in the late 1970s and early 1980s most analysts thought that production relations were determinative. It turned out that *freedom of association* was determinative, not any preexisting collective identity. This led me to trip over another set of invisible actors who weren’t supposed to exist, the hundreds of radicals who had been recruited by high-level reformist officials to go out to the countryside and rock the boat. Here was an unexpected opening from above that got pushed open wider by mobilization from above.

This experience helped me to develop a set of lenses through which to look at other pyramidal authoritarian institutions that claim to fight poverty while oppressing the masses—like the World Bank, for example. As in the case of the Mexican state in the 70s and 80s, the World Bank also turns out to do lots of different things at once—mostly more of the same, while sometimes making non-trivial concessions to pressure from below. In both cases, splits within the institutions turned out to be crucial for creating pressure points that movements were able to use. Yet dominant scholarly approaches assumed that both institutions were monolithic. In both cases, strategically-minded activists knew better, and I was privileged to learn from them.

For another example of invisible actors, I began working with migrant membership organizations in California. A decade ago, most of the migration literature focused either on micro networks or on implicitly anonymous macro flows. In the public debate, migrants were victims for some and threats for others—but they were not seen as collective actors. Now we can see that Latin American migrants have been building their own civil society in the United States, including public spaces, alternative media and membership organizations—not to mention the capacity to enter into coalitions with others, including researchers. To sum up, look for invisible actors—both within civil society and within powerful institutions—just in case they are there.

7. Movement impacts may not be obvious

How do we know whether movements are making a difference? The answers are not always obvious. As external observers, we might be able to see broader impacts, or relationships between causes and effects, or unexpected outcomes that are not immediately visible to those on the front lines. But we face a methodological dilemma. On the one hand, we are biased, in the sense of having strong sympathies or preferences for the way we want the story to end. On the other hand, it is not going to help movements to assess past strategies and plan new ones if we just tell them what they want to hear or already know. This means

that it's worth trying to disentangle *objectivity* from *bias*—two ideas that are often conflated — in order to provide a balanced analysis about what worked and what did not.

So where might we fit in? Impacts are not necessarily visible to actors because they can be indirect. We have the famous “counterfactual,” for example—something bad would have happened if not... One version of this involves “damage control,” in cases where damage is done but not as much had not... Other not-so-visible impacts include changes that happen far away from the movements involved—powerful institutions that face resistance in one place may choose to avoid such problems by not doing the same thing elsewhere, in a different time and place. That is, sometimes resistance movements win partial concessions that don't improve the specific problem they are fighting against but do provide new levers for social actors elsewhere. These are frustrating kinds of impacts, in that those who did most of the work and took most of the risks don't see the fruits of their labor—but impacts that are felt elsewhere in space and time still count. Other kinds of impacts include responses from the powerful that manage to divide or coopt the opposition. Then there are cases where movement decisions lead to harsh, sometimes tragic backlash, and sympathetic scholars sometimes wait decades before daring to call mistakes mistakes. These all count as impacts, and our preferences for some over others should not prevent us from seeing the full array.

8. Partial concessions can be two-edged swords

Assessing whether change initiatives are having any impact turns out to be so difficult in part because most of the time, making any progress dealing with powerful elite institutions inherently takes the form of *partial and uneven changes*. There is a huge grey area in between winning and losing—assuming that we know what winning is. But who decides “what counts” as a significant change, and based on what criteria?

Specifically, how do we distinguish between those responses from the powerful that are *dead ends*, vs. those that can be *wedges* for broader and deeper changes? We could answer this question based on ideological assumptions—like minimalists who say “something is better than nothing,” “well, at least we got our issues on the agenda,” vs. maximalists who will observe that “this just deals with the symptoms and not with the underlying structural problem.” Both of these positions are based on implicit assumptions about a predetermined relationship between winning a little bit now and whether such changes will or not will lead to more substantial changes down the line. The minimalist approach optimistically assumes that more will necessarily come later, while the maximalist assumes that a little bit now is somehow always instead of more later. Maybe both are right some of the time, depending in part on the balance of forces and specific strategic decisions, so it's worth being cautious about assuming that either set of outcomes is predetermined.

As we consider the difficult dilemma of how to assess partial changes, we need to remember one key point. Where you stand really does depend a lot on where you sit. Changes that may seem quite small when seen from San Francisco or Mexico City often loom very large when seen from below, at the receiving end.

9. When faced with dirty laundry: First do no harm

Any researcher who gets up close and personal with the real world is going to come across dirty laundry, and social movements are no exception. Sometimes the problems one finds are unrelated to the research, and one might decide to look the other way. At other times, one finds oneself immersed in a web of commitments surrounding the research that make it more difficult to pretend that nothing is wrong. What to do?

In addition to finding out for oneself what is really going on, rather than just having blind faith in the claims of interested parties, one of the safest rules of thumb is to “first do no harm.” Figuring out how to apply this in practice may not be so easy, however. For example, what do we do if we find ourselves working with the leadership of an apparently progressive social change organization that turns out to violate internal democracy, to be corrupt, or to attack those members who are promoting gender equality? We may find ourselves having access to information about what the leadership is doing that the membership is not aware of. In this situation, for those of us who might like to talk about with “speaking truth to power,” it turns out to not be so easy to “speak truth to the powerless.” Simply blowing the whistle to the membership would be a form of external intervention, and in practice it may or may not help — especially if the membership is not in a position to use the information constructively. At the same time, continuing to support authoritarian or corrupt leadership is simply a less obvious form of intervening in the organization's internal balance of power. These difficult situations force us to think about who the partnership is actually with. Is it with the leaders as individuals, or with the membership, whose trust the leaders may be violating? One key issue is whether there are alternative, better leaders waiting in the wings. “Who are we to decide” is a real question, but it is no excuse for pretending that nothing is wrong. Clearly, we need to reflect on the nature of researcher autonomy within partnerships.

Concluding thoughts about the current political moment

When it comes to the Iraq war, for many of us, there is a feeling of watching a horrible car crash in slow motion. The lessons of history from Indochina and Central America seem obvious to scholars, but it turns out that they are amazingly easy to voters to forget and for elites to distort.

If only scholars had more helpful explanations of why, in U.S. politics, it is still so easy to fool so many people, so much of the time. As Martin Diskin wrote at the beginning of *Trouble in Our Backyard*, published in 1983, the goal of such writing was “to activate the American people to ensure that the United States will become part of the solution, and not, as at present, part of the problem.”

What would Martin have said about our current situation of déjà vu all over again? No doubt he would have motivated us to take action with his zestful indignation, he would have raised our spirits with his wit, and he would have helped us to rethink the problem with his fresh insights.

The United States and Latin America: The Road Ahead

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The reelection of George W. Bush to the presidency of the United States was unwelcome news in Latin America. With the end of the Cold War, and under the presidencies of George Herbert Walker Bush and William Jefferson Clinton the historic differences between the United States and most countries in the Hemisphere dissipated as the sharp divide between left and right waned and elected governments sought to pursue economic and social policies that were largely consonant with those practiced in the United States. Although differing approaches to the challenges of drug trafficking continued to be irritants during the Clinton Administration, perceptions of the United States improved and President Clinton left office with high favorability ratings comparable only to those enjoyed by President Kennedy four decades earlier.

President Bush came under considerable criticism in the region during his first months in office for his “unilateralist” approach to foreign policy, distancing the United States from the Kyoto Treaty and the International Criminal Court, and withdrawing from direct engagement in international crises such as those of the Middle East and the Korean Peninsula. Latin American leaders felt, however, that relations with the United States would not change markedly and might even improve as the new administration sought to set the negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) on a more solid footing. The terrorist attacks on September 11 led to a universal outpouring of solidarity with the United States throughout the Americas.

By the time the President initiated his reelection campaign this goodwill had vanished and the popularity of the U.S. president and his policies had plummeted dramatically. A Zogby poll of elite public opinion conducted for the University of Miami showed that 87% of the leaders polled had an unfavorable opinion of President Bush’s performance and only 12% felt that he was making a good or excellent effort in dealing with the Hemisphere. A poll of mass public opinion released in September 2004 confirmed that displeasure with Bush’s international policies had contributed to a sharp drop in positive perceptions of the United States. Thus, 71% of Canadians claimed that U.S. foreign policy had made them view the United States unfavorably while only 14% that they had improved their estimation of their neighbor to the South. This pattern was repeated in Mexico (78% to 18%), Brazil (66% to 17%), Argentina (65% to 5%), and Uruguay (51% to 5%). Although by smaller margins, sentiments toward the United States had deteriorated in the Dominican Republic (49% to 37%), Colombia (44% to 29%), Bolivia (38% to 14%) and Peru (27% to 20%). The only country where views of the United States resulting from Washington’s foreign policy were virtually tied was Venezuela (34% to 33%), reflecting the polarization in that country and the view that the Bush administration was more partial to the opposition than to the Chávez government.

As a result in all nine countries surveyed respondents favored the election of John Kerry over George W. Bush in 2004 by large margins. In Canada 61% favored the Senator from Massachusetts

while only 16% hoped to see the President reelected. The same held true in Brazil (57% to 14%), the Dominican Republic (51% to 38%), Colombia (46% to 26%), Argentina (43% to 6%), Mexico (38% to 18%), and Uruguay (37% to 5%). The spread between the two candidates was less pronounced only in Peru (37% to 26%) and Bolivia (25% to 16%). Curiously in Venezuela 48% to 22% of the public preferred Kerry to Bush, suggesting that animosity towards the President went beyond evaluations of his performance on foreign policy matters.¹

How should we account for such sentiments and what are the implications for U.S.-Latin American relations over the next four years? There is little question that public opinion throughout the Americas reacted negatively towards the U.S. decision to go to war in Iraq without the support of the United Nations Security Council. The administration’s invocation of a “doctrine of preemptive” war provided unsettling reminders of the days of unilateral U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of countries in the Hemisphere and a repudiation of the efforts strongly backed by Latin America over several decades to establish international institutions and international law and encourage the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

As such both leaders and mass publics sided with the position taken by Mexico and Chile, the two non-permanent members from the Americas on the U.N. Security Council when the second resolution authorizing war in Iraq was being debated. Despite enormous pressure from the United States, both countries held that there was inconclusive evidence of Iraq’s supposedly reconstituted weapons of mass destruction programs and that UN inspectors should be allowed to continue their work before the UN authorized the use of force. Chile and Mexico believed with a majority of the Council that the work of the UN had “contained” the military threat posed by Iraq and Chile in particular actively sought a compromise resolution short of authorizing an immediate rush to war, only to be publicly rebuffed by Washington.

Adding insult to injury, however, was the reaction of the U.S. administration in the aftermath of the Security Council’s failure to give a green light to U.S. military intentions. Viewing the stand that both Latin American countries took at the UN as a betrayal of friendship, President Bush refused to take President Fox’s phone calls and pointedly declined to reopen the promising discussions initiated with Mexico on immigration reform. The signing of the free trade agreement between Chile and the United States, one of the high points of administration policy in its first term, was consigned to a ministerial level ceremony in Miami while Singapore, which openly supported the “coalition of the willing” in Iraq, was rewarded with a ceremony in the Roosevelt Room of the White House. In an era when the heads of state in the Americas meet frequently, scrutinized by ubiquitous media attention, the elements of a foreign policy based on petty retributions became widely known—contributing further to the erosion of the image of the President of the United States.

But problems with Washington did not stem simply from universal rejection of the decision to go to war in Iraq. Although professing similar objectives in the Hemisphere to those espoused by his father and President Clinton, the second Bush administration took a decidedly different approach to managing the crises of the region, notably with regard to Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia and Haiti. With regard to Argentina, the U.S. Treasury made clear that it viewed financial crises in the region as a problem of "moral hazard" and that the United States would simply stand by and allow countries in trouble to resolve their own problems despite the significant constraints that dependence on the international financial system placed on domestic economic policy. Although Washington sought at the last minute to prevent an economic collapse in Argentina, its actions came too little and too late. And, contrary to the assumptions made by U.S. policy makers, the sharp downturn in the Argentine economy affected not only that country, but sent a pall over vulnerable economies in the region already suffering from the downturn in the international economy. Throughout the Hemisphere serious doubts were raised about the wisdom of economic stabilization and structural reform policies promoted by the United States and the advertised benefits of growth based on increased trade alone. It is no accident that the sharpest drop in favorable attitudes toward the United States came in Argentina.

The growing questioning of the Washington Consensus in Latin America did not generate a response in the U.S. government which saw a continuous erosion of Economic Support Funds (ESF) for the region. With the exception of support at lower levels of funding for counter-narcotics efforts in the Andean Region and a green light to use such resources in anti-insurgency efforts in Colombia, support for developmental programs in the region dwindled as U.S. efforts became consumed by the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The much vaunted Millennium Challenge Account, an innovative program on paper, received minimal funding and when implemented would apply to only three countries in the Americas.

Not only did the Bush administration react too late to prevent a hard landing for the Argentine economy, its initial support for the formation of an unconstitutional ad hoc government established by the military after the forced resignation of Chávez in Venezuela in April 2002 constituted a significant blow to Hemispheric efforts to support adherence to the institutional order and the rule of law in the region. It contributed to undermining the United States' political and moral authority and the effectiveness of the OAS and its newly approved "democratic charter" as instruments for safeguarding democracy.

In Bolivia the administration undermined its own preferred candidate by openly declaring its support for him and then failed to provide tangible support in the face of severe budget shortfalls that eroded its credibility. Only after he was forced to resign from office did Washington, including the International Financial

Institutions, pledge increased resources for Bolivia—and a gas export program critical to Bolivia's economic future became a political impossibility. Finally, in Haiti the unwillingness of the administration to engage the daunting problems of the island contributed to the severe deterioration of public order and the forced ouster of another elected president, setting back the unfinished if limited progress that country made in struggling to establish institutional order.

Now that he has been reelected, how can President Bush seek to reverse the growing dissatisfaction with U.S. policy in the Hemisphere? For starters he needs to signal that he really cares. Lightning visits to the region where he shows little interest in engaging host countries and responding to their sensibilities only encourages a view of the president as arrogant and peremptory. On substance administration officials must move beyond the "talking points" of the 1990s that the Hemisphere's problems can be solved with "aid not trade" and recognize that economic reforms are not enough to solve the continued problems of a region characterized by slow growth and increased inequalities—problems that require paying attention to the strengthening of institutions and deepening democratic participation while encouraging public policies aimed at investing in people with a far more significant commitment of resources from the United States. With regard to Mexico the White House needs to place immigration reform at the top of its priorities, a difficult choice because of the sharp opposition of hardliners within the Republican Party. Indeed, the President will have to reach out to Democrats to cobble together a pro-reform agenda, something he has been unwilling to do so far. And, with regard to Cuba, Bush could pay attention to growing sentiments within his own party and in the Cuban-American community that support a substantial shift in a policy that so far has merely helped Castro retain power.

Finally, the administration should renew its commitment to effective regional institutions, including the OAS. Multilateralism does not mean turning over vexing problems such as the crises in Venezuela and Haiti to the OAS secretariat—it means genuine engagement with leading countries to strengthen collective solutions to the region's problems that can be implemented with the administrative help of the organization. The leadership of the OAS must be viewed by Washington as a tool to promote effective dialogue and not as a reward for loyalty to U.S. foreign policy objectives elsewhere in the world. President Bush can go a long way to remedying hostility to his policies and person by renewing the multilateral dialogue begun with the countries of the Hemisphere in the administration of his father and continued through the Summit process by his predecessor. Without clear and concerted engagement and a recognition that the consolidation of democracy in the Hemisphere is far from a foregone conclusion, Washington will be unable to regain the lost momentum that many in the Americas felt Senator Kerry would renew.

ENDNOTE

¹ The Zogby Survey can be found at <www.zogby.com>. The public opinion survey is Steven Kull et al, "Global Public Opinion on the U.S. Presidential Election and U.S. Foreign Policy, September 8, 2004," Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA), University of Maryland and Globescan. It can be found at <www.pipa.org>. The question asked by PIPA was: "On balance has the foreign policy of

President George W. Bush made you feel better or worse about the United States?" As Andrés Oppenheimer has written in several of his columns, surveys conducted by *Latinobarometro* have also documented that negative perceptions of the United States have increased between 2000 and 2004. The columns can be accessed at <http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/news/columnists/andres_oppenheimer/> .

Reframing the Immigration Debate: The Post-Election Challenge to Public Intellectuals

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On September 20-21, 2004, Samuel Huntington and I were coincidentally in different venues in Mexico, both speaking about Mexican/Latin American migration to the United States. Huntington was addressing the Cumbre de Negocios in Veracruz; I was speaking at the UNAM's Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales and Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte. Leaving aside for the moment the vast differences between our positions, I was challenged at one of my talks by a founding father of Latin American sociology (also a long-time mentor and friend), Professor Pablo González Casanova: Whatever we think of Huntington's book, he pointed out, it embodies a clear "proyecto de nación" for the United States; critics of the book are unlikely to gain an equal footing with Huntington without formulating an equally clear alternative "proyecto de nación," including democratic spaces and rights for Latin American migrants.

In the spirit of González Casanova's observation, I shall focus on the intellectual battle, at this post-election conjuncture, for hegemony in defining the terms of the debate over Latin American immigration to the U.S. The challenge is to re-frame that debate from one that is dominated by "national security" concerns to one that reflects migrant interests and rights—and one that more closely reflects structural transformations in the Americas. The national security regime and ongoing nativist/racist attacks at all levels of society—and by academics such as Huntington in his book, *Who Are We?* and his March-April *Foreign Policy* article, "The Hispanic Challenge" (2004a, 2004b) — have forced critics into a defensive posture for the time being. Nevertheless, I shall argue, together with Latin American colleagues, public intellectuals in the United States can help re-shape that debate.

Immigration Battles and the 2004 U.S. Election

Long before this election, the sea change in U.S. immigration policy began with the trio of anti-immigrant laws of 1996: the Illegal Immigrant Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, the Welfare Reform Act, and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (which gratuitously introduced punitive provisions against immigrants, who had nothing to do with the 1995 terrorist bombing in Oklahoma City). Both of the latter laws applied to Legal Permanent Residents as well as undocumented immigrants. Taken together, the three laws stripped immigrants, *legal and undocumented alike*, of virtually all previous (although limited) due process rights and entitlements, and replaced judicial appeal procedures with unchecked arbitrariness.

The 1996 laws were strengthened and far more aggressively implemented by the 2001 USA Patriot Act and accompanying measures. The post-9/11 national security regime has made U.S. state policies and practices toward Latino migrants (as well as

Arabs/Muslims) far more draconian—in many respects treating them as if they were "terrorists." In the name of "national security," many thousands of migrants have been subjected to arbitrary roundups, preventive detentions and deportations, with no recourse to legal counsel or court appeals. Furthermore, unlike the Patriot Act provisions restricting civil liberties for U.S. citizens, the provisions affecting immigrants were not even slated for review under a 2005 "sunset clause," but were *deliberately designed to remain permanent*. (For details, see Jonas & Tactaquin, 2004.)

During the 2004 electoral campaign, both Bush and Kerry had stated positions on immigration, but mainly "for the record" and not as prominent campaign issues. In early 2004, responding to the widespread, ongoing need for low-wage labor, Bush proposed a new Bracero-style program with Mexico, but explicitly excluded the idea that Mexican workers could "earn" their way toward legalization by working here for three or six years. Kerry was on record with a more immigrant-friendly position of "earned legalization" for immigrants who had lived, worked and paid taxes in the United States. for five years and who could pass a security check—but combined this with stepped-up crackdowns against undocumented migrants. Both candidates went out of their way *not* to discuss immigration unless explicitly asked—as in the October 13 debate (their answers were brief) or in meetings with Latino leaders. While the Presidential candidates avoided discussing Latino migration, in part because of intra-party divisions, Congress refused to move on any pro-immigrant measures, even those with bipartisan proponents and supporters—e.g., the DREAM Act and the "AgJobs" bill (to legalize, respectively, undocumented university students and migrant farmworkers).

This left the field open to the more openly pro- and anti-migrant players. While the former initiated new organizing campaigns (see below), paramilitary vigilante groups in Arizona took border control into their own hands. During pre-election months, federal agencies stepped up immigrant roundups, arrests, and deportations. In Washington, after the leak of a planned Patriot Act II in 2003—and its temporary demise, in response to public outcry—the Ashcroft Justice Department in 2003-04 aggressively inserted new anti-immigrant provisions into other Congressional measures. It also submitted the "CLEAR Act," which would deputize state and local police forces as immigration agents; this proposal has generated opposition from police forces around the country, and remains highly contested in Congress.

With the 2004 election behind us, the debates will resume immediately in 2005, in an extremely charged climate. Even as Senators Edward Kennedy (D, MA) and John McCain (R, AZ) are reportedly crafting a progressive immigration reform bill,

hard-line anti-immigrant House Republicans have increased their numbers and influence. *In short, the new Congress will be even more polarized on immigration issues, as part of the overall increasing ideological polarization of U.S. politics.* President Bush has made clear his intention to maintain the USA Patriot Act of 2001 intact, and is supporting new moves to restrict civil liberties, expand citizen surveillance, and further restrict immigrant rights. His planned replacement of John Ashcroft with Alberto Gonzales as Attorney General does not portend a more positive stance toward immigrants or civil liberties. Based on his record, Gonzales looks like a Latino with Ashcroft's national security-state politics.

Nevertheless, it would be an over-simplification to assume that the Republicans (or the Democrats) are united on migration issues. Heralding bitter debates to come, the post-election struggle over the National Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (supposedly based on the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission) lasted for weeks, partly because, even though it linked immigration enforcement to national security, it was not *sufficiently* anti-immigrant for some ultra-restrictionist House Republicans. The bill was finally passed in December, over their objections. Although they received assurances that their concerns will be taken up immediately in the 2005 Congress, they will not necessarily support the Bush guest-worker proposal. But many other Republicans, some with ties to corporate interests that favor (and need) immigrant labor, support the Bush plan.

At the state level, in the November election, 56 percent of Arizona voters approved Proposition 200, which denies public services and voting access to undocumented immigrants. Like California's Proposition 187 in 1994, Proposition 200 faces several legal challenges, and may be found unconstitutional. Whether or not it is actually implemented, it has re-energized anti-immigrant forces around the country such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), that intend to propose copycat measures in other states. Driver's licenses and consular ID cards for undocumented immigrants will be other focuses of heated debate at both state and federal levels.

Perspectives on the Huntington Attack

Within the ambience created by the national security state, racializing cultural anti-immigrant discourses are being reproduced by public intellectuals. This comes as no surprise from self-defined restrictionist think tanks in Washington, such as the Center for Immigration Studies. However, it took a new turn in 2004, when Samuel Huntington, Harvard's most public intellectual, published his book, and its most polemical chapter in *Foreign Policy* (March-April 2004) — suggesting that Mexican migrants pose a “threat” to the unity and identity of United States society. His central argument to prove the “threat” is that many still speak their native Spanish (mainly at home, even while learning and speaking English at work). Elsewhere (Chapter 8 of the book), he denounces dual citizenship as “foreign to the American Constitution,” implying “dual loyalties,” rather than exclusive loyalty to the United States. He also attacks hometown associations, asserting (p. 213) that “remittances flowing out of America do not speak English.” In the name of preserving the

“Anglo-Protestant” culture as “America's core culture” against the threats of immigrant “identity politics” and diversity, Huntington exhibits the worst form of identity politics, U.S. nativism.

Many critiques and responses to Huntington have used data-based studies to refute his position—e.g., it is *not* the case that Mexican/Latino immigrants are refusing to learn English or are dividing the country culturally or are insufficiently patriotic, and so on. In short, the debate has taken place on the terrain of (primarily cultural) assimilationism. Within this discussion, some critics have exhibited a notable degree of defensiveness, focusing *only* on the “unity” of U.S. society, without also prioritizing immigrant interests. Hence, it is important to emphasize the distinction between assimilation and immigrant incorporation with political rights.

Given the xenophobic mood here, it is not surprising that restrictionists and defensive assimilationists have dominated the intellectual debate in the United States *Stepping beyond U.S. borders and adopting a regional (hemispheric) framework*, however, a very different logic emerges. In Latin America, the U.S. national security regime has sparked sharp criticism, protest, and resistance at many levels—including the steadfast refusal of individuals to stop migrating. Viewing the United States as the northern zone of the Americas, incorporation of Latino migrants through legalization would be a much more realistic and stabilizing approach than the exclusionary, nativist, racializing rejections that keep them undocumented and then blame them for being undocumented. From a hemispheric perspective, it is also far easier to see that Huntington's attack is itself a defensive attempt to preserve the “Anglo Protestant” culture, and that *the real “core culture” of the United States, as part of the Americas in the 21st century, is not “Anglo-Protestant” but extremely diverse.*

Why Immigration Will Not Disappear from the U.S. Political Agenda

However bleak their prospects appear as of December 2004 and for the immediate future, I argue that *proactive immigrant rights strategies will remain prominent on the agenda within the United States and hemisphere-wide.* This argument is based on several complex factors:

A first set of factors stems from political “agency” within the United States, as reflected in increased organizing initiatives by Latino and other immigrant communities and rights organizations. After recovering from the initial shock of the 9/11 backlash, they began to move beyond purely defensive struggles and to develop proactive coalitional strategies. Examples include the Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride of 2003, organized largely by major labor unions with significant immigrant membership, the 2004 Latino Summit meetings, and ongoing coalitional activities with ambitious agendas.

At another level of agency, the Latino vote is increasingly strategic in U.S. electoral politics. The Latino vote changed from primarily Democratic (2 to 1 in 2000) to a “swing vote,” (over 40 percent for Bush in 2004—although the exact numbers are still being debated). But longer-range, although nothing can be taken for

granted, many Latino voters will likely prioritize immigrant rights issues. Especially for recently naturalized voters, “earned legalization” is becoming a goalpost. Despite its vilification as “amnesty” in mainstream U.S. public opinion, the genie of “earned legalization” is out of the bottle, and cannot be shoved back inside.

A second set of factors is related to long-range structural realities in the Americas that are breaking down borders. In this era of neoliberal free trade agreements, U.S. policies are themselves stimulating migration and breaking down borders. This is the major lesson of NAFTA, which is now being extended to Central America and hemisphere-wide. In short, the borders have been opened up not just by poor workers migrating from Latin America, as is presented in the U.S. media, but by capital, seeking new investments abroad, and by the U.S. and Latin American governments. Structurally, the United States is no longer *simply* a national entity; it is also the northern zone of the Americas. Moreover, so long as neoliberalism, bringing job cutbacks and grossly underpaid jobs, is the development model, migration is a natural response by many Latin Americans.

Even more important is the well-documented permanent dependence on low-wage immigrant labor on the part of U.S. corporate capital, even during periods of political immigrant-bashing (such as now). Its centrality explains the various guest-worker proposals of 2003-04. It also explains why, as demonstrated by numerous migration scholars and by official U.S. statistics, the massive U.S. government efforts to prevent undocumented migration from Latin America through punitive border crackdowns have been only partially (some say minimally) effective. Finally, migrant remittances have become structurally essential in sustaining the economies of the Latin American home countries.

A third set of factors grows out of recent international/global migrant rights agendas and agreements—not yet widely accepted, in most cases, but an important focus of organizing. The U.N. International Convention for the Protection of Rights for All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families—rights that workers carry across borders—was written in 1990 but only entered into effect on July 1, 2003, and faces a long uphill battle for implementation. In 2003, an International Commission called for a new paradigm of *human security* for migrants, to counter the “national security” framework. These and several other international initiatives have not generally been accepted by migrant-receiving countries, but they keep alive the goal of higher standards for the treatment of migrants.

For all of these reasons, Latino immigrant advocacy organizations within the United States are increasingly coordinating across borders with migrant rights organizations in their home countries, and with region-wide organizations—e.g., in the North/Central American region. Transnational coordination can enhance proactive strategies from within U.S. Latino immigrant communities.

Reframing the Immigration Debate and Beyond

To rephrase the intellectual challenge posed by González Casanova: *What kind of society do we propose to create in the United States, and what social norms for the Americas as a hemisphere?* In both cases, the answers revolve centrally around the treatment of migrants. Racist, punitive anti-immigrant strategies undermine the quality of democracy for U.S. citizens. The fabric of our society (and of the hemisphere) is damaged by the increasing mass of undocumented migrants whose labor is essential to the U.S. economy, but who are excluded from participating in U.S. public life. Those of us specializing in migration and related fields are called upon to become actively engaged in policy debates—and to put our research at the service of immigrant communities and advocacy organizations. Working alongside them is as necessary to scholars as to the communities.

Finally, in the light of cross-border organizing efforts in the Americas, we can see the importance of currently emerging paradigms and practices generated by migration activists and scholars from the sending countries. *Their worldviews are not permeated by considerations of “national security,”* as is the case so pervasively in the United States. From my own experiences in Central America and Mexico, I have learned the importance of these cross-border coalitions and contacts for public intellectuals in the United States. Particularly since 9/11, it has been easier to see the unnecessarily defensive assumptions embedded in U.S. perspectives *from outside the United States*. Cross-border ties can help U.S.-based scholars to strengthen our hand in the battles for hegemony in the immigration debates, against national security discourses and for legalization, reconceptualizing citizenship—including feminist/gendered perspectives that are transforming migration/citizenship paradigms—and contributing to a redefined “proyecto de nación.”

In the Latin American migrant-sending nations, scholars and activists are presenting critiques of the neoliberal policies that make migration a necessity rather than an option, and are pressuring their governments not to capitulate to unilateral U.S. policies. From all sides, public intellectuals in the Americas will be most effective if we work collaboratively—perhaps even in a LASA Migration Task Force or Working Group.

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El tamaño de la esperanza: Some Reflections on the Elections in Uruguay

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On October 31st, 2004, the broadest coalition of center-left political parties, social movements and cultural organizations ever assembled in Uruguay won the elections in the first round with more than 50 percent of the vote, including both the presidency and a solid majority in congress. The results didn't include the vote of half a million Uruguayans living abroad who probably would have also supported the coalition, but did include 90 percent of the citizenry registered to vote. According to the Uruguayan constitution, voting is an obligatory right that citizens can exercise only within the country, consequently divesting Uruguayans in the diaspora from effective citizenship. As I am writing these lines, the president-elect, Tabaré Vázquez, a prestigious oncologist, is touring the countryside, where even in the smallest of towns he is met by enthusiastic people who, perhaps, voted for the traditional *Blanco* and *Colorado* parties. A contagious mood of joy and pride has seemed to overcome, at least momentarily, the melancholic skepticism of a people still obsessed with a very real though imaginary past.

Data: The *Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio-Nueva Mayoría* (FA) coalition won with 50.45 percent of the vote, against 34.30 percent for the *Partido Nacional (blancos)*, and a meager 10.36 percent for the *Partido Colorado*, currently in power. This means that the coalition will enjoy an absolute majority in congress, with 16 senators out of 30, and 53 deputies out of 100; it also means that it will hold not only the local government of the capital, but also that of the six most populous departments besides Montevideo. As impressive as these results are, they reflect an equally dramatic shift in the balance of power inside the coalition which still needs to be adequately analyzed. The coalition's indisputable leader is Tabaré Vázquez, a socialist whose national stature allows him to gather the necessary consensus among the myriad factions around his modern image of charismatic *caudillo*. Nevertheless, despite the pervasive and widespread shift toward social-democratic positions over the last two decades, this election demonstrated the overwhelming popularity of the most unlikely of political figures, the senator José "Pepe" Mujica. An historical leader of the Tupamaros, Mujica spent several years in the most brutal incarceration as one of the nine leaders kept as hostages by the military regime. After his release from prison under the amnesty of 1985, Mujica was instrumental in the social reinsertion and political transfiguration of the Tupamaros, who renounced armed struggle and entered electoral politics. Mujica, who lives and cultivates flowers in a small farm near Montevideo, never wears a tie and rides a motorcycle to the Senate, speaks his mind in a straightforward and face-to-face discourse that rekindles the Tupamaros' original populism. His ethical and practical wisdom allows him to express candidly what no one else does, as for example his reference to the repressed apprehension about "the upcoming tragedy of the Vázquez

government," which resonated deeply among farmers and students, men and women, old and young people alike. While the traditional leftist parties within the coalition, the socialist and the communist, are down to historical lows of 15 percent and six percent respectively, the recycled Tupamaros, driven by the "Mujica phenomenon," are nowadays the major player in the FA, with 30 percent of the vote, six senators and 21 deputies. Mujica himself will become minister of agriculture or even super-minister of productivity: a long way from the guerrilla focus theory.

A Turn in History

The history of the FA blends itself with the contemporary history of the country and with the personal histories of many Uruguayans such as myself, both inside and out of the country. Though officially founded in 1971, the genealogy of the FA goes back to the early 1960s, when the unions, the student movement, and the enlightened middle classes began to coalesce in response to the unraveling crisis of liberal democracy supported until then by the import substitution development model. Following the pattern of the classical popular fronts, the FA intended to overcome the endemic atomization of the left and galvanize the rising energies of the many excluded and discontented behind a democratic agenda for radical change. In fact, the FA differed from a popular front in that it took advantage of a truly Uruguayan political sham, the infamous *Ley de Lemas*, or Banners' Bill, devised by the professional political elite of the traditional parties to avoid ideological fractures. According to this law, an indefinite number of candidates can run for the same office under the same banner, thus adding all their votes in the same basket.

Thirty-three years later and after surviving several cataclysms (political repression and a brutal dictatorship; the neoliberal turn and a democracy on parole; the downfall of the socialist bloc and the supremacy of global capitalism; the ideological crisis of orthodox Marxism and the unrelenting diaspora, which has sucked out of the country invaluable social and cultural capital) the now enlarged *Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio-Nueva Mayoría* fulfills the dream that sparked the coalition in 1971. The left, which for decades had opposed the *Ley de Lemas* as a Machiavellian device for the reproduction of political machines at the service of the status quo, finally adopted it. Is this a washed-out version of the original FA, ridiculed by its opponents as a "patchwork quilt"? Hasn't the political leadership toned down its discourse and moved to the center to become respectable or, at least, acceptable to global capital and the IMF? Isn't there the risk of losing whatever remnants of radical identity still remain? What are the historical, political, and cultural lessons to be learned?

Historical Lesson

History moves forward though not precisely in a linear way, always carrying into the future the thickness of historicity, the magma of the past. The modern welfare and buffer state that José Batlle y Ordóñez began to build in 1904 by radicalizing the old patrician Colorado Party from within, was officially buried by the neoliberal Luis Batlle, at the head of a Colorado Party, no longer “*batllista*,” exactly one century later. The *blancos* and *colorados*—among the oldest political parties in the Americas, since their origin can be traced back to the Federalist and Unitarian divide during the wars of independence—have not only dominated national politics for almost two centuries, but their identity is deeply fused with that of the nation. The *blancos*, historically an oppositional party, came second in this election with 34 percent of the vote; the *colorados*, historically the party of power and currently in power, followed with a dismal 10 percent. The long-lasting monopoly of power by the professional political elite, ostensibly represented by a handful of prominent patrician families, is apparently over. It seems obvious that a model of country is being buried, amid joy, hope and anxiety. But it is also obvious that that country has been agonizing for several decades and many Uruguayans were not prepared to let go. Does this vote represent a straightforward negation of the country that was, or could it be, on the contrary, an attempt to recover the best from tradition in order to move forward?

Political Lesson

In Latin America, from Caracas to La Paz, from Buenos Aires to Chiapas, the political space of the state is still a major arena of struggle for power, no less than the imaginary space of the nation is a fundamental arena of struggle for collective identity and community building. The more globalization corrals nation states as mere administrators of transnational capital, the more the nation state has become a site of political and imaginary contestation. Therefore, democracy is not only possible but indispensable. Neither an end in itself nor a mere social engineering device, democracy, which cannot be limited to ritualized elections and parliamentary politics, is a dynamo for the imagination of new social and community practices, from the local to the global, from the neighborhood to the nation. The pervasive distrust in the infallibility of master narratives and the inevitability of progress has led to some sort of ideological eclecticism, more tolerant and cautious, which made possible the construction of a more flexible, inclusive and open-ended national-popular bloc. A hegemonic formation based upon participatory citizenship, conditional adherence, and contingency politics, is nonetheless deeply ingrained in historically shaped national institutions, social values and cultural habitus.

Cultural Lesson

The scant information distributed by news agencies read something like, the “socialist candidate,” or “social-democratic front,” or “left coalition” won elections in Uruguay. All of this is true, yet it is also profoundly mistaken. Neither was Tabaré a socialist candidate, nor the FA a social-democratic front. And

what does “the left” mean, anyway? The translation of particular and local phenomena to universal, or better yet, modern Western categories, empties them of their historical texture and their complex materiality, precisely those aspects that make them truly universal.

Uruguayans voted for change, but a change that recovers the more convivial society they all long for, a “model country” of human scale and undeniable social-democratic features that is no longer. Does that make them social democrats? Of course not, because beyond ideological preferences and political affiliations, Uruguayans are still what they have always been, a mixture of conservative anarchists, radical reformers, *individualistas solidarios*, and cosmopolitan nationalists. Uruguayans and *frenteampelistas* alike, whether social-democratic or radical revolutionary, are an emulsion of *batllista* modern cosmopolitans and *blanco* visceral nationalists, or to put it in academic jargon, one of the many sorts of civilized barbarians who populate the borders of modernity and global capitalism. Moreover, are not Tabaré and Mujica, among others, the contemporary embodiment of the old, barbarian *caudillos*? Do they not represent how well the enlightened Marxist left has finally learned how to play the politics of affect, traditionally associated with right-wing ideological manipulation? They incarnate feelings and expectations that go well beyond the specifics of their agendas or the aura of their political trajectories. They are *caudillos* in the truest sense, and as such, they helped to consummate the nationalization of the Uruguayan left by adopting and adapting it to the most genuinely national cultural values and socio-political institutions. The victory of the *Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio-Nueva Mayoría* coalition represents both the popular will for social, economic and political change, and the collective clinging to the cultural imaginary. This desire to navigate the dream of “a tangible utopia,” takes shape in the cultural project for “*un Uruguay de la gente*,” internationally connected and regionally integrated, though driven primarily by the strategic espousal of both its cultural diversity and its national identity.

Despite the relatively minor weight that Uruguay has in the Latin American scene, many people are now speculating about the symbolic worth and geopolitical implications of this election, particularly regarding the strengthening of MERCOSUR and the regional blocking of ALCA. The new government’s regionalist strategy will obviously contradict the neoliberal acquiescence of the current government toward Washington policies. But, can the rejection of neoliberalism explain by itself the popular adherence to regional integration? Is not this widespread feeling also the contemporary expression of long-lasting historical traces, such as the fervent Latin Americanism that marked the revolutionary politics of the 1960s, as well as the federalist regionalism that goes back in a straight line to Artigas’ Americanism? Unquestionably, without an adequate understanding of the intricate historical working of these cultural memories it would be impossible to calibrate these events’ long-run political implications, including, of course, the effect that they could have upon the region in the near future. Nevertheless, no matter what happens tomorrow, the enjoyment of today *bien vale la pena*.

A classe média sai de férias....

O PT e as eleições municipais do Brasil

by Céli Pinto

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Os resultados eleitorais do PT nas eleições municipais de 2004 trouxeram surpresas: cidades há muito conquistadas foram perdidas, reeleições dadas como quase certas não aconteceram; votos migraram das grandes cidades para cidades médias e pequenas; o partido viu-se isolado e lutando contra uma ampla frente na grande maioria das cidades, onde disputou o Segundo Turno; em alguns lugares ouviu-se um novo e forte discurso anti-petista. O exame deste novo cenário deve ser levado a efeito com muito cuidado, para que não se caia em explicações simplistas, que ora negam os problemas que o partido deverá superar, para enfrentar as próximas eleições, ora responsabilizam um vilão, um bode expiatório. O primeiro tipo de explicação tende a minimizar ou até mesmo desconhecer a difícil situação do partido, com o argumento de que o PT ganhou as eleições, pois teve, no cômputo geral o maior número de votos (ao redor de 22 milhões contra 20 milhões que foram dados aos segundo maior partido, o PSDB). O segundo, atribui a ausência dos tradicionais votos petistas ao desencanto com o Governo Federal e sua política moderada. Não reconhecer problemas e apontar para o número de votos tem sido a resposta do governo aos resultados. É uma posição bastante correta se tratando de uma postura de governo, até porque não há nenhuma maquiagem nos números que embasam a afirmação, mas está de longe dar elementos para que se analise o fenômeno. Atribuir ao Governo Federal a causa das mazelas petistas também é uma meia verdade, pois quem mais está decepcionado com o partido é a sua própria esquerda e sua base no funcionalismo público de tendência marcadamente corporativa. Estes grupos não fizeram campanha e possivelmente não votaram nos candidatos do PT, no Primeiro Turno das eleições nas grandes cidades¹, mas dificilmente se pode atribuir a eles a derrota do partido, pois é provável que no Segundo Turno (onde o PT realmente perdeu as eleições) tenham em sua grande maioria votado nos candidatos petistas.

Sem dúvida estas duas condições são verdadeiras: o PT saiu das eleições como o maior partido do país e houve votos de protestos à política moderada do Governo Federal, que pouco se distinguiu até agora do governo anterior. Estas duas condições só têm importância explicativa nos resultados eleitorais do PT, se forem vistas como parte de um conjunto de acontecimentos e situações que levaram ao tipo de resultado do PT nas eleições. Entender o fenômeno político exige antes de tudo afastar a tentação de encontrar culpados os fatos que o neguem.

Introduzindo, pois, o problema a partir destas ressalvas, a questão central que necessita ser focada é a da derrota do PT no Segundo Turno em cidades onde já administrava a Prefeitura, como São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Caxias do Sul, Pelotas (as últimas três no estado do Rio Grande do Sul). A análise deve levar em conta duas dimensões bastante distintas, a primeira, de caráter mais

generalizante, explica a tendência do partido de perder votos nacionalmente; a segunda, que se acopla a esta, diz respeito às condições específicas de cada eleição municipal.

Dito isto, faça-se a pergunta ao inverso, ou seja não mais por que o PT perdeu, mas porque o eleitor não votou no partido. Os mapas eleitorais, pelo menos nas grandes capitais, indicam que a classe média não votou no partido e tal comportamento foi central para infringir as derrotas. Começemos por descartar as explicações mais simples e óbvias. A primeira delas é que a classe média teria encontrado um novo partido no qual se sentiu representada, o PSDB. Se, sociologicamente, o PSDB se parece mais como a classe média que o PT, eleitoralmente isto nem sempre tem sido verdade. A mesma classe média que votou em massa em FHC por duas eleições votou em Lula em 1994. De outra sorte, no Rio Grande do Sul, onde o PT teve, sem dúvida, as suas mais significativas derrotas, após São Paulo, o PSDB é um partido completamente sem importância e as três grandes prefeituras conquistadas do PT, o foram pelo também inexpressivo PPS gaúcho² (Porto alegre e Pelotas) e pelo tradicional PMDB, no caso, estreitamente ligado ao seu maior líder regional, o Senador Pedro Simon. Portanto, não parece que o voto não petista da classe média tenha acontecido pelo fato deste grupo ter encontrado um novo partido onde se sentiu representada.

A segunda explicação que deve ser descartada ou pelo menos vista com muita parcimônia é a de que a classe média teria votado contra o PT nas eleições municipais por estar decepcionada com o governo Lula. Ora, os grandes críticos da administração federal são os grupos de esquerda que se encontram fora e dentro do partido, desde deputados que foram expulsos, por não votarem com o governo reformas vistas como neoliberais, como foi o caso da reforma da Previdência Social, até expoentes intelectuais como o sociólogo Francisco de Oliveira, destacado membro do partido que passou a ser seu feroz algoz. O problema encontra-se no fato de que este tipo de crítica e atuação está muito distante de compor o balaio de razões do voto da classe média. O voto perdido, não foi o voto de uma classe média intelectualizada, que tem um certo sentido de bem comum. Esta pode estar muito descontente com o partido, mas continua votando nele. O voto que se perdeu é de um eleitor do PT mas não petista, de uma classe média, que pensava o PT como honesto e bom administrador. Foi a partir destes dois pilares que o PT construiu uma massa de eleitores, que parece ter perdido nas eleições de 2004. Dentre eles deve-se sempre computar os grupos sindicalizados de funcionários públicos e bancários, historicamente ligados ao PT, e que, até surpreendentemente, em algumas categorias politicamente mais experientes, se colocaram como simples defensores de interesses corporativos (mesmo que justos) de uma forma tal, que poderia ser chamada em termos gramscianos, de pré-política. Este grupo teve um peso

bastante significativo, pois parte importante deles formava a militância, que vinha fazendo grande diferença pró-PT desde as primeiras eleições após o período militar.

A idéia de um PT honesto e bom administrador juntava-se no imaginário político da classe média à idéia do novo. A vitória de Lula em 2002 representava a chegada ao poder de um novo grupo e, dele se esperava, fundamentalmente, melhoramentos em suas vidas. As razões do voto na esquerda da classe média não partidária é um aspecto, particularmente importante e pouco estudado. Esta parcela da população coloca-se muito facilmente como injustiçada, construindo equivalências com os setores mais pobres e necessitados do país, e tende a não aceitar que políticas redistributivas possam afetar seus privilégios e direitos, no lugar de lhes trazer benefícios. À medida que a chegada ao poder federal não provocou as mudanças (às vezes mágicas) esperadas por estes grupos menos politizados (diferentes da esquerda que pretendia rompimento com FMI, nacionalizações outras medidas de uma agenda vagamente socialista), houve condições particulares para que um discurso do anti-petismo sempre presente, mas bastante secundário, ganhassem espaço e adeptos no campo da disputa eleitoral.

Reduzir a problemática da política à honestidade e ao bom gerenciamento é tomar o princípio da ação política pelo seu fim. E disto o eleitor de classe média, antes petista, não se deu conta. Se o Governo Federal era honesto e bom gerenciador, como não conseguiu em dois anos mudar as condições do país e, principalmente, a sua própria? Esta é uma grande falácia, pois a falta de resultados imediatos levou ao crescimento de notícias e boatos de malversação de dinheiro público, de corrupção, etc. Uma viagem do cachorro do presidente em um carro do governo de uma residência oficial para outra em Brasília provocou reações suficientes para ser notícia no jornal de televisão, nas revistas semanais e ter explicação oficial do governo.

Há, nesta situação, uma espécie de perversidade: se é verdade que a administração Lula, até o momento, não tem se diferenciado substancialmente do longo período FHC, não é isto, entretanto, que influenciou o eleitor de classe média não petista, mas as causas atribuídas a isto. O senso comum que infere que todos os políticos são iguais, parece ter tido mais influência para afastar estes setores do PT do que qualquer julgamento sobre políticas governamentais. Portanto, o desencanto com o PT certamente contribuiu para a derrota do partido nas capitais e grandes e médias cidades do interior, principalmente onde já possuía tradição administrativa. A questão não foi a fato de o PT ter caminhado em direção ao centro do espectro político, nestes dois primeiros de Governo Federal, mas foi não ter sabido se diferenciar na forma de fazer política. O novo, esperado tanto pelos setores mais politizados e mais ligado organicamente ao partido, como pelos setores mais independentes e simpatizantes, foi o grande ausente e, sem dúvida, pesou nos resultados eleitorais.

Se no plano geral estas questões foram importantes para explicar os resultados negativos do PT, deve-se somar a elas aspectos regionais e locais, que não podem deixar de ser apontados, principalmente nas duas derrotas mais importantes, pelo menos no plano simbólico, a de São Paulo e a de Porto Alegre. A primeira, não apenas por ser a mais relevante cidade brasileira,

mas por ser um centro político fundamental, o lugar do embate entre as duas grandes forças da política brasileira, o PSDB, do ex-presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso e do próprio PT. O PT perdeu a capital, mas também perdeu em Campinas, em Santos e Ribeirão Preto entre outras cidades. O PSDB tem no momento o Governo do Estado e a capital, o que representa dois potenciais candidatados à presidência da república. Porto Alegre, por outro lado, representava o PT que havia dado certo administrativamente. Era vista no mundo como a capital petista, pelas quatro gestões consecutivas, pelo êxito do orçamento participativo, por ser sede do Fórum Social Mundial.

Novamente aqui não existe uma explicação que dê conta desses dois fenômenos muito distintos entre si. Em São Paulo a vitória de Marta Suplicy há quatro anos foi uma grande surpresa. O PT não tem tido densidade eleitoral para vencer na capital. A outra vez que administrou a cidade através de Luiza Erundina, não havia Segundo Turno. Quando Marta Suplicy ganhou as eleições no ano de 2000, teve no Segundo Turno o importante apoio de Mario Covas, então governador do estado de São Paulo e uma respeitada liderança do PSDB. Marta herdou uma Prefeitura de um prefeito malufista que estava envolvido em uma série interminável de escândalos de corrupção. Aumentou taxas que recaíram na classe média, optou fortemente por projetos para a periferia, mas não conseguiu resolver as endêmicas questões de educação, saúde, transporte. Com uma administração bem avaliada no final de seu mandato, mas com uma rejeição pessoal muito grande, fruto tanto de sua personalidade, como do preconceito em relação ao fato de ser uma mulher rica, bonita e que no meio do mandato se separou do marido porque estava apaixonada por outro homem, vindo inclusive a se casar com ele.

Em Porto Alegre, as questões locais são de naturezas completamente distintas. Em primeiro lugar, o PT já governava a cidade por 16 anos, tendo ganhado quatro eleições consecutivas. Em segundo, o último prefeito eleito havia renunciado o cargo depois de um ano e meio de administração para concorrer a governador do Estado, deixando um administrador eficiente no seu lugar, mas totalmente desprovido de carisma. Somam-se a isto cisões internas no partido regional que têm se avolumado desde uma prévia para candidato a governador ocorrida há mais de oito anos entre as duas maiores lideranças do estado: Tarso Genro e Olívio Dutra. A derrota do partido em Porto Alegre teve ainda a contribuição da construção de um discurso anti-petista, liderado pelos mais importantes órgãos da imprensa escrita e da televisão no Estado, que se estruturou ao longo dos governos petistas.

Tanto em São Paulo como em Porto Alegre, ainda é preciso considerar os políticos e as alianças que fizeram oposição ao PT e que ganharam as eleições. Em que pese suas diferenças partidárias, ambos—Serra em São Paulo e Fogaça em Porto Alegre—são profundamente identificados com as respectivas cidades, foram como senadores detentores de grandes votações nas capitais e conseguiram fazer oposição ao PT sem se posicionarem contra as realizações mais populares e eficazes dos prefeitos que pretendiam substituir. Foram os grandes beneficiários da descaracterização do PT nacionalmente. Aproveitando-se de um discurso anti-petista difuso, as

candidaturas tiveram sucesso em construir amplas frentes partidárias que incorporaram partidos das mais diferentes tendências ideológicas, alguns com inimizades históricas, isolando desta forma o PT, que foi incapaz de agregar votos no Segundo Turno. Em São Paulo restou-lhe a companhia da extrema direita populista-malufusta de quem havia herdado o caótico governo municipal.

Diante deste quadro, a pergunta que se impõe é quais são as perspectivas do PT para as próximas eleições presidenciais em 2006 quando o Presidente Lula deverá concorrer a reeleição? O primeiro fato a ter em conta é o que foi colocado na introdução deste pequeno ensaio: O PT tem 22 milhões de votos, que certamente migraram do centro sul, para as regiões mais pobres e menos politizadas do país. Este fenômeno deve ser examinado

com cuidado, trata-se da “arenização”³ do PT, ou seja tornou-se um partido dos grotões clientelísticos do país? ou trata-se do voto da população mais excluída, talvez a única que tenha experimentado algum tipo de melhora em suas condições de vida através dos programas sociais do governo? O aprofundamento de políticas redistributivas nas regiões mais pobres do país e a migração da classe média para partidos mais centristas, tipo PSDB, pode estar a indicar novos padrões de comportamento eleitoral.

Se como o que se viu nesta eleição o PSDB se firmar como a segunda grande força política no país, o PT deve começar a se acostumar a disputar palmo a palmo os votos da classe média ou talvez, refundar-se, buscando apoio mais orgânico das populações econômica e socialmente excluídas no Brasil.

ENDNOTES

¹ No Brasil acontece Segundo Turno, sempre que nenhum candidato receba a maioria absoluta dos votos válidos no Primeiro Turno, nas eleições para Presidente da República, Governadores de Estado e para Prefeitos em cidades com mais de 200 000 eleitores.

² O PPS foi um partido criado a partir do PCB. Nacionalmente restam no partido muito poucas figuras do velho partido comunista como Roberto Freire, de Pernambuco o que o deixou em uma posição fragilizada, ideologicamente, descaracterizado e muito propício a receber políticos que se desentenderam em seus partidos tradicionais, como é o caso do Ministro do governo Lula, Ciro Gomes. No estado do Rio Grande do Sul o partido praticamente não existia até uma luta interna dentro

do PMDB ter praticamente expulsado o grupo mais à direita, que havia governado o estado sob a liderança do Governador Britto e que havia sido responsável por uma política de privatizações e de desmantelamento da máquina pública, através de campanhas de demissões voluntárias. Este grupo retirou-se do PMDB e foi recebido pelo PPS, praticamente o recriando. Dele faz parte o prefeito eleito da cidade de Porto Alegre, José Fogaça.

³ A ARENA, partido criado durante o regime militar para acolher os apoiadores do golpe, se vangloriou em um certo momento de ser o “maior partido do mundo” por ter grande número de filiados e votos no interior mais pobre e despolitizado do Brasil.



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A Note from the Program Chair

by Frances Aparicio

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Months before we all met in Las Vegas, many of us had already been working toward organizing the LASA 2006 Congress, which will take place in San Juan, Puerto Rico, on March 15-18. In fact, as I waited for a taxi outside of the Riviera Hotel the last day of the conference, I overheard a number of LASA members expressing their strong interest for attending the San Juan Congress. The fact that the Caribe Hilton, the main hotel site, overlooks the hotel skyline in the Condado area, the Atlantic Ocean, and is close to colonial old San Juan, is clearly an attraction. The physical beauty of the island, the hospitality of its people, and its central location as a bridge between Latin America and the United States, are also positive factors in bringing us all together.

Within the tropical, ideal setting of the island, critical issues are being currently debated around the elections and the role of the U.S. courts in deciding the island's political future. This new chapter in the history of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans as colonized subjects, with all of its contradictions, could well serve as a point of departure for the discussions, panels, plenaries, and special events that are already beginning to be conceptualized and organized around the major theme for 2006: "Decentering Latin American Studies." As it is stated in the Call for Papers, we exhort LASA members to organize panels and engage in discussions that reflect on how our academic and institutional locations define and delimit our production of knowledge about Latin America. Latin Americanists in and from Latin America, U.S.-based Latin Americans, U.S. Latinos in U.S. universities, U.S. scholars outside of the United States, or Latin Americanists in Europe and abroad, each embody diverse forms of epistemology informed by our own locations, experiences, histories, and institutional structures. While LASA has historically reveled in its international scope, the fact is that it is a U.S.-based and at times a U.S.-centered entity. How can we productively critique this location and transcend it as we write about globalization and transnationalism? How can we understand each other's modes of imagining Latin America and U.S. Latinos, and of rethinking Latin American Studies as an intellectual space? The fact that the U.S. courts will play a central role in deciding the electoral results in Puerto Rico suggests that our selection for a conference site may be much more intellectually pertinent than what we originally planned.

In our attempt to create spaces that will produce comparative, transnational, and transdisciplinary perspectives, we modified the listing of the program tracks so that they best reflect the changes in the various fields of inquiry that make up Latin American Studies. Thus, we have included new tracks—such as

Children, Youth and Youth Cultures; Indigeneities and Ethnicities; Film and Documentary Studies; Performance Studies; and Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary Approaches—that could yield transnational and comparative analyses. We also renamed and reorganized other tracks based on the feedback of members, the Sections, and developments in those fields of inquiry.

The final deadline for receipt of proposals and of all applications for travel funding is April 1, 2005. All submissions are electronic format. I exhort you not only to submit panel proposals but also to encourage other scholars to participate.

I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the enthusiastic collaboration of Professors Edna Acosta Belén and Helen Safa, and a group of Caribbean and Puerto Rican scholars who are interested in increasing the participation of Caribbeanists and Puerto Rican scholars at the 2006 Congress. I look forward to these collaborations. I also want to thank Sonia Alvarez, for her wonderful ideas and collegial collaboration, and to Milagros Pereyra-Rojas and her staff for their efficiency and clarity in every step of the way.

Puerto Rico Advisory Group

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CALLING ALL MEMBERS

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Deadline: *June 1, 2005*

LASA members are invited to suggest nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning May 1, 2006. Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and previous service to LASA. Each candidate must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to nomination. Biographic data and the rationale for nomination must be sent by *June 1, 2005*, to: Professor Stefano Varese, chair, LASA Nominations Committee, Department of Native American Studies, University of California, Davis, One Shields Ave., Davis CA 95616. Telephone: 530-752-3237; Fax: 530-752-7097; <svarese@ucdavis.edu >.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until October 31, 2007, and then as President for an additional eighteen months. Executive Council members will serve a three-year term from May 1, 2006, to April 30, 2009.

Additional members of the Nominations Committee are: Marisol de la Cadena, University of California, Davis; Jeff Lesser, Emory University; Augusto Varas, Ford Foundation; Shannon Speed, University of Texas, Austin; Enrique Peruzzoti, Universidad Torcuato di Tella; Maxine Molyneu, University of London, and LASA Executive Council Member Elizabeth Jelin.

CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *May 20, 2005*

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites nominations of candidates for the year 2006 award. The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made distinguished lifetime contributions to the study of Latin America. The Award is given every 18 months. Past recipients of the Award were:

John J. Johnson (1983)	Richard Fagen (1995)
Federico Gil (1985)	Alain Touraine (1997)
Albert O. Hirschman (1986)	Richard Adams (1998)
Charles Wagley (1988)	Jean Franco (2000)
Lewis Hanke (1989)	Thomas Skidmore (2001)
Victor L. Urquidi (1991)	Guillermo O'Donnell (2003)
George Kubler (1992)	June Nash (2004)
Oswaldo Sunkel (1994)	

The selection committee consists of Marysa Navarro (chair), LASA immediate past president; Arturo Arias and Thomas Holloway, past presidents, Peter Ward, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, and June Nash, 2004 Silvert awardee. Nominations should be sent to LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas at the LASA Secretariat by *May 20, 2005*. Please include biographic information and a rationale for each nomination.

CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *July 15, 2005*

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association presents the Bryce Wood Book Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English. Eligible books for the October 2004 LASA International Congress will be those published between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2005. Although no book may compete more than once, translations may be considered. Anthologies of selections by several authors or re-editions of works published previously normally are not in contention for the award. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Persons who nominate books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers.

All books nominated must reach *each member* of the Award Committee by *July 15, 2005*. By the month preceding the next International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2006 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award. Members of the 2006 committee are:

Rita Schmidt, chair
Rua Tocantis 937
Casa 1
Porto Alegre 91540-420 RGS
BRAZIL
<ritats@uol.com.br>

Edme Domínguez
Iberoamerican Institute
Box 200
Goteborgs University
405 30 Goteborg
SWEDEN

Aldo Panfichi
Av Trinidad Morán 1142
Lince
Lima 14
PERU

Ed McCaughan
Loyola University
Dept of Sociology - Box 30
6363 St. Charles Ave
New Orleans LA 70118

María Luisa Tarrés
Camino al Ajusco 20
Pedregal Sta Teresa Apdo 20-671
México DF 10740
MEXICO

**CALL FOR PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO
BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS**

Deadline: *July 15, 2005*

The *Premio Iberoamericano* is presented at each of LASA's International Congresses for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese in any country. Eligible books for the 2006 award must have been published between January 1, 2004 and June 30, 2005. No book may compete more than once. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Individuals who nominate books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to *each member* of the award committee, at the expense of those submitting the books.

All books must reach each member of the committee by *July 15, 2005*. LASA membership is not a requirement for receiving the award. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2004 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. Members of the 2006 committee are:

Alberto Olvera, chair
Coatepec 34 Dept 6
Fraccionamiento Jardinos
Jalapa VER 91190
MEXICO

Marcela Rios Tobar
907-E Eagle Heights
Apartment E
Madison WI 53705-1609

Guillermo de la Peña
Ontario 1305
Guadalajara JAL 44630
MEXICO

Celia del Palacio Montiel
Paseo Poniente 2093
Jardines del Country
Guadalajara Jalisco 44260
MEXICO

Alai Garcia Diniz
Rua Antônio Eleutério Vieira 363
Agronômica
Florianópolis SC 88025-380
BRAZIL

**CALL FOR NOMINATIONS
LASA MEDIA AWARD**

Deadline: *September 15, 2005*

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce its competition for the year 2006 LASA Media Awards for outstanding media coverage of Latin America. These awards are made every eighteen months to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about

Latin America in the United States and in Latin America, as well as breakthrough journalism. Nominations are invited from LASA members and from journalists. Journalists from both the print and electronic media are eligible. The Committee will carefully review each nominee's work and select an award recipient. The award will be announced at the Award Ceremony of the LASA2006 business meeting, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA may invite the awardee to submit materials for possible publication in the *LASA Forum*. Recent recipients of the awards include:

Julio Scherer of PROCESO (2004)
Eduardo Anguita, freelance journalist, Buenos Aires (2003)
Guillermo González Uribe of *Número*, Bogotá (2001)
Patricia Verdugo Aguirre of Conama, Chile and *Diario 16*, Spain (2000)
Gustavo Gorriti of *Caretas*, Lima, Peru (1998)

To make a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's portfolio of recent relevant work by *September 15, 2005*, to:

Guillermo Delgado, Chair
207 Village Cir
Santa Cruz CA 94060-2452

Additional members of the committee are yet to be appointed.

**LASA/OXFAM AMERICA
MARTIN DISKIN MEMORIAL LECTURESHIP**

Deadline for nomination: *July 15, 2005*

The Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship is offered at each LASA International Congress to an outstanding individual who combines Professor Diskin's commitment to both activism and scholarship.

This distinguished lectureship is made possible largely by a generous contribution from Oxfam America, an organization committed to grassroots work—and one with which Martin Diskin was closely associated. Ricardo Falla, S.J., was the 1998 Diskin Lecturer. Professor Gonzalo Sánchez Gómez of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, was the Lecturer in 2000. At LASA2001, Professor Elizabeth Lira Kornfeld, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile, delivered the Memorial Lecture. In 2003, the Lectureship was shared by Rodolfo Stavenhagen, El Colegio de México, and Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, CIESAS, Mexico City. Professor Jonathan Fox was the 2004 Diskin Lecturer.

Nominations, including self-nominations, are welcome. A nomination should include a statement justifying the nomination, the complete mailing address of the nominee, telephone and fax numbers, and e-mail address. To nominate a candidate, send these materials no later than *July 15, 2005*, to the chair of the Diskin Lectureship Selection Committee, Professor James Green, 1633 N Laurel Ave #5 Los Angeles CA 90046.

Additional members of the 2006 Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship Committee are: Suzanne Oboler, University of Illinois, Chicago; Norma Chinchilla, California State University, Long Beach; Florence Babb, University of Iowa; Manuel Pastor, University of California, Santa Cruz and Ray Offenheiser, President, Oxfam America.

DESIGN CONTEST

NEW DESIGN AND COLORS FOR THE *LASA FORUM*

At the Las Vegas Executive Council meeting, the change of design and colors of the *LASA Forum* was approved, in the spirit of the implementation of its recently-approved Strategic Plan. The newly-elected *LASA Forum* Working Committee calls for an open design contest among its entire membership to submit proposals.

CONTEST RULES:

1. Participation and eligibility:

Graphic and web designers, students, and freelancers are welcome to participate. They have to be *LASA* members, or else be explicitly recommended in writing by a *LASA* member.

2. Category:

Cover design. All designs should be in accordance with the size and proportions of the *Forum*.

3. Prizes:

Winner will be recognized in the *LASA Forum*, and will receive a personalized plaque from *LASA* at the San Juan *LASA* International Congress Business Meeting. There will be no cash prizes.

4. Limitations:

Designs should employ only one color besides black and avoid changes from issue to issue or else the use of complex photographic material, so as to maintain production costs within the existing allotted budget.

5. Judging criteria:

The winning design will be chosen by the *LASA Forum* Working Committee with the advice of design professionals. The winning design will be chosen based on degree of creativity, effectiveness, and originality of idea.

6. Deadline for submissions:

May 1, 2005.

7. Winner notification:

The winner will be notified by email after the June Executive Council meeting, and the new design and colors will be implemented for the Fall 2005 issue of the *Forum*.

8. Property and formats:

All entries must be original creations of the designer submitting the piece. Individuals must submit their designs in electronic via e-mail in EPS and PDF format.

9. Procedure

E-mail electronic files to: <lasa@pitt.edu>

10. Legal Issues

Contestants grant *LASA* the right to display the winning artwork on its web site, cover of the *LASA Forum*, and other official printed material such as folders, letterhead, and similar items for the promotional purposes of the Association.

LASA reserves the right to refuse awards to any individual whose artwork does not fall within the ethical guidelines set forth in this document, whether before, during or after the judging is complete. *LASA* shall not be held accountable or responsible for any lost entries, as well as any disputes or claims brought forth by any contestant towards *LASA*, its officers, judges or members, for any matter relating to copyright issues, entries, winnings, awards, judging, or lost or misplaced artwork.



Official LASA Resolutions

The following two resolutions were approved by LASA Members who responded to an emailed request to vote during the month of November/December 2004. The results of the voting follow each resolution.

Resolution on Cuba

Por cuanto:

La política del gobierno de los Estados Unidos hacia Cuba, en el contexto de la campaña electoral del 2004, ha consistido en imponer mayores restricciones a todo tipo de intercambio entre los dos países, incluyendo los académicos y culturales, además de afectar seriamente los humanitarios y familiares;

Por cuanto:

El resultado de la aplicación de esa política ha sido en esta oportunidad que se hayan presentado una cantidad significativa de obstáculos para la obtención de los visados de los académicos cubanos invitados a participar en el XXV Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos, con graves perjuicios para las labores del mencionado Congreso y con repercusiones negativas en universidades e instituciones norteamericanas en que la presencia de algunos de estos académicos cubanos estaba programada;

Por cuanto:

Estas medidas restrictivas son contrarias a la necesaria libertad que debe regir la vida académica, científica y cultural entre los pueblos del Continente Americano, razón de ser de esta Asociación y móvil de la actividad de sus integrantes;

Por cuanto:

En vísperas del Congreso de LASA se ha negado la visa a 61 colegas residentes en Cuba, es decir, a todos los participantes provenientes de ese país;

Por tanto:

La Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos se pronuncia enérgicamente a favor del levantamiento de todo tipo de restricciones que impiden los intercambios entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos en todos los ámbitos, a saber, económicos, diplomáticos, culturales, científicos, humanitarios, familiares y académicos. A tales efectos, debe procederse a una revisión

completa de la política de Estados Unidos hacia Cuba que permita el restablecimiento pleno de relaciones entre los dos países.

Affirmative: 1004 = 79.9 %

Negative: 43 = 3.42 %

Blank: 209 = 16.6 %

Resolution on Behalf of Latin American Publishers

Whereas the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) has ruled that under the Trading with the Enemy Act U.S. publishers cannot edit works authored in Cuba;

Whereas violation of this rule is subject to a fine of up to half a million dollars and imprisonment for ten years;

Whereas the OFAC subsequently declared that publishers of peer-reviewed, non-profit journals may apply for a license to waive this rule, but on a case by case basis;

Whereas this burdensome and uncertain procedure is likely to interfere with publishing schedules, may undermine standards for editing, and therefore deter publishers from considering writing authored in Cuba;

Whereas this procedure violates the freedom of inquiry and free exchange of ideas on which scientific and scholarly progress are predicated, as well as the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press;

Therefore the Latin American Studies Association supports the Association of Latin American Publishers and the Association of American University Presses lawsuit filed on September 27 asking the court to strike down the OFAC ruling.

Affirmative: 1144 = 91.08 %

Negative: 42 = 3.34 %

Blank: 70 = 5.57 %

LASA2006, San Juan, Puerto Rico

Forms for electronic submissions at

<<http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/lasa2006-1.htm>>

Please note carefully all instructions and the April 1, 2005 submission deadline

Cuba Task Force

At its October, 2004 meeting the Executive Council (EC) created a task force "to study options related to calling attention to the suppression of the rights of academics to travel to and from Cuba." The task force will present an interim report at the June 2005 meeting of the EC. The chair of the Cuba Task Force is Past-president Marysa Navarro. Members include John Coatsworth, Judy Hellman, William Leogrande, Sheryl Lutjens, and Reid Reading.

By-Laws Amended to Include Elected Treasurer

At its October, 2004 meeting in Las Vegas, the LASA Executive Council discussed the current procedure of asking one member of the EC to serve as treasurer for the duration of his or her appointment to the Council. It has become increasingly more apparent that the role of treasurer requires a specific set of skills and that the Association would be better served by the election of an individual to fill that role. The EC therefore voted to amend the LASA By-laws to mandate the nomination specifically for the position of LASA treasurer, to be voted upon separately from the rest of the EC. The individual elected will serve as a full member of the EC for a term of four and one-half years.

According to the LASA By-laws "amendments proposed by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council must be published and distributed to the membership by the Executive Director...such amendments shall be considered ratified unless at least one hundred members object in writing to the executive director within ninety days of distribution of the proposals." If you are not in agreement with the revision, please send your written objection to Milagros Pereyra at <milagros@pitt.edu> by **February 28, 2005**.

New LASA Section on Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples

On October 7, 2004, during the LASA Congress in Las Vegas, LASA members representing diverse academic disciplines, including anthropology, history, sociology, political science, linguistics, Spanish and Portuguese, geography, literature, and the law, established the new Section on Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples. The more than 140 sponsoring members are committed to scholarly collaboration and exchange of ideas with respect to the study of ethnicity, race, indigenous peoples, Afro-descendants and related issues. The Section has established a website <www.ethnicityrace.org> and welcomes LASA members to visit it there.

A driving force behind the establishment of this Section was the desire to promote greater participation of indigenous and Afro-descendent scholars and intellectuals in LASA activities and, more generally, in scholarly and academic communities. The Section is designing mechanisms to enable LASA members to sponsor the membership of an indigenous or Afro-descendent scholar and establishing a fund to promote their participation in LASA congresses and other scholarly activities. We invite all LASA members to contribute to these activities by contacting the Section chair, Donna Lee Van Cott, Tulane University <dvancott@tulane.edu>, or Mario Blaser, University of North Carolina <blaserm@email.unc.edu>, the council member of the Section organizing this effort. The other officers of the Section are: Jan Hoffman French (secretary-treasurer), Todd Eisenstadt, Susan Fitzpatrick, Silvia Hirsch, and Laura Raquel Valladares.

LASA Welcomes New LASA Staff

María Cecilia Quiceno Dancisin has been working with LASA since January 2004 in an organizational support role. In August, 2004 she was named Congress Coordinator and Operations Specialist. Before coming to the United States, María Cecilia worked as Head of the Administrative and Financial Department and Head of the Proposal and Bid Department for IEH GRUCON S.A., an engineering consulting firm located in Bogotá, Colombia. She received her MBA from Universidad de Los Andes and earned a degree in Civil Engineering from Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. She is also seasoned in the areas of Quality Systems Implementation and Administration. We all look forward to working with the newest member of the LASA support team.



María Cecilia Q. Dancisin
Congress Coordinator and Operations Specialist



SECTION NEWS

REPORTS BY LASA SECTIONS

Brazil

Submitted by Chair Kenneth Serbin

At the Section's meeting in Las Vegas, Co-chair Kenneth Serbin announced the recipient of the Section Book Prize: Linda Lewin (University of California at Berkeley), author of *Surprise Heirs I: Illegitimacy, Patrimonial Rights, and Legal Nationalism in Luso-Brazilian Inheritance, 1750-1821* and *Surprise Heirs II: Illegitimacy, Inheritance Rights, and Public Power in the Formation of Imperial Brazil, 1822-1889* (Stanford University Press, 2003). Serbin also announced the winners of the Section Essay Prize: Karl Monsma, Oswaldo Truzzi, and Silvano da Conceição (Universidade de São Carlos, S. Paulo). These three scholars are the authors of "Solidariedade étnica, poder local e banditismo: uma quadrilha calabresa no Oeste Paulista, 1895-1898," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 18.53 (Oct. 2003): 71-96.

Secretary-treasurer Leo Bernucci reported on finances and membership statistics. A discussion about travel funding availability to help Section members living in Brazil was tabled until the Section Executive Council meets and decides on what criteria to adopt for this policy. Irina Feldman, of Georgetown University, announced that she and Naomi Moniz will be hosting the Brazil Section home page (forthcoming).

Kenneth Serbin, University of San Diego, and Tânia Pellegrini, Universidade Federal de São Carlos, were elected Co-chairs of the Section. Susan Quinlan, University of Georgia, was elected as the new secretary-treasurer. The Section decided to expand the number of council members from four to six. The following six members were elected: Judith Williams, University of Kansas; Sônia Roncador, University of Texas, Austin; César Braga-Pinto, Rutgers University; Karl Monsma, Universidade de São Carlos; Micol Seigel, California State University at Los Angeles; and David Fleischer, Universidade de Brasília.

Business and Politics

Submitted by Chair Patrick Cronin

The Section's business meeting focused on items related to Section activities during the past 2003-2004 term and discussions on how to reinvigorate the Section during the coming 2004-2006 term. Activities by the chair during the past term were limited to routine maintenance of the Section's website, solicitations to members for current information on their research activities, (unsuccessful) attempts to determine why there is so much turnover in Section memberships (some 20-30 percent each 1.5-year term), and formation of the section's panel for the Las Vegas meeting. Although only seven individuals attended the Section meeting, a productive discussion was held regarding potential ways to reinvigorate the Section. Nominations were accepted for the open chair and Section council positions (email ballot to follow) by individuals with an expressed commitment to revitalize

the Section. Specific ideas include identifying a common set of themes and methodologies that would allow the Section to reach out to a broader section of LASA members, particularly those who focus on political economy and have no separate Section, and to stimulate work in this area. The Section's panel at the 2006 meeting will be intimately tied into the revitalization strategy. A potential Section name change (subject to member discussion and agreement) was also discussed as was the idea of awarding a "best paper" prize.

Colombia

Submitted by Co-chair Luis Fernando Restrepo

The Colombia Section business meeting was held Oct. 7th at LASA Las Vegas. Attendance: 40 plus some late arrivals. The Section members elected Mary Roldán (Cornell U) and re-elected Carmen Millán de Benavides as Section Co-chairs. Among the plans for the next term are to establish a book prize, to create an advanced and graduate student mentoring program, to continue working on a Scholars At Risk initiative to better address the needs of threatened Colombian and Latin American scholars, and to write a letter of solidarity to the Universidad del Norte about the assassination of Professor Correa de Andrais. In addition, we will also be electing (or re-electing) a 10-person steering committee, with representatives from different disciplines and a balance of U.S.-based vs. Colombia-based scholars. We plan to renovate our website and to continue to maintain and use our listserv.

Cuba

Submitted by Co-chair Michael Erisman

Approximately 70-80 people attended the Section's business meeting in Las Vegas. The main agenda item involved discussion of and various suggestions for responses to the denial of all visa applications submitted by Cubans scheduled to participate in the 2004 LASA conference (see below). The question of freedom to travel remains a top-priority concern for the Section's leadership. In particular, a primary focus of this concern was the procurement of the U.S. visas necessary for our Cuban colleagues to attend the October LASA conference (and related activities). Among the Section initiatives here were: A) Meetings held in Havana with a representative of the U.S. Interests section where a process was formulated that was designed to provide guidelines and assistance to our Cuban colleagues who would be applying for visas and to assure that there would be sufficient time to deal with any problems that might arise; and B) throughout the summer and early fall, 2004, the monitoring of developments with regard to the visa applications. In particular, close coordination occurred with the Congressional office of Rep. Delahunt (Democrat, Massachusetts). Delahunt's office established contacts with other members of Congress who had indicated a willingness to provide assistance with the visa question.

Unfortunately, the final outcome was denial of ALL applications by Cuban academics to attend and participate in the LASA conference as well as related visitation activities based on invitations from various U.S. universities and scholarly organizations. The Cuba Section, LASA, and others took steps to assure that this outrageous decision was widely reported in the mass media as well as through key academic channels (e.g., the *Chronicle of Higher Education*). The result was widespread denunciation of this action and a commitment by various organizations such as LASA, the American Political Science Association, the American Association of University Professors, and the Washington Office on Latin America to work together to reverse the policy decision which produced these visa denials and to end the travel ban in general.

The Section also initiated a process to make an award at every LASA conference to a scholar who has made outstanding contributions to the field of Cuban Studies. The recipient of the 2004 award was Dr. Louis A. Perez, Jr. of the University of North Carolina/Chapel Hill.

Currently there are two Section websites, which ultimately will be combined into one seamless operation. The current officers of the LASA Cuba Section follow. (A * denotes elected in 2004.) Co-chairs: *Rolando García Quiñones (in Cuba) and *Sheryl Lutjens (outside Cuba). Executive Board: *Milagros Martínez (in Cuba), Mayra Espina (in Cuba), Holly Ackerman (outside Cuba), John Kirk (outside Cuba) and Secretary/Treasurer: *Miren Uriate.

Culture, Power and Politics

Submitted by Vice-chair Marc Zimmerman
and Chair Claudia de Lima Costa

The Culture, Power, and Politics Section held its business meeting in Las Vegas on October 7, with the participation of 11 section members. Claudia de Lima Costa, outgoing Section chair, presented a summary of the board activities for the period 2003-2004, including a financial report and a report on the Section's proposed goals in the Dallas business meeting and what the board did accomplish. The newly elected board Vice-chair, Marc Zimmerman <mzimmerm@central.uh.edu>, was introduced. The incoming Chair, Mirta Antonelli, was represented by the Vice-chair. Discussion proceeded about how to encourage greater involvement by the membership in the election of new board officers (only 11.2 percent of the Section members voted in the election for the two candidates for Vice-chair), as well as how to insure that Section members volunteer to serve as officers in the Section board. In the past election there were two candidates for Vice-chair and the Section still needs to hold elections for the following council members: treasurer and elections coordinator. The board members for the incoming term are: Mirta Antonelli, Chair; Marc Zimmerman, Vice-chair; Liv Sovik, Program Coordinator. Patricio Navia, Communications Coordinator, who officially resigned his position in the board, will be substituted by an interim officer until new elections are held for that position.

Section members agreed that we needed to prioritize intra-group communication. To accomplish the Section projects set forth in

the Dallas Section Business Meeting in 2003, we need to improve our interaction as community. The Section members were also updated on the progress of the new Section web page, which will be shortly launched.

For LASA2006, Marc Zimmerman and Liv Sovik will serve as LASA Program Track co-chairs for the track Culture, Politics, and Society. They will be welcoming panels involving the culture-politics nexus that include the concerns of the Culture, Power and Politics Section, but also other versions of cultural studies and cultural politics, acting with equity and inclusiveness with all tendencies. It was discussed that the Section could propose its own sessions as well as participate in sessions with other sectors or individuals. However, no decisions were made about panels for LASA Puerto Rico, including decisions about other Section matters discussed above, due to lack of quorum. Section board members will communicate with the membership in some structured way to ask for suggestion for major themes members wish to articulate through workshops, roundtables and regular conference sessions for LASA Puerto Rico.

Decentralization and Sub-national Governance

Submitted by Chair Eliza Willis

The Section held its business meeting at LASA2004 with ten members in attendance. Eliza Willis, outgoing Section chair, thanked Maria Escobar-Lemmon for organizing the Section's panel, "Evaluating Decentralization: Latin America's Experience". The panel included high quality papers with diverse perspectives presented in English, Spanish, and Portuguese. Based on the current membership of 70, the Section will be permitted to organize one panel for LASA2006. Willis also announced the recipients of the Best Paper Prize for LASA2003. They are Tulia Falleti and co-authors, Maria Escobar-Lemmon and Erika Moreno. Members unanimously elected Al Montero as the new Section chair. He will join Mary Rose Kubal (Secretary-Treasurer) and Maria Escobar-Lemmon and three newly elected Section council members, Margaret Keck, Emma Zevallos, and Andrew Selee, who were selected through electronic election. Members decided to continue awarding a prize for the best paper presented at LASA Congresses but to shorten the timeframe for submission and announcing the award. It was also recommended that Section dues be used to cover partial travel expenses of a Section member in Latin America to present a paper at LASA2006 on a topic related to decentralization or sub-national studies. Other suggestions focused on ways to increase membership in the Section through networking, enhancing the usefulness of the listserv as a tool to support research and communication among Section members, and creating a Section web page to be hosted by the LASA Secretariat.

Defense, Democracy and Civil-Military Relations

Submitted by Co-chair Sam Fitch

The meeting was opened by Hector St. Pierre, the Latin American Co-chair, and Sam Fitch, acting U.S. Co-chair replacing Johanna Mendelson, who resigned in 2003 because of her new duties with the United Nations Foundation.

Discussion then focused on how to make the Section more useful to the membership, beyond the two Section-sponsored panels at LASA Congresses. Two specific ideas were recommended. The first is that an effort be made to provide papers written for LASA panels and other venues available on a website easily accessible to Section members. Marcela Donadio generously offered to make space available on the RESDAL website. Second, it was agreed that it would be useful to collect brief biographies and descriptions of current research, so that members would be able to identify and contact those with similar research interests.

In order to implement these ideas, those present decided that it would be desirable to have a Program Committee in addition to the Co-chairs. In keeping with the finest traditions of forced conscription, Francisco Rojas (FLACSO-Chile) and Sam Fitch (University of Colorado) were elected as Co-chairs, and Marcela Donadio (RESDAL), Tom Bruneau (Naval Postgraduate School), and Kristina Mani (Oberlin College) were named as members of the Program Committee, along with Rojas and Fitch. The meeting ended with a vote of thanks for outgoing and former Co-chairs, Hector St. Pierre and Johanna Mendelson.

Ecuadorian Studies

Submitted by Chair Ximena Sosa-Buchholz

La Sección Estudios Ecuatorianos tuvo su reunión el jueves 7 de Octubre de 2004 con la asistencia de 35 miembros. La Sección cuenta con 133 miembros. Por primera vez hicimos una recepción en conjunto con la Sección del Perú. Esperamos continuar realizando actividades en conjunto.

Fueron re-elegidos por unanimidad la presidenta de la Sección, Ximena Sosa-Buchholz, y el miembro del consejo directivo, Michael Handelsman. Se eligieron nuevos miembros del directorio: Will Waters, como Vice-presidente de la Sección, Brian Selmeski, como secretario, Scott McKinney como tesorero, Carlos de la Torre y Victor Breton Solo de Zaldivar, como miembros del consejo, Michelle Wibbelsman, como coordinadora de enlace y Ma. Isabel Silva, como coordinadora de los Derechos Humanos.

Debido al éxito del segundo encuentro, (concurrieron 270 personas entre ponentes y asistentes), la Sección planea tener otro encuentro en 2006 en la FLACSO en Quito. Se tratará de dar ayuda financiera a académicos que no puedan financiarse su viaje a nuestro al próximo encuentro. Estamos en el proceso de crear un comité que seleccionará las ponencias del segundo encuentro que serán publicadas en Quito.

Michelle Wibbelsman como nueva coordinadora de enlace propuso actualizar información de los miembros, de tal manera que se incluya publicaciones recientes y syllabi. Además se planea formar un comité para redactar un documento con las reglas internas de la Sección.

Educación y Políticas Educativas en América Latina

Submitted by Christopher Martin, Chair

The Education and Education Policies Section held its business

meeting during the recent LASA conference on the evening of Thursday 7th October. There were 35 persons present. Attendance was limited due to Latin America-based members' lack of funds, resulting in their having to cancel their presence in the conference. This included one of the Co-chairs. The elections for the coming year were held and Chris Martin was asked to continue the chairpersonship of the Section, but with support from Maria Beatriz Luce to develop the Section in Brazil. Martin will also count on support from Ruth Sautú and probably Graciela Riquelme to coordinate the section in the Southern Cone and Andean region. The main policy decision of the meeting was for each member to promote the Section more within LASA and most importantly among colleagues of the Section members. To this effect, we are composing a letter and developing a web page. We are also planning to have a day's pre-conference meeting on a theme of common concern to the Section members just before the 2006 LASA conference. We will also actively seek more funds to augment attendance in this conference. This year many members could not attend for financial reasons. The two main strategies will be to seek patrons in the U.S. universities in good time, perhaps in return for lectures given by those supported, and to contact foundations also with plenty of anticipation.

Europe and Latin America (ELAS)

Submitted by Chair Laurence Whitehead

En la reunión, a la que asistieron doce miembros, se realizó un balance de lo actuado durante el periodo 2003-2004: a) Organización del panel "*The Political Economy of Bi-Regionalism*" en LASA 2004; b) Actualización y mejoramiento de la página *web*, c) Proyecto de publicación en curso con las ponencias del Congreso anterior y d) Evolución de la membresía.

Posteriormente se procedió a la renovación del Comité Ejecutivo. Resultaron electos: Laurence Whitehead – University of Oxford (Chair); Andrés Malamud – CIES-ISCTE, Lisboa (Secretario-Tesorero); Carlos Quenan – Université de Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle; Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann – Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro; Sebastian Royo – Suffolk University; Miriam Saraiva – Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro; y Pablo Toral – Beloit College.

Entre las tareas previstas para el periodo 2003-2004 se establecieron: Modernización de la página *web* para proveer información sobre las actividades de la Sección y otras novedades, incluyendo links a las ponencias presentadas y a instituciones que desarrollan actividades afines; proponer a IRI-PUC la edición de la publicación conteniendo las ponencias de LASA 2003 más los trabajos que eventualmente se agreguen; promoción de dos paneles en LASA 2006: Migraciones transatlánticas Integración regional—Bi-regionalismo Seguimiento del proceso de organización de la Cumbre Euro-Latinoamericana, a desarrollarse en Viena en 2006; establecimiento de un premio para la mejor tesis de doctorado sobre temas relativos a Europa y América Latina, y de un subsidio para viajar a LASA a quien presente un trabajo en el marco de las sesiones de ELAS.

Gender and Feminist Studies

Submitted by Co-chair Elizabeth Maier

This past period was a good one for the Gender and Feminist Studies Section. After the post 9/11 general anemic deflation, we attempted to breathe some new life into the Section by focusing on the following activities: 1) redesigning and extending the web page; 2) organizing promoting four Section panels for the Las Vegas conference; 3) promoting and accessing funds for the Section's Pre-conference, and for a consequent publication on "30 Years of Feminist Agency in Latin America", funded by UNIFEM, with complementary funds for recording the pre-conference from the Center of Latin American Studies of San Diego State University.

Although the web page has existed for a number of years, we gave it a new look this year, redesigning both format and contents. Presently, it has a sub-page dedicated to the history of the Section; another with information on the Executive Committee; a page listing all the members of the Section, their institutional affiliations and e-addresses; another sub-page dedicated to Section News, where we announced the Section panels and the pre-conference; and another sub-page listing recent publications (books) of Section members. The Section's web page will shortly be migrated to Linda Stevenson's institution (new Executive Committee member), where a continuing process of cybernetic renovation is projected, in order to make the page more interactive, attractive, and useful to the Section's membership.

The Section organized the following four panels for the Las Vegas LASA Congress: 1) Mujeres transitando el mundo: migraciones femeninas a principios del Siglo XXI; 2) Gender Politics, neoliberalism and the swing to the left; 3) La institucionalización de la perspectiva de género: problemas y desafíos; and 4) Masculinity and Violence.

Approximately forty colleagues attended the Section's business meeting. On an exciting note, many of the attendees were younger professionals anxious to participate in Section affairs. A panorama of the year's work was presented in the meeting, particularly emphasizing the successful pre-conference that had just occurred. We also discussed the need for interactive communication between the Executive Committee and the membership. Because of its size, the Gender and Feminist Studies Section requires new strategies for a more efficiently interactive communication between the Executive Committee and the membership. This is one of the challenges that awaits the in-coming Committee. Linda Stevenson offered to improve the web page as the best mechanism for promoting that flow of communication. Some of the attendees also offered to participate in the Executive Committee's work this year, which is excellent news.

Given the confusion in the Section's electoral process, which left us without two in-coming Co-chairs, elections were held in the business meeting. The new Executive Committee is comprised of the following colleagues: Co-chairs: Alice Colon and Sara Poggio; Secretary/Treasurer: Linda Stevenson; vocales: Nathalie Lebon, Liz Maier, Graciela Di Marco, Cecilia Menjivar; and Marcela Rios Tobar.

Labor Studies

Submitted by Chair Joel Stillerman

The Section met on October 7, 2004, with twenty three people attending. Topics included a report on the Oct. 6 Section-sponsored mini-conference on labor and globalization, Section book and article awards, possible Section session topics for LASA 2006, efforts to increase Section membership, nominations for vacant positions in the Section, new Section initiatives, and Section support for proposed and actual LASA resolutions. At LASA2004, the Section sponsored three panels on the relations between unions and emerging social movements, the restructuring of the labor movement, and the new transnational economic order. The Section also sponsored a featured session summarizing the results of the mini-conference. Section prizes were awarded to Ann S. Blum, "Cleaning the Revolutionary Household," *Journal of Women's History*; Susie S. Porter (single-authored book), *Working Women in Mexico City*; and Rosalba Todaro and Sonia Yáñez (eds.) (anthology) *El Trabajo Se Transforma*. Officers elected were Salvador Sandoval (chair), Jean Mayer (secretary), Shareen Hertel (council), and Fernando Leiva (council). Sonia Larangeira and Ben Davis continue their terms on council until LASA 2006. Members suggested proposing future joint panels with Sections sharing common interests (e.g. social movements, gender, economics, Latino studies, or migration studies) to increase session attendance. Members suggested trying to increase membership by expanding the Section website and to maintain a sustained electronic discourse between Congresses. Members asked the chair to initiate a LASA resolution proposing that the organization place an escape clause in its hotel contracts so that it may abrogate them if the Congress hotel engages in unfair labor practices, as is currently occurring in a Hilton lockout of unionized San Francisco hotel workers. This request was transmitted at the Section chairs' meeting. LASA Executive Director Milagros Pereyra has pursued these issues for the LASA2006 Congress, and discussions with the LASA president and executive director continue on this topic. Members also requested that the chair ask at the Section chairs' meeting about the denial of visas to Cuban scholars wishing to attend LASA. LASA members gave initial (voice) approval at the LASA business meeting to two resolutions protesting the visa denial and restrictions on scholarly exchanges.

Section Officers include Chair Salvador A. M. Sandoval, Universidade Estadual de Campinas/Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, and Secretary Jean Mayer, Concordia University. Council members include Sonia Larangeira, Ben Davis, Shareen Hertel, and Fernando Leiva.

Latin America and the Pacific Rim

Submitted by Neantro Saavedra-Rivano, substituting for Co-chairs Sergio Cesarin and Won-Ho Kim

After verifying the presence of seven Section members, less than the requisite quorum, it was decided to proceed to the meeting on an informal basis. Neantro Saavedra-Rivano explained the special circumstance of both Co-chairs which led to the request by Won-Ho Kim for his substitution at the business meeting. In their

absence as well as that of the Section treasurer reports on activities were limited to those by individual members on their Section-related activities. A frank discussion took place as to the future of the Section and the measures needed to renew its original enthusiasm. All members present agreed that the membership and the potential of the Section warrant our combined effort to revive the Section.

In the absence of a quorum it was decided to proceed to the election of officers by e-mail. The group of Section members present discussed names of possible candidates for the various positions. It was decided that the meeting chair would contact them about their availability and also conduct the elections. After consultations, a single list of officers was presented to the membership. The electoral process was completed on October 26, 2004 with 21 section members voting unanimously for the proposed list.

Co-chairs: Blake Lohlin, Texas State University-San Marcos, and Neantro Saavedra-Rivano, Tsukuba University; Secretary-Treasurer: Rubén Berríos, Clarion College; Executive Council: Marcos Kamiya (Waseda University, Tokyo); Shigeru Kochi (Japan Center for Area Studies, Osaka); Gonzalo Paz (George Washington University).

The business meeting discussed some of the measures needed to reactivate the Section. Among these are: the development of additional activities to those taking place during LASA meetings; an increased interaction with other academic institutions devoted to themes related to ours; and the establishment of a means to maintain continuous communication with members, such as a mail list service or an Internet page for the section.

Latina(o) Studies

Submitted by Co-chairs Adrian Burgos and Ginetta Candelario

The Latina/o Studies Section has continued to enjoy rapid growth, with an 80 percent increase from the last Congress. One of the strengths and unique features of the section is its diverse membership geographically: 33 percent located in the Northeast, 22 percent in the Southwest, 19 percent in the Midwest, 14 percent in the South, and the remaining members coming from foreign countries including Mexico, Japan, and Australia. We were able to conduct three featured panels at the Las Vegas meeting, each organized around a particular thematic focus: "Gendering Latina/o Studies," "Latina/o Studies at the Crossroads," and "State of the Art: The Cutting Edge in Latina/o Studies."

The significance of the work undertaken by the Section and our membership has been reaffirmed by numerous events over the past eighteen months. As Latina/os in the United States and in transnational communities, we have again faced attacks from within the U.S. academy. Several members have already written opinion pieces published in newspapers and periodicals in the immediate aftermath of the Huntington article, while a few members have produced academic articles that critically engage and deconstruct the central arguments and implications of Huntington's work.

The Executive Board acknowledges the work that Fred Gleach has done in redesigning the Latina/o Studies Section web page, a much-needed update that provides the Section with a stronger web presence. The Section has once again collaborated with the *Latina/o Studies* journal, David Bull and the folks at Palgrave to co-sponsor the Latina/o Studies Section reception. We also thank the Section members who volunteered to serve on the two award committees. Serving on the Frank Bonilla Public Intellectual Award this year were Frances Aparicio, University of Illinois/Chicago; Félix Masud-Piloto, DePaul University; and Vilma Santiago Irizarry, Cornell University.

The continued growth of the Section has also prodded the Section to revisit (and rethink) some of current practices and the need for new positions. A significant issue is the nomination format for, and the election of, Section co-chairs. A concern that emerged during this past cycle has been the junior status of both co-chairs. Specifically, we recommend that when there are multiple junior and senior nominees for the position of co-chairs, the ballot clearly indicate the nominee's status (junior or senior). In such elections, the next co-chairs will be the nominees in each category that receives the most votes. In so doing, we can guarantee a mixture of senior and junior scholars within the Section's executive council and avoid the possibility of overburdening junior scholars.

It is also apparent to the Executive Council that the position of secretary-treasurer has become overburdened, since the secretary-treasurer has also begun to serve as an information clearinghouse within the Section. Thus, to better fulfill our Section's collective commitment to educate others and advocate for Latina/os, the Executive Council has proposed the creation of several new positions: 1) coordinator of electronic communications and 2) public relations liaison. These new positions, moreover, will allow the Section to have stronger lines of communications and to also have a more prominent voice in addressing national issues affecting Latina/os.

The Executive Council will also approach the membership about contacting the *Latino Studies* journal about jointly sponsoring an award for the best article published in the journal during each LASA cycle. The *Latino Studies* Best Article Award would recognize a piece that reflects an innovative scholarly approach to critical issues within the field.

Law and Society in Latin America

Submitted by Viviana Klugar and Margaret Popkin, Co-chairs

Victor M. Uribe-Uran chaired the business meeting on behalf of the two co-chairs who could not be present. Section enrollment and budget seem healthy, even more so considering that the two travel grants that were approved for participants in this congress (one for the amount of \$250; another for \$ 500) were both declined. Finally, it was reported that Maggi Popkin declines being considered as co-chair for the next cycle; Viviana Klugar is willing to continue.

Mark Ungar reported on an ongoing project sponsored by a small grant from the Ford Foundation submitted on behalf of the Section. Ten scholars will meet in Washington to discuss reports-in-

progress on prison conditions and police reform in Latin America. Line Schjolden reported on a conference she organized on the judicialization of politics and the role of courts in shaping policy. Twelve papers were commissioned and presented in London. There are plans to publish a volume on the subject.

Renzo Honores was elected unanimously as Section chair. Subsequent to election, there is a suggestion that the Section embrace a co-chair system whereby individuals serve for a two-conference-period with terms staggered. Therefore, it is agreed that Kluger be re-elected as a backup chair for another conference cycle, until the meeting in Puerto Rico. The election results will be sent electronically to Section members for ratification.

Following precedent it is proposed that the Section brainstorm on possible topics for panels in the forthcoming Congress. The first three that materialize will likely be the ones sponsored. The others could be submitted to the Law and Jurisprudence Track that Uribe-Uran and Kluger will be co-chairing. The agreed-upon themes include: Judicial budgets. Comparative perspectives. Arturo Alvarado, Colegio de México; Military Justice Systems. Comparative perspectives. Jorge Zaverucha, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco; Contemporary legal training. Comparative views. Eduardo Zimmerman, Universidad de San Andrés and Joseph Page, Georgetown; Historical panel. Renzo Honores, Florida International University and Victor Uribe, FIU; Prisons and penal reforms: reports on a project. Mark Ungar; and Litigants in courts. Bill Suarez-Potts, Harvard. In the interest of calling attention to the Section, possibly increasing membership, and making event more dynamic than traditional panels, it was suggested that the Section consider using one of the three slots in the forthcoming LASA Congress for a special event, perhaps a plenary session or a keynote address by a major figure. It was suggested that the Section put together a periodic newsletter which might be sent every two months. There is concern over whether or not there continues to be a website. There is interest in converting it to an institutional activity sponsored by the Section. Participants agree that new chair be given some discretion to explore spending a modest monthly amount from the Section's budget (\$ 40 to \$ 70) to pay a webmaster.

Lesbian and Gay Studies (Now known as Sexualities Studies)

Submitted by Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes, Chair

The Section sponsored two panels, a business meeting, and a reception at the October 2004 Las Vegas conference. These two panels were: "New Trends in Latino/Latina Queer Studies," including Raul Rubio (Wellesley College), Juana Maria Rodriguez (University of California, Davis); and Ricardo Ortiz (Georgetown University); and "Queer/Trans/Caribbean Locations," chaired by Laura Gutierrez (University of Iowa) and including Roger Lancaster (George Mason University), Marcia Ochoa (Stanford University), Jacqueline Jiménez Polanco (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Santo Domingo), and Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor). Licia Fiol Matta (Lehman College, CUNY) served as the respondent for this last panel. Members suggested that greater efforts be made to ensure that at least one panel be in Spanish and/or Portuguese in 2006.

The Section's business meeting was attended by thirty people and led by Section Chair Lawrence La Fountain-Stokes and Secretary-Treasurer Dara Goldman (University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign). A number of important issues were raised in the discussion that ensued, including the need to implement the Section's Advisory Council that was approved in the 2003 meeting. At that time, it was suggested that this body would be composed by former chairs and co-chairs as well as members with long-standing interest in Section matters. The council is charged with assisting the chair or co-chairs with Section governance and business.

Issues of fundraising were widely debated. Members suggested co-sponsoring future receptions with other Sections as a way to lower costs, or having a reception outside of the conference hotel.

Members had proposed creating a task force on political asylum at the 2003 meeting; Maylei Blackwell volunteered to lead this effort in the future.

One of the most important issues discussed at the meeting was the proposal to change the section's name to "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Studies Section." After a lengthy and quite interesting debate, the section voted unanimously to change the name to "Sexualities Studies Section." Members felt that this name was more adequate, as it moved away from questions of strict identity politics and gestured towards the inclusion of Latin American debates on "diversidad/diversidade sexual" and included other constituencies and fields of study, such as sex work and sex workers, intersections of gender and sexuality, etc.

Members were generally enthusiastic about having some type of social or cultural event in San Juan, preferably outside of the hotel. La Fountain-Stokes suggested that efforts be made to ascertain whether there would be local interest (in Puerto Rico) for a pre-conference event, and newly elected co-chairs were entrusted to follow up on this matter.

Two new co-chairs were elected for a year-and-a-half term: Susana Peña (Bowling Green State University), and Carlos Decena (New York University) Dara Goldman will remain as secretary-treasurer during this time.

Paraguayan Studies

Submitted by Chair Tracy Lewis

The Section held its meeting during the Las Vegas conference of LASA; approximately 10-12 persons were in attendance. The meeting was chaired by Section President Tracy Lewis. Lewis was re-elected as Section president, and Teresa Mendez-Faith as Section vice-president. Both will serve until the next LASA Congress.

Concerning the Section's accumulated monies, the question was whether these can be used to pay LASA and Section membership fees, and/or to help defray costs of bringing members to the next LASA Congress. Dr. Lewis said he would seek answers at the Section Chairs' meeting to be held 10/8/04. (Lewis did inquire

about this; the answers were affirmative.) The rest of the meeting was consumed in discussing the Section's potential suspension for failing to meet the membership minimum of 50. Given ongoing difficulties with recruitment and confusion over the policy, as detailed in Lewis' e-mail of 4/1/04, focus was on how to debate the 50-member minimum at the next day's Section Chairs' meeting. Arguments were developed, which Lewis resolved to present. (This presentation was made; LASA expressed sympathy for the Section's problem, but in the short run at least is unable to alter the policy.) The Section must await the final tally of its membership before its future can be known. Suspension of the Section would be unfortunate, as it has been active in promoting LASA's mission with respect to Paraguay. Panels have been organized for the Las Vegas conference, and plans remain in place to co-sponsor, along with the Association of Paraguayanists, a conference in Asunción next year.

Peru

Submitted by Co-chair Gregory D. Schmidt

Thirty-one members attended the business meeting in Las Vegas. The main order of business was the election of new officers. The new chair is Patricia Ledesma Liébana of Northwestern University. Christina Ewig of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee will serve as secretary-treasurer. Teivo Teivainen of the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and the University of Helsinki was elected to the Section Council. The continuing members of the Council are César Ferreira of the University of Oklahoma, Juan Carlos Galdo of Texas A&M University, and Carlos Parodi of Illinois State University. The Council's *ex-officio* members are Moisés Arce of Louisiana State University (former co-chair), Mark Cox of Presbyterian College (webmaster), and Gregory Schmidt of Northern Illinois University (former co-chair).

Most of the business meeting was devoted to a review of Section activities during the preceding term. The highlight was a three-day conference in Lima co-sponsored with the *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos* held in July 2004 to commemorate the latter's fortieth anniversary. For the Las Vegas Congress the Section organized three panels, awarded two partial travel grants, and co-sponsored a joint reception with the Ecuadorian Studies Section. Julio Carrión of the University of Delaware made the Section's list-serve more accessible while implementing measures to curtail spam. Mark Cox has graciously maintained the Section's web page.

The Section agreed to consider how it might facilitate the dissemination of scholarship to the *Biblioteca Nacional del Perú*. Other initiatives will be forthcoming from the new leadership.

Political Institutions

Submitted by David Samuels, Chair

The Political Institutions Section of LASA held its business meeting on Thursday Evening. Approximately 50 people attended. The Section elected Michelle Taylor-Robinson of Texas A&M University as the new Section chair, and Leslie Schwandt-Bayer of the University of Mississippi as the new Section secretary.

The Section presented "best paper" awards in two categories: best graduate student paper, and best faculty paper. The Section will continue to give these awards, forming a new committee for each conference. The Section's major new initiative, following unanimous passage of a resolution at the Section meeting, is to allocate \$1,000 of Section resources for the next four conferences to fund travel for scholars permanently based in Latin America to attend the LASA meeting. The Section chair will appoint a committee, which will take applications for the next conference, and the committee will decide how to allocate the funds.

Estudios Rurales

Submitted by Monica Bendini, Chair

De acuerdo a las propuestas emanadas de la reunión de Estudios Rurales (ER) en Dallas, la comisión coordinadora se abocó a programar, organizar y realizar las siguientes actividades:

Se envió a los colegas por lista foro rural la convocatoria de LASA a Proyectos Especiales inmediatamente de recibida del Executive Director de LASA, Reid Reading. Si bien miembros de nuestra sección presentaron proyectos, los mismos no fueron finalmente seleccionados. Trabajamos en la solicitud y actualización de membresías para LASA y para nuestra Sección cotejando listados de nuestro foro rural y de LASA (ER). El foro rural se ha mantenido activo por los colegas y es un canal de información muy importante para la Sección.

Organizamos dos paneles o sesiones de nuestra Sección para el Congreso de Las Vegas. Se organizaron dos paneles sobre el tema consensuado en la reunión de Dallas: Nuevas ruralidades en América Latina y El Caribe para el XXV Congreso en Las Vegas con panelistas de América en su conjunto y de España: a) Cambios y permanencias en los procesos rurales y agrarios y b) Mundialización y resistencias en el mundo rural. Se formó una comisión ad-hoc voluntaria para apoyar esta iniciativa, conformada por Cornelia Flora y Francisco García Pascual quienes luego oficiaron de chair de cada panel. Durante el Congreso de Las Vegas participaron 19 colegas en promedio en cada panel.

En la misma reunión de Dallas se aprobó por unanimidad la moción que los councilors de la Sección Martha Rees y Boris Marañón fueran propuestos como track chairs a la coordinadora del comité de programa de Congreso de las Vegas, Kristin Ruggiero, para la organización de sesiones múltiples sobre temas rurales y agrarios. En esa función, los councilors evaluaron la pertinencia de 29 ponencias, organizaron 17 sesiones y recomendaron a 13 colegas para recibir subsidios de LASA. Frances Aparicio a cargo del Comité de Programa del próximo Congreso en Puerto Rico solicitó a esta coordinación la designación de dos track chairs; respetando la moción mencionada y siguiendo el mismo procedimiento propuse a los councilor-elect, Neil Harvey y Niurka Pérez para desempeñar esa función. En la business meeting de Las Vegas se decidió que la nueva councilor Nora Hacen trabaje con Niurka Pérez en el Rural track para Puerto Rico teniendo en cuenta que la disposición de Niurka para el trabajo puede verse afectada por las acciones del gobierno de EEUU, también se decidió que Neil Harvey monitoree el tema.

Para motivar la participación al Congreso de Las Vegas, en Dallas se propuso la realización de una actividad pre o postcongreso. Cornelia Flora asumió la organización de un viaje de campo a comunidades rurales de Nevada. Junto con Alice Crites organizaron el viaje precongreso al valle del Moapa: "The Contest for Water and its Implications for Rural Areas: The Moapa Valley and its People and Survival Strategies". Participaron del viaje 16 miembros y en la business meeting de Las Vegas se decidió realizar una actividad similar en Puerto Rico con amplia difusión previa y Cornelia Flora y David Myhre se ofrecieron voluntariamente a coordinarlo. También se decidió que se destinará a esta actividad hasta mil dólares.

En Dallas, nuestros colegas Humberto González y David Myhre se comprometieron a trabajar para la difusión de las ponencias de ER a presentar en el Congreso de Las Vegas; inicialmente se acordó la edición de un CD y un portal para consultar las ponencias. Posteriormente habiendo LASA propuesto un CD general del Congreso, desestimamos la primera actividad y Humberto concretó la apertura del portal para realizar la captura de las ponencias a fin de lograr un mayor intercambio y discusión del trabajo que realizamos; y a su vez propuso promover las ponencias de la Sección y la de los paneles invitados en la página web concluido el Congreso.

En Dallas se iniciaron las nominaciones para cargos electivos (período 1 de noviembre de 2004 a 30 de abril de 2006), y se realizó posteriormente el conteo de balotas con los siguientes resultados: Chair elect: Sara Lara Flores y Councilors elect: Neil Harvey y Niurka Pérez. A fines de agosto de 2004 Sara Lara Flores renunció por razones personales a su cargo de Chair elect Niurka Perez, councilor elect, no fue autorizada a entrar en EEUU para el Congreso de Las Vegas junto con el resto de colegas cubanos, no pudiendo preverse qué pasará para Puerto Rico. En este contexto, en la reunión de Las Vegas, donde participaron treinta colegas de la Sección, se decidió que el councilor elect Neil Harvey sea chair de Sección desde el 1 de noviembre de 2004 y hasta Puerto Rico y se nominó además para asumir cargos en ese mismo período a: Councilor (reeemplazando a Neil Harvey): Nora Haenn, Arizona State; Secretary-treasurer: Kerry Preibisch, University of Guelph. Councilors: Martha Rees y Boris Maraño, Chair: Mónica Bendini y David Runsten continuó en su cargo de Secretario.

Otro tema que tuvo prolongado tratamiento en Las Vegas fue el relacionado con la propuesta de incentivo para estudiantes que faciliten la participación en LASA. Se decidió: Promover a estudiantes de países de América Latina y el Caribe (que no sean de EEUU ni de Canadá) a presentar ponencias a Estudios Rurales de LASA; la ponencia final debe llegar tres meses antes del Congreso a los councilors que ofician de track chair; las ponencias de estos estudiantes tendrán el siguiente tratamiento por parte de la Sección: ER enviará una carta de aceptación y aval al estudiante; ER pagará la inscripción al Congreso; ER pagará la membresía a LASA; ER tratará de asegurar el financiamiento de viaje por LASA. No se tiene, sin embargo, seguridad de LASA para la disponibilidad de ese financiamiento. Asimismo se solicitó a Neil Harvey en su carácter de nuevo chair pueda informarse sobre los miembros de la Sección que recibieron apoyo financiero para Las Vegas.

Scholarly Research & Resources

Submitted by Pamela Graham, Chair

Twenty-five persons attended the section business meeting. No Section elections were held in Las Vegas.

Scott Van Jacob, the chair of LARRP, which is affiliated with the Association for Research Libraries and the Center for Research Libraries, discussed plans for a grant proposal to digitize Latin American presidential documents. We discussed possibilities for further cooperation and coordination between LARRP and the Scholarly Research & Resources Section.

The Library of Congress Hispanic Division described their Portals Project (to develop links to key online resources on Latin America). The editors of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* also provided an update on new developments in the functionality of the HLAS database.

Representatives of JSTOR and Project Muse appeared on a Section-sponsored panel at LASA 2003, and we heard about their ongoing plans to include full-text journals covering Latin American and Iberian studies.

At LASA2004 the section sponsored a panel entitled, *New Trends in Electronic Publishing in Latin America: Emerging Models for E-journals and Digital Libraries*, featuring Dr. Dominique Babini, CLACSO, Buenos Aires; Ms. Andrea Ferreira Gonçalves, Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO), São Paulo, Brazil; and Dr. Rosario Rogel Salazar, Red ALyC, Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México. The Section also sponsored a reception. The Section plans to sponsor at least one panel for LASA2006. Possible themes are comparative discussions of major grant-funded digital projects; a roundtable on special collections and archives; and a discussion of patterns of scholarly communication and research among Latin Americanists.

Social Studies of Medicine (Now known as Health, Science and Society)

Submitted by Charles Briggs, Chair

The term 2003-2004 was an eventful period for the Section (formerly called Social Studies of Medicine). The cadre of officers increased to include Secretary-Treasurer Ann Blum and Council Members Arachu Castro, Adriana Garriga López, Mario Pecheny, and Sheila Tully. In order to draw together health-related sessions, increase their visibility in LASA, and provide a space for historical and contemporary studies of science, a program track entitled Health, Science, and Society was instituted, and Section Chair Charles Briggs was named track chair.

In Las Vegas, the track included seven sessions; panels were also placed in other tracks, and LASA held a featured session on Health and Human Rights with leading scholars and public figures, including Asa Cristina Laurell, the Director of Health for Mexico City. At the business meeting, the Section was renamed *Health, Science, and Society* in order to include public health and medicine, embrace historical and contemporary perspectives, and incorporate science studies. Plans for 2005-6 include inaugurating

senior book and student article prizes on Latin American health, articulating the importance of health and science to issues of interest to other LASA members, expanding the membership, organizing innovative thematic sessions for the 2006 Congress, and placing health and science news in the *LASA Forum*.

New officers are Co-chairs Diego Armus (Swarthmore College) and Gabriela Soto-Laveaga (University of California, Santa Barbara), Secretary-Treasurer Mario Pecheny (University of Buenos Aires/CONICET), and Council Members Ann Blum (University of Massachusetts, Boston), Arachu Castro (Harvard University/Partners in Health), Marcos Cueto (Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia), and Ann Zulawski (Smith College).

Venezuelan Studies

Submitted by Leo Ledezma, Chair

Despite travel difficulties for some members and the scheduling of competing events at the same time as the Section meeting, the business meeting was well attended. Approximately 37-40 people were present. Since Leo Ledezma, outgoing President, was unable to attend, the first half of the meeting was chaired by Cathy Rakowski, Secretary-Treasurer.

Rakowski reported on the Section's activities for the preceding 18 months. Attempts were made to organize a post-LASA2003 conference in Venezuela to be held in mid-2004. The increasingly difficult political and economic situation led the organizers (Mauricio Pérez-Badell, María Pilar García-Guadilla, Raquel Gamus, Thais Maingon) to cancel plans. Most of the section's work focused on maintaining the website and the sv-s-pol discussion site and conducting business by e-mail; this included forwarding announcements and requests for information or assistance by students and researchers (all of which were answered by colleagues willing to assist). We also helped organize and sponsored two panels at LASA2004, one chaired by María Pilar García-Guadilla and the other chaired by Elizabeth Nichols.

It was suggested that we consider book or paper awards of \$150 each; members of the Council/Executive Committee will consider the options and make recommendations at a later date.

The web manager/discussion site manager was unable to attend the meeting but sent the following information and questions/suggestions that we did discuss to a limited extent: What features of the SVS website should be eliminated, expanded, revised? This was discussed very little and there was a request for specific suggestions to be made by Margaret and the new Council/

Executive Committee. Should the web page continue to be on MM's personal page at UMichigan or might we want to move it to a commercial site? We will explore a move to Georgetown University (folks at the Venezuelan Program of the Latin American Studies Center there have expressed interest) and will find out what opportunities or restrictions might apply such as "who would have access and could make changes to the page"? Angelo Rivero-Santos, Elizabeth Nichols and Kim Morse volunteered to manage particular pages or tasks involved in updating the site. In response to complaints about recent postings to the sv-s-pol discussion site, it was decided that the Council/Executive Committee would come up with a protocol and rules of expected conduct to govern participation. Those breaching protocol could be suspended for a period of time, but there was no support for any kind of direct censorship applied to discussions.

The outgoing members of the Council/Executive Committee were thanked for their work: Emperatriz Arreaza, Mauricio Pérez Badell, Raquel Gamus, Ana Emilia León, Dan Hellinger, Kim Morse, Cathy Rakowski. Elizabeth Nichols, a continuing member, conducted the call for nominations, sent out the ballot, and counted the votes returned. Both Dan Hellinger (elected President/Chair) and Cathy Rakowski (Secretary) were elected by an overwhelming majority. Both Margarita López-Maya and Valia Pereira were elected by an overwhelming majority of the votes. In the case of members resident outside of Venezuela, there was a virtual 4-way tie, with Kim Morse, David Smilde, Miguel Tinker Salas and Magaly Sanchez each receiving over 1/3 of the votes. Elizabeth proposed that all four be included on the committee and that two of the four be asked to volunteer to serve an 18-month term and two to serve a three-year term so that we can continue to have staggered terms for committee members. Kim Morse agreed to serve an 18-month term; one more person will need to do so. The newly elected members join continuing members Elizabeth Nichols and Carlos Blanco.

Dan Hellinger led a discussion of ideas for paper or book prizes, the rationale, and eligibility (prizes for students, for young scholars, etc.). No decisions were made, but all ideas were gathered for consideration by the Council/Executive Committee at a later date. Several persons present supported the idea for another post-LASA conference in Venezuela. We discussed the feasibility and cost. There was a discussion of the need for volunteers to assist with the website, and the proposal to move the site to Georgetown University was discussed.

Section reports from **Central America, Film Studies, Haiti/Dominican Republic, LAMA (Environment), and Southern Cone Studies** Sections will be presented in the Spring 2005 issue of the *LASA Forum*



PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Opposing Currents: The Politics of Water and Gender in Latin America, edited by LASA member **Vivienne Bennett**, Sonia Dávila Poblete and María Nieves Rico, was recently published by the University of Pittsburgh Press. According to LASA past president Carmen Diana Deere, the volume “provides a comprehensive overview of women’s disadvantages with respect to water rights in Latin America and why and how this matters.”

Rutgers University Press is publisher of *Resurgent Voices in Latin America: Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Political Change*, edited by LASA members **Edward L. Cleary** and **Timothy J. Steigenga**. This work brings data and challenging insights to the analysis of religion and political mobilization among indigenous people in Latin America.

The Mexico City Reader, edited by LASA member **Ruben Gallo** was recently published by the University of Wisconsin Press. The essays included in this anthology were written by a panoply of writers, from well-known authors like Carlos Monsiváis and Jorge Ibaguengoitia to younger figures like Fabrizio Mejía Madrid and Juieta García González, all of whom are experienced practitioners of the city.

LASA member **Lesley Gill** is author of *The School of the Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas*, published by Duke University Press. Professor Gill provides a comprehensive picture of the School and the opposition to it. The author’s interviews, conducted in the United States, Bolivia, Colombia, and Honduras, provide insights into the School’s mission and training methods and how the School’s students, alumni, and officers perceive themselves in relation to the dirty wars that have raged across Latin America.

Ohio University Press has published *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas*, by LASA member **Karen Kampwirth**. Drawing on more than two hundred interviews with women in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Mexican state of Chiapas, Kampwirth tells the story of how the guerrilla wars led to the rise of feminism, why certain women became feminists, and what sorts of feminist movements they built.

The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic, from the Captains General to General Trujillo (University of Nebraska Press) by LASA member **Valentina Peguero**, traces the interaction of the military and the civilian population, showing the many ways in which the military ethos has permeated Dominican culture. Peguero synchronizes the history of the Dominican military and that of Dominican society from her dual perspectives as a native of the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo era and as a historian who is well acquainted with the country’s history and literature.

The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader, edited by LASA members **Ana del Sarto**, **Alicia Rios**, and **Abril Trigo**, was recently published by Duke University Press. This volume brings together thirty-six field-defining essays by prominent theorists of Latin American cultural studies. It traces the complex development of Latin American cultural studies from its roots in literary criticism and the economic, social, political, and cultural transformations wrought by neoliberal policies in the 1970s.

LASA member **Julie D. Shayne** is author of *The Revolution Question: Feminism in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba*. According to LASA member Karen Kampwirth, “Julie Shayne has produced a well-written and thoughtful account of the importance of women to the success of revolutionary movements and the role of the revolutionary leadership in creating the conditions for the rise of feminist movements.”

Remembering Pinochet’s Chile. On the Eve of London 1998, by LASA member **Steve J. Stern**, was published by Duke University Press. In Peter Kornbluh’s words, “This is a book of uncommon depth and introspection. Stern has not only advanced the memory of the horrors of the military dictatorship; he has assured the place of Pinochet’s legacy of atrocity in our collective conscience.”

I Die with My Country: Perspectives of the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870, edited by Hendrik Kraay and LASA member **Thomas L. Whigham**, was recently published by the University of Nebraska Press. In this compilation of ten essays, historians from Canada, the United States, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay address the many tragic complexities of the Paraguayan War (1864-70). Each scholar examines a particular facet of the war, including military mobilization, home-front activities, the war’s effects on political culture, war photography, draft resistance, race issues, state formation, and the role of women in the war.

Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973-2002, edited by **Peter Winn**, was recently published by Duke University Press. According to LASA member Brian Loveman, “The great strength of this volume is that it provides readers with an original, historically based, human-focused analysis of the so-called Chilean miracle.”

Duke University Press has published *Catarino Garza’s Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border*, by LASA member **Elliott Young**. The author provides the first full-length analysis of the revolt and its significance, arguing that Garza’s rebellion is an important chapter in the formation of the border between Mexico and the United States and in the histories of both countries.

IN MEMORIAM

Brazilian political economist **Celso Monteiro Furtado** died on November 20, 2004 at 84 years of age. Celso Furtado devoted his entire life to the study of Brazilian and Latin American underdevelopment with a passion rarely seen in most economists and scholars.

The stubborn persistence of his project, consisting of a nationally integrated capitalist development combined with local decision-making centers capable of improving the quality of life of the population at large, sounds now like a fresh proposition to renew the development debate, interrupted, as we all know, by the hegemony of *la pensee unique* during the last two decades. The challenge, Furtado often repeated, is to give priority to social problems, and to develop our own policies for an autonomous integration into the global economic system. Brazilian economist Luiz Gonzaga Beluzzo captured the fundamental thought of Furtado in *Folha de São Paulo* (Nov. 22, 2004: A7): "We owe Furtado the comprehension of the specificity of underdevelopment and the understanding of a central question: peripheral countries are condemned to 'invent' their own development strategies. Otherwise, they will abandon their fate to the processes that generate dependence and backwardness."

Indeed, in the past, Latin American countries invented import-substitution industrialization, coupled with the expansion of the domestic market, through income redistribution and agrarian reform, under the guidance of a developmentalist state. This was, in the words of Cristobal Kay (1989), "the challenge from the periphery" to the prevailing paradigm, namely, liberal modernization theories of the 1950s and 1960s—the same ones that reemerged in the guise of neoliberalism in the 1980s and 1990s.

The idea that underdevelopment is characterized by labor oversupply and by a capital-intensive technology imported from the center, and that this latter factor would prevent it from absorbing the working masses connected to the vast subsistence economy, is central to Furtado's later analyses. In his *O mito do desenvolvimento econômico* (1974), Furtado emphasizes the structural tendency of the Brazilian model to exclude the bulk of the population from the benefits of capital accumulation and technological progress.

Furtado became profoundly disenchanted with the path that industrialization took in Brazil and the rest of Latin America during the period of military dictatorships, and particularly after neoliberal globalization became hegemonic. In his last book, *Em Busca de Novo Modelo* (2002), Furtado vigorously centers his analysis on the elite consumption patterns that will continue to determine the two central features of Latin American peripheral economies: a tendency to continuous external indebtedness, and to income concentration. In Furtado's vision, the beneficiaries of this concentration practice economic populism, and then accuse popular politicians for increasing the public deficit. They also practice exchange rate populism on behalf of low inflation to facilitate the consumption of imported goods.

It is evident that Celso Furtado died frustrated with the deepening external vulnerability and loss of autonomy over crucial development policy decisions, rising unemployment, greater poverty, and worsening income distribution, produced by the onslaught of neoliberal globalization in Latin America. Furtado showed his profound disillusion in an incisive critique of the social and economic conditions of Brazil when he observed in *O longo amanhecer* (1999:26) that "In no moment of our history the distance between what we are and what we expected to be was so great." In *Brazil: a construção interrompida* (1992: 24, 30), Furtado offered a powerful insight of the impact of globalization in the periphery with a central question regarding "the future of areas in which the formation process of the national state is interrupted precociously." Anticipating events that would become a reality in many Latin American countries at the dawn of the 21st century, Furtado observed in the same book (1999:31) that "the breaks to this integration process will come from cultural factors," because "it will not be a surprise if population groups struggle to preserve their cultural roots and specific values" when they are threatened with extinction by the homogenization of behavioral patterns imposed by economic rationality.

Responding to a question (May 2000, in *Carta Capital*, Dec. 1, 2004:50) about the possibility of a victory of the Left in the 2002 Brazilian presidential elections, and of any potential changes of economic policy as a result of it, Furtado answered prophetically that there would be "almost no room to maneuver." The Cardoso government "reduced the capacity of resistance," he explained. Indeed, now it is clear that Lula is continuing with the IMF short-term orthodox economic policy imposed since the 1998 bail-out to build international confidence. Furtado had a last recommendation for the Lula government. He reminded the Worker's Party of one of his central ideas: "...To grow without development produces income concentration. And income concentration is anti-social by definition" (*Carta Maior*, November 11, 2004).

Furtado remained politically engaged until the very end with his alternative national development project to reduce the abysmal income gap in Brazil by widening the domestic market through income redistribution and agrarian reform. He never lost hope in the reconstruction of the nation and in the restoration of the legitimacy and capacity of the developmentalist state for an autonomous integration of Brazil and the Latin American region into the global economy. Here lies another major aspect of the relevance of Furtado's work: the resistance and the endurance of his central theses that retain the same explanatory power for understanding the true nature of Latin American underdevelopment. Now that the spectacular failure of neoliberalism is plain for all to see, Furtado's legacy will continue to inspire Latin Americans beginning a new search for a nationally and socially-driven alternative. Furtado already launched his summons: "The starting point of any new alternative national project will have to be, inevitably, the growing participation and power of the people in the decision-making process of the nation."*

*Cited by Maria Conceição Tavares in her presentation of *Celso Furtado e o Brasil*, São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2000.

By Geisa Maria Rocha, Rutgers University



EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Director, Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies

The University of Texas at Austin has opened a national and international search for Director of the Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies (LLILAS). With over 120 affiliated faculty members, a substantial endowment, a dynamic student program, a vibrant intellectual community and the unparalleled Benson Latin American Collection, Latin American studies at the University of Texas is a high University priority and is world renowned. The Director of LLILAS will provide intellectual leadership and vision for our academic programs, will assume principal responsibility for the Institute's administration and development, and will represent the Institute to its diverse local, national and international publics. The successful candidate will be a distinguished intellectual, with academic credentials appropriate to his or her field of expertise. For more information on the Director's position, LLILAS and the University of Texas, please visit:

<<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/depts/llilas/about/search.html>>.

The University of Texas at Austin is an AA/EO employer, and will conduct a background check on the successful candidate. The Search Committee encourages letters of inquiry, nominations, and applications. Please include a current vitae with these letters. We began to review these materials on 15 January 2005 and will continue until the position is filled. Please direct all communications to:

Charles R. Hale, Chair
LLILAS Director Search Committee
c/o Claudia M. Scarborough
Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies
The University of Texas at Austin
1 University Station (D0800), SRH 1.314D
Austin TX 78712-0331
<cmms@mail.utexas.edu>

The Institute for Liberal Arts and Interdisciplinary Studies at **Emerson College** is currently recruiting for two faculty positions to commence September 2005. Initial review of applications for these positions began on **February 1st, 2005**, and will continue until an appointment has been made. Applications, including a cover letter, *cv*, selected publications, evidence of teaching excellence, and three letters of recommendation, should be sent to:

David Bogen, Executive Director
Institute for Liberal Arts and Interdisciplinary Studies
Emerson College
120 Boylston Street
Boston MA 02116

Artist- or Scholar-in-Residence: Visual Arts/Performance Studies

Artist- or Scholar-in-Residence with primary specialization(s) in Visual Arts and/or Performance Studies. This position is a one-year, non-tenure track appointment (renewable annually for up to five years). Teaching responsibilities for this position will be three courses per semester, with primary responsibilities in the New Pathways Learning Communities Program. This person will also be expected to maintain a record of creative and/or scholarly work, and participate in faculty colloquia, teaching

workshops, and other academic programs organized by the Institute. Ph.D. or terminal degree, college-level teaching experience, and a strong commitment to interdisciplinary approaches to the liberal arts are required.

Scholar-in-Residence: Literature/Philosophy/Literary Theory

Scholar-in-Residence with primary specialization(s) in Literature, Philosophy, and/or Literary Theory. This position is a one-year, non-tenure track appointment (renewable annually for up to five years). Teaching responsibilities for this position will be three courses per semester, with primary teaching responsibilities in the first year Honors Seminar. This person will also be expected to maintain a record of active scholarship and participate in faculty colloquia, teaching workshops, and other academic programs organized by the Institute. Ph.D., college-level teaching experience, and a strong commitment to interdisciplinary approaches to the liberal arts are required. Experience with collaborative approaches to teaching and familiarity with contemporary educational technologies is desirable. For more information about the Institute for Liberal Arts and Interdisciplinary Studies at Emerson College go to: <<http://www.emerson.edu/institute>>.



RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Latin American, Latino, and Caribbean Studies Program (LALACS) at **Dartmouth College** seeks candidates to nominate for the Rockefeller Post-Doctoral Fellowship for the academic year 2005-2006. The successful candidate from LALACS will be forwarded to a larger pool of applicants drawn from social science departments, interdisciplinary programs, and research groups within the Rockefeller Center. The fellowship is a nine-month commitment, with the possibility of a second nine-month renewal at the discretion of the Center's director. The term of appointment is September 1, 2005, through June 30, 2006. The total salary is \$34,000 and comes with full benefits. Candidates must have research interests in Latin American, Latino, and/or Caribbean studies and some aspect of public policy, and be eligible to teach a course for the Public Policy Minor that may also be cross-listed in the program. The fellow will have a joint appointment in the Program and the Center. Other expectations of post-doctoral fellows include the presentation of their research at a Rockefeller Faculty Seminar and participation in Center-sponsored events and program colloquia as appropriate. In addition, fellows are expected to acknowledge Rockefeller Center sponsorship in any publications resulting from research they undertake while in residence at the College. Application: *cv* and a brief statement of no more than two pages describing the fellow's research and likely contribution to the scholarly community at Dartmouth. Please send application to:

Israel Reyes, Chair
Latin American, Latino, and Caribbean Studies Program
6072 Silsby Hall
Hanover NH 03755-3570
Tel: 603-646-1640
Fax: 603-646-3050

Application deadline: **February 15, 2005.**

College and university instructors who teach Latin American philosophy—and those who have not taught it but would like to—should take note that an important event is scheduled for this summer at the State University of New York at Buffalo. **The National Endowment for the Humanities** is sponsoring a Summer Institute for College Teachers on the topic *Latin American Philosophy: The Appropriation of European Thought in Latin America* that is to run from June 6 to June 30 under the co-directorship of Jorge J.E. Gracia and Susana Nuccetelli. This is an excellent opportunity for philosophers, and for scholars in other disciplines such as Latin American studies, history, and comparative literature, to explore new ideas for curriculum development in a fast-growing new area of philosophy. The NEH is offering a stipend of \$3000 for each participant. A complete description of the program and directions for application are available at this web site: <<http://wings.buffalo.edu/philosophy/neh/index.htm>>.

Application deadline: **March 1, 2005**

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign/ University of Chicago

The UI-UC Consortium for Latin American Studies announces its annual Summer Visiting Scholars Competition for faculty from non-research U.S. universities and colleges. Recipients research and write on a Latin American topic for one month during the summer of 2005 at the Urbana/Champaign and/or University of Chicago campus and enjoy access to university libraries and resources. Awards include a stipend of \$2,500 for residence at Urbana or \$3,000 for residence at University of Chicago, and up to \$500 for travel to and from the recipient's home institution to either school. Residence must be completed by August 15, 2005. Successful applicant must verify eligibility to receive the award.

To apply, send a letter of interest, a curriculum vitae, one letter of reference, and a brief project proposal (approx. 500 words). There is no additional application form. Submit material by March 1, 2005 to:

Dain Borges, Director
University of Chicago
Center for Latin American Studies
5848 S. University Ave, Kelly Hall 310
Chicago, IL 60637

University of Chicago

Summer Intensive Aymara Institute

9:00am-12:30pm, June 20-August 19, 2005

The FLAS-eligible Aymara summer institute offers intensive 9-week instruction in introductory spoken Aymara, an indigenous language spoken by 1.8 million people primarily in Bolivia with smaller populations in Peru, Chile and Argentina. Instruction utilizes the text *Aymar Arux Akhamaya* and its accompanying CD-ROM dialogues, written and produced by the course instructor, as well as a wide variety of authentic cultural materials including film, literature, music, visual and mass media. Students acquire proficiency in formal language structures, conversation, aural and writing skills, and grammar. Instruction contextualizes Aymara language within its culturally-specific context. The course is appropriate for master's, doctoral, and advanced undergraduate students, particularly, though not exclusively, those in the fields of Andean anthropology and history, as well as students in linguistics. Cost to be announced. Application Deadline: May 30, 2005. For details contact jpbeck@uchicago.edu or visit <http://clas.uchicago.edu/thematic/aymara>. For an application visit <http://summer.uchicago.edu>.



FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The **Association of Latin American Scholars at Teachers College, Columbia University** presents the Third Annual Education Across the Americas Graduate Student Conference "Bridging Academia, Policies and Practices" co-sponsored by the Society of International Education, the Society of Economics of Education, the Coalition of Latino/a Scholars, and the Center for Peace Education at Teachers College, Columbia University to be held at Teachers College, Columbia University April 1-2, 2005. Papers will be considered for presentation if they relate to education in Latin America or the education of Latinos/as in the United States. Examples of topics include: Access and Equity, Educational Policy, Bilingual and Multicultural Education, Educational Leadership, Educational Finance, Education and Economic Development, Education of Minority Groups, Curriculum and Teaching, Education and Human Rights, Education and Exclusion, Transnational Learning (immigration, communication and multiculturalism), Gender and Race, Educational Policy, Educational Borrowing, and Education and Non-profits. Deadline for proposals: Friday, **February 18th, 2005**. Send proposals to <ALAS@tc.columbia.edu>.

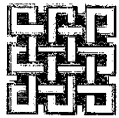
The **Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID)** invites policy makers, researchers, students, funders and activists to participate in the 10th AWID International Forum on Women's Rights in Development "How Does Change Happen?" The Forum will be held in Bangkok, Thailand, October 27-30, 2005. To organize a session, submit a proposal by **March 1, 2005** to <awidforum@awid.org>. The AWID Forum is not just another conference. Instead, it is a space for policy makers, researchers, students, funders, and activists to come together across generations, regions, issues, and sectors to celebrate and strengthen as a movement. Anyone committed to women's rights and gender and development is welcome to participate in the AWID Forum, either by attending and engaging, or by organizing a session in the program. A proposal for a session should consider one or more of the following topics: Defining the Change for Women's Rights, Building Stronger Movements, Catalysts and Tools for Change, and Anticipating the Changing Future. For more information about AWID and the 10th International Forum on Women's Rights in Development, visit <www.awid.org>.

La Universidad de Constanza con la coordinación del Profesor Dr. Hans-Georg Soeffner y la colaboración de miembros de la **Universidad de Buenos Aires** convocan a participar en la Conferencia Internacional "Identity Construction in Pluralist Societies/Construcción de Identidades en Sociedades Pluralistas" que tendrá lugar en Buenos Aires del **6-8 de abril de 2005** en el Instituto Goethe. Los principales oradores serán el Profesor Thomas Luckmann (Universidad de Constanza, Alemania) y el Profesor Néstor García Canelini (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México). La conferencia cuenta con el apoyo de la Fundación Volkswagen. Para mayor información y el envío

de abstracts por favor comunicarse con los responsables de cada workshop: 1) Procesos de Construcción de Identidades Argentinas. Silvana Figueroa, Universidad de Konstanz <Silvana.Figueroa@uni-konstanz.de>; 2) Mitos, Rituales y Eventos Colectivos en el Mundo del Gaucho y el Tango, Alejandra Navarro, Universidad de Buenos Aires <alej@infovia.com.ar>; 3) Las Metáforas del Ocultamiento y el Uso de la Mentira en la Cultura Argentina. Ruth Sautú, Universidad de Buenos Aires <rsautu@fibertel.com.ar>; 4) El Poder Integrativo de los Símbolos Colectivos (en Inglés). Jochen Dreher, Universidad de Konstanz <Jochen.Dreher@uni-konstanz.de>.

The **Colonial Americas Studies Organization (CASO)** will hold the Second International Interdisciplinary Symposium at the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá, Colombia, August 8-11, 2005. Panels and Individual paper presentations are sought on any topic related to the colonial experience of the Americas. Please send a one-page abstract by **April 15, 2005** to <caso@javeriana.edu.co>. The Colonial American Studies Organization (CASO) is a newly founded organization that has as its purpose to provide a forum for intellectual exchange on all matters pertinent to the advancement of the interdisciplinary study of the colonial Americas. For more information on CASO or the II International Interdisciplinary Symposium contact Luis Fernando Restrepo at <lrestre@uark.edu> or visit the Symposium's page at <<http://www.javeriana.edu.co/pensar/CASO.htm>>.

The Cuba Project, Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, **City University of New York** invites scholars to present papers for the symposium "Cuba in Transition?" The symposium provides an in-depth view of contemporary Cuban reality since the early 1990s. In a previous conference on the balance between continuity and change since the "Período Especial," we explored how the crisis of state socialism after 1980 challenged pre-existing policies, practices, and assumptions, providing incentives for innovation and change. That gathering's interdisciplinary perspective proved very fruitful in revealing significant forms of change and their sometimes tense relationship with continuity. The 2006 symposium relies on a similar approach to probe whether Cuban dynamics can effectively be viewed as a transition. To begin with, to what extent is the traditional transitions paradigm applicable to the Cuban case? In any case, in what direction is Cuba moving? This interdisciplinary symposium gathers scholars and other specialists interested in studying the prospects for change in economics, politics and policy models, civil society, art and literature, race relations and national identity, culture, and Cuba's role in world affairs. This event builds on the expertise of Cuba specialists at the City University of New York and previous participants of Cuba Project programs. Deadline for receipt of proposals is **December 1, 2005**. For more information visit <www.bildner.org> or <www.procuba.org>.



Latin American Studies Association

946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Fax: (412)624-7145 E-mail: lasa@pitt.edu Website: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP for Calendar Year 2005 or Optional Three-Year Membership

LASA is offering a three-year membership option for the period 2005 to 2007. If you elect the three-year option, protecting you against any dues raises in 2006 and 2007, your membership fee is three times the fee for the single-year rate. Note that this three-year option does not apply to student membership, which already has a limit of five years, nor does it apply to publications, as their rates are subject to change each year. Please check only one of the following:

Payment for calendar year 2005 only
Payment for the three-year period 2006 to 2007

Last Name(s): _____ First Name(s): _____ Middle Initial: _____

Mailing Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____ Country: _____

Business Telephone: _____ Home Telephone: _____

Fax: _____ E-mail: _____

Inst/Org Affiliation: _____ Discipline: _____

Country of Interest #1: _____ Country of Interest #2: _____

For statistical purposes only: Date of Birth (m/d/y): _____ Sex: _____

(Please see other side if adding a joint member.)

MEMBERSHIP RATES FOR YEAR 2005 AND FOR THE THREE-YEAR OPTION

REGULAR MEMBER

with gross calendar year income of:

	Year 2005	3 Years
Under \$20,000	\$33	\$99
\$20,000 to \$29,999	\$42	\$126
\$30,000 to \$39,999	\$52	\$156
\$40,000 to \$49,999	\$63	\$189
\$50,000 to \$64,999	\$75	\$225
\$65,000 to \$74,999	\$88	\$264
\$75,000 and over	\$102	\$306

STUDENT _____ \$25

JOINT MEMBERSHIP

(for second member at same mailing address as first member; one copy of publications will be sent.)

Choose this plus one other category. Add this to the rate for the higher income of the two members:

	Year 2005	3 Years
	\$30	\$90

LATIN AMERICAN RESIDENT

permanently residing in Latin America or the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico) with gross calendar year income of:

	Year 2005	3 Years
Under \$20,000	\$25	\$75
\$20,000 and over	\$38	\$114

LIFEMEMBER

\$2,500 or \$1,000 first installment
\$ _____

Total Member Dues

SECTION DUES (Indicate Sections, if any, you wish to join)

Membership in LASA Sections is optional. The fee for Section membership is \$8.00 per year, and just \$5 for LASA Life Members. Please check the Section(s) below you wish to join and indicate either year 2005 or the three-year option.

Year 2005	3 Years		Year 2005	3 Years	
___ \$8	___ \$24	Brazil	___ \$8	___ \$24	Gender and Feminist Studies
___ \$8	___ \$24	Business and Politics	___ \$8	___ \$24	Haiti/Dominican Republic
___ \$8	___ \$24	Central America	___ \$8	___ \$24	Health, Science, and Society
___ \$8	___ \$24	Colombia	___ \$8	___ \$24	Labor Studies
___ \$8	___ \$24	Cuba	___ \$8	___ \$24	Latin America and the Pacific Rim
___ \$8	___ \$24	Culture, Power and Politics	___ \$8	___ \$24	Latino Studies
___ \$8	___ \$24	Decentralization & Sub-national Governance	___ \$8	___ \$24	Law and Society in Latin America
___ \$8	___ \$24	Defense, Democracy & Civil-Military Relations	___ \$8	___ \$24	Paraguayan Studies
___ \$8	___ \$24	Ecuadorian Studies	___ \$8	___ \$24	Perú
___ \$8	___ \$24	Educación y Políticas Educativas en América Latina	___ \$8	___ \$24	Political Institutions
___ \$8	___ \$24	Environment	___ \$8	___ \$24	Rural Studies
___ \$8	___ \$24	Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples	___ \$8	___ \$24	Scholarly Research and Resources
___ \$8	___ \$24	Europe and Latin America	___ \$8	___ \$24	Sexualities Studies
___ \$8	___ \$24	Film Studies	___ \$8	___ \$24	Southern Cone Studies
			___ \$8	___ \$24	Venezuelan Studies

(over) 39

Total Section Dues

JOINT MEMBERSHIP (IF ANY)

If adding a joint member (same address required), supply the following information:

Last Name(s): _____ First Name(s): _____ Middle Initial: _____

Business Telephone: _____ Home Telephone: _____

Fax: _____ E-mail: _____

Inst/Org Affiliation: _____ Discipline: _____

Country of Interest #1: _____ Country of Interest #2: _____

For statistical purposes only: Date of Birth (m/d/y): _____ Sex: _____

OPTIONAL SPECIAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES FOR MEMBERS

NOTE: The multi-year option does not apply to the following products or services. **Payment is for year 2005 only.**

\$51 *Journal of Latin American Studies* \$20 *LASA Member Directory*

\$51 *Bulletin of Latin American Research* \$20 Air mail of *LASA Forum*
(international only)

Total
Prods/Svces

METHOD OF PAYMENT (Check one) PAYMENT MUST ACCOMPANY THIS FORM

Check payable to LASA
(in U.S. dollars drawn *only* on a U.S. bank)

Credit Card (*only VISA and MasterCard are accepted*)

U.S. dollar Traveler's Check
(with your two signatures, payable to LASA)

VISA or MasterCard number: _____

U.S. dollar Money Order

Expiration Date: ____/____/____

UNESCO coupon(s)

Signature: _____

If payment is by credit card, you may fax this form to (412) 624-7145. For all other forms of payment, mail to LASA, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

SUPPORT FOR LASA

My contribution to the **LASA Congress Travel Fund** for participants traveling from Latin America and the Caribbean \$ _____

My Contribution to the **LASA Student Travel Fund** to be used primarily for student participants traveling to LASA Congresses from locations outside Latin America and the Caribbean \$ _____

My contribution to the **LASA Humanities Endowment Fund** \$ _____

My contribution to the **LASA General Endowment Fund** \$ _____

Total
LASA Support

TOTAL AMOUNT DUE:

Voluntary Support

Gifts to the **LASA Endowment Fund** help ensure the continuation and enhancement of special programs not covered by ordinary income. Contributions may be directed to the **General Endowment Fund** or the **Humanities Endowment Fund**, the latter providing support specifically for scholars in the humanities. Gifts in the form of bequests are also encouraged.

Contributions to the **LASA Congress Travel Fund** or the **Student Fund** provide assistance specifically for the next Congress. For tax purposes, gifts to any of the four funds may be fully deducted as a contribution to a non-profit organization. For more information, please contact the LASA Secretariat at (412) 648-1907.

CALL FOR PAPERS

LASA2006 / De-Centering Latin American Studies

XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

March 15-18, 2006, San Juan, Puerto Rico

LASA President: Sonia E. Alvarez, University of California/Santa Cruz
Program Chair: Frances Aparicio, University of Illinois/Chicago

Congress Theme: From its inception, LASA has proven to be a vital forum for scholarly collaboration and intellectual exchange among U.S.-based Latin Americanists and colleagues in Latin America, the Caribbean, and around the globe. Yet despite our growing international membership (currently nearing 30 percent), Latin American Studies, as an institutionalized knowledge formation, remains largely centered in the US and LASA is arguably still a "US-centric" area studies association. The 2006 Congress seeks to further the "de-centering" and transnationalization of the field by featuring sessions on how the study of Latin America, the Caribbean and its peoples is practiced in distinctive ways within the US (e.g., Latin American/Latina-o Studies), in Latin America and the Caribbean, and in other regions of the world. The Congress would hope to build on the wide variety of approaches and epistemologies that emerge from multiple positionalities and diverse geopolitical locations in collectively (re)imagining Latin American Studies for the 21st century.

You are invited to submit a proposal for LASA2006 addressing the above theme and/or any topics related to the program tracks listed below. A complete electronic copy of the proposal, including requests for travel grants by proposers residing in Latin America or the Caribbean, or requests for student travel grants, must be sent to the LASA Secretariat (lasa@pitt.edu or lasacong@pitt.edu) by *April 1, 2005*. On-line proposal forms will be available at <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu> after December 1, 2004. **The Secretariat will send confirmation of the receipt of the proposal via e-mail.**

No submissions by regular mail will be accepted. E-mail inquiries may be sent to lasa@pitt.edu.

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

Agrarian and Rural Issues

Neil Harvey, New Mexico State University
Nurka Perez, University De La Habana

Art History and Architecture

Luis Aponte Pares, University of Massachusetts - Boston

Children, Youth and Youth Cultures

Vicky Mayer, Tulane University

Cities and Urban Studies

Brian Wampler, Boise State University

Citizenship, Social Justice, and Human Rights

Fiona Macaulay, University of Oxford

Culture, Politics, and Society

Marc Zimmerman, University of Houston
Liv Sovik, Universidade Federal Do Rio de Janeiro

Democratization

Kathryn Hochstetler, Colorado State University
Elizabeth Friedman, University of San Francisco

Economies: Local, Regional, Global

Alfred Montero, Carleton College

Education and Educational Policies

Rene Antrop Gonzalez, University of Wisconsin/Milwaukee
Anthony De Jesus, City University of New York

Environmental Issues and Environmental Justice

Yvette Perfecto, University of Michigan

Expressive Cultures: Visual Arts, Music, Theater, and Dance

Luis Ramos Garcia, University of Minnesota

Film and Documentary Studies

Catherine Benamou, University of Michigan

Feminist Studies

Pat Zavella, University of California/Santa Cruz

Genders, Sexualities and LGBT Studies

Juanita Diaz, State University of New York/Binghamton

Globalization and Transnationalism

Millic Thayer, University of Massachusetts/Amherst

Histories and Historiographies

Gabriela Arredondo, University of California/Santa Cruz

Christopher Boyer, University of Illinois/Chicago

Health, Science, and Society

Sonia Draibe, State University of Campinas

Indigeneities and Ethnicities

Maylei Blackwell, University of California/Los Angeles

Labor Studies and Class Relations

Marta Panaia, Universidad De Buenos Aires

Latina/Os in the United States

Ginetta Candelario, Smith College

Law, Jurisprudence, and Society

Viviana Kluger, Universidad de Buenos Aires

Literary Studies: Colonial and Nineteenth Century

Luis Fernando Restrepo, University of Arkansas

Literary Studies: Contemporary

Nicasio Urbina, Tulane University

Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary Approaches

Silvia Spitta, Dartmouth College

Mass Media and Popular Culture

Arlene Dávila, New York University

Migration and Cross-Border Studies

Alejandro Grimson, Universidad De San Martin
Jorge Duany, Universidad de Puerto Rico

Performance Studies

Diana Taylor, New York University

Politics and Public Policy

Celi Pinto, Universidade Federal Do Rio Grande Do Sul

Race, Racisms, And Racial Politics

Edmund Gordon, University of Texas/Austin

Religion, Religiosity, And Spirituality

John Burdick, Syracuse University

Social Movements, Civil Society, NGO's, and the Third Sector

Amalia Pallares, University of Illinois/Chicago

Technology, Scholarly Resources, and Pedagogy

Rory Miller, University of Liverpool

TYPES OF SESSIONS

Panels: Presentation and discussion of papers prepared specifically for the Congress. Proposals should include a minimum of 4 and a maximum of 6 papers. The Program Chair has the prerogative to add panelists to any session with fewer than six presenters. At the panels, papers should be *summarized, only, to provide adequate opportunity for discussion and audience participation.*

Workshops provide an opportunity for the exchange of information and ideas among several individuals. They are organized to address a theme; discussion is informal and **papers need not be presented.**

Events, Meetings and Special Sessions: For LASA and non-LASA affiliated meetings, receptions and other special events.

Criteria for Selecting Papers, Panels, and Workshops

- Session proposal or paper is **significant for the field.**
- Session proposal or paper is **clearly and succinctly presented.**
- Session proposal or paper is **conceptually and theoretically adequate.**
- Potential of the proposal for **enriching the proceedings** of the Congress.
- For session proposals, diversity of the participants, including place of residence and institution, and level of education.
- Proposals addressing the 2006 Congress theme are encouraged.

The Program Committee will make judgments about the probable *viability* of panels composed wholly or mainly of proposed participants who would require significant travel support for travel over long distances. Notifications to all proposers are scheduled for mailing by **September 23, 2005.**

ROLES

There are several roles at LASA Congresses, including session chair, discussant, workshop participant, and paper presenter. A participant generally is limited to only two roles in the overall Congress program; only if an individual participates in a Section session may s/he have a third role (discussant, chair, workshop participant). Session organizer does not count as one of these roles. Nevertheless, for the duration of the Congress **an individual is limited to only one paper presentation in a session of any type.** Please follow the rules strictly and do not request exceptions.

General Instructions for Session Proposals and Individual Paper Proposals

- Ensure full consideration by following all instructions thoroughly.
- Provide sessions and paper titles in the language in which they will be presented. Sessions and papers may be in English, Spanish or Portuguese
- Indicate clearly the **TRACK** for which the session or paper should be considered.
- Session organizers must list participants in the expected order of appearance.
- All addresses must be current and complete. **Incomplete proposals will not be accepted. If the Secretariat is not notified of address changes, it is not responsible for missing correspondence.**

LOOK FOR THE LASA2006 CALL FOR PAPERS AND ELECTRONIC PROPOSAL FORM AT THE LASA WEBSITE AFTER DECEMBER 1, 2004

Responsibilities of Session Organizers

- **Obtain the approval** of anyone you are proposing as a **participant. This is imperative.**
- Make sure that any individual proposed as a paper presenter **does not** (or will not) **appear as a paper presenter on another session proposal**, does not/will not have more than two formal roles on the program (except as above) nor submit a proposal for an individual paper proposal on his/her own.
- Submit an **electronic copy** of the completed form to the LASA Secretariat (lasa@pitt.edu or lasacong@pitt.edu) by the **April 1, 2005** deadline.
- Once a session is approved, **notify all participants** to make sure they know the panel is approved and ensure that they are **seeking independent funding to the extent possible.**
- Be a 2005 and 2006 **LASA member** yourself and **urge membership** of all your panelists.
- **Ensure** that all participants are **preregistered** for the Congress. Participants must preregister by for LASA2006 or their names will not appear in the Program book. Deadline to pre-register is **December 15, 2005**
- **Report any changes** in your session to the LASA Secretariat no later than **November 20, 2005.**
- If you are requesting travel funds for a participant, submit **one electronic copy of the travel request form** and the participant's **one-page curriculum vitae**, along with the session proposal by **April 1, 1005.**
- **KEEP IN TOUCH** with your panelists and discussants, making sure that **papers are circulated among panel members**, an electronic copy is sent to the Secretariat for the CD-ROM proceedings by **December 15, 2005.**

Travel and Lecturing Grants and Travel Grants for Students

Although LASA continues its commitment to award as many travel grants as possible, funds are always in short supply. LASA expects to fund fewer than 25 percent of the travel grant requests it receives.

- **ACCEPTANCE OF A PAPER OR PANEL OR AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE DOES NOT GUARANTEE FUNDING.** Proposers always are strongly urged to seek other sources of funds.
- No more than one participant per panel will be awarded LASA travel funding.
- **Lecturing Fellowship applicants are required to fill out both sets of travel grant applications.** (SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON TRAVEL REQUEST FORM FOR STUDENT TRAVEL GRANTS).
- Failure to accurately fill out every blank on the form will **invalidate** a travel grant application.
- Travel grant decisions are expected to be announced no later than **November 30, 2005.**

Congress Registration and LASA Membership

- Participants in LASA Congresses should be current members of the Association.
- **Registration is required of all attendees** and members enjoy considerable **discounts** on registration fees.
- **ACCEPTANCE OF A PAPER OR PANEL OR AN INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE DOES NOT IMPLY EITHER COMPLIMENTARY REGISTRATION OR FUNDING.**

PLEASE PREREGISTER! All accepted participants must pre-register for LASA2006 or their names will not appear in the Program book. Deadline to pre-register is December 15, 2005

ALL PROPOSALS MUST BE RECEIVED BY APRIL 1, 2005



Latin American Studies Association

946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Fax: (412)624-7145 E-mail: lasa@pitt.edu Website: http://lasa.international.pitt.edu

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP for Calendar Year 2005 _____ **Renewal** _____ **New Application**
Dues are for the 2005 calendar year: January 1 - December 31

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED

Name of Institution: _____

Name of Institutional Representative: _____

Mailing Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____ Country: _____

Business Telephone: _____ Fax: _____

E-mail: _____

MEMBERSHIP RATES FOR YEAR 2005	<i>Choose one of the two that follow:</i>	Amount
Non-profit institution.....		\$150.00 _____
For-profit institution.....		\$250.00 _____

Among other benefits, LASA Institutional Members receive three issues of the *Latin American Research Review (LARR)* and four issues of the *LASA Forum* per year. Institutions outside the United States: If you wish to receive the *Forum* by air mail, please add \$20.00 per year for postage. If you desire air mail delivery of *LARR*, contact the *LARR* office at: University of Texas Press, ATTN: Latin American Research Review, PO Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819; E-mail: larr@uts.cc.utexas.edu

Optional Air Mail of LASA Forum (international only).....	\$20.00 _____
Our contribution to the LASA Congress Travel Fund	\$ _____
Our contribution to the LASA Student Travel Fund	\$ _____
Our contribution to the LASA Humanities Endowment Fund	\$ _____
Our contribution to the LASA General Endowment Fund	\$ _____
TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED	\$ _____

METHOD OF PAYMENT

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|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Check payable to LASA
(in U.S. dollars drawn <i>only</i> on a U.S. bank) | <input type="checkbox"/> Credit Card (<i>only VISA and MasterCard are accepted</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. dollar Traveler's Check
(with your two signatures, payable to LASA) | VISA or MasterCard number:
_____ - _____ - _____ - _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> U.S. dollar Money Order | Expiration Date: _____ / _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> UNESCO coupon(s) | Signature: _____ |

If payment is by credit card, you may fax this form to (412) 624-7145. For all other forms of payment, mail to LASA at the address above.

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