

# LASA FORUM

## Latin American Studies Association

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# LASA Forum

## Latin American Studies Association

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# President's Report

by Sonia E. Alvarez

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As this issue of the *Forum* goes to press, scores of session and individual paper proposals for LASA2006 are pouring into the Secretariat's electronic mailbox, and planning for the San Juan Congress is proceeding apace. After Program Chair Frances Aparicio and Program Coordinator María Cecilia Dancisin's late-January visit to what they assure us is a union code-confirming, well-equipped, and breathtakingly beautiful conference site, we are confident that this will be an especially fitting that LASA Congress. And it is particularly fitting that it should be so, as this meeting will mark LASA's 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Former LASA President Carmen Diana Deere has graciously agreed to organize a special commemorative plenary session and other special events are being planned to celebrate the occasion.

LASA2006 also promises to be extraordinary because of what Jorge Duany (in this issue) refers to as Puerto Rico's "in-between" location in the Américas. Given the island's singular historical/cultural/geopolitical place in the hemisphere and its American and "American" Studies, as Edna Acosta-Belén notes in her essay, holding the Congress in San Juan provides LASA a unique opportunity to reach out to constituencies that historically have been under-represented in the Association. Such outreach efforts, together with a reconfigured Congress program, will afford abundant possibilities for crossing disciplinary boundaries and engaging with non-traditional knowledge producers.

We have begun taking practical measures to extend our outreach to Caribbean scholars and activist-intellectuals. At the invitation of Caribbean Studies Association President, Emilio Pantojas, LASA Vice President Charles R. Hale, former President Helen Safa, and I will be representing LASA at the CSA conference in Santo Domingo on May 30-June 4, 2005 (for further information on the CSA meetings, see <<http://csa2005.fiu.edu>>. We, in turn, have invited the CSA to organize a panel featuring presidents of Caribbean studies associations for LASA2006. To demonstrate our commitment to bolstering our ties with Caribbeanists, LASA will establish Caribbean participation as one of our priorities in determining the allocation of travel funding for the San Juan Congress. In an effort to enhance participation by Puerto Ricans on the island, we will make a special one-day registration fee available to local residents.

To encourage what we hope will translate into long-lasting and mutually enriching exchanges with our Caribbean(ist) colleagues, the present issue of the *Forum* features a special section "On the Profession" entitled "The Place/Space of Puerto Rico/Puerto

Ricans in Latin American Studies." Guest edited by Edna Acosta-Belén, Frances Aparicio, and Helen Safa, featuring distinguished Caribbeanists and long-time LASA members, and featuring essays by four prominent Puerto Rican scholars, the section is intended to highlight the manifold exceptional opportunities presented by the 2006 Congress for expanding LASA's links to Puerto Rican and other Caribbean intellectuals and activists on the islands and in the diaspora alike. Their essays clearly show that Puerto Rican and the Caribbean have a unique "place and role in the larger imaginary of Latin American Studies" (Aparicio, Acosta-Belén, and Safa) and potentially occupy a particularly fruitful epistemological space in the re-imagining of area and ethnic studies for the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



LASA President Sonia E. Alvarez

Contemporary Puerto Rico can be seen as a "postcolonial colony" (Duany), an excellent "case study" for "examining processes of globalization," Carlos E. Santiago insists, because such processes have rendered "Puerto Rico's character more commonplace and the classical state the growing exception." For Jorge Duany, the island illustrates the "potential postcolonial, transnational, cultural, and subaltern studies," and suggests complex and compelling questions about "blackness, *mestizaje*, *mulataje*, Caribbeaness, Hispanicity, Creolization, and hybridity" that are of central theoretical and practical concern to scholars of U.S. Latino/a Studies, Caribbean Studies, and Latin American Studies as well. As the guest editors and all of the contributors remind us, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean more generally are paradigmatic of the "creative and new

political constructions of identity and cultural hybridity that the Latino communities are forging in the United States." The San Juan Congress therefore also represents a prime opportunity for LASA to construct "stronger bridges with scholars studying the Latin American diasporas" in the U.S. and other regions of the world.

The Puerto Rico/Caribbean Studies essays inaugurate a special series of 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary reflections "On the Profession" which will appear in the next four issues of the *Forum*. We believe the present topic is a particularly appropriate one with which to launch that series, since it affirms LASA's abiding commitment to diversifying and de-centering Latin American Studies, as mandated by our new Mission Statement and Strategic Plan. The theme of this special "On the Profession" section, like most of the others in the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary series that will follow, moreover, will serve as a springboard for presidential plenaries or featured sessions on similar topics during the San Juan Congress; in that

fashion, we intend the newly revitalized *Forum* to serve as an *actual* venue for fueling debate among LASA members, both between its covers and beyond.

In the same vein, the “Debates” section in this issue features dialogues about and among what contributor Maribel Casas calls the “barricadas o piquetes cognitivos dentro de la máquina académica” and non-traditional producers of knowledge committed to struggles for human rights and social justice in the Américas, conversations we hope will be deepened during and after LASA2006. Since the essence of that discussion is eloquently summarized by *Forum* Associate Editor, Arturo Arias, in his report in this issue, I want simply to endorse Joanne Rappaport’s concluding appeal to LASA members that we “take seriously” the work of indigenous scholars, non-traditional knowledge producers, and “*intelectuales de base*” such as Marcelo Fernández Osco and Libia Grueso who contributed essays to the present “Debates” section, that we “engage their conclusions and conceptual frameworks in our own research,” that we “begin to conduct joint research with them,” and “open the discussion in LASA to their participation.” Without abandoning our identity as a “professional” association, LASA must be more attentive and responsive to the fact that knowledge about the Latin/o-a Américas is produced in an ever-wider range of places and spaces within and without the academy—from professionalized non-governmental organizations and autonomous feminist collectives, to barrio organizations in Chicago linked to the alternative globalization movement, to

Juntas de Buen Gobierno in Chiapas. Fomenting dialogue across the borders that conventionally have separated academic and non-academic sites of theory production can only prove mutually enriching.

It was precisely in the spirit of fostering academic and disciplinary border crossings that Program Chair, Frances Aparicio, and I undertook our conceptualization of the LASA2006 Program. As scholars deeply committed to interdisciplinary work—one originally grounded in the social sciences and in Latin American Studies, the other coming from the humanities and in Latino/a Studies—we wished to design a program that would enjoin *all* of our colleagues to *at least* venture across (even if some may not wish to traverse or transgress) disciplinary and area/ethnic boundaries. To that end, we retained many existing categories, regrouped and/or renamed others, created some new, “transdisciplinary” program tracks, and, finally, for good measure, in an effort to be as inclusive as possible, we significantly multiplied the overall number of tracks, creating thirty-two deliberately “elastic,” “polyvalent” program rubrics. Our overarching goal was to encourage our colleagues to think beyond/outside received discipline-based categories. We hope that our Caribbean-inspired, in-between/de-centered/off-center, inter/non-disciplinary “remix” Call for Proposals will have elicited innovative, methodologically eclectic, and theoretically fruitful ideas for sessions and papers from many of you and that the San Juan Congress will prove a welcoming and productive one for everyone.

## Associate Editor’s Report

by Arturo Arias

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In the “Debates” section of the present issue of the LASA Forum the editorial team chose to prioritize a relatively new (that is, “new” in the scholarly circles of the United States, especially among scholars not working either in anthropological circles, or with subaltern issues) emerging notion, that of “alternative knowledge producers.” The fact that this phenomenon, prevalent in Latin America since at least the 1970s is only gaining notoriety among certain academic circles of the United States at this late date is a result of what Maribel Casas labels “cosmopolitan provincialism,” where the center can afford to ignore alternative academic production, but peripheries have to know the official canon established by the metropolis, as well as the knowledge generated by themselves.

This may explain why when some LASA members still worry that the emerging concept of alternative knowledge was a way of expanding the canon for indigenous scholars, thus sending a message, in however subtle a way, that they were not up to mainstream scholarship.

The first response to this critique is that it would be false, and certainly reductive, to establish a relation of equivalence and exclusivity between alternative knowledge producers and indigenous scholars. After all, for people who, unlike myself,

are not involved with indigenous issues, but who nevertheless have employed the concept, do not necessarily associate it primarily with indigenous intellectuals. From their frame of reference, “alternative knowledges” can be produced just as much by the poor, by queers, by feminists, by Afro-descendent peoples, by women, by youth, etc., as we can see in the pieces by both Maribel Casas and Libia Grueso in this issue. In other words, alternative knowledge producers is a concept employed to refer to individuals who produce knowledge in non-traditional or non-conventional sites such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and grassroots political organizations. Both have played a prominent role in Latin America during the last twenty years.

The main point with alternative knowledge producers is to break the myth that knowledge is produced exclusively by academics, or through the disciplining of academic institutions, primarily those situated in the United States. In Latin America, possibly because of its intense history and upheavals since the 1960s, we have always known that knowledge is not the monopoly of what Gramsci called traditional intellectuals, but is also produced as often, and most frequently in more relevant ways or linked to a concrete political praxis, by Gramsci’s organic intellectuals, a concept that is a forerunner of alternative knowledge producers.

As a sample of the present debate, we have selected five short pieces for this issue. The first one is Joanne Rappaport's "Alternative Knowledge Producers in Indigenous Latin America." Notwithstanding Joanne's emphasis on indigenous intellectuals given her academic field, her piece frames most adequately the theoretical perspective of the alternative knowledge producer. Joanne argues that both the return of liberal democracy, and the growth of ethnic movements have created scenarios in which grassroots intellectuals can find their voice, identify their audiences and participate in open political action. She adds that the growth of NGOs and localized social movements with international funding have also helped launch many of their research initiatives, writing, and publications. Joanne has equally argued that the new LASA section, "Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples," is a first step in recognizing this particular process, but an even more important one is to begin to consider inviting new knowledge producers to LASA panels and forums, as well as to use their work in classroom situations. To do the latter, however, it is important to promote the translation of their work into English so that it can be disseminated in the English-speaking academy, at times when English-centeredness begins to prevail in many institutions over multilingualism, especially in the sciences. Joanne sees the rise of this new group of intellectuals as an opportunity to swell the ranks of our interlocutors, and, by extension, as a possibility to enrich the research in which we are all involved.

The second piece is "Reclaiming Knowledge/Reclamando Conocimientos: Movimientos sociales y la producción de saberes," by Maribel Casas-Cortés, an PhD student in Anthropology at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Maribel's piece compliments Joanne's in that it pulls us away from the indigenous-centered alternative knowledge producer and inserts us in a more heterogeneous, urban U.S. environment. By taking Chicago's Direct Action Network as an example of how both grassroots knowledge is produced, yet, at the same time, ignored by the media, she reconfigures the notion of alternative knowledge producers. Maribel argues that a new geopolitics of knowledge is emerging that blends grassroots knowledge linked to political activism with a network of academic institutions around the world. As a result, the relationship between academic institutions and subaltern knowledge becomes more horizontal, in Casas-Cortés's words. These "piquetes cognitivos" operating inside the academy, even if occasionally at its fringes or without the blessing of mainstream academic institutions, can and does become operative as militant research useful to contemporary social movements.

The third piece, "Embodying Alternative Logics: Everyday Leaders and the Diffusion of Power in Zapatista Autonomous Regions" is by Shannon Speed, assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin, and Melissa Forbis, a PhD candidate at the same institution. In this piece, we return to the indigenous organic intellectuals with a caveat: the difficulty of knowing who they are, the difficulty of naming them, the difficulty of establishing precisely who a grassroots intellectual might be.

Nevertheless, they document the process of generating everyday leaders under clandestine conditions: the commitment to help ordinary members learn skills and gain experience so as to become future leaders; and the rotating leadership model of the Juntas de Buen Gobierno to reduce corruption, abuses of power and protagonismo. As Speed and Forbis state, this process contributes knowledge, experience and authority to many new everyday leaders, and is indicative of the human wealth of Latin America's local grassroots movements.

With the fourth essay we turn to alternative knowledge producers themselves. Libia Grueso's piece "Producción de conocimiento y movimiento social: un análisis desde la experiencia del Proceso de Comunidades Negras – PCN – en Colombia," explains that it was AfroColombians' own marginalization in their country that forced them to produce their own intellectuals within the framework of the PCN, and names the oftentimes contradictory nature of the relationship with traditional intellectuals and artists. Libia Grueso is herself a member of the Comité de Coordinación Nacional of the PCN, and has also been a part of its environmental technical team. The PCN groups approximately 120 urban and rural AfroColombian organizations. In 2004 Libia was given the Goldman Environmental Award, a distinction that encompasses the entire Latin American region, for her labors as an environmental activist in the southern Pacific area of Colombia. Libia is a social worker who, illustrating the aforementioned horizontal links between individuals working in non-academic institutions yet also trained by academia to better produce knowledge, also has an M.A. in political science from the Universidad Javeriana in Cali, and a degree in Environmental Education from the Universidad Santiago de Cali.

Finally, in the fifth essay, "Diferencias Jurídicas Coloniales: Caso Bolivia," we hear the perspective of a well-known aymara intellectual, Marcelo Fernández Osco, who has been extremely active in juridical matters. Fernández Osco is the author of *La Ley del Ayllu*. The latter is both a book, and a legislative initiative to implement aymara principles in the aymara regions of Bolivia. He is an active element of the indigenous political movement in his country, a member and a researcher of the Taller de Historia Oral Andina (THOA) and of the Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia (PIEB). Nevertheless, like an increasing number of alternative knowledge producers, he has begun to fuse his "otherness" with institutional academia: he presently is a graduate student in romance studies (Spanish) at Duke University. In his piece, he differentiates between Western notions of human rights and indigenous notions of human dignity, and argues against alleged progressive intellectuals who have questioned both indigenous rights and indigenous peoples' abilities to legislate on human rights issues in a contemporary global environment. His piece is evidence of the high quality of conceptual thinking generated by alternative knowledge producers. When we realize that there are hundreds of thousands of grassroots thinkers like Marcelo, we begin to grasp the untapped wealth of conocimiento presently residing in the most unbecoming corners of the Latin American continent.

**On the Profession:  
The Place/Space of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans  
in Latin American Studies**  
**The First in a Series Commemorating LASA's 40th Anniversary**  
**by Edna Acosta-Belén, Frances Aparicio, and Helen Safa**

The essays below for the LASA Forum, entitled "On the Profession," engage in a series of reflections about the process of diversifying and de-centering Latin American Studies as an academic space, a process that is a central part of the mandate articulated in the new mission statement and Strategic Plan. In commemoration of LASA's 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, it is fitting then that "On the Profession" serve as a space for self-critique and productive visions of our work.

Given the site for the LASA 2006 Congress, San Juan, Puerto Rico, we have invited four distinguished Puerto Rican scholars—Edna Acosta Belén, Jorge Duany, Emilio Pantojas and Carlos E. Santiago—to write about the place and role of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean in the larger imaginary of Latin American Studies. What are some of the most important ways in which LASA could highlight the contribution of Caribbean scholars? What are the most critical issues facing the Caribbean currently? How can LASA help address them? What can Latin Americanists learn from studying the Caribbean? What can the Caribbean teach us? And, why is it important for the field of Latin American Studies to be more inclusive of the realities and experiences of the Caribbean diasporas in the United States? These questions guide the essays that follow.

It may be surprising to many Caribbeanists and Puerto Rican Studies scholars that Latin Americanists are posing these questions now. After all, isn't the Caribbean part of Latin America? Isn't it another region, or sub-field, within Latin American Studies? Given the politics of knowledge formation and the hierarchies within academia, Latin American Studies has historically privileged the study of Mexico, Brazil, and the Southern Cone. Within the Caribbean, greater linkages in language and history favor the Hispanic islands over the Anglophone and other Caribbean sub-regions. The predominance of Cuba within LASA over the last two decades is due partly to this and to the extraordinary interest in the Cuban Revolution. Interest in Puerto Rico within LASA has also grown, but given its colonial relationship with the United States, Puerto Rico has sometimes been arbitrarily considered, for institutional

purposes, part of the United States or not truly a part of Latin America. Indeed, Puerto Rican scholars have been denied research funding from foundations who subsidize Latin American research because of this ambiguity. In the eyes of the United States dominant society, however, Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans are deemed foreigners, a Spanish-speaking mulatto society that would not Americanize properly. At best, Puerto Rico is defined as an ideal tourist site for the U.S. This is still, unfortunately, the predominant image of Puerto Rico in U.S. public school texts. As Acosta Belén, Duany, Pantojas and Santiago illustrate, Puerto Rico's political ambiguity and cultural hybridity have rendered it invisible and invalid in the larger context of Latin America.

However, interest in Puerto Rico has grown as LASA builds stronger bridges with scholars studying the Latin American diasporas in the United States. The fact that Puerto Ricans in the United States, as some already claim, will soon outnumber the island population, poses a profound challenge to our notions of nation, territory, culture, language, and even to our definition of diaspora and minority groups. The transnational aspects of Latin American identity are no longer mostly seen in the migration of the labor force or on the power of remittances, but also in the creative and new political constructions of identity and cultural hybridity that the Latino communities are forging in the United States. This is particularly true as Puerto Ricans and other Caribbean migrants witness the development of second and third (and beyond) generation migrant communities in the U.S. The scholarship of Puerto Ricans in the diaspora now rivals that of the island-born population.

The LASA 2006 Congress in Puerto Rico represents an opportunity for LASA to strengthen the presence, participation and membership of Puerto Rican and other Caribbean scholars. Plenary sessions are being organized with these themes in mind. We welcome comments on this initiative from Puerto Rican, other Caribbean, and all LASA members. We hope that this forum is the beginning of a longer process of dialogue and collaboration that will help all of us reimagine Latin America in its multiple and complex facets.

# Puerto Rico, the United States, and Latin America: An Ambivalent Relationship

by Jorge Duany

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In 1493, on his second trip to the Caribbean, Christopher Columbus claimed the island of Borinquen for the Spanish Crown. Along with Cuba, Puerto Rico was the last Spanish colony in the New World. Like most Caribbean countries, except for Haiti and the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico did not attain independence during the nineteenth century, as most Latin American countries did. On July 25, 1898, U.S. troops invaded the Island during the Spanish-Cuban-American War. Unlike Cuba or the Philippines, Puerto Rico remained indefinitely under U.S. rule. In 1917, Congress granted U.S. citizenship to all Puerto Ricans, facilitating their military recruitment as well as their migration to the U.S. mainland.

Legally, Puerto Rico is still an unincorporated U.S. territory, neither a state of the union nor a sovereign republic. In 1901, the U.S. Supreme Court defined the Island as "foreign in a domestic sense," because it "belongs to but is not part of" the United States. Such juridical oxymorons have had enormous practical repercussions. For some purposes, such as traveling or sending mail from the U.S. mainland, Puerto Rico is usually considered domestic. For other purposes, such as speaking the Spanish vernacular or navigating the local system of racial classification, the Island is as foreign to the United States as any other Latin American or Caribbean culture. This "in-between" status has created a confusing political situation for more than a century. But it has not diminished the popular sense of a Puerto Rican national identity, separate from the United States as well as from other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

In 1952, Puerto Rico became a U.S. Commonwealth (in Spanish, *Estado Libre Asociado*, or Free Associated State) with limited powers over local matters, such as taxes, health, education, culture, and language. However, the U.S. government retains jurisdiction in most state affairs, including immigration, citizenship, customs, defense, currency, transportation, communications, and foreign trade. Today, the Island's electorate is practically split in half between those who support an enhanced Commonwealth status and those who prefer that the Island become the fifty-first state of the American union; only a small minority votes for independence. In a 1998 local referendum, the "none of the above" option obtained more than half of all votes, outnumbering the current Commonwealth, statehood, independence, or free association. Accordingly, the status issue has reached a virtual stalemate, and will most likely not be resolved in the immediate future.

For most observers, Puerto Rico remains a colony, in the classical sense of being politically and economically subordinated to another country. For example, Island residents cannot vote for the U.S. President and have no voting representatives in Congress. Yet their daily lives are shaped by decisions taken in Washington, from declarations of war against other countries to budget cuts in key public programs. At the same time, Island residents do not pay federal income taxes. Hence they are not entitled to full political representation, or to all the citizen rights and benefits accorded by the U.S. Constitution.

Studying contemporary Puerto Rican society illustrates the potential theoretical intersections between postcolonial,

transnational, cultural, and subaltern studies. Nowadays, most scholars no longer debate whether Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States. Some have dubbed Puerto Rico a "postcolonial colony" because of its mixture of a strong cultural nationalism with weak support for a sovereign state. Often discussed, sometimes angrily, are the exact nature of U.S. domination, the extent to which the Island has acquired certain "postcolonial" traits such as linguistic and cultural autonomy, and the prospects for full decolonization. The question of national identity in Puerto Rico is disputed as intensely as ever. What is new about current academic discussions is that many intellectuals, especially those who assume a postmodern stance, are highly critical of nationalist discourses. The formerly tight link between being a Puerto Rican scholar and advocating independence has loosened over the past two decades.

Other debates focus on the appropriate approach to population movements between the Island and the U.S. mainland. Some outside observers insist that, technically speaking, the Puerto Rican exodus should be considered an internal, not international, migration, while others, including myself, refer to such a massive dispersal of people as transnational or diasporic. Much of this controversy centers on whether the geopolitical "border" between the Island and the mainland is equivalent to a national "frontier" in the lived experiences of Puerto Rican migrants. Recent work on Puerto Rican transnationalism has uncovered important parallels as well as differences with better-known cases, such as Mexico or the Dominican Republic. Like other transnational groups, stateside Puerto Ricans send remittances, keep in touch with their relatives back home, remain keenly interested in the Island's political affairs, and largely define themselves as Puerto Rican, not Puerto Rican-American. Unlike other migrants, Puerto Ricans, as U.S. citizens, can travel freely between the Island and the mainland.

Finally, the growing Latin American and Caribbean diaspora to Puerto Rico—especially from the Dominican Republic—has raised many disturbing issues. Recent research has documented that Puerto Ricans often stigmatize Dominicans as racially and culturally inferior. Others, rather than welcoming them as closely related neighbors. More broadly, Puerto Ricans seldom align themselves with other Caribbean and Latin American peoples when articulating their own identity. Instead, they tend to stress their unique status as U.S. citizens and permanent association with the United States. Some authors have applied the notion of the "coloniality of power" to the continuing exploitation of subaltern groups based on racial, ethnic, class, and gender fissures on the Island. Others have argued that, even in the United States, few Puerto Ricans and Dominicans—like Mexicans and Cubans, for that matter—perceive themselves as part of a pan-Latino community, insisting on their distinctive national origins. Questions of blackness, *mestizaje*, *mulataje*, Caribbeanness, Hispanicity, Creolization, and hybridity are increasingly central for Puerto Rican and U.S. Latino Studies. Future scholarship on Puerto Ricans from a comparative Caribbean and Latin American perspective should address such pressing theoretical and practical problems. After all, ambivalent relationships usually offer a shaky ground for political mobilization and interethnic solidarity.

# The Caribbean and Latin America: Basis for Agenda

by Emilio Pantojas-García, President  
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For many government and international organizations officials—and for some academics, too—the Caribbean is the periphery of Latin America. A marginal chain of islands (occasionally referred to as a basin) stuck right on the middle of the Western Hemisphere which only gets attention when nationalists or revolutionary leaders such as Eric Williams, Maurice Bishop or Fidel Castro rise to power. If Latin America “feels neglected” by the Bush Administration’s foreign policy, Caribbean governments declare that they “are neglected.” It would be safe to say that in matters of U.S. foreign policy, *when Latin America catches a cold, the Caribbean gets pneumonia.*

While neoliberal discourse portrays countries like Brazil, Mexico and Chile as ideal commercial partners for North America and Europe, Caribbean countries are progressively portrayed as small and “soft” economies whose main role in global free trade will be that of international service centers and platforms for leisure industries. With sweat shops moving to China and the poorer Asian countries, the Caribbean is progressively being cast as the playground of North America and Europe. Cheaper than Hawaii, the Greek Isles or the Spanish Mediterranean, and with minimal Islamic influence, the Caribbean is rapidly becoming a destination of choice for the North American and European middle classes. Progressively, however, the three “Ss” of Caribbean tourism (sun, sand, and sea) are being replaced by the “sin industries” (sex, gambling, and drugs) as the main attractions for visitors. Heritage tourism and festivals are becoming a lesser component of the Caribbean tourist package.

In the struggle to create a better living for its populations, the small economies of the Caribbean face great challenges. The academic community exemplifies some of the problems confronted. Substantial academic communities gathered around major Caribbean universities and research centers are grappling with the challenges of “globalization”. Lower wages and limited opportunities result in a “brain drain” to the North and the “poaching” of students through distance learning programs. Major academic institutions such as, the University of the West Indies, the University of the Virgin Islands and the University of Puerto Rico find themselves trying to compete in a globalized academic terrain with less than equal resources. Discipline-centered foundations and learned societies shy away from funding area studies and region-based learned societies. Thus, Caribbean institutions and organizations find their voices marginalized in the sway of “academic globalization.”

Caribbean-based organizations such as the Association of Caribbean Historians (ACH), the Association of Caribbean Economists (ACE), the Association of Caribbean Universities and Research Centers (UNICA), the Association of Caribbean Universities Research and Institutional Libraries (ACURIL) and the Caribbean Studies Association (CSA) are some of the older regional groups articulating the voices of region-based academics and practitioners. These associations which constitute the main—but not the only—academic networks in the region, face great challenges in maintaining dynamic networks of academic exchange.

The LASA2006 International Congress constitutes a window of opportunity to widen the LASA Caribbean agenda. Developing a Caribbean agenda in LASA would require a widening of its focus beyond, Cuba, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Puerto Rico to deal with the non-Hispanic Caribbean. Aside from grappling with issues of linguistic and cultural heterogeneity (Dutch, French, English, Spanish and Creoles), there are various geopolitical definitions of the Caribbean. The Insular Caribbean, the Greater Caribbean, the Commonwealth Caribbean, the Greater Antilles, the Lesser Antilles, the non-independent Caribbean, the independent Caribbean, etc. Within the Association of Caribbean States (ACS), for example, there are four sub groups: CARICOM, Central America, the Group of Three (Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela) and the non-aligned (*no agrupados*, Panama, Cuba, Dominican Republic). And there are a “spaghetti bowl” type tangle of links between the Caribbean and international organizations. So defining “a” Caribbean agenda or focus would not be an easy task.

An ideal starting point would be an invitation by the LASA president to the presidents of Caribbean Associations, such as the ones mentioned earlier, to meet at the Puerto Rico Congress in 2006. There is also an existing network of LASA members doing research and collaborative work in the region who participate in Caribbean Associations. A higher priority should be given to non-Hispanic Caribbean panels (common complaints include poor scheduling and room assignments). Travel grants and other support would be important to build a Caribbean base, and so would increased attention to Caribbean issues in LARR and LASA Forum. Puerto Rico is already a hub of activity for Caribbean scholars, and thus constitutes an ideal location to begin working on a renewed Caribbean agenda. In order to make this happen, however, resources will have to match good will.



# New Locations for the Study of Puerto Rico/Puerto Ricans

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The forthcoming LASA 2006 Congress in Puerto Rico presents itself as a welcomed opportunity to reflect on the place/space that Puerto Rico has occupied within the wider field of Latin American area studies. Those of us trained as Latin Americanists in U.S. institutions during the early years of LASA, are well aware that Puerto Ricans were rarely mentioned in our curriculum, and Puerto Rico was no more than an undefined and barely perceptible speck on any map of the Americas appearing in any of our required textbooks. I remember back then asking one of my North American professors about the obvious exclusion of Puerto Rico in the field of Latin American Studies, to which he dismissively responded that Puerto Rico was too “Americanized” to be considered a genuine part of the region, making comparisons with other less developed Caribbean and Latin American countries inappropriate and invalid. Unsatisfied and slightly annoyed by his response, I proceeded to point out that Puerto Rico also was not viewed as a legitimate part of the United States, and that perhaps the predominant misconceptions and lack of knowledge about the island were a reflection of its obvious absence from both Latin American and American Studies textbooks. After some years, it got really tiresome to hear other excuses about how Puerto Rico’s “unique” relationship with the United States made it too much of an “anomaly” to be worthy of study within Latin American and Caribbean area studies. There is no doubt that the island’s unresolved colonial status and its ties to the United States quite often provide a quick justification for scholars to just leave it out of the picture. Other times, when North American scholars and policymakers showed any interest in doing research on Puerto Rico, (especially during the 1950s and early 60s), they kept reproducing many of the same misconceptions and stereotypes of their predecessors, but rarely fully addressed the dynamics of the colonial relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Among these were the culture of poverty advocates and the apologetics of development and modernization theories observing “the remaking” of a country completely enveloped by what many described as the generous benevolence, and what a few others would call the imperialist thumb, of the United States. It took a while to recognize that Puerto Rico’s Operation Bootstrap development model was the testing ground for many of the policies and economic restructuring that spread elsewhere in the Caribbean, Latin America, and other parts of the world in subsequent decades.

A new generation of Puerto Rican scholars, both on the island and the United States, along with a handful of non-Puerto Rican scholars, gave us a welcome respite with their sustained critique of the old unflattering stereotypes and assessments of the Puerto Rican people. This process of “decolonizing knowledge” produced a new historiography that explained more accurately the social and political conditions that have hindered Puerto Rican national formation, and the combination of forces that fostered migration and created a U.S. diaspora that is now almost as large as the population of Puerto Rico. The overall effect of this knowledge transformation has been encouraging and it can be said that now, more than ever before, Puerto Ricans on the island and in the United States are equipped with better critical tools to analyze the multiple effects and complexities of their colonial experience.

Puerto Ricans in the United States also were, for a long time, a neglected population, as were most Latinos before the 1970s.

Perhaps it was that sense of exclusion that made it so easy for some of us to eventually gravitate from area studies to the then emerging field of Puerto Rican Studies which, as we know, developed as an academic field at U.S. institutions as part of the ethnic studies movement of the late 1960s and 1970s. The debates and struggles for academic legitimacy that surrounded these and other then emerging fields of study (e.g. women’s/gender studies, queer studies) fostered a much needed reassessment of old paradigms, exposing some of the biases and exclusionary practices of the traditional disciplines, and opening a space for new areas of inquiry that, by now, have achieved a respectable degree of institutionalization within the academy. A few U.S. institutions are home to well-established academic programs, and scholarship on Puerto Rico/Puerto Ricans is more visible and more frequently integrated in our current academic endeavors.

A formidable barrier that is still being overcome is the traditional separation between the island Puerto Ricans and those in the diaspora. Considering that the population of Puerto Rico, which stood at 3.8 million in the year 2000, is now almost as large as the Puerto Rican population in the United States (3.4 million), increasingly, it has become unavoidable for island Puerto Ricans to pay more attention to their fellow compatriots in the United States, and for scholars to begin exploring the manifold implications of this particular demographic phenomenon.

As we entered the twenty-first century and began to focus more on the interconnections and interdependence among nations and continents, the processes of globalization and transnationalism are reshaping some of our endeavors in both area and ethnic studies. Significant growth in the U.S. Latino population, which currently stands at 39 million, and their new status as the country’s largest minority, along with the bidirectional transnational exchanges taking place among U.S. Latinos and their countries of origin, inspired many ethnic studies scholars to carve out their own spaces within LASA and other academic professional organizations in order to pursue their particular scholarly interests. As a result, more integrated hemispheric approaches to studying the realities and conditions of Latin American and Caribbean peoples at both ends of this transnational migration spectrum have become more common. Nonetheless, this wider scope has not changed the limited reach of some major area studies funding sources, such as Title VI, which persist in maintaining a separation between the Latin American and Caribbean populations south of the border and the Latino populations of the United States. They seem oblivious to the fact that the transnational character of migration and other globalization processes are blurring those borders more and more each day.

The “commuter” character of Puerto Rican migration, especially, represents an important model for revisiting some of the traditional notions of immigrant assimilation and new research is deepening our understanding of issues of identity construction, cultural hybridity, and other ramifications of transnational contact which have become favorite topics in recent LASA congresses. I anticipate that among the most passionate topics of discussion at the next LASA Puerto Rico Congress, besides the perpetual debates about Puerto Rico’s political status, will be those related to that significant and ever growing segment of the Puerto Rican nation that resides in the United States, and how their lives and conditions intersect or diverge from those of their island compatriots.

# The Place/Space of Puerto Rico/Puerto Ricans in Latin American Studies

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It is noteworthy that the study of Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans has long provided a basis for understanding other peoples and societies in many different contexts. Over the course of the twentieth century, pathbreaking research in fields such as anthropology, economic development, history, and other social sciences, and bio-diversity, environmental health, and other sciences have relied on the Puerto Rican case to develop and test various hypotheses and theories. Let me provide a few examples.

In the field of economics alone, Puerto Rico served as an important laboratory in the understanding of changes in income distribution and income inequality, economic growth processes, migratory behavior, minimum wage impacts, and poverty. In part, this was due to the fact that empirical data was relatively easy to come by as both island and federal sources documented Puerto Rico's state of affairs. Likewise, the dramatic changes that were occurring on the island in terms of population movement and structural shifts meant that one could track social change in an almost laboratory-like environment. Although increases in per capita income literally took a century to occur elsewhere, Puerto Rico provided an example of how these changes could take place in just decades.

Puerto Rico provides a good case study in another important respect—examining the processes of globalization. While the United States and Puerto Rico constitute quite distinct and different societies (culturally, linguistically, etc.), they also reflect a relationship that is more characteristic of globalization than ever before. The ease of movement of labor and financial capital between the United States and Puerto Rico, the use of a common currency, and the linkages of communication and transportation networks readily reflect and anticipate the current character of multi-state relations worldwide. To many, Puerto Rico is a real anomaly. Its undecided political status leads some to conclude that it represents the exception rather than the rule. But, in reality, globalization has made Puerto Rico's character more commonplace and the classical nation-state the growing exception.

The study of Puerto Rico and the Puerto Rican experience also provides important insights into social, cultural, and historical processes that are part of the larger changing global landscape, particularly in the role of ethnic minorities within a national context. The numbers of Puerto Ricans residing in the United States will shortly surpass the numbers of Puerto Ricans on the island. Puerto Ricans now vie with other minority groups, predominantly other Latinos and African-Americans, for recognition, resources, and status.

The implications of this change are potentially significant, especially if U.S.-resident Puerto Ricans have a political voice in the periodic plebiscites that are conducted on Puerto Rico's future political status and economic relationship with the United States. The fact that Puerto Ricans in the United States continue to identify with their geographic, cultural, and linguistic roots despite their dispersion across the continental United States is a phenomenon that has been drawn the attention of many scholars.

It would also be interesting to see whether, at some point, the U.S. Census Bureau decides to aggregate the total number of Puerto Ricans for the population counts of the decennial census. If this were done, the number of Puerto Ricans would double from 9.5 percent of the total U.S. Latino population to approximately 18 percent, far outnumbering other U.S. Latinos with the exception of the Mexican/Chicano population.

No doubt, Puerto Ricans face difficulties in the U.S. labor market, with higher unemployment rates and poverty rates, and lower educational attainment and per capita household income than other groups. But, over the last twenty years there also has been the emergence of a Puerto Rican middle class in the United States, even though some scholars decried the lack of economic progress among Puerto Ricans. Knowledge of this experience and transformation will provide insights into the potential economic progress of other emerging Latino groups in the United States.

As the Puerto Rican example shows, Latin Americanists also need to understand and integrate the broader Latino experience within their analyses if they are to provide significant insights into the present reality of the Latin American and Caribbean societies they study. According to the U.S. Current Population Survey of March 2002, the civilian non-institutional population of the United States consisted of 37.4 million Hispanics (based on the Hispanic self-identifier). This number represents 13.3 percent of the U.S. population. Latinos now constitute the largest minority group in the United States and one of the fastest growing population groups as well.

The Latino population also reflects continuing diversity as immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean make their way north. Latino enclaves have been springing up across the United States as immigrants search for employment and seek to improve the standard of living they experienced in their country of origin. As part of the dramatic growth and diversity of the U.S. Latino population, a number of other features are noteworthy. These include the fact that: (i) national borders are increasingly fluid as transportation and communication networks become more advanced and sophisticated; (ii) the population movement is increasingly multi-directional as immigrants move between origin and destination multiple times over the life cycle; (iii) geographic mobility among Latinos within the United States itself is significant as well as they move from one place to another; (iv) Latinos are generally younger and face economic, health, and educational disadvantages relative to other groups in U.S. society; and (v) while Latino political participation and representation continues to grow in the United States, they do not represent a homogeneous voting or representative block. They are increasingly perceived as the all-important "swing-voters."

These are only some of the new realities that underscore the continuing relevance of the Puerto Rican experience, both on the island and within the United States, for scholars in the fields of area and ethnic studies.

# Debates: Alternative Knowledge Producers in the Americas / Productores/as de conocimientos alternativos en Las Americas / Produtores/as de conhecimentos alternativos nas Americas

## Alternative Knowledge Producers in Indigenous Latin America

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In most Andean countries and in Guatemala and Mexico, it is impossible to consider such issues as constitutional reform, sustainable development, human rights or participatory democracy, without making reference to a growing layer of indigenous intellectuals in search of new models for civil society, who are experimenting with native and western ways of knowing and organizing in the regional and national political arenas. Increasingly, this new sector of indigenous society is also taking part in national and regional dialogues through the publication of their own investigations into aspects of native society and its relationship to the dominant society, frequently within the fields of anthropology, linguistics, and history. I refer to those alternative knowledge producers who are indigenous as “indigenous intellectuals” in order to highlight their equal status as intellectuals and the centrality of their indigenous identity to the process of producing knowledge. The purpose of this brief article is to reflect upon the growth of this new indigenous voice.<sup>1</sup>

A common set of conditions underlies the development of a Latin American indigenous intelligentsia. The return of liberal democracy in many countries and the growth of ethnic movements has created scenarios in which native intellectuals can find their voice, identify their publics and participate in open political action. The growth of non-governmental organizations and grassroots social movements with external funding has facilitated the funds necessary to launch research initiatives, writing, and publication by indigenous intellectuals. The expansion of secondary and higher education to peasants and native peoples has permitted the training of these scholars. The growth of adult education and of native-controlled canals of electronic communication has created the conditions for a dialogue to take place. This dialogue unfolds as much within the native sector, as between native intellectuals and metropolitan intellectuals. Finally, the quincentenary of the invasion of the Americas provided a catalyst and a space for reflection by native writers and thinkers who have, since then, found new and highly significant arenas for their work, mostly involving participation in constitutional reform and in the political arena of the reimagining of Latin American nations as ethnically heterogeneous, linked to opposition to neoliberal reforms that have impoverished native populations.

Latin American indigenous intellectuals are a group of alternative knowledge producers whose identity as intellectuals grows out of their commitment to indigenous identity politics. Unlike the native people in Latin America who, over time, have acquired an education and joined the ranks of the intelligentsia by forsaking their indigenous identities, the sector with which I am concerned

here places its identity center stage. They function as organic intellectuals—to appropriate the Gramscian typology—for the indigenous movement, their intellectual activities are inseparable from its objectives and organizational structure. These researchers, whose ranks largely include bilingual educators and politicians working at both the local and regional levels, but increasingly, also indigenous policymakers, contrast with the indigenous leaders tied to traditional political parties, the smalltown lawyers (*tinterillos*), and the schoolteachers who traditionally adhered to government curricula, all of whom articulate state discourses with the aim of incorporating native populations.<sup>2</sup> Among organic intellectuals we can also include people who in Colombia are called *sabedores* or knowledgeable elders: shamans and local historians who articulate their knowledge largely for an indigenous population, in contrast to the other indigenous public intellectuals, whose voices bridge ethnic divides in an effort to stimulate new imaginaries for pluralist nations.

The organic intellectuals of the indigenous movement operate in what Mary Louise Pratt calls the “contact zone,” “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths.”<sup>3</sup> As a consequence, while the *sabedores* in native communities employ autochthonous forms of expression directed toward an internal public, and the traditional intellectuals focus on national forms of expression directed at a regional or national bureaucracy, these new organic intellectuals of the ethnic movement selectively appropriate the language of the metropolis which, as Pratt suggests, “infiltrate” with native idioms to create “autoethnographies” oriented both toward metropolitan publics and toward native communities. Claudio Lomnitz (*Labyrinth*, p. 237) observes that these intellectuals make a distinction between two equally valid cultures, the indigenous and the metropolitan. He argues that this perspective leads these intellectuals to frame indigenous culture within the space of Western culture. But it is unfair and simplistic to characterize the thought of these new intellectuals as “poor” in this sense, since it ignores their intent of creating an indigenous discourse within the context of Latin American modernity. It also ignores the long history of indigenous appropriation of metropolitan discourses, such as in legal documents and painting. The task of indigenous intellectuals is, precisely, to synthesize local and national cultures, to articulate with external groups, while employing a discourse associated with a specific struggle, a discourse directed to a broad array of publics. The central axes of their discourse are ethnicity, multiculturalism and interethnic dialogue: whether their discourse is expressed through

ethnography, history, political rhetoric or development project, it is oriented toward the project of participation in a pluriethnic or plurinational state. In Colombia, where many indigenous intellectuals are involved in bilingual education, such an articulation is made possible by the alternative educational philosophy called interculturalism, which advocates the appropriation of external knowledge within an indigenous conceptual framework and argues that educational pluralism is a jumping-off point for the development of true political pluralism.<sup>4</sup>

There are multiple genres in which these intellectuals write and speak. They produce descriptive ethnography based on an anthropological model, such as the work of Colombian U'wa author Berichá, Guambiano ethnographers Abelino Dagua and Misael Aranda (with their nonindigenous collaborator Luis Guillermo Vasco), and Nasa writers Adonías Perdomo and Susana Piñacué (see publication list below). They write history nourished by academic history (Ari Chachaki, Choque et. al., Fernández Osco, Mamani, Montejo and Akab', Sam Colop), as much as by the narratives of local sabedores (Condori and Ticona, Mamani Quispe, Reuque). They are increasingly engaged in linguistic study of native languages (Muelas, Yule) and bilingual education (Bolaños et. al.). From their pens they issue astute political analyses of the indigenous movement (Cojtí, Macas, Pacari, Ticona). They have recently begun to reflect upon their voices, through self-conscious evaluations of the nature of indigenous writing (Montejo). But many of the genres in which they write are not published for wide dissemination. Their voices appear, instead, in reports, such as socioeconomic studies (*diagnósticos*) modeled upon development discourse or bilingual curricula, that are geared more toward the implementation of policy rather than stimulating a discussion with other scholars. Many times, their voices are heard in workshops whose contents never result in print. One of the most intriguing examples is the development of an origin story in southern Colombia by Nasa bilingual education activists working in concert with 120 shamans; the results of this research are disseminated at workshops. While we as outsiders frequently only have access to their publications, it is important to remember that for indigenous intellectuals, the process of collecting and communally interpreting information is just as important, if not moreso, than its publication, because it is in the field that research provides a space for community participation and leadership training.

Instead of remaining within the structures of Euroamerican expression and analysis, some indigenous intellectuals attempt, as Dipesh Chakrabarty calls for, to "provincialize Europe" by creating native theoretical frameworks.<sup>5</sup> Although many of these attempts arise within academic contexts, not all of them do. Alejandro Mamani, a schoolteacher in the rural Bolivian community of Cohana, employed an innovative multi-channel approach to narrate the history of his community. *Historia y cultura de Cohana* is written in the form of a comic strip, in which his own interpretive voice and the narratives of his informants are included in handwritten passages. These are distinguished from more general historical processes that are depicted in comic-type illustrations; both the handwritten channel and the illustrations are juxtaposed to the external administrative voice through the photocopied reproduction of land titles and other legal documents. In effect, Mamani constructs an Aymara hierarchy of forms of knowledge by distinguishing among these

different channels of expression. Marcelo Fernández Osco, an Aymara anthropologist and academic, argues for the use of Aymara metaphors as theoretical vehicles in *La ley del ayllu*. Fernández has coined the term *qhip nayra*—the viewing of the past through multiple eyes—as a theoretical vehicle that not only expands the purview of what constitutes evidence, but encourages us to take epistemological risks on the very basis of the multiplicity of modes of remembering the past. Susana Piñacué, a Nasa educator and linguist from Colombia, uses Nasa Yuwe, her native language, as a source for developing a typology of types of women activists in the indigenous movement. Her insights problematize the study of gender relations by focusing on the heterogeneity of women's roles using conceptual vehicles very different from those of Western feminists, although her contributions enter into dialogue with them. These are examples of successful "decolonization of writing" through the use of traditional concepts in the context of contemporary junctures. They reject the organizational and theoretical models of European written discourse, redefining works through the creation of native theoretical vehicles that arise out of the meeting of traditional and metropolitan thought.

Such excursions into indigenous theorizing transcend the traditional published article or book. The 1991 Colombian constitution, written with the participation of three indigenous delegates to the Constituent Assembly, includes key provisions for incorporating ethnic minorities into the Colombian nation. These provisions have been translated into a number of native languages (Muelas et. al.; Ramos and Cabildo Indígena de Mosoco). In a communal process participated in by indigenous linguists, traditional native authorities, and external lawyers, terminologies relating to governance—concepts like "nation," "justice," "rule of law," and "constitution"—were coined in Arhuaco, Guambiano, Ingano, Nasa Yuwe, and other languages. The new terms are not literal translations of their Spanish counterparts, but subtly shift their meanings in ways that advocate a merging of European and indigenous political philosophies, thus pushing the limits of the meaning of Colombian nationality and fostering political pluralism.

The appearance on the scene of indigenous intellectuals means that we must begin to take their work seriously; to engage their conclusions and conceptual frameworks in our own research; to begin to conduct joint research with them; and open the discussion in LASA to their participation.

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## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> A number of significant studies of this sector have appeared in the last decade. For Mexico, see Howard Campbell's *Zapotec Renaissance: Ethnic Politics and Cultural Revivalism in Southern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994). There are three important studies for Guatemala: Edward F. Fischer's *Cultural Logics and Global Economies: Maya Identity in Thought and Practice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), Diane M. Nelson's *A Finger in the Wound: Body Politics in Quincentennial Guatemala* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), and Kay B. Warren's *Indigenous Movements and their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). Marcia Stephenson has studied indigenous intellectuals in Bolivia in "Forging an Indigenous Counterpublic Sphere: The Taller de Historia Andina in Bolivia," *Latin American Research Review* 37:2 (2002), pp. 99-118. My own study of this sector in Colombia, *Intercultural Utopias: Public Intellectuals, Cultural Experimentation, and Ethnic Dialogue in Colombia* is forthcoming from Duke University Press. A list of some of the publications by this sector is included at the end of this article.

<sup>2</sup> For more on these traditional intellectuals, see Claudio Lomnitz's *Exits from the Labyrinth: Culture and Ideology in the Mexican National Space* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) and Florencia Mallon's *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>3</sup> "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* 91 (1991), p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Luis Enrique López, "No más danzas de ratones grises: sobre interculturalidad, democracia y educación," in Juan Godenzzi Alegre, ed., *Educación e interculturalidad en los Andes y la Amazonía*, pp. 23-80 (Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales "Bartolomé de Las Casas," 1996).

<sup>5</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

# Reclaiming Knowledge / Reclamando conocimientos: Movimientos sociales y la producción de saberes

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Todos los martes de siete a diez de la noche. Librería-cooperativa en Avenida Fullerton n. 3459. En círculo, treinta participantes de diferentes edades, géneros, orígenes étnicos, y nacionalidades discuten los puntos de la agenda: 1. Situación del mundo 2. Informes y análisis de luchas locales 3. Toma de decisiones 4. Anuncios 5. Logísticas. Discusión participativa y eficaz siguiendo reglas compartidas. Once de la noche. Risas en el bar de enfrente.

Desde 1999 hasta el 2002 la Red de Acción Directa de Chicago (Chicago-Direct Action Network) compartió análisis situados sobre el contexto pre y post 11 de Septiembre. La cantidad y la calidad de las reflexiones intercambiadas estaban ligadas a la praxis cotidiana y a las múltiples acciones que se organizaron durante ese periodo. A pesar de la producción regular de pensamiento, el reconocimiento público de Chicago-DAN se limitó a tres tipos de momentos: 1) cuándo se realizaban acciones directas, como la toma sin permiso de uno de los puentes céntricos de Chicago con marionetas, madejas de lana y una gran pancarta colgando sobre el río -delante de la sede de BOEING- con las letras WTO en un símbolo de prohibido. Era la respuesta de Chicago al día de acción global de protestas descentralizadas durante la reunión de la Organización del Comercio en Qatar en Noviembre del dos mil uno; 2) cuándo se lograban efectos y cambios concretos, por ejemplo después de la campaña de presión a la administración local -la llamada dinastía Daley- para construir una escuela secundaria en el barrio latino de La Villita, el cual estaba marginado de la planificación educativa hasta aquel momento; 3) cuando se convertía en objetivo de vigilancia y seguridad nacional, sobre todo al aparecer el acrónimo de DAN en la lista de organizaciones sospechosas después del ataque a las torres gemelas.

La presencia de DAN en la ciudad de Chicago, y en otros lugares a través de prácticas internacionales en red, fue limitada a estas tres clases de visibilidad. Sin embargo, las reflexiones de las reuniones semanales no aparecían ni en los periódicos, ni en las conversaciones de comunidades afectadas, y quizás sí, en los informes policiales. Aunque en esas reuniones se generaban multitud de análisis en continua conversación con prácticas y acciones, todavía no existe una recopilación de la producción teórica generada por esta red. Muchos de los participantes de DAN deseábamos que la red fuera conocida no sólo por organizar 'la victoria de Scattle' pero también por su autoridad analítica-teórica quizás recogida en algún hipotético libro de título 'La teoría de la Acción Directa'. Dicha experiencia inspira la búsqueda de tradiciones de investigación y recopilación de saberes que sepan escuchar a las 'fuentes de conocimiento en resistencia'.

Los movimientos sociales suelen aparecer como protagonistas en el debate público o académico cuando se organizan

movilizaciones mediáticas, se ganan victorias concretas, o se sufren represiones. Sin embargo, se tiende a ignorar la producción de conocimientos generada por las redes de transformación social. Son conocimientos que emergen de realidades vividas y que con una noción de objetividad propia; -más que observar al mundo,- se constituyen como saberes paralelos que lo cuestionan, lo contaminan, lo intervienen, imaginando y creando otros mundos. Estos conocimientos surgen y se distribuyen en procesos propios, cuya legitimidad como fuente de saber no ha sido reconocida por muchos espacios académicos institucionales. Por lo general, los movimientos sociales han sido disecados en 'estudios de caso' con los que justificar hipótesis personales fundamentadas en teorías previas. Por otro lado, algunas tendencias dentro del terreno formal universitario se han constituido no sólo en aliados y participantes en dichos movimientos, sino en "barricadas o piquetes cognitivos" dentro de la máquina académica denunciando la supremacía/dominación del conocimiento académico y afirmando la teorización realizada por los movimientos.

*Piquetes cognitivos que escuchan a los movimientos sociales desde la academia:*

Para construir estas 'barricadas cognitivas' desde la academia, cuestionar el canon experto es una condición necesaria si se persigue la liberación de otros conocimientos en los espacios institucionales. Varias escuelas de pensamiento surgidas desde geografías marcadas por la colonización han denunciado la actual 'geopolítica del conocimiento' caracterizada por un epicentro *made in USA* que genera dinámicas desequilibradas en los circuitos de producción académica, visibles en las prácticas de traducción y citación (Ribeiro y Escobar, in press). Se trata de unas condiciones de "provincialismo metropolitano" donde el centro puede permitirse ignorar otras producciones académicas y al mismo tiempo, es una situación de múltiples "cosmopolitanismos provincianos" donde las periferias se sienten obligadas a conocer el canon establecido desde la metrópoli (Ribeiro, 2000). La actual organización del conocimiento en 'estudios de área' ha normalizado una situación cognitiva donde estos *locales* son 'objetos de estudio' sin reconocer su condición de sujeto e ignorando la teoría producida localmente (Mignolo, 2000). Esta vivencia de la intersección saber/poder ha suscitado muchas críticas y sobre todo una perspicacia especial para distinguir entre dos situaciones enunciativas con consecuencias, siendo estas "hablar sobre" y "hablar desde" (Nelly Richard, 2004: 287). Estas producciones, en su lucha por subvertir la supremacía de la academia institucional como máquina de legitimación internacional de los conocimientos, han dado a luz a una literatura elaborada sobre el valor epistemológico de saberes normalmente excluidos, subalternos, locales, situados. Su vivencia de la marginalización y su lucha por la "justicia cognitiva" (Santos,

2000) dentro de los aparatos académicos, los posiciona como aliados en solidaridad con 'otros saberes', incluyendo los producidos por los movimientos de transformación social.

Ligado a los Estudios Culturales/ Post-Coloniales de América Latina, el *Programa de Investigación Modernidad/Colonialidad* es una de las corrientes que está generando más materiales y prácticas retantes a la actual 'geopolítica del conocimiento' y celebrando las alternativas cognitivas. Mi texto se enfoca en las contribuciones de este grupo por su trabajo directamente relacionado con movimientos sociales actuales. Es caracterizado por uno de sus integrantes como un grupo interconectado de investigadores que compartiendo la experiencia de América Latina trabajan colectivamente desde diferentes lugares, incluyendo Quito, Bogotá, Durham-Chapel Hill, México D.F. and Berkeley (Escobar, 2004:1). Es un grupo trans-disciplinar que se sitúa en genealogías que incluyen tradiciones críticas de América Latina, Estados Unidos, India, África, y Europa. El grupo mantiene un 'ancla' en la vivencia de América Latina como situación diferenciada desde donde generar producción teórica. Modernidad/Colonialidad (MC) se constituye como un marco construido desde la especificidad de América Latina para teorizar mas allá de sus límites geográficos. En palabras de Arturo Escobar: "América Latina se transforma en una perspectiva que puede ser ocupada desde muchos lugares" (2004: 10). El grupo pretende realizar una intervención decisiva en el discurso de las ciencias modernas, descolonizando el conocimiento experto y construyendo espacios para la producción de diferentes saberes<sup>1</sup>.

Las principales consecuencias epistemológicas de este argumento son dos: por una parte se trata de un cuestionamiento radical de la autoridad cognitiva de las ciencias modernas -el conocimiento experto *par excellence*-. Y por otra parte, se reivindica la especificidad de "el otro lado" de la relación colonial como condiciones generadoras de otras maneras de pensar, y de construir realidades diferentes: "mundos y conocimientos de otro modo" como reza uno de los *lemas conceptuales* del grupo. M/C realiza una recuperación epistemológica de formas de conocimiento que han sido tradicionalmente excluidas de los edificios del saber institucional. Se toma en serio la potencialidad de estos saberes caracterizándolos como "border thinking", pensamiento fronterizo que trabaja con, en contra y más allá de la epistemología occidental (Mignolo 2000).

La afirmación de alternativas epistemológicas operativas, válidas y diferentes al saber experto, conlleva una des-objetualización de las esferas tradicionalmente sometidas al status de objeto de estudio. Se produce un cambio donde América Latina y sectores convencionalmente excluidos del territorio de la enunciación aceptada retoman su posición como articuladores de pensamiento y mundos distintos. El grupo M/C se compromete desde los espacios formales de la academia a subvertir el status quo cognitivo<sup>2</sup>, 'tomando en serio la fuerza epistémica de las historias locales y pensando la teoría que surge desde la practica política de grupos subalternos' (Escobar, 2002: 6).

Gracias a este marco conceptual, la relación academia - 'conocimientos subalternos' se torna más horizontal. Entre las contribuciones teóricas producidas por movimientos sociales que han sido escuchadas y trabajadas por este grupo están las

siguientes: 1) las teorías sobre diversidad e interculturalidad desarrolladas por movimientos indígenas de los Andes ofreciendo alternativas a la "noción liberal moderna de multiculturalismo" (De la Cadena en prensa: 28); 2) teoría de traducción o transculturación conceptualizada y puesta en práctica por los Zapatistas -que además de 'enseñarnos' a 'escuchar'- repiensa el concepto de inconmensurabilidad, constituyendo una "revolución epistemológica" (Mignolo, 2003: 16); 3) las contribuciones del movimiento social de la comunidades afro-descendientes del Pacífico Colombiano como expertos en prácticas y conocimientos sobre conservación de la biodiversidad (Escobar, 1998), como productores de un marco de ecología política alternativo que incluye nuevos conceptos del desarrollo (Escobar, 2000), como teóricos y practicantes de una política de la defensa del territorio que reta a las normas modernas impuestas a nivel global (Escobar, 2001); 4) el Foro Social Mundial como propuesta epistemológica alternativa basada en 'justicia global cognitiva' y como 'sociología de emergencias' fundada en una nueva ecología del conocimiento (Santos 2004: 238-241)

Mi argumento es que esta perspectiva transdisciplinar de Modernidad/Colonialidad es especialmente adecuada para el análisis de y desde los movimientos sociales, promoviendo procesos de articulación como aliados en una insurgencia común y operativa desde diferentes territorios, incluyendo las geografías institucionales de la academia. Se podría decir que estas literaturas en sí mismas forman parte de los 'movimientos de saberes en resistencia'.

#### *Investigación Militante por los movimientos sociales:*

Para concluir, quisiera mencionar la existencia de grupos de investigación que están operando fuera de las estructuras académicas en una labor de 'teje-saberes' de los movimientos. Las metodologías utilizadas y los canales de distribución articulados son producidos por procesos de movilización. La práctica de este tipo de 'investigación activista' está creciendo en muchos lugares, se presentan aquí brevemente dos iniciativas: Colectivo Situaciones de Buenos Aires, y Precarias a la Deriva de Madrid.

"Situaciones pretende ser un proyecto de lectura "interna" de las luchas, una fenomenología (una genealogía) y no una descripción "objetiva". (...) Colectivo Situaciones es un grupo de investigación autónoma, tanto en el sentido de la autonomía organizativa del grupo mismo, como en su radical independencia de pensamiento respecto de cualquier instancia institucional que la oriente, financie y organice. (...) Se trata de componer saberes situacionales que acompañen y potencien la emergencia de nuevos valores superiores a los del capitalismo" (MTD Solano y Situaciones, 2001). Una de las metodologías utilizadas por esta iniciativa de "investigación militante" es la co-producción de talleres en los cuales, miembros del colectivo y participantes en un determinado movimiento social, identifican una problemática como *tercer objeto* a analizar por todos los presentes en los talleres. Esta metodología trata de articular una relación sujeto-sujeto, donde ambas partes poseen saberes situados, y se escuchan mutuamente, como amigos respetables, o como amantes admirados (2002)<sup>3</sup>.

Precariedad laboral y existencial es la característica compartida por un colectivo heterogéneo de mujeres, *Precarias a la deriva*, que está trabajando en proyectos de investigación sobre sus propias vivencias de la economía y en la exploración de espacios de intervención. Su libro *A la deriva por los circuitos de la precariedad femenina* (2004) es “la primera criatura, polifónica y en proceso, de una trayectoria de investigación-acción sobre la precarización de la existencia (dicha en femenino) emprendida por un grupo de mujeres con la huelga general del 20 de Junio de 2002 y todavía en marcha. (...) No es, pues, el resultado de una investigación tradicional, con sus números y su objetualizadora objetividad (...). Se trata más bien del conjunto dislocado y abierto de relatos, diarios y apuntes nacido de una

interrogación mutua y crítica sobre nuestros cotidianos” (p.11). Las derivas son una de sus metodologías. Se trata de superar el carácter estático, y a veces aislado, del lugar donde se lleva a cabo una entrevista o taller, y sustituirlo por el itinerario o la ruta situada, construyendo un relato basado en expediciones por los lugares habitados cotidianamente.

Espero que esta breve relación de algunos ‘piquetes cognitivos’ dentro de la academia, y de ciertas iniciativas de ‘investigación activista’ no institucionales, haya servido para mostrar que otros conocimientos y prácticas de investigación no sólo son posibles sino existentes. Ambas posiciones teóricas y prácticas formando parte de los ‘movimientos de saberes en resistencia’.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Para una recopilación de los conceptos claves desarrollados por este grupo, (sistema mundial colonial moderno; diferencia colonial y colonialidad global; colonialidad del ser; transmodernidad, pensamiento y epistemologías fronterizas; hermenéuticas pluritópicas), ver Escobar 2004

<sup>2</sup> Dentro de la práctica política del grupo se comparte la idea de que la transformación social implica la transformación de la universidad, pues es parte de lo social como nos recuerda Mignolo (2000b: 5)

<sup>3</sup> Colectivo Situaciones ha trabajado con esta metodología con H.I.J.O.S., los hijos e hijas de ‘los desaparecidos’ en Argentina; TUPAMAROS, una organización guerrillera iniciada en los setenta en Uruguay; MOCASE, organización de campesinos en el norte de Argentina; PIQUETEROS, desempleados organizados con proyectos de producción comunitaria y con cortes de ruta en el cono urbano de Buenos Aires. Para una mayor elaboración, ver Casas-Cortés (2004)

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# Embodying Alternative Knowledges: Everyday Leaders and the Diffusion of Power in Zapatista Autonomous Regions

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When considering indigenous leadership in the Zapatista regions of Chiapas, Mexico, it is interesting that, despite the armed uprising and the highly organized social movement that followed from it, no one "indigenous leader" comes readily to mind. Of course, we think of Marcos because of his highly public role as spokesperson, but he isn't indigenous, and despite his undoubted importance as a strategist, the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) has consistently emphasized that he is not the maximum authority. Hence, he uses the title Subcomandante. Those familiar with Chiapas will perhaps think of some of the important comandantes, or civilian leaders, of the Revolutionary Indigenous Clandestine Committee (CCRI), the EZLN's leadership council. Ramona, Tacho, David, Esther, and Zebedeo, to name just a few, have all been important leaders over the course of the last decade. Yet, none can be viewed as the important leader.

This is in part because Zapatista leadership style has been specifically constructed, both in discourse and practice, in a way that discourages the public role of individual leaders and heavily emphasizes collective processes. Through the structure of the CCRI, the Zapatistas elaborated a notion of authority that downplayed the role of the leaders themselves, and highlighted collective decision-making and the subjection of individual leaders power to the collective will. Aspects of the Zapatistas' philosophy of governance, especially that of "mandar obedeciendo" or "lead by obeying,"<sup>1</sup> reflect their commitment to giving priority to the decisions of the many, rather than the chosen few. No single leader is considered indispensable to Zapatista autonomy. If one person leaves, there are others waiting to step in and take their place.

In their public persona, the Zapatistas have made a concerted effort to render this visible. Their utilization of ski masks obscured individual identity while conveying a sense of collective identity: "we are all Zapatistas." The mobilization of 1,111 people to march on Mexico City in September 1997 in support of indigenous rights legislation also suggested that they weren't sending the most "important leaders," but rather many. The prolonged community consultations during the negotiations of the San Andrés Accords, as well as the "Consultas Populares" in 1999, during which Zapatistas traveled across Mexico to poll civil society for their input on Zapatista policy, all publicly demonstrated the Zapatistas' attention to the collective will and their commitment to authority "following" from it.

Our goal in this article is not to establish whether or not the Zapatistas have always effectively deferred power from leaders to the base, but to suggest that their discourse and their practice toward this end have contributed to a diffusion of decision-making power and generated a process in which a multiplicity of local-level "everyday leaders" has emerged.

Fernanda,<sup>2</sup> a young woman from the Northern Zone of the Chiapas, is one such leader. She was quite young when the

uprising began in 1994. With the encouragement of local Zapatista authorities, she decided upon finishing secondary school that she should continue to study. Leaving her community, she studied high school and is now studying toward a law degree. Her capabilities grew, and she moved up to a leadership position within "the organization" (EZLN). People like Fernanda can be found throughout the Zapatista regions. Committed to their struggle, attaining education and skills against the odds, they are stepping into multiple micro-leadership positions created by the Zapatista movement.

Another example of this type of leader is Lucinda, a young woman from a small Tojolabal village in the area known as the Cañadas. Lucinda is one of few women in this region to have completed her primary schooling. She says that her community has had collective projects for a long time, but after joining the EZLN and moving to "recovered" lands in 1995, it became "worse. But it was good. We began to have our women's corn collective and the men's cattle collective and there were more community assemblies." In 1998, at age 18, she was named by her community to become a health promoter. As a result of her participation and her growing organizing capabilities, regional authorities decided to promote her to "responsible" of her micro-region. With the formation of the Juntas de Buen Gobierno (Good Governance Councils) in August of 2003, Lucinda was named to serve as a member. She says, "I'm not sure I always have enough experience to make these decisions. I worry that I'll make a bad decision and it will hurt people. But the people have entrusted me with this task, so I'll carry it out the best I can."

The process of generating everyday leaders was given new impetus with the formation of the Juntas de Buen Gobierno. An important step forward in the Zapatista autonomy process in Chiapas, the formation of these Juntas that deal with a range of issues for their regions from local disputes to major political policy, represented the transfer of power from military to civilian authorities in the autonomous regions. The emphasis remained on collective processes: the five Juntas are made up of groups of from seven to fifteen members who rotate on a weekly to biweekly basis. This means that for each Junta, there are between twenty-eight and sixty people participating in the decisions for their regions. The Junta draws its members from the councils of each autonomous township. Further, for each "turn" of the Junta, there are "suplentes" (alternates), who are also present and actively engaged. With their rotating structure of large groups that turn over frequently, the Juntas mark an important diffusion of leadership. This has had the effect of creating leaders and decision-makers out of lots of "ordinary folk" who had limited experience as authorities prior to the Juntas. The formation of the Juntas thus consolidated a process set in motion with the uprising: the diffusion of leadership and the creation of many new "everyday leaders" in Chiapas.

Dofia Catalina, an older woman from the highlands region, is

another “everyday leader.” A widow (who’s husband died of alcohol abuse) with grown children, Doña Catalina began working with “the organization” not long after the uprising began in 1994. She has been involved in many activities, including cooking for some 5000 participants and observers during the San Andrés negotiations, and participating in a prolonged sit-in protesting the state government’s holding of Zapatista political prisoners. Though she does not read or write, she has participated in many workshops and trainings over the last decade. Her strength and abilities were recognized by others: “For this work I didn’t earn anything, except the respect and trust of the *compañeros*, and consciousness of struggle for dignity.” When the *Juntas* were formed, she was appointed as a *suplente* on one of them. But of her work she says, “I feel proud because I am a woman, even if I don’t know how to read and write. I don’t feel bigger than other people, I am the same person as before, I still teach the other *compañeras* to cook. In the struggle we are all important.”

That Fernanda, Lucinda, and Catalina are in positions of leadership and endowed with important decision-making capacities is remarkable for many reasons. They are poor, indigenous, from communities with little access to education, and, importantly, they are women. All of these would have worked, until very recently, to distance them from the power to make decisions that affect their lives and the lives of those around them. Much has been said about the slow progress of changing gender norms within the Zapatista regions—it was even mentioned in a communiqué on the advances of the *Juntas* at their first year anniversary. Although there is certainly much work to do, these women, and others like them show that significant advances have been made.

One reason the process of creating everyday leaders has been successful is the commitment by leaders to help others learn skills and gain experience that will allow them to take on new leadership roles. Rigo is a long-time political leader and a member of the oversight committee of one of the *Juntas*. Describing the process of seeking out young people to participate in leadership positions, he mentions one young woman, a community leader at the time, who seemed like she could make an excellent regional authority: “I asked her if she wanted to participate and she said yes, but that her parents wouldn’t let her. So, I went to her house and sat down and talked to her father and mother. I told them how important it was that their daughter begin to *caminar* (literally walk, or participate in work) and that I thought she would be a good leader. Her father said that she couldn’t read or write very well and that would hold her back. I told him that if they gave her permission to leave, we would make sure she learns to read and write and speak well in Spanish, too.” Both men and women who cannot read or write participate in the *Junta*, and teaching these skills is a priority of other *Junta* members. During breaks from their decision-making sessions, there are often pairs of people working together with books. This type of support also comes in the deferral of speaking rights from more experience members to new members; allowing them to direct meetings and talk to visitors and build confidence in their abilities.

The rotating leadership model of the *Juntas* does give rise to complications. The concentration of authority and decision-

making power in the hands of a few individuals would undoubtedly facilitate decision-making processes. However, the goal of the EZLN’s autonomy project is not to promote efficiency at the expense of justice. Although collective decision-making and rotating members can be cumbersome, they reduce corruption, abuses of power and protagonismo—or individuals using their position to promote themselves and their interests. More importantly for our purposes here, this process contributes knowledge, experience and authority to many new everyday leaders throughout the state.

The effects of this leadership philosophy are felt even outside the structures of the organization, in the emergence of new leaders in organizations aligned with the Zapatistas. Such is the case of Ricardo of the *Red de Defensores Comunitarios por los Derechos Humanos* (“the Red”). This organization trains and coordinates the work of young indigenous people from Zapatista regions in human rights defense. Ricardo has worked as a “defensor” since the Red’s inception in 1999. Of his experience he says, “The community assembly named me to join the Red to gain knowledge in the defense of human rights. I liked the idea, because I had seen the government enter our community violently and I knew it would give me the skills I needed to support our rights as indigenous peoples.” Besides coordinating the central office of the *Red de Defensores* and acting as its treasurer, Ricardo has worked on numerous cases defending people illegally detained, victims of torture and of paramilitary violence. He has also collaborated on cases before the International Labor Organization and the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights. He has done two speaking tours in the United States, and is currently participating in an international research team on governance and cultural diversity.

The Zapatistas did not introduce the notion of collective decision-making in Chiapas. In fact, the predominant mode of decision making in indigenous communities in Chiapas is through community assemblies in which issues are debated until a consensus of all those present is reached. Authorities are expected to act on these collective decisions, not make their own decisions about what is right or best for the community. That is, the authority vested in them when they achieve a leadership position is to carry out the collective decisions of the entire community (though women are frequently excluded from this process). Thus, the concept manifested in Zapatista philosophy as “lead by obeying” emerged from the communities themselves. “Lead by obeying” is one of the principal concepts of the Zapatistas’ proposal for an alternative form of governance, which they call “*buen gobierno*.”

The assertion of these alternative democratic practices challenges the emergent discourse of electoral representative democracy in Mexico, one that promotes certain types of citizenship and acceptable forms of political participation, such as voting. While many celebrated this liberalizing discourse as Mexico emerged from decades of authoritarian rule, others, like the Zapatistas, have recognized that it also forms part of the process of hegemonic construction by the neoliberal state—part of a set of rationalities and cultural logics that interpolate subjects and inform practices. The Zapatistas’ discourse and practice asserts a very different kind of logic. Its philosophy presents a challenge to the dominant discourse of the Mexican state, not with arms, but with alternatives: alternative logics, subjectivities and forms of power and authority.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> All translations from the Spanish are the authors’.

<sup>2</sup> We have used pseudonyms to protect the identity of all people cited in this article.

# **Producción de conocimiento y movimiento social: un análisis desde la experiencia del Proceso de Comunidades negras - PCN en Colombia**

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*En América Latina, y especialmente en la Colombia de Hoy, con realidades como estas, para el intelectual no es una opción sino una necesidad estar en la política. (Gonzalo Sanchez G. 1999.)*

Para el Movimiento social de comunidades negras el debate sobre el conocimiento y el papel de los intelectuales toma diversas formas. Estas incluyen la discusión entre la dinámica organizativa rural y urbana, la discusión frente a la dinámica organizativa y colectivo, la necesidad o no de la figura de asesores y la inclusión de los comités técnicos y temáticos en la estructura social de la organización política nacional.

En el presente ensayo realizo una aproximación al papel del intelectual de base y la producción de conocimiento colectivo en la construcción de la propuesta política desde la experiencia del Proceso de Comunidades Negras (PCN) en Colombia.

Según Gonzalo Sánchez (1.999) los movimientos sociales de América Latina se caracterizaron en la última década por su corta duración, su carácter coyuntural asociado a acciones de demandas, protestas y denuncias frente a problemáticas específicas, y la marcha o el paro cívico como su máxima expresión de movilización social<sup>1</sup>.

En la experiencia colombiana la generación de conocimiento para la acción política -en condiciones de extrema intolerancia- toma necesariamente un sesgo, establece una prioridad en la acción en relación con la coyuntura de la violencia. Para el caso de las comunidades negras, la formulación de hipótesis de investigación y conocimiento está enmarcada en un propósito político que pasa por la conquista y vigencia de los derechos humanos, la consolidación de procesos democráticos y formas de sociedad más incluyentes, y por prácticas sociales, económica, cultural y ambientalmente sostenibles.

Es este propósito el que determina la validez del conocimiento y el papel del intelectual de base. La multicausalidad del fenómeno de la violencia y la diversidad de intereses generadores de la exclusión, marginación histórica y sus diferentes formas de afectación para la comunidad negra en Colombia, hizo necesaria una múltiple lectura, detallada, minuciosa y detenida de los factores determinantes de la misma, en la que intervienen distintos niveles de conocimiento. En ellos se conjuga la percepción de diversos actores, desde el poblador rural, los jóvenes y mujeres de la zona urbana que participan en los espacios de discusión, la del líder comunitario que se mueve en un radio de acción local urbano-rural, y el de los activistas sociales o intelectuales de base que juegan un papel importante en la construcción de redes de acción y en la orientación del movimiento social.

El proceso constituyente del año 1991 en Colombia y los hechos que le sucedieron son un buen ejemplo para analizar la relación entre los escenarios políticos, el papel de los intelectuales y el mismo movimiento social en la producción de conocimiento y acción.

Desde el punto de vista del PCN, el proceso de reforma Constitucional del 91 en Colombia se esgrime más como un colchón de amortiguamiento frente a la gran tensión social y política del país en relación con la modernización del Estado que para resolver los graves conflictos que afectan la realidad nacional. A la apertura democrática de la Constitución del 91 le sigue el recorte de las funciones del Estado de bienestar y su paulatina minimización. Aun así, es la coyuntura del 91 la que da lugar al surgimiento de una red de organizaciones afrocolombianas de distintas procedencias, historias y luchas que se aglutinan en torno a la demanda de derechos étnicos, culturales y territoriales, creyendo tener en este escenario de la asamblea constituyente el espacio idóneo para construir una alternativa social y política desde el tema étnico y cultural. De hecho, la apertura de amplios espacios para el debate político y el diálogo abierto entre distintos sectores -incluyendo la insurgencia- crean una efervescente escenario político en el que surgen ideas, propuestas y estrategias para lo que se llamo "*la construcción del nuevo país*".

Las bases de la propuesta de un movimiento social de comunidades negras en torno al derecho a la diferencia surgen en este contexto; la valoración de las opciones políticas existentes frente a las demandas y derechos del pueblo afrocolombiano generan un gran debate nacional por primera vez entre distintas expresiones de dicho movimiento; se generan discursos en torno a los derechos étnicos y culturales y se reconoce la dificultad en las propuestas existentes para asumir las estrategias planteadas desde este enfoque. En este espacio se construyen los argumentos, los principios de alianzas, y se consolida la propuesta política inicial.

Pero esta democratización del pensamiento y del conocimiento vive en los años inmediatamente posteriores un proceso de estrangulamiento. Las organizaciones y dinámicas sociales que creyeron tener una oportunidad en la constitución del 91 en las luchas por la democracia, equidad y la justicia sociales son acalladas por la agudización de la crisis económica, social y política.

Con el avance del proyecto de Estado neoliberal se agudiza la instrumentalización del conflicto en una dirección represiva que apunta hacia el paramilitarismo. La concertación pierde espacio; la salida política misma como resolución de los conflictos es

descartada en la práctica de una guerra en la cual cohabitan las prácticas clientelistas y corruptas que corroen toda posibilidad de participación política.

En este escenario parecería inoperante el papel del intelectual orientador, del esclarecedor y guía de la opinión pública y de la acción de los movimientos sociales en los cuales participa. Sin embargo, en el caso de las comunidades negras, el discurso político se sostiene aun en la actual coyuntura. Esto sucede más como mecanismo de resistencia, de reconstrucción de las identidades históricas y políticas que como mecanismo que pueda generar una acción favorable por parte del Estado o bien por los demás actores del conflicto.

En la presente polarización las cabezas visibles y las voces que exigen derechos contrarios a los intereses económicos más recalcitrantes se convierten en blancos efectivos de la estrategia militarista, dado que existe actualmente el clima de acallar por la fuerza cualquier mínima expresión que contradiga la estrategia vigente. En este conflicto los opositores son también quienes construyen argumentos en función de derechos aun no reconocidos por dichos intereses económicos y políticos.

Pese a no tener mayores condiciones o trayectorias para ocupar espacio en los "diálogos," el proceso organizativo de las comunidades negras insiste en mantenerse como opción social y cultural. Esto ha requerido de un intenso y permanente trabajo intelectual y colectivo que no necesariamente ha utilizado la palabra escrita como forma de expresión del conocimiento acumulado. Asimismo, en un primero momento no buscó interlocutores externos, sino que se dirigió a sí mismo en un proceso de autocompresión, autovaloración y autodefinition de su papel, en una búsqueda de su quéhacer y de sus propios métodos de construcción y reconstrucción como expresión social y cultural diferenciada del conjunto de la sociedad colombiana, para desde allí relacionarse con los otros sectores sociales.

Este proceso de acumulación de poder pasa desde la reconstrucción de la identidad a partir de los valores y prácticas culturales, hasta la defensa del derecho a la diferencia en el terreno político. Desde el ser negro como condición cultural y socioeconómica, hasta el ser negro como opción política. Cada uno de estos procesos exigió ejercicios de descodificación y recodificación de la cotidianidad de la práctica cultural, exigió categorías conceptuales de construcción de conocimiento para la práctica política y para los principios expresados en la defensa y posicionamiento de los derechos étnico- culturales y territoriales.

Sin duda el ejercicio de autodefinition se determina también al exterior tanto como al interior del movimiento social de comunidades negras. Al Interior por la necesidad de diferenciarse de otras expresiones que se plantean en defensa de lo negro como respuesta al racismo y la discriminación como eje central de sus luchas pero que no se definen frente a las estructuras de poder, frente al orden social, político y económico. Son expresiones que reclaman programas de bienestar social, empleo e igualdad de oportunidades, e igualdad ciudadana exclusivamente.

Para el PCN el derecho a la diferencia se contrapone a la simple igualdad ciudadana. El derecho al espacio y a una expresión propia de futuro exige mas allá de la inclusión y la formulación del programas de bienestar social para los 10 millones y medio afrocolombianos. El derecho al territorio se define junto al derecho del sujeto negro como expresión cultural en todos los ámbitos de la vida. De hecho, este es el principal elemento diferenciador de este sector frente al conjunto de propuestas del movimiento negro en Colombia.

La lucha por el territorio como un todo incluye el conocimiento, la naturaleza, la cultura, en una relación interdependiente. Permite en el escenario del Pacifico Colombiano reclamar la sobrevivencia de los ecosistemas y paisajes de la selva húmeda tropical como parte del patrimonio cultural de los grupos étnicos negros e indígenas. La naturaleza es condición necesaria del proyecto de vida de la comunidad negra en el Pacifico, y la cultura vinculada a esta naturaleza es condición necesaria de su sobrevivencia frente a la presión de otros modelos culturales, sociales y económicos.

Los mecanismos de apropiación territorial, por ejemplo, requieren a su vez de procesos de construcción política a partir del conocimiento que se tiene del entorno natural, socio-económico y político, así como de un conocimiento del territorio y de las dinámicas que lo determinan. Sólo éste permitirá la construcción de argumentos sólidos, válidos para un reconocimiento del derecho territorial incluso en el esquema normativo del país. La titulación colectiva de los territorios tradicionalmente ocupados a lo largo de riveras y montañas es un resultado específico de este ejercicio intelectual en el colectivo y de la movilización y la protesta social de la comunidad negra por sus derechos.

Al interior de los procesos organizativos, la vivencia del derecho al territorio se legitima por medio de la capacidad de gobernabilidad en el espacio colectivo. La gobernabilidad como expresión del amplio conocimiento de los factores que determinan el uso, manejo y control del territorio para su defensa, determinan a su vez el papel que jugará cada uno de los actores dentro de este sector del movimiento social.

El intelectual de base cumple diversas funciones dentro de esta estructura y dinámica, dependiendo de su participación en las estrategias para la apropiación y defensa del territorio o bien de la consolidación del proyecto político. Dentro de la diversidad de funciones que cumple se incluyen las de analista de los contextos, consignador y editor del conocimiento colectivo, productor de conocimiento, técnico de la reconstrucción social y económica, interlocutor en las relaciones con el Estado y con la sociedad civil, representante del colectivo, y otros papeles.

La necesidad de traducir las prácticas culturales al lenguaje de los derechos en la relación con el Estado se convierte en tarea permanente. Asimismo, en la propia interacción, la necesidad de mantener las autonomías y los principios convierte el ejercicio de la producción de conocimiento en compromiso con un proyecto político. El intelectual de base asume de esta manera su papel dentro del colectivo. El mismo es asignado democráticamente

según la diversidad de funciones de cada uno de los integrantes del grupo a partir de las capacidades y posibilidades de cada persona. Por lo tanto, el papel de intelectual no surge exclusivamente de la capacidad y voluntad individual. Desempeñar ese rol exige además el reconocimiento y confianza del colectivo en la medida en que es también parte de la vocería y representación del proyecto político en relación y posicionamiento frente a los otros miembros del colectivo.

A diferencia del movimiento indígena, alrededor del cual se ha constituido una red de intelectuales que desde distintas disciplinas han contribuido a argumentar y a construir una opinión pública a favor de sus luchas, el movimiento de comunidades negras surge como un actor sin apoyo amplio ni reconocimiento del exterior. No ha existido en Colombia una intelectualidad o bien disciplinas sociales que hayan contribuido a la construcción de nuevos paradigmas que sustenten la validez y viabilidad de la lucha de las comunidades negras por sus derechos como grupo étnico. En esta medida el proceso organizativo de las comunidades negras ha tenido que construir su propia intelectualidad como parte de los mecanismos de resistencia cultural y de acción política.

Consecuentemente, para las comunidades negras la participación de la intelectualidad ha sido una necesidad y un requerimiento de las estrategias del colectivo. Esto sin desconocer el aporte de contados intelectuales o personalidades externas al movimiento.

Salvo algunas excepciones, los mismos no alcanzaron nunca el perfil del intelectual orgánico comprometido con el proyecto político de la comunidad negra. Su principal aporte fue la visibilización de una cultura que resistió al desarrollo y que se construye desde la etnografía y la historia. Para el intelectual de base es el movimiento social, sus niveles de organización, sus demandas, sus avances, sus limitaciones, su viabilidad política los que definen sus problemas intelectuales.

Finalmente, el proyecto político ofrece una dimensión necesaria para la sostenibilidad del proyecto de vida de las comunidades afrodescendientes. Le exige a un país centralista, dependiente de las exigencias del neoliberalismo y fracturado por la violencia como lo es Colombia, un papel que va mucho más allá de la generación de nuevos conocimientos e incluso más allá de la facilitación y del acompañamiento a los procesos sociales. Exige toda una nueva manera de pensar la acción estratégica, todo un nuevo conocimiento para obtener la apropiación y la defensa de los derechos culturales y territoriales que exige la comunidad negra como grupo étnico y por el ejercicio de su derecho a la diferencia.

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> SANCHEZ G Gonzalo.; en "Los intelectuales y la política" en Análisis Político, N° 38. Instituto de estudios políticos y Relaciones Internacionales, Bogotá Septiembre/Diciembre 1999.

## Diferencias jurídicas coloniales: caso Bolivia

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No cabe duda que en los últimos tiempos la justicia, el derecho y los derechos humanos, todos inspirados en paradigmas occidentales, han sido globalizados. Esto ha sucedido con la Declaración Universal de la ONU de 1948, con los Pactos Internacionales de 1966 (el Pacto Internacional de Derechos Civiles y Políticos), así como el Protocolo Facultativo, la Convención Internacional sobre Eliminación de todas las Formas de Discriminación Racial de 1976 o bien el Convenio 169 de la Organización Internacional del Trabajo, que plantean nuevos retos teóricos y políticos de respeto a la vida humana y la coexistencia entre diferentes.

Naturalmente, la globalización de estas garantías fundamentales también supone su homogeneización. Esto viene con un alto costo: el detrimento de concepciones y prácticas jurídicas, de justicia y de derechos humanos de los pueblos indígenas, que pervivieron en la clandestinidad por centurias. Me concentraré en estos tópicos.

Sin duda en una sociedad donde no existen grandes diferencias sociales o culturales, estos logros tienen mucho sentido por implicar el respeto básico de los valores humanos. La nueva fórmula de interacción Estado-Derecho-Sociedad significó mayor cualificación que la antigua relación Estado-Derecho. Pero lo anterior se hace problemático en una sociedad intercultural como Bolivia, porque aún no se ha superado el modo de vida colonial

en los niveles más elementales de su institucionalidad. Por lo tanto, hay prácticas racistas en la sociedad y en la cultura bolivianas que se expresan en la evasión y en la negociación de la ley en base al poder de la influencia del que tiene más dinero. Esta cuestión se ha constituido en la norma tácita, y precisamente sobre esas rancias perversidades se injertaron las leyes bolivianas, incluyendo las de última generación, tales como la Ley de Participación Popular o la de las Reformas a la Constitución Política del Estado.

Los derechos humanos indígenas resultan de la relación individuo-comunidad-justicia, que también constituye otra globalidad, otra integralidad indivisible. Hablar de la comunidad o del ayllu es hablar del medio social, cultural, cosmológico, medioambiental y geográfico. Por lo tanto, el ayllu se asume como el corazón y el individuo cobra sentido de persona o *jaqi* en el seno de la comunidad, y sólo así la justicia se constituye en su principal soporte. Pero el individuo no precisamente es el centro como sucede en la concepción occidental.

La visión indígena es una concepción holística donde las partes encierran sentido en la globalidad articulada. Es dentro de esa multidimensionalidad que se garantizan los derechos plenos y múltiples, a diferencia de los derechos humanos de origen occidental. Esto contradice la noción filosófica de que los derechos humanos sólo pueden estar basados en el

“individualismo axiológico” (Mancilla 2000). Precisamente apoyado en esta razón, el Estado boliviano se constituye en terreno fértil para abusos de autoridad, discrecionalidad y desconocimiento de la ley que se ejerce sobre los pueblos o identidades; injusticias cada vez más numerosas en la esfera de las “libertades individuales.” Los ejemplos sobran, tales como la masacre de octubre de 2003. El constitucionalismo boliviano no dice nada sobre derechos territoriales de las comunidades o ayllus, o sobre su derecho a ser consultadas para la exploración o explotación de los recursos naturales que se ubican en sus ámbitos, o bien su derecho a participar en su explotación o en la renta que se genere, como señala el Convenio 169, convertido en norma estatal.

A modo de ejemplo, en esta parte discutiré la postura de H.C.F. Mansilla, uno de los defensores vehementes de la deferencia colonial jurídica, quién arremete contra los sistemas jurídicos y políticos indígenas. Mansilla afirma que los “modelos colectivistas no han generado a partir de sí mismos estatutos comparables a los derechos humanos actuales, que estos últimos más bien han sido el resultado de un desarrollo milenario de la llamada cultura europea occidental” (2000:6). No debe sorprendernos este razonamiento, por cuanto H.C.F. Mansilla sintetiza la visión dominante de carácter colonial que se caracteriza por simplificar la compleja realidad boliviana dentro de esquemas básicos articuladas incluso en contra de su propia experiencia.

En el puro estilo colonial de diferencia racial, insiste que en el presente “las comunidades llamadas originarias es el deterioro de los valores normativos de origen vernacular y su substitución por normativas occidentales... Hasta es posible que los indígenas vayan abandonando paulatinamente los dos pilares de su identidad colectiva: la tierra y el idioma” (idem:10 y 11). Curiosamente, esta forma de razonamiento anclada en el esencialismo extremo no difiere de sus homólogas “élites decimonónicas que crearon fracturas y fronteras, que aun perviven no como testigos pétreos sino como realidades vivas” (Rodríguez 2002: 11): “es preciso advertir que hace mucho tiempo se opera en Bolivia un fenómeno digno de llamar la atención: el desaparecimiento lento y gradual de la raza indígena. En efecto, desde el año de 1878 esta raza está herida de muerte... De manera que en breve tiempo ateniéndonos a las leyes progresivas de la estadística, tendremos la raza indígena, sino borrada por completo del escenario de la vida, al menos reducida a su mínima expresión” (Censo General de la República de Bolivia 1900:35-36). Nótese que el estilo argumentativo sugiere que por la causa india no es posible el “avance de la civilización moderna” (H.C.F. Mansilla 2002: 11). Obviamente, la pregunta es ¿cuál (in)civilización?

En su razonamiento, “la civilización occidental ha producido igualmente los derechos humanos, la democracia pluralista y la concepción del respeto a las minorías” (idem: 32). De haber sido así, ¿por qué las constantes protestas indígenas en los distintos países latinoamericanos (Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala, México, entre los más importantes)? En estos países las poblaciones indígenas han sufrido alarmantes grados de violencia política y destrucción de su entorno.

Uno de los aportes más importantes de la visión indígena es precisamente apuntarle a un real “pluralismo político-jurídico” extensivo a los círculos no indígenas, aún cuando para los sectores dominantes este mismo principio se encuentra en la perspectiva instrumental: para seguir dominando. Debido a las protestas indígenas se dice que hay “dos Bolivias” en los términos de Jorge Sanjinés (1989), representadas como “La Nación Clandestina”

frente a una nación oficial.

Los Derechos Humanos tienen que haber sido analizado en el marco tradicional de las dualidades, un estilo expositivo que marca el discurso de H.C.F. Mansilla. A mi parecer, esta perspectiva es resultado de una simplificación de la compleja realidad indígena andina, lo cual suscita inmediatamente preguntas como las siguientes: ¿qué función tiene esta simplificación? ¿para qué sirve? H.C.F. Mansilla realmente experimenta la realidad con la misma simplicidad con la cual expresa su discurso; o bien, de manera consciente, se esfuerza por reducir la complejidad del mundo a la simplicidad de las consabidas antinomias. Para nosotros los indios, esto no tiene nada de sorprendente. No cabe duda que es un pensamiento de la rancia expresión criollo-mestiza que opera aún con base en concepciones coloniales, que se caracterizan por reducir la compleja realidad de los Derechos Humanos a oposiciones básicas: “individualista y tendencias colectivistas.” Este razonamiento supone que existe el “‘mundo nativo,’ autoritario, cerrado sobre sí mismo” en oposición a la “‘civilización occidental,’ liberal, pluralista y abierta... al cambio permanente” (H.C.F. Mansilla 2000:6-7).

En el pensamiento aymara no existe la clásica dicotomía occidental del bien y del mal; todos los sistemas jurídicos o valores sobre los derechos humanos pueden ser tan malos como buenos, o tan buenos como malos, dependiendo del trato que se les ofrezca y del contexto político vigente. Lo cierto es que son los indígenas los que supieron sintetizar diferentes horizontes de derechos (cfr. Fernández 2000).

Para H.C.F. Mansilla es impensable que los pueblos indígenas, particularmente el aymara, hayan podido desarrollarse y tengan algo que aportar a la irrestricta realización de los bienes jurídicos humanos fundamentales, como sugiere en sus afirmaciones: “la herencia de las culturas aborígenes precolombinas consiste en un colectivismo vertical que atribuye al individuo y sus derechos... los derechos humanos no se han originado en el seno de las culturas andinas antiguas y actuales” (2002:34).

Los conceptos indígenas sobre derechos humanos difieren. En todo caso, es mejor hablar de “dignidad humana,” por cuanto es un concepto multidimensional que toca los sustratos internos y externos de la persona, el carácter ético-moral y social (cfr. Fernández 2002). Se trata de defender a las personas con todos sus valores: sentimientos, pensamientos, derecho al habla, a la salud, a la seguridad, a la identidad, a su dimensión cosmológica; precisamente el *jaqi* sintetiza esta heterogeneidad. Un bien jurídico protegido por el sistema jurídico indígena no se rige por el principio de la “selectividad” como ocurre en el sistema jurídico positivista.

En tal sentido, para la comunidad o el ayllu la persona humana, independientemente de su condición de género y/o generacional, compromete al colectivo. Solamente en esta perspectiva podemos entender que no es posible prohibir el acceso a ciertos bienes tales como la alimentación o el agua. En general, la comunidad andina no admite que alguien perezca por hambre o falta de agua, porque estos son derechos comunes y connaturales a la existencia humana; de ahí que el agua de ninguna manera se puede negar, como tampoco es obligación agradecer por éste servicio. Dice una máxima al respecto: “*uma waxtawitxa janíw juspaxarañati*, del ofrecimiento del agua para beber no hay que agradecer, de lo que Dios nos ha puesto no hay que porqué atajarse”. Tampoco se puede negar al forastero comida y/o techo; de suceder esta situación significaría estar en los límites de la animalidad, como sucede cuando los indígenas son discriminados en

las grandes ciudades -principalmente La Paz, Cochabamba y Santa Cruz- por propios y extraños: “las señoras panceñas, los soldados, nos dicen *qhari*, flojos en la calle, *nukunaq'apxiuwa kallinx...* *wali uñisitapxtwa aka kuka akullitata*, en la calle somos empujados como cosas, nos odian por mascar la coca, nos dicen ensucian la calle, nos hacen llorar mucho” (Gregoria Rojas, Lallagua, octubre 30 de 2002). No fue para menos, al recordar estos incidentes, que nuestra interlocutora terminó sumida en profundo dolor y llanto.

A lo largo de nuestra experiencia investigativa hemos observado que el racismo es un elemento presente, del que son objeto constante en su cotidiano vivir y funciona como un mecanismo de segregación, exacción y afirmación identitaria para los otros sectores sociales: “la gente nos riñe, nos insulta diciendo *potolo... ukam satata wali chuyma ususi, wali sintisipxtwa*, cuando somos nombrados así, nos duele el corazón, nos resentimos mucho” (Gregoria Rojas, Lallagua, noviembre 30 de 2002). El racismo vendría a establecer una diferencia en la división social del trabajo,

vivienda, alimentación, entre otros. La mayoría de los emigrantes indican que han sido agredidos en su dignidad humana: “*jicha jaqix q'uruptataxiwa*, la personas de hoy están más enojadas... *waki q'uruwa uka tuñuxa*” (Tiburcia Ayawiri, Cantón Yarvicoya, noviembre 10 de 2002).

Abundando en la diferencia, podemos sostener que es mejor hablar de la “dignidad humana” que de “derechos humanos” en la medida en que, para la visión indígena, toca la condición multidimensional del carácter interno y externo de la persona; es decir, se torna de capital importancia establecer los particularismos y diferencias de la persona humana en su entorno. Ello es absolutamente atinente con la estructura de los sustratos ético-morales y sociales del sistema jurídico indígena, ampliamente desarrollado en nuestro trabajo *La Ley del Ayllu...* (2002). Justamente en esa dimensión se encuentra resituada la condición social de *jaqi*.

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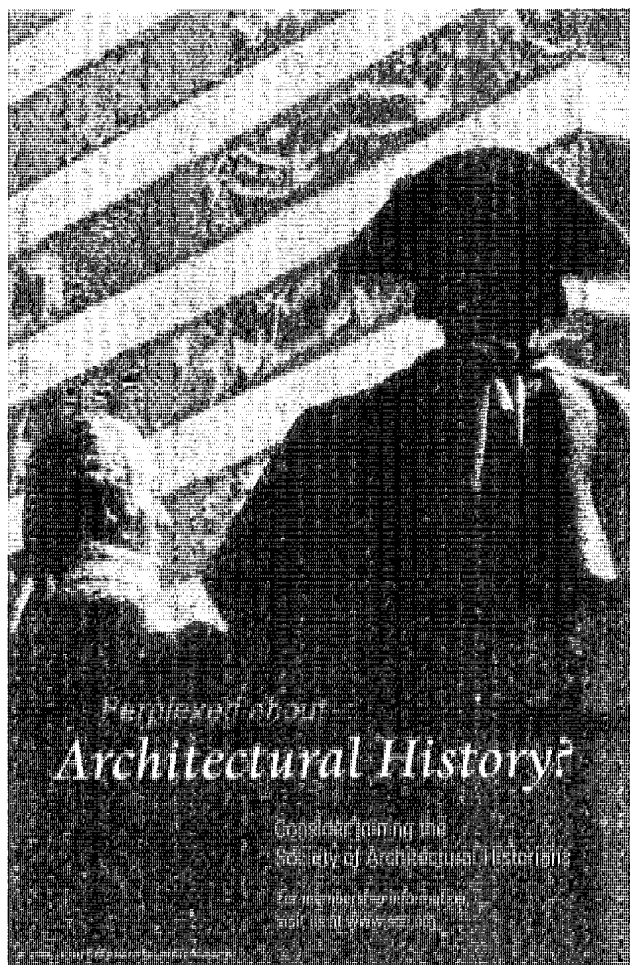
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Publica artículos, notas, reseñas y entrevistas en las áreas de Literatura Española, Literatura Hispanoamericana, Literatura Puertorriqueña y Lingüística Hispánica. Se aceptarán ensayos escritos en español y en inglés. Todo trabajo ha de seguir las especificaciones recientes del MLA, si bien se prefieren las notas al pie de página. Los artículos deberán tener un mínimo de 15 páginas y un máximo de 35. Las notas tendrán un mínimo de 5 páginas y un máximo de 8. Las reseñas podrán tener entre 4 y 5 páginas (todas en letra Times o Times New Roman 12, en formato RTF o Word, una copia impresa y otra en disquete). La suscripción anula es de \$20 para individuos, \$30 para instituciones.

Toda correspondencia ha de enviarse a:

José E. Santos,  
Director, *Pórtico*,  
Departamento de Estudios Hispánicos  
Universidad de Puerto Rico,  
Recinto Universitario de Mayagüez  
Apartado 9263  
Mayagüez, PR 00681-9263

# SALALM: Fifty Years of Support to Latin American Studies

by Mark L. Grover  
Brigham Young University  
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On April 16, 2005 more than one hundred librarians will gather at the University of Florida at Gainesville to discuss issues regarding the evolution and development of library collections about Latin America. The meeting will pay homage to a similar meeting held at the University of Florida on June 14-15, 1956, where 26 librarians met with similar concerns and interests. The organization that evolved from the meeting in Florida, the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) has had an important role in the unfolding of Latin American Studies throughout the United States, Europe, and Latin America.

The first meeting was the outcome of conversations between Marietta Daniels, assistant librarian of the Pan American Union (OAS), and Stanley West, Director of the University of Florida Libraries. Their conversations centered on challenges of building academic and research collections related to Latin America. World War II had highlighted a significant lack of international expertise in the United States, so postwar government officials, university administrators, and faculty worked to strengthen international programs. Though this emphasis was focused more on Europe and Asia than Latin America, a historical expansion in language and history education had established a tradition of the study of Latin American in major universities.

Marietta Daniels had taught and worked in libraries in Latin America for several years and believed in the power of the written word. A native of Kansas, she turned her position as assistant librarian at the Pan American Union into an assignment that included advocating the development of libraries throughout the Americas.<sup>1</sup> Though she never worked as an academic librarian, her understanding of the book trade in Latin America made her acutely aware of the difficulties American university librarians were having building collections from Latin America. Her answer to the challenges was to bring together librarians from major U.S. universities and other organizations to talk about solutions. With the assistance of Stanley West, librarians met in a two-day conference near Brooksville, Florida at a nineteenth century country home called Chinsegut Hill, that functioned as a conference center for the University of Florida.

The impact of the first Seminar was momentous. Papers were presented and discussions held on a variety of topics. First among its end-of-meeting resolutions was the decision to hold a second Seminar which occurred in Austin, Texas, the following year. SALALM for the next 18 years was under Marietta's supervision and care, and the content of the meetings was established by a group of able academic librarians such as Nettie Lee Benson, University of Texas; Irene Zimmerman, University of Florida; and Emma Simonson, University of California at Berkeley and later Indiana University. The early connection with the Pan American Union/OAS strengthened the conferences by encouraging and bringing librarians and academics from Latin America to interact with their U.S. counterparts. Activities related to Latin American collections that were functioning outside of SALALM such as the Farmington Plan, were supported by the organization. The Final Reports of the meetings are a distinctive collection of information, trends, and activities related to the evolution of Latin American librarianship and Latin American Studies in the United States.<sup>2</sup>

SALALM changed over the years, particularly when a Secretariat was named and Marietta's influence diminished. The meetings took on more of an academic framework, but SALALM continues to work towards the goals Marietta established. The impact on Latin American Studies is remarkable. For fifty years this independent organization has created programs, sponsored publications, established indexes, set national standards, and built library collections in support of Latin American studies in the United States, Europe, and Latin America. SALALM has acted as an incubator for a variety of projects in support of Latin American scholarship such as the *Hispanic American Periodicals Index* (HAPI), the Latin American Microform Project (LAMP), and more recently the Latin American Periodicals Table of Contents database (LAPTOC). Publications have included the annual *Bibliography of Latin American and Caribbean Bibliographies*, the *Directory of Vendors of Latin American Library Materials* and the *Bibliography & Reference* monograph series. The annual meeting and the organization continue to act as an essential and unique forum for bringing together librarians, book vendors, and scholars working on cooperative ventures for preservation and access to the scholarship of the region.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Carmen Rovira, "Marietta Daniels Shepard and Latin America" in *Proceedings of the Second Binational Conference on Libraries of the Californias*, edited by Marta Stiefel Ayala. San Diego: Institute for Border Studies, San Diego State University Imperial Valley Campus, 1985.

<sup>2</sup>For a report of the first meeting see, Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials, 1<sup>st</sup>, Brooksville, Fla., 1956. *Final Report*. Gainesville, University of Florida Libraries, 1956.





## A Note from the Program Chair

by Frances Aparicio

University of Illinois, Chicago

franapar@uic.edu

In June 2004, LASA President Sonia Alvarez and I met in Chicago for one full day to review the Program Tracks. Based on the strategic plan and LASA's mandate to diversify and to be more inclusive of the less-represented fields, we discussed ways in which renaming, combining, splitting and reorganizing some tracks would yield a more heterogeneously representation of scholarship on Latin America. We purposely rewrote fields that conventionally are more quite narrowly defined into larger rubrics that would embrace a variety of approaches. In order to promote interdisciplinarity and innovative thinking, we also reformatted some traditional spaces in favor of multi- and interdisciplinary areas of inquiry. This list was sent on email to all section chairs who, in turn, recommended section members for the role of track chairs. In fact, some section chairs were enthusiastic enough to volunteer themselves as track chairs.

Since the Call for Papers was issued, I have received some inquiries asking me where some social science proposals fit when their discipline is not overtly included in the list of program tracks. For example, international relations was one such area. In this case, rather than naming it as such, and segmenting those scholars into discrete panels on international relations, we wanted to exhort the membership to be creative and imaginative in creating panels interdisciplinarily. Thus, for instance, a paper on international relations could well be considered under Politics and Public Policy, Democratization, Globalization and Transnationalism, History, or Citizenship, Social Justice and Human Rights. Moreover, we look forward to the kinds of panels that, hypothetically, would focus on Cities and Urban Studies, for instance, and that would include a cultural geographer, an urban studies scholar, a sociologist, a historian and a cultural/literary studies scholar. Or, a panel on Youth and Youth Cultures with scholars whose work on youth focuses on a particular country,

region, or society is another example. These sorts of panels might examine a particular topic or issue from various disciplinary vantage points and would yield new ideas and perspectives, not to mention uncover new analogies and comparisons among these fields. By crossing academic and disciplinary borders, LASA 2006 will indeed illustrate in practice its own theme of decentering Latin American Studies.

Contrary to the perception expressed by one unhappy social scientist that the program privileges the humanities, twenty out of thirty two tracks are centrally informed by the social sciences. A good number of the track chairs are trained as social scientists. We look forward to program proposals that approach Latin American, Caribbean and Latino/a topics and issues in innovative ways and also ones that avoid the segmentation of LASA panels that usually turn into disciplinary silos.

I am also truly pleased with the progress we are making in working with the conference site, the Caribe Hilton Hotel, and with the interest of prominent local scholars in San Juan who will participate in the Local Organizing Committee. Professor Margarita Ostolaza, previous senator and Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad de Puerto Rico, has agreed to serve as Chair. Other confirmed members include César Rey, previous Secretary of Education and professor in Universidad del Sagrado Corazón, Professor Luisa Hernández, Social Sciences at the Universidad de Puerto Rico, and Professor Alice Colón, Interim Director of the Centro de Investigaciones Sociales at the Universidad de Puerto Rico. We are very encouraged by the enthusiasm of the Caribbean and Puerto Rican academic community in welcoming LASA members for the 2006 Congress and in collaborating in the planning of the event.

**PUERTO RICO IN 2006!**

**FILM FESTIVAL AND EXHIBIT LASA2006**  
**XXVI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**

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

Film and video materials that are not integrated into a panel, workshop, or other regular Congress session may be featured at LASA2006 in three separate venues:

**I. LASA2006 FILM FESTIVAL**

You may submit a film or video to compete for the juried designation of "*LASA 2006 Award of Merit in Film*," which is given for "excellence in the visual presentation of educational and artistic materials on Latin America."

Approximately 20 such designations will be made. These films and videos will be screened free of charge in the **LASA 2006 Film Festival**.

Selection criteria for this designation are: artistic, technical, and cinematographic excellence; uniqueness of contribution to the visual presentation of materials on Latin America; and relevance to disciplinary, geographic, and thematic interests of LASA members, as evidenced by topics proposed for panels, workshops, and special sessions at recent Congresses.

Films and videos released *after January 2004* and those that *premiere* at the LASA Congress will be given special consideration, if they also meet the above criteria. LASA membership is not required to compete.

Films that are candidates for the Film Festival *must be received no earlier than August 1, 2005, and no later than October 1, 2005*. Awards will be announced by *December 1, 2005*. Entries constitute acceptance of the rules and regulations of the LASA Film Festival and Exhibit.

**II. LASA2006 FILM EXHIBIT:**

Films and videos NOT selected for screening in the LASA 2006 Film festival, as well as films and videos that were not entered for the Festival competition, may be screened in the LASA 2006 Film Exhibit, for a fee of \$50 for the first 30 minutes of screening time, and \$1.00 per minute thereafter. Exhibit film screenings precede the daily Film Festival, in the same auditorium.

To submit film or video materials directly to the non-competitive LASA 2006 Film Exhibit, please fill out the submission form on this page and check only the category "Film Exhibit." Exhibit time is limited—film selection will be contingent upon the amount of time available. A confirmation and invoice for the cost of this commercial screening will be issued by December 1, 2005. Submissions for the Film Exhibit are due March 1, 2006.

**III. LASA2006 EXHIBIT BOOTHS AND PROGRAM AD RESERVATIONS:**

Distributors of visual materials who wish to **publicize their products** at LASA2006 may also do so in one of the following ways:

- A. By reserving space in the book/literature exhibit—full booth or a combined "take one" literature display; or
- B. By placing an ad in the LASA2006 program booklet.

*See reverse side for submission forms for booths and program ads*

**LASA2006 VISUAL MATERIALS SUBMISSION FORM: FESTIVAL AND EXHIBIT**  
**Submissions for the Film Festival and Film Exhibit will be received *only* from August 1 until October 1, 2005**

Film Festival \_\_\_\_\_ Film Exhibit \_\_\_\_\_ Both \_\_\_\_\_

Title of work enclosed \_\_\_\_\_

Format (Only VHS Video will be screened for selection)

Comments \_\_\_\_\_

Director \_\_\_\_\_ Producer \_\_\_\_\_

Year of release \_\_\_\_\_

Country of release \_\_\_\_\_

Screening time \_\_\_\_\_

Languages / subtitles \_\_\_\_\_

Distributor name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State / Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

Brief description of subject matter, including Country or area treated (or attach descriptive brochure)

\_\_\_\_\_

If your film/video is not selected for the **LASA2006 Film Festival**, do you want it included in the **LASA Film Exhibit** for the fees stated above? YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_

Your name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State / Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

Affiliation (if not in address) \_\_\_\_\_

**To enter the competition for the LASA2006 Film Festival or LASA2006 Film Exhibit**

<p>Mail one copy of the <b>Completed Submission Form</b>, along with a <b>VHS copy of your film or video</b> to:</p> <p><b>Claudia Ferman</b> / Director, LASA2006 Film Festival          University of Richmond, Dept. of Latin American and Iberian Studies, VA 23173.          Tel: 804-289-8114; Fax: 804-287-6446          Email: cferman@richmond.edu</p>	<p>Send a <b>duplicate copy of the form</b> (without film or video materials) to:</p> <p><b>Milagros Pereyra-Rojas</b>          946 WPU, University of Pittsburgh          Pittsburgh, PA 15260.</p>
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## RESERVATION FORM FOR THE LASA2006 EXHIBIT

### FULL EXHIBIT SPACE (10" x 10")

\_\_\_\_\_ \$ 725 Commercial / University Press  
\_\_\_\_\_ \$ 625 Charitable Organization (no items for sale)

\_\_\_\_\_ \$ 625 each additional commercial  
\_\_\_\_\_ \$ 525 each additional charitable

\_\_\_\_\_ Check here if you require staffing at a modest fee

### TAKE-ONE LITERATURE DISPLAY

\_\_\_\_\_ \$ 75 (Unlimited quantity and variety – recommend 350 – 400 pieces)

### LASA2006 PROGRAM BOOKLET ADVERTISING (Camera-ready copy due November 15, 2005)

\_\_\_\_\_ \$ 400 Full page (7.5" w x 10.5" h)      \_\_\_\_\_ \$ 225 Half page (7.5" w x 4 3/4 h)

### SPECIAL VALUES - Exhibit and Program Advertising Discount Package

	<u>You save</u>
_____ \$ 975 Commercial / University Press Booth plus Full Page Ad	\$ 150
_____ \$ 900 Commercial / University Press Booth plus Half Page Ad	\$ 75
_____ \$ 900 Charitable Organizations Booth plus Full Page Ad	\$ 125
_____ \$ 825 Charitable Organizations Booth plus Hal Page Ad	\$ 50

### TERMS OF PAYMENT/CANCELLATION

A nonrefundable \$ 200 deposit per booth is due with application or within two weeks of the invoice date. Final payment for booths is due by 11/15/05. Reservations received after 11/15/05 will require payment in full within two weeks of invoice date. Space assignments are based on a priority system and will be subject to the approval of the exhibitor.

Written cancellations received after 11/15/05 will be charged the full exhibit space rental fee. No refund will be made if the exhibitor fails to occupy the space. Cancellations are not valid until received in writing by the LASA Exhibit Management. No refund is given for materials not arriving or arriving late.

**Mail pdf file for program booklet ads to:**

LASA Exhibit Management, c/o Exhibit Promotions Plus  
11620 Vixens Path  
Ellicott City, MD 21042-1539.  
Telephone: 410-997-0763 \* Fax: 410-997-0764  
Email: [lasa@epponline.com](mailto:lasa@epponline.com)

Organization Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Submitted by \_\_\_\_\_ Title of submitter \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (office) \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_

Email \_\_\_\_\_ Internet site \_\_\_\_\_

### Payment

Enclosed Check in the amount of \_\_\_\_\_

Please bill us \_\_\_\_\_ PO # \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## DISPLAY YOUR BOOKS AT LASA2006

LASA members interested in displaying titles at the XXVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association should advise Harve Horowitz, LASA's advertising/exhibits representative of their latest publications for promotion at LASA2006 in San Juan, PR. Not only is this a valuable opportunity to bring titles of interest to the attention of your colleagues but publishers can benefit from the marketing potential of Congress exhibits and program advertising. Use one of the forms below to alert your publisher to this opportunity or to notify our representative directly

**Dear Publisher:**

Please contact

LASA Advertising/Exhibits, c/o Exhibit Promotions Plus, Inc.,  
11620 Vixens Path  
Ellicot City, MD 21042-1539.  
Telephone: 410-997-0763 \* Fax: 410-997-0764  
Email: [lasa@epponline.com](mailto:lasa@epponline.com)

Concerning promotion of my title(s), listed below, at the Latin American Studies Association XXVI International Congress, March 15-18, San Juan, PR

Title	_____	Year	_____
Title	_____	Year	_____
Title	_____	Year	_____
Author	_____	LASA Member	_____

TO: LASA EXHIBIT MANAGEMENT c/o EXHIBIT PROMOTIONS PLUS, INC.  
11620 Vixens Path  
Ellicot City, MD 21042-1539.  
Telephone: 410-997-0763 \* Fax: 410-997-0764 \* in DC dial 301-596-3028  
Email: [lasa@epponline.com](mailto:lasa@epponline.com)

FROM:

Author \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Fax \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

Please contact the following publisher(s) concerning recent title(s) that I would like displayed at LASA2006:

**Title # 1** \_\_\_\_\_  
Publisher \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Editor \_\_\_\_\_ Sls. Mgr. \_\_\_\_\_

**Title # 2** \_\_\_\_\_  
Publisher \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Editor \_\_\_\_\_ Sls. Mgr. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Check here if you are interested in arranging your own display if publisher declines participation



## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

### NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 2006 SLATE

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 Molyneux, 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. Urquidí (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.



### Ford-LASA Special Projects Reports

#### Miniconference: "Labor and Globalization: Assessing the State of the Field and Proposing a New Research Agenda"

by Joel Stillerman  
Grand Valley State University

The Ford-LASA Special Projects Fund generously provided \$8,500 in funding for a mini-conference focused on the manifold effects of globalization on working people in Latin America. Joel Stillerman (Grand Valley State University) and Peter Winn (Tufts University) submitted the funding proposal with sponsorship from the LASA Labor Studies Section and coordinated the event. The conference was held on October 6, one day prior to LASA 2004, and included panels covering the decline of workers' rights and transformation of the workplace, the erosion of older class-based identities and creation of new ones, the feminization of work and transformation of gender and family relationships, and the decline of organized labor and labor parties as well as the emergence of new labor based social movements. On October 9, a LASA Featured Session including panel chairs and discussants from the conference summarized and extended the conference findings. Additionally, the coordinators plan to publish the mini-conference's findings as an edited volume. The bulk of funding (approximately \$6,500) was used to cover travel expenses for Latin American participants and the remainder was used for food and audiovisual equipment.

The conference and featured session were both highly successful. Twenty-six panelists participated in the conference, including scholars who traveled from Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and El Salvador, as well as others from the U.S. Seven scholars – from Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico— were also able to act as panelists on the official LASA program as a result of the travel or lodging funds they received through the Ford-LASA grant. This fulfilled our goal of using grant funds to bring more Latin American scholars to LASA 2004. Outstanding new research was presented and a provocative dialogue ensued, including a keynote address by University of California at Berkeley professor Harley Shaiken. Sixteen individuals attended the entire ten and one-half hour event, and informal discussions continued at the LASA Opening Reception.

The featured session was also highly successful, including remarks from distinguished scholars Peter Winn, Francisco Zapata, Elizabeth Jelin, Eric Hershberg, and Paul Drake. Over 30 individuals attended, and the panelists raised key theoretical and political issues that summarized and extended the results of the mini-conference. These comments will form the basis of revisions and rethinking that will assist in the development of the proposed edited volume.

The conference program appears below. For further information on the event, contact Joel Stillerman, <stillejo@gvsu.edu>

#### October 6, Riviera Hotel, Royal Pavillion 4, Las Vegas

Registration and breakfast: 8:30-9:00 A.M.

#### I. The Transformation of Work: 9:00-10:45 A.M.

Chair: Peter Winn, Tufts University; Panelists: Rosalia Cortes, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina; Gerhard Reinecke, International Labor Organization (Santiago, Chile); Cliff Welch, Grand Valley State University; Sonia Larangeira, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; Edgar Lara, FUNDE, El Salvador; DISCUSSANT: Harley Shaiken, UC Berkeley

#### II. New Collective Identities: 11:00 AM -12:45 P.M.

Chair: Fernando Leiva, SUNY Albany; Panelists: Steve Striffler, U. of Arkansas; Enrique de la Garza, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México; Joel Stillerman, Grand Valley State University; Aviva Chomsky, Salem State College; DISCUSSANT: Francisco Zapata, Colegio de Mexico

Lunch: 1:00-2:00 P.M.

Keynote address: Harley Shaiken, UC Berkeley

#### III. Gender and Work: The Implications of Female Workforce Participation for Gender Identities, Sexual Politics and Family Relationships (2:00-3:45 P.M.)

Chair: Jocelyn Olcott, Duke University; Panelists: Cecilia Menjivar, Arizona State University; Altha Cravey, University of North Carolina; Steve Bachelor, Colgate University; Heidi Tinsman, UC Irvine; DISCUSSANT: Elizabeth Jelin, U. de Buenos Aires

#### IV. Labor Politics: Crisis, Transformation, or Renewal? (4:00-5:45 P.M.)

Chair: Eric Hershberg, Social Science Research Council; Panelists: Ken Roberts, U. New Mexico; Mark Anner, Cornell University; Maria Victoria Murillo, Columbia University, and Andrew Shrank, Yale University; Alexandre Fortes, Brazilian Workers' Party Foundation (Fundação Perseu Abramo); Salvador Sandoval, Catholic University Sao Paulo; DISCUSSANT: Paul Drake, UC San Diego

## Prisons in Crisis

by Mark Ungar

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

The "Prisons in Crisis" project is a response to inhumane prison conditions and ineffective penal policies throughout Latin America. Although record levels of prison overcrowding, violence, killings, and civil rights violations are now among Latin America's worst human rights abuses, they are downplayed by governments and widely portrayed as an acceptable price in the fight against crime. But even a 55% increase over the past ten years of the region's prison population – where an average of 60% of prisoners have not been tried at any given time – has not halted mounting crime rates. And even massacres, riots, hunger strikes, and powerful criminal networks in deteriorating facilities packed at up to four times official capacity have not shaken up policy in most countries. To reverse this lack of attention and action, "Prisons in Crisis" brings together a working group of government officials, rights activists, and academic specialists to forge a comprehensive response to this hemispheric time bomb.

Each member of the project group has written a report on penitentiary conditions and policies in their own country. Since official statistics are unreliable – even as basic as the number of detainees and how many have not been tried – the working group used prison visits and independent investigation to document rates of overcrowding, violence, due process infractions, torture, corruption, discrimination, unsanitary conditions, disease, fire hazards, and the trafficking of arms and narcotics. It also assessed the quantity and quality of legal aid, work and rehabilitation programs, medication, family visits, protection of women prisoners, and separation of detainees by age and crime. The reports then analyzed the political and institutional causes of these weaknesses, pointing out and describing deficiencies in penal procedures, criminal investigations, public defense, oversight agencies, budgetary allocations, decentralization, guard training, administrative capacity, and anti-recidivism programs.

These national reports were presented on February 15, in a televised public panel at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars that was sponsored by the Center's Latin America Program. Based on these reports, the project is now formulating specific policy proposals in cooperation with the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Development Bank, and several non-governmental organizations. The group is forming pilot projects to set up information systems, eliminate police lock-ups, promote alternatives to incarceration, expand anti-violence training, and strengthen specialized penitentiary agencies. The project also plans to publish the national reports – as well as the policy proposals resulting from them – in an edited volume.

The current members of the project's working group are Enrique Navas, head of Uruguay's national penitentiary system; Julita Lemgruber, Director of the Center of the Studies of Security and Citizenship in Brazil and former Director of the Rio de Janeiro state prison system; Ximena Sierralta Patrón of Peru's Interior Ministry and National Penitentiary Institute; José Gustavo Zelaya, Coordinator of the Legal Aid Program of Casa Alianza in Honduras who investigates treatment of imprisoned youth; Marcelo Bergman of the Centro de Investigación and Docencia Económicas (CIDE) in Mexico City; Pablo Salinas, a human rights lawyer in Mendoza, Argentina, who has won legal actions to improve conditions in the province's prisons; Ana María San Juan, director of the Center for Peace at the Central University of Venezuela; Juan Ramón Quintana, director of the watchdog institute Policia y Democracia in Bolivia; and Mark Ungar, of the Woodrow Wilson Center, who is project director. In its next stages, the group will add prison officials, activists, and specialists from other Latin American countries.

## LASA Voluntary Support

by Sandy Klinzing

Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement

### New Life Members Added

LASA is delighted to acknowledge *three new Life Members*. **Anibal Perez Liñan** is a professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh; Carl Sofie, Portland State University, is professor of International Studies; and **Mary Ann Gosser Esquilín** is a professor of literature at Florida Atlantic University, Honors College. Not only do their decisions to obtain a Life Membership signal their commitment to the Association, they provides tangible and significant support for the LASA Endowment Fund. Many thanks to you all! (For information on obtaining a Life Membership please contact the Secretariat at 412-648-1907.)



All LASA funds have benefited from generous member and friend support since our last report in the fall 2004 *LASA Forum*. The following individuals have made contributions to the **LASA Travel Fund**:

Holly Ackerman  
 Sonia Alvarez  
 Francine A'ness  
 Frances Aparicio  
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 Sergio Waisman  
 Eliza Willis  
 Angus Wright  
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And these contributed to the **LASA Student Fund**:

Melixa Abad Izquierdo  
 Maria Akrabova  
 Moises Arce  
 Sarah Babb  
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 Elaine Carey  
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 Serena Cosgrove  
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Our most sincere thanks to these donors and to the **Princeton University Program in Latin American Studies** for its generous support of both the Travel Fund and the General Endowment!

### AVINA Foundation Gift Announced

The AVINA Foundation has awarded LASA \$10,000 to create the **AVINA Foundation Life Membership Program**. The gift will provide for honorary Life Memberships for recipients of the Kalman Silvert Award during the next four LASA Congresses.

The AVINA Foundation partners with leaders of civil society and the business sector in their initiatives toward sustainable development in Ibero-America. AVINA believes that sustainable development is a viable option for further improving human dignity, by developing the capacity to satisfy present needs compatible with the needs of future generations. Included in this process are those initiatives to promote equal access to opportunities, and encourage citizen participation, education, and eco-efficiency.

AVINA has determined that the best way to promote sustainable societies is by partnering with leaders in civil society and the private sector who demonstrate that they: possess a vision for the future and profound knowledge of the reality in which they operate; act as an agent of change in society through their initiatives; facilitate the growth and development of others as well as form teams and strengthen teamwork; are open to constant learning; seek consensus, develop alliances, and help promote dialogue and communication; and consistently strive to overcome obstacles that may emerge. By leading local and regional projects, these partners agree to work with AVINA toward a mutually agreed-upon end. Moreover, AVINA promotes and facilitates contact among the leaders it supports as well as with other like-minded organizations and initiatives, encouraging meetings and cooperative activities to maximize opportunities for sharing knowledge and experience.

In presenting the award, AVINA Executive Director Peter Cleaves added that the "Foundation is pleased to collaborate with LASA in pursuing our mutual objectives for the benefit of Latin America".



## SECTION NEWS

### BRAZIL SECTION AWARDS

The Brazil Section welcomes nominations for its fourth Book and Essay Award for a distinguished scholarly publication and/or for an outstanding book or any media, including audio or video recordings, on Brazil in the context of Latin American studies. The purpose of the award is to encourage scholarship in the area of Brazilian studies and Brazil in comparative perspective. There will be two book prizes and one essay prize. In the case of books, two modalities of prizes will be presented to:

- 1) the best study on Brazil in English.
- 2) the best study on Brazil in Portuguese.

Awards will be presented during the business meeting of the Brazil Section at the spring 2006 LASA International Congress, to be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 15-18.

Works published or media projects completed between March 16, 2004, and September 15, 2005, are eligible to compete. Authors of nominated works or projects need to be members of the Brazil Section. Works and projects will be evaluated by multi-disciplinary committees. The selected authors will receive a cash award of \$250. Three copies of each nominated work or project must be submitted by September 15, 2005 to Dr. Kenneth P. Serbin, Department of History, University of San Diego, 5998 Alcalá Park, San Diego, California 92110-2492, U.S.A.

The submission letter must include the applicant's home and business addresses, phone and fax numbers, e-mail address, and confirmation of membership in the Brazil Section. In the case of submissions of multiple works by a single publisher, a separate application must be made for each entry.

Recipients will be notified in advance of the congress.

## REPORTS BY LASA SECTIONS

### **Central America** Submitted by Beatriz Cortez

It had been agreed prior to the meeting that during the period while the Section's Secretary, Bob Trudeau, is on sabbatical, Section Member Carolyn Bell would carry out his duties related to the Section's listserv. Nevertheless, during the section business meeting she clarified that she would not be responsible for any other duties assigned to the secretary, rather, that such duties would be taken on by the current co-chairs. As a result, the minutes of the meeting were taken by Co-Chair Beatriz Cortez. Twenty members were in attendance, in addition to Beatriz Cortez, representing the herself and Co-Chair Nicasio Urbina.

The Co-Chair reported that there are still some problems with the listserv; some of the current members, particularly those who have recently joined the section, are not receiving the messages from the listserv. It was agreed that when the new section membership report is received from the LASA Secretariat, the listserv membership would be reviewed.

Section members were pleased with the reduction of section expenses destined for the Section's reception, in contrast with the previous year, and considered the possibility of using the Section's funds for an educationally related end, such as the awarding of Section-sponsored grants.

It was agreed that during the upcoming 18 months web page development will be one of the Section's priorities. It was decided that in the upcoming year a new committee would be created from the Advisory Board in order to further develop the communication and information exchange potential of the Section's website in relation to the wealth of resources represented by the Section's membership.

Another one of the Section's priorities will be to increase its membership. The Section's co-chair reported that for the most part, the Section's Advisory Council continues to play a cosmetic role since out of the five members of the Advisory Council, only two members, Adam Flint and Douglas Carranza, had been active during the previous period. It was agreed by the membership present that the Advisory Council needs to be restructured, particularly, with regards to graduate student representation, since it has been problematic in the past due to the lack of participation of the student representative. It was agreed to elect three new members of the Advisory Council to replace the current inactive members.

The members present discussed problems during past Section elections, when some of the votes sent electronically by some Section members were made public. Section Co-Chair Beatriz Cortez was convinced that such mistakes had been absolutely due to technological glitches in the listserv system, which had been corrected. And in order to avoid having such problems in the future, she invited Section members to follow the instructions in an up-coming e-mail regarding the Section's voting procedures.

The Section's Co-Chair reported that during the previous academic year, two graduate students received a grant of \$500 each from the Section in order to further support their efforts to carry out doctoral fieldwork and/or research in Central America. The Section's Advisory Board will ask these students to provide the Section, as stipulated in the Grant's guidelines, with a report of their research, which will be available online through the Section's website. Furthermore, after deliberation by the Section's members in attendance, it was decided that during the following academic year three grants will be available for doctoral graduate students who are also members of the Section: one \$1,000 grant and two \$500 grants, all of them with the same guidelines established for the previous year. The grants will be announced during the spring of 2005 and will be made available during the summer of 2005 in order to support these students' fieldwork and/or research in Central America during the summer months.

The newly-elected Section Co-chairs are Beatriz Cortez and Ricardo Roque-Baldovinos.

### **Environment** Submitted by James Bass

At the Section Business Meeting the Chair, James Bass, reported that the section finances were sound; that membership had doubled since LASA 2003; that the section was in the process of getting a new listserve; that substantial progress has been made on organizing, funding, and lining up affiliate sponsorship for the conference on "The FTAA and the Environment" in 2005; and that the section would have a website.

The section: (1) elected Colleen Scanlon Lyons as the new Chair, Peter Wilshusen to continue as Secretary/Treasurer, and Andrea Ballestero, Vanessa Empinotti, Julia Guivant, Janeane Harwell, and Antonio Lloret to be the Executive Committee, (2) voted to change the section name from LatinoAmericana MedioAmbiente" [LAMA] to the "Environment Section", and (3) to offer a prize for the best student paper for LASA2006.

Members discussed the possibility of hosting a conference on the FTAA and the Environment that would bring together academic, NGO and business perspectives on this topic. The planning and coordination of this conference has been put on hold for the time being. At the LASA 2006 meetings the suitability of hosting such a conference will be further discussed and a final decision will be made by members of the section.

### **Film Studies** Submitted by Claudia Ferman

The Section had two panels at LASA2004. Members should note that there will be a film conference in Hawaii in November 2005. Details will be forthcoming.

Important issues are the expansion of the Section membership and recruitment issues—the more people we have in the Section, the more panels we are given for the LASA Congress.

The Section has funds for guest scholars/filmmakers for LASA2006 in Puerto Rico; we need to think about ways to utilize them. Ideas for working with Puerto Rican scholars/filmmakers Sonia Fritz, Lisa Colón Collado, Frances Mugrón-Montaner, and Lillian Jimenez are also welcome. There was discussion of a roundtable with Puerto Rico filmmakers, but people warned that directors tend to cancel at the last minute due to project deadlines, etc.

Vicky Ruetalo volunteered to launch our website for the Section. We will forge links with other members' websites and other Latin American film websites. A question arose as to whether LASA will provide us with a webmaster. They will give us the cyberspace for our Section. Each person should send us links to other related organizations. There was also mention made of posting our panel talks on to the website for those who missed LASA or that panel.

The issue of managing the listserv came up. Some felt that it should not be administrated, others yes. Administrating it helps alleviate spam—we will continue with this model for now.

Elections: We will need two council people, new co-chairs, or chair. We need to have involvement as the Congress in Puerto Rico will have much to organize.

The composition of the new LASA Film Studies Section Board is as follows: Co-chairs: Cynthia Tompkins and Claudia Ferman; Secretary: Tamara Falicov; Treasurer: Kathleen Newman; Advisory Board: Isabel Arredondo (hasta Puerto Rico), Victoria Ruetalo (hasta Puerto Rico), Catherine Benamou (dos periodos), and Emanuelle Olivera (dos periodos).

### **Haiti-Dominican Republic**

Submitted by Henry (Chip) Carey

The Section celebrated the bicentennial of the Revolution of 1804 at the LASA Congress by hosting the LASA Presidential Address. Former Haitian Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, Guy Alexandre, gave the Distinguished Lecturer Address. His address, which was delivered in Spanish, was entitled, "On the Significance, Dimensions and Scope of the Haitian Revolution." The Distinguished Discussant was Jonathan Hartlyn, Chair of the Political Science Dept at the University of North Carolina.

In his remarks, Ambassador Alexandre considered the evolution of the San Domingue colony, the historical development of Hispaniola and the long-term repercussions for Haiti. This crucial historical event provided a message of universal liberty and equality, which applied not only to the Haitians but also the men and women of the Caribbean, the Americas and Africa and Asia. They realized the goals and aspirations of the French Revolution, even if the great rupture also led to a loss of those ideals. The loss of all the elites of Haiti also led to the situation that produced the despair so prominent two centuries later; 1804 was therefore a coronation and a process of revolutionary de-structuration, that began with the slave revolt of August 1791. This occurred in the context of colonial wars among France, Spain and Great Britain, which led to the proclamation of liberty in 1793. The effort to build liberty was partly impeded by the context of metropolitan powers attempting to halt the process over the next decade of war up to the Battle of Vertierres. Indeed, the great colonial powers,

becoming completely eliminated, created a space for stabilization of the country through many of the same violent tactics that they had practiced to assure that slavery continued. Unlike in the Spanish colony to the east, now the Dominican Republic, the vast majority of Haitians had been slaves up to independence and had no preparation for freedom other than what the slave masters had largely taught them. Unfortunately, the consequences continue to this day, from the richest colony in all the colonial empires to one of the poorest and least stable states in the world today.

In his remarks, Hartlyn provided the insights of a comparativist of democratization with an interest in the Dominican Republic, and thus emphasized how "history has mattered" for both countries, including the deep prejudice of Dominicans toward Haitians in the country on the eastern two-thirds of the country. Thus, there is a great need for Haiti and the Dominican Republic to seek new paths for a new start. His solution was to advocate democratic coalitions within and across both countries, as well as "state reconstruction in Haiti and state reformulation in the Dominican Republic." Such a difficult process could lead to a rapprochement through slow but steady efforts to work on projects, which would still be far less than the two centuries of alienation that has largely characterized the two nations.

The Section also had a wonderful section panel on the theme of Haitian-Dominican Relations Over the Past Two Centuries. Papers were presented by Ginetta Candalario, Charles Venator Santiago, James Morrell, Martha Davis, Jean Phillippe Belleau and Dennis Hidalgo. Important contributions on the future of Haitian-Dominican historiography were noted in several papers, about important developments in the 19th century "occupation" and 21st century political polarization.

The section at the end of 2004 had over the minimum number of fifty members, and we hope to continue to grow.

### **Southern Cone Studies**

Submitted by Silvia K. Ares

For the 2004 Conference in Las Vegas, Nevada, the Southern Cone Studies Section organized the following activities:

Panel Presentation: Operation Condor and the Dismantling of Impunity. Advances in International Prosecutions of Human Rights Crimes (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Europe); Roundtable: Teoría de Sistemas, significados discretos y teoría literaria; un debate en torno a los estudios macro en América Latina Guest Speaker: Eduardo Anguita: Medios de comunicación, cultural y política. El desafío de las identidades locales. Although the first two events had high attendance, the third was cancelled because Eduardo Anguita was unable to attend the Conference.

As of November 1, 2004, the Southern Cone Section has a new Board. The new Co-Chairs are Alvaro Kaempfer and Laura Demaria. Angel Tuninetti remains as the Webmaster. Graciela Di Marco, Paula Alonso and Marcy Schwartz are the new vocals. I am very pleased we were able to build and stabilize the Section membership as well as to create a small fund that can be used for future events, since the fund was not utilized under my tenure. The Section has also created strong collegial ties with human rights organizations.



## LETTERS

To the *Forum* Editor:

I read with interest the short article by John Abell on coffee production and sustainable development in a town in Guatemala (Vol. 35:2). He suggests that with sufficient responsible outside support in all phases of the operation, alternatives can be constructed for peasant communities participating in a complex global commodity chain like coffee. His description is inspiring, but very troubling for those of us concerned about developing models that are capable of being reproduced both locally and internationally.

There are a number of questions raised by the case study that are worthy of consideration by *LASA* readers: Can we and should we assume long term responsibility for a community's well-being by committing to the purchase of an internationally traded commodity; can this commitment be assumed beyond the active life of the protagonists; what happens when the personnel change? What are the implications of supporting one producer group by providing privileged access to a tightly protected market (the Diocese of New Ulm) in the context of a regional, national or international fair trade movement for similar products produced by competing groups of deserving peasants? Would it not be preferable to strengthen the national and Mesoamerican coffee marketing organizations trying to strengthen existing markets and create new ones?

In a different context, the description suggests that much of the entrepreneurial activity was undertaken by well-meaning church affiliated people from the United States. No mention is made of the local organizational and entrepreneurial activities of the coffee

John Abell responds:

I appreciate David Barkin taking the time to comment on my article in *LASA Forum* (Vol 35:2) on the coffee program of San Lucas Tolimán, Guatemala. He raises important issues that I wish were being discussed at the highest levels of the multilateral lending and development institutions. Space limitations prevented me from addressing a number of his concerns. For example, he suggests that it might be preferable to strengthen the national and Mesoamerican coffee marketing organizations, rather than the approach used in the San Lucas coffee program. I assume he prefers to strengthen those organizations vis-à-vis the giant agribusiness firms that currently dominate the global coffee market. While this would clearly be a move in the right direction, it would not necessarily assure that small producers within individual nations would be any better positioned than they are now. Given the existing skewed land-holding patterns and power structure in coffee producing nations, small growers would not necessarily benefit at all from a global reorganization that favors national organizations over multi-national corporations.

producers, who seem to be relegated to participation as coffee growers and workers in the new community enterprise that has been effectively designed to stimulate a greater local economic impact than if traditional models were implemented.

Finally, I am troubled by a production model that stimulates export production –albeit in very advantageous terms– to the exclusion of or at the very least at the expense of a strengthening of the local ability to assure the satisfaction of the full panoply of goods and services needed for community well-being. Unless communities involved in export production are willing and able to divert some substantial proportion of their earnings to strengthen and diversify the local productive base, their exposition to the tyranny of the market will sooner or later prove to be the undoing of their success, as has unfortunately happened so many times in the past.

Schumacher's alluring model of "Small is beautiful" certainly offers us many useful lessons in our search for ways to promote social justice and material well-being. I am not clear about the principles of "Buddhist" economics, but certainly people interested in promoting sustainable local economic development must think hard and critically about the desirable balance of local and export oriented production and the importance of developing local and regional alliances before encouraging communities to subject themselves to the capriciousness of global markets controlled by international commodity cartels.

**David Barkin**

Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana

An example from San Lucas Tolimán helps to make this point. Long before the Catholic parish got involved in the coffee business in San Lucas Tolimán, local coffee growers—I'm referring now to small growers, those with only a few acres—attempted to band together to form a producer cooperative. They tried this on two separate occasions, and each time, they discovered that they still faced the same take-it-or-leave-it prices they faced when they acted as individual growers. As a result, their efforts failed. A concerted group of farmers was simply no match for clout of the Guatemalan coffee oligarchy. The problem then, as well as now for most small farmers, is that they simply have no control over any aspect of the stages of production except for their own stand of trees.

The San Lucas coffee program is not a program designed to support a select producer group at the expense of other deserving groups in the community. All that is required to participate is the ability to produce export-quality coffee, something that is not difficult to do given the favorable growing conditions and access to technical assistance. The program has grown from 10 or 11 participating families in the early 1980s to over 500 this year. Given an average

family size of approximately 8, this means that 4000 individuals out of a community of 20,000 directly benefit from the program. There are many other families—though I haven't been able to come up with an exact number—who work in a variety of supporting industries. Furthermore, San Lucas' coffee program is but one of a multitude of programs that the community, with parish assistance, has undertaken. There are programs covering health care, education, water systems, housing, land acquisition, reforestation, job-apprenticeship, honey production, fuel-efficient stoves, and experimental farming. They all work together with a common goal—to enhance the well-being of the local community, and to provide development options that might not exist if the only program was coffee, and if it was accessible to only a limited group of privileged producers. Given the adherence to Schumacher's principles, all of these programs maximize the economic impact on the community. The purchase of external resources that would reduce the local multiplier effects are kept to an absolute minimum.

A related point Mr. Barkin raises concerns the importance of the church, relative to local producers. The same farmers who attempted to form the producer cooperatives I mentioned earlier were actively engaged with the parish in the early talks that led to the creation of the coffee program. By the early 1980s, when those talks were taking place, a committee had already been formed that consisted of community leaders and parish priests. Its purpose was to make sure that parish assistance reflected the needs of the community. All decisions, such as where to locate the coffee *beneficio*, or how quickly more families might be added to the program, were made by the committee. All land that was acquired was titled initially, not in the name of the church, but rather in the name of the committee—with individual titling to come later. The main contribution of the church was access to funding and occasional access to outside

experts. The priests were not coffee or economic development experts, though, as I mentioned in the article, they were concerned with sustainable and broadly distributed community development

So, what happens when Father Greg Schaffer is no longer around? That is a legitimate question—one that gets asked all the time. The simple answer is that the parish has a long-term commitment to the community and is not going away when Father Schaffer retires. What about other communities, though, that don't have an intimate parish relationship like that of San Lucas? I admitted in my article that it would be difficult for other communities to replicate San Lucas' coffee or other programs. But that doesn't make San Lucas' approach wrong. Yes, it is dependent, at least in part, on the exportation of a cash crop. While we might want to theorize about communities whose economies are internally focused and self-supporting, such approaches are rather utopian in today's world. To the extent we live in an interdependent global economy, San Lucas serves as a model for how a community might participate in that global economy in a responsible manner; one where all citizens—not just the oligarchy—have access to education, health care, and a chance to participate in the economy in such a way as to earn a decent standard of living, rather than receive take-it or leave-it wages from a *finca* or *maquiladora*. And it also serves as a model for ecologically sustainable production processes. I maintain that adherence to Schumacher's subsidiarity principles—the approach used in San Lucas—is a useful starting point in any discussion about community economic development.

**John Abell**  
Randolph-Macon Woman's College



## PUBLICATIONS

### Central American-American Cultural Studies

Comparative and interdisciplinary papers sought for forthcoming anthology, to be edited by Arturo Arias and Claudia Milian, on cultural productions and representations of Central American-Americans in U.S. popular culture and/or mappings of Latinidad. areas of exploration include: the relationship between Chicano, Latino, and Central American-American identities; Central American-American contributions to Latinidad; literary and media depictions of Central American migrations, cultural adaptation, and inter-ethnic relations; revolution and civil war as markers of Central American-American subjectivities; alienation in the U.S. metropolis and marginalization in Latino communities; Central American-Americans and the Mexico-Guatemala and U.S.-Mexico borderlands; cultural treatments of the trafficking of Central American labor in sexual and domestic industries; and Central American-American re-indigenization of the U.S. landscape. Send 20-page, double-spaced papers, including references, by 1

July 2005 to:

Claudia Milian  
P.O. Box 1904  
Brown University  
Providence, RI 02912  
or [Arturo\\_Arias@redlands.edu](mailto:Arturo_Arias@redlands.edu).

El Programa Globalización, Cultura y Transformaciones Sociales, de la **Universidad Central de Venezuela**, invita a enviar ensayos de investigación para concursar en el "Premio Internacional de Investigación: Cultura y Transformaciones Sociales". La fecha límite para la recepción de los ensayos es el 15/09/05. Para esta primera convocatoria se han definido tres ejes de análisis: a) Representaciones, discursos y políticas de identidades y diferencias sociales; b) Representaciones, discursos y políticas de ciudadanía y sociedad civil y c) Representaciones, discursos y políticas de economía, ambiente y sociedad. Un jurado internacional de especialistas otorgará 6 premios, dos en cada uno de los 3 ejes: 1° premio: publicación y 1.000 dólares estadounidenses; 2° premio: publicación y 500 dólares estadounidenses. Para mayor información sobre este Concurso: <<http://www.globalcult.org>>



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The **School for International Training** is searching for an Academic Director. Its program base is Panama City. The Academic Director is generally responsible for: general management, implementation, and delivery of the study abroad program; advising in matters regarding academic program delivery and scheduling; organizing and delivering the students' initial cross-cultural orientation, methods and techniques of environmental field study seminar, and the thematic seminar; helping with the organization of educational visits and field trips and integrating the learning from these, as well as from the homestay, into the traditional coursework parts of the program; generally guiding and advising students in both their cross-cultural learning processes and academic experiences –thus serving as an educator/teacher in the broadest sense by assisting students to draw substantive connections from among different aspects of the semester experience; conducting the program review and academic evaluation at the end of the program and preparing a rigorous written evaluation for each student's transcript, clarifying both what the student achieved and how it was achieved; facilitating a constructive relationship between SIT students and host country nationals involved with the program; managing program logistics and administration; providing student support for medical, personal and security issues; negotiating cost-effective program services and managing the program budget throughout the semester; maintaining regular communication with the SIT Study Abroad office in Brattleboro and submitting detailed, timely reports, as required. Requirements: The applicant must have at least a Master's degree (Ph.D. preferred) in Environmental Studies, Development, or related discipline, as well as academic and practical knowledge of Panama; Spanish language ability required. College teaching and experience with U.S. undergraduates desirable. Further, he/she must be attuned to the educational philosophy and expectations of SIT and possess both commitment to academic excellence and the personal leadership qualities required by the program. Among the latter are cultural sensitivity and adaptability; intellectual curiosity and enthusiasm for challenge; tact and diplomacy in working with both host nationals, and American students; organizational ability; budget management skills; computer literacy; energy; and a sense of humor. Term: The position will begin August of 2005 and is full-time. The contract appointment will be for a two-semester period only, ending in June 2006. All program expenses are paid, including a contribution to the cost of health insurance. Salary depends on academic qualifications. For more information on SIT and its study abroad programs, visit our website at <[www.sit.edu](http://www.sit.edu)>. To apply, send cover letter and resume to:

Human Resources, Job#AD/Panama  
School for International Training  
P.O. Box 676  
Brattleboro, VT 05302-0676  
or fax: 802-258-3118 or email: <[jobs@sit.edu](mailto:jobs@sit.edu)>

Position open until filled.

**NACLA** is looking for someone with leadership experience in progressive non-profit organizations, a strong interest in U.S.-Latin American relations and a commitment to outreach and

constituency building for progressive social change to take on the duties of Director. We are looking for someone with a proven ability to raise funds; someone with a background in program development, outreach and fundraising for non-profit organizations; someone who can work with a small professional staff in a collegial environment. The director will be responsible for most or all of the following: take charge of fundraising, including approaching foundations, grant writing, major donor relations, direct-mail fund appeals and acquisition of new sources of funding; oversee various aspects of magazine publishing, including circulation and promotion; work closely with editorial staff in the development of NACLA's print and electronic publishing agenda; oversee and manage the budget; supervise the activities of a small staff; strengthen and work with the NACLA Board of Directors. Required qualifications: significant familiarity with Latin America, the Caribbean and U.S. foreign policy; political awareness, commitment to progressive social change; three to five years professional non-profit management or equivalent experience; extensive fundraising experience with foundations and/or individual donors; experience formulating and managing budgets; experience with strategic planning; proficiency in Spanish and/or Portuguese; demonstrated capacity to work with others in a collegial environment. Preferred qualifications: Knowledge of magazine publishing, including electronic publishing. Benefits: four weeks paid vacation, pension plan, medical coverage, high job satisfaction. In their cover letters, candidates should refer to the elements of their experience that reflect NACLA's required qualifications. If you are interested, send your résumé and a cover letter to:

Search Committee, NACLA,  
38 Greene St., 4<sup>th</sup> Floor,  
New York, NY 10013  
or via e-mail to <[jobs@nacla.org](mailto:jobs@nacla.org)>

Resumes accepted until position is filled.

The **University of Aberdeen** is searching for a Senior Lecturer, Reader, Chair with an outstanding research record in any area of Spanish or Latin American Studies from the early modern to the contemporary period. An interest in film studies or visual culture would be an advantage but is not essential. It is expected that the candidate will make a significant contribution to the research culture of the School and the College, providing leadership to more junior members of staff. Input to the various Research Centres and Institutes in the College will be especially valuable. A contribution to the teaching of the relevant disciplines within the School and a willingness to undertake appropriate administrative duties will be expected. A competitive remuneration package will be offered to secure the expertise of the successful candidate. Confidential and informal enquiries regarding the nature of the post can be made to the Head of School, Dr Barbara A. Fennell (tel: 01224 272490 or e-mail: <[b.a.fennell@abdn.ac.uk](mailto:b.a.fennell@abdn.ac.uk)>).

Online application forms and further particulars are available from <[www.abdn.ac.uk/jobs](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/jobs)>.

Application deadline: **April 27, 2005**



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

**Latin American, Caribbean & Iberian Studies Program (LACIS) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison 2005 Intensive Portuguese Institute.** This special eight-week course is designed for people wishing to study beginning Brazilian Portuguese intensively. Graduate students, faculty, and other researchers, and advanced undergraduates who need to develop communication skills and reading knowledge for research will find this special Institute particularly useful. The Institute will take place during the eight-week summer session at UW-Madison, June 13-August 5, 2005. There will be an orientation scheduled for June 10, 2005. Instruction is five days a week, four hours a day, and the course (listed as Portuguese 301-302) carries 8 semester hours of credit. The institute will be directed and taught by Professor Severino Albuquerque who will be assisted by a lecturer or teaching assistant. Knowledge of Spanish is required (2-3 years equivalency). Forms and details are available from:

Department of Spanish and Portuguese  
1018 Van Hise, 1220 Linden Drive  
UWMadison, Madison, WI 53706  
(608) 262-2093  
<<http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/spanport>>

A limited number of Title VI FLAS Fellowships are available to graduate students in conjunction with the Institute. Contact:

LACIS  
1155 Observatory Drive  
209 Ingraham Hall

(608)-262-2811

<<http://polyglot.lss.wisc.edu/lacis>>

Application deadline is **May 6, 2005**.

The **Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars** announces the opening of its 2006-2007 Fellowship competition. The Center awards approximately 20-25 academic year residential fellowships to individuals from any country with outstanding project proposals on national and/or international issues. Topics and scholarship should relate to key public policy challenges or provide the historical and/or cultural framework to illumine policy issues of contemporary importance. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional experience. Fellows are provided stipends which include round trip travel, private offices, access to the Library of Congress, Windows-based personal computers, and research assistants. For more information and application guidelines please contact the Center at: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars  
Scholar Selection and Services Office

One Woodrow Wilson Plaza  
1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW.  
Washington, D.C. 20004-3027

Tel: 202-691-4170

Fax: 202-691-4001;

email: <[fellowships@wwic.si.edu](mailto:fellowships@wwic.si.edu)>

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

Application deadline: **October 1, 2005**



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

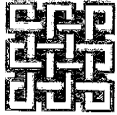
The 2005 **BALAS Conference**, Madrid, **May 25-28, 2005**, will focus on all areas of business, management, and the economic environment of Iberoamerica. In addition there will be a special focus on Services Management in recognition of the fact that the service sector is now the largest contributor to the GNP of Latin American countries. The Conference is aimed at faculty, researchers, doctoral students, and practitioners working on development and business-related issues in Latin America. The guidelines for participation are outlined in the Call for Papers posted on the conference's website. The Conference will include thematic tracks, special sessions and keynote speakers. The 2005 BALAS Conference will be hosted by INSTITUTO DE EMPRESA, a prestigious European business school, ranked among the top 15 worldwide. For more information, please visit: <[www.balas.org](http://www.balas.org)>

The **Caribbean Studies Association** will host its 30th conference *Caribbean Cooperation in the Age of Information Society* from **May 30 to June 4, 2005** in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Scholars, practitioners, students and interested persons and

organizations are invited to discuss far-reaching issues and themes on culture, history, economy, society, politics, technology and others such as: the HIV/AIDS pandemic; the Role of Gender; Cultural Identities; the Literatures of the Caribbean; Environmental Challenges and Caribbean Cooperation; the Challenge of Free Trade Agreements; Tourism, Cooperation or Competition; Drug Trafficking; Security in the Age of Terror; European-Caribbean Relations; U.S. Caribbean Relations.

The **Society for Ethnomusicology** will hold its fiftieth annual meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, November 16-20, 2005, hosted by Emory University. We invite you to join us to celebrate this first half-century. The conference theme for this meeting is SEM at 50. Sub-themes include the history of ethnomusicology and of SEM, areas neglected by SEM and ethnomusicology, contemplations on our future, African American music, musical cultures of Georgia and the Southeast, advocacy and cultural democracy, and diverse voices. For more information, please go to the SEM website, <<http://www.indiana.edu/%7Eethmusic/>>.





# 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

#### LIFE MEMBER

\$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

___ \$8 ___ \$24	Brazil
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Business and Politics
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Central America
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Colombia
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Cuba
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Culture, Power and Politics
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Decentralization & Sub-national Governance
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Defense, Democracy & Civil-Military Relations
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Ecuadorian Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Educación y Políticas Educativas en América Latina
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Environment
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Ethnicity, Race, and Indigenous Peoples
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Europe and Latin America
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Film Studies

Year 2005 3 Years

___ \$8 ___ \$24	Gender and Feminist Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Haiti/Dominican Republic
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Health, Science, and Society
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Labor Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Latin America and the Pacific Rim
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Latino Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Law and Society in Latin America
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Paraguayan Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Perú
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Political Institutions
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Rural Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Scholarly Research and Resources
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Sexualities Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Southern Cone Studies
___ \$8 ___ \$24	Venezuelan Studies

(over)

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)

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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.

What a difference  makes

## FULBRIGHT SCHOLAR PROGRAM

### Grants for 2006-2007 Now Available

The Fulbright Scholar Program offers research and lecturing opportunities to scholars and other professionals in 22 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean in virtually any discipline.

Grantees include university faculty and administrators, independent scholars, and professionals. Bolivia, Mexico, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay offer full-time research options.

Detailed award descriptions, eligibility requirements and online application available at [www.cies.org](http://www.cies.org). Contact Carol Robles with questions at [crobles@cies.iie.org](mailto:crobles@cies.iie.org).

Application deadline is August 1, 2005.



**Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES)**  
3007 Tilden Street, NW, Suite 5L, Washington, DC 20008-3009  
E-mail: [apprequest@cies.iie.org](mailto:apprequest@cies.iie.org)  
Telephone: 202.686.7877 • Fax: 202.362.3442  
Web site: [www.cies.org](http://www.cies.org)

### *Cuaderno Internacional de Estudios Hispánicos y Lingüística / Internacional Journal of Hispanic Studies and Linguistics*

El *Cuaderno Internacional de Estudios Hispánicos y Lingüística* publica investigaciones en los campos de la literatura española, literatura hispanoamericana y lingüística hispánica. La extensión máxima de los ensayos será de 19 páginas. Debe seguir el formato reciente de la *MLA Style Manual*. Se debe enviar dos copias en papel y una copia electrónica. Se aceptan trabajos escritos en español e inglés. El costo de suscripción es de \$25 USA para individuos y de \$40 USA para instituciones. Todo pago debe ser en cheque o giro postal a nombre de CIEHL. Toda correspondencia deberá remitirse a :

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