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Miguel León Portilla

Recipient of Silvert Award for 2006



Comenzaré diciendo que he dedicado muchos años, cerca de cincuenta, a la docencia y la investigación. Ello lo he realizado sobre todo en la UNAM. En menor proporción he laborado también en otras instituciones de México y del extranjero. Entre ellas han estado el antiguo México City College, varias universidades como la Iberoamericana y otras de provincia. En el extranjero he dado cursos en universidades de los Estados Unidos, Canadá, América Latina, España, Francia, Alemania, Inglaterra, Noruega, República Checa, India, Japón e Israel. Creo haber contribuido a la formación de miles de jóvenes mexicanos y extranjeros, mujeres y hombres, muchos de los cuales hoy son maestros e investigadores. Algunos han destacado notablemente en sus trabajos como Alfredo López Austin, Beatriz de la Fuente, Mercedes de la Garza, Xavier Noguez, Carmen Aguilera, Georges Baudot, Birgitta Leander, Jacqueline de Durand-Forest, Nahum Megged, Patrick Johansson, Pilar Máyne, Librado Silva Galeana, Francisco Morales, José Rubén Romero, Salvador Reyes Equigua, Víctor de la Cruz y otros más.

Mis cursos han versado principalmente sobre lengua y cultura nahuas e historia antigua de México. He coordinado durante casi cinco décadas el Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl que fundamos mi maestro, el doctor Angel María Garibay, y yo en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM. Y a propósito de maestros diré que Garibay me abrió el camino al rico caudal de documentos en náhuatl y a la lengua misma. Fue él un maestro excepcional al que debo mucho de mi formación. Me dirigió la tesis de

doctorado y luego trabajé con él cerca de quince años. Otro maestro, también extraordinario, fue el doctor Manuel Gamio, iniciador de la moderna antropología en México. Con él colaboré varios años en el Instituto Indigenista Interamericano. De diversas formas fueron asimismo mis maestros el doctor Justino Fernández, que me inició en el conocimiento y apreciación del arte prehispánico, y don Eduardo Noguera, arqueólogo y máximo especialista en la cerámica mesoamericana. Tuve el privilegio de acompañarlo en sus viajes a muchas zonas arqueológicas de México y de él escuché sabias lecciones.

Tal vez mi primer logro fue haber preparado como tesis la que me atreví a titular *Filosofía náhuatl estudiada en sus fuentes*. Ese trabajo, presentado en el examen correspondiente en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM en 1956, revisado, lo publicó el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM en 1959. Allí empecé a laborar desde 1957. Recuerdo que haber expresado que los nahuas habían desarrollado un pensamiento filosófico pareció a algunos una locura.

Creo, sin embargo, que preparé ese libro con mucho cuidado acudiendo a fuentes primarias—códices y textos en náhuatl de la tradición indígena, poemas y discursos, *huehuetlahtolli*—haciendo análisis y valoración de los mismos. Este trabajo, a pesar de esas tempranas reacciones desfavorables, ha tenido significación perdurable. Citado en innumerables obras, ha sido reeditado y ampliado en diez ocasiones y traducido al inglés, ruso, alemán, francés y checo. Atendiendo hoy

a su contenido puedo afirmar que continúo estando de acuerdo con la mayor parte de lo que en él presenté.

Los temas tratados en dicho libro son el planteamiento de problemas tales como la posibilidad de decir palabras verdaderas, el conocimiento acerca de una divinidad suprema, la persona humana, la posibilidad de un libre albedrío, el más allá, los fundamentos de la ética y el derecho. Posteriormente, en ulteriores ediciones, atendí a la evolución del pensamiento náhuatl e hice una valoración crítica acerca de la posibilidad de ahondar en su conocimiento.

El mismo año de 1959 preparé y publiqué otra obra cuyo tema fue presentar el punto de vista indígena acerca de la Conquista de México. Para ello obtuve del Dr. Garibay autorización de emplear algunos textos traducidos por él del náhuatl. Acudí también a otros textos que traduje yo y con esas fuentes organicé el libro que titulé *Visión de los Vencidos, relaciones indígenas de la Conquista*. El conocido grabador y dibujante Alberto Beltrán copió de varios códices ilustraciones que acompañaron al texto del libro. Este fue recibido con grande interés. Ha sido publicado en español por la UNAM en treinta ediciones y también, en castellano en España y Cuba. El libro ha sido objeto de traducciones a quince idiomas.

Mi actividad en el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM cambió en 1963. Fue entonces cuando se me eligió director de dicho Instituto. Acepté el cargo con cierto temor pues, aunque el Instituto tenía ya varios años

SILVERT AWARD CONTINUED...

de fundado, carecía de una adecuada estructura académica. De sus miembros podía expresarse aquello que dice la Biblia: “No había jueces en Israel y cada quien hacía lo que quería”. Dicho en otras palabras, no se presentaban programas de trabajo ni evaluaciones y en muchos casos las ausencias eran casi constantes. Considero que fue un logro organizar al Instituto. Para lograrlo reuní con frecuencia al Colegio de Investigadores. En él acordamos distribuir a sus miembros en tres principales áreas de trabajo: historia prehispánica, colonial, moderna y contemporánea de México. Propuse la fundación de tres revistas que hasta hoy continúan publicándose: *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl* con 36 volúmenes; *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* con 28 y *Estudios de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea* con 24. Estas revistas siguen siendo muy bien recibidas en el mundo académico de México y del extranjero. En *Estudios de Cultura Náhuatl*, que inicialmente dirigió el doctor Garibay y posteriormente quien esto escribe, han publicado distinguidos estudiosos acerca del pasado prehispánico de México. Una novedad fue que, a partir del volumen 18, se incluyeron contribuciones preparadas por personas de estirpe náhuatl de diversas regiones del país. Se inició así una tradición que en la actualidad tiene ya considerable fuerza y ha llevado a la aparición de la que llamamos “Nueva Palabra”. Esto ha tenido un eco entre grupos de otras lenguas mesoamericanas. En la actualidad el número de escritores en lenguas indígenas es ya bastante elevado. Complemento de este logro fue, años más tarde, la creación de la Casa de los

Escritores en Lenguas Indígenas. En colaboración con algunos indígenas como Natalio Hernández y Juan Gregorio Regino, obtuve el apoyo de la Secretaría de Educación Pública y de la UNESCO para crear dicha casa. En ella se reúnen escritores de estirpe indígena, se imparten clases sobre varios idiomas vernáculos y se publican sus obras, principalmente de narrativa y poesía.

En el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas promoví la creación de varias series de publicaciones. Las principales son: Fuentes para la historia y cultura nahuas; Facsímiles de filología y lingüística náhuatl; Cronistas e historiadores de Indias; Culturas mesoamericanas; Historia novohispana e Historia moderna y contemporánea de México. Existe otra serie que da entrada a trabajos referentes a la historia de otros países, particularmente de España y los Estados Unidos.

A mediados de la década de los sesentas emprendí otras investigaciones relacionadas esta vez con la historia de la Baja California. De tiempo atrás me sentí atraído por ella y decidí visitarla y allegar fuentes para su estudio. En un primer viaje a La Paz, acompañado de mi esposa, que es también historiadora, Ascensión Hernández Triviño, establecimos contacto con las autoridades del entonces Territorio de Baja California Sur. Inquiriendo acerca de la existencia de un archivo histórico, se nos respondió al fin que en la azotea de la cárcel había un gran conjunto de viejos papeles. Acudiendo a ese lugar, descubrimos que efectivamente allí estaba el antiguo Archivo del Territorio Sur que, al ser

demolido el palacio de gobierno donde se encontraba, fue trasladado a ese cuarto de la cárcel. Examinando algunos de los documentos que allí se conservaban, me percaté de su importancia. Hablé entonces con quien era gobernador del Territorio, el licenciado Hugo Cervantes del Río, y le di a conocer el proyecto que concebí al respecto. Le ofrecí enviar dos personas especializadas de nuestro Instituto para que iniciaran todo lo concerniente a la limpieza de esa documentación, su clasificación e índices.

El proyecto se puso en marcha y puedo decir que hoy, casi treinta años después, ese archivo ha sido recuperado, alojado debidamente en la Casa de la Cultura en la ciudad de La Paz. Ese archivo histórico, que ha sido microfilmado, además de incluir testimonios de mucho interés para la historia del hoy estado sur, también abarca otros para el del norte y aun para Alta California.

Mi interés en torno a la California mexicana me llevó a preparar la edición de una obra hasta entonces inédita: *La Historia natural y crónica de la antigua California*, del jesuita Miguel del Barco que había laborado allí durante cerca de treinta años. Esa obra, con copiosa información lingüística y etnológica así como de carácter histórico, ha sido recibida con muy grande interés y reeditada también por el Instituto, además de ser traducida en inglés por una editorial de Los Ángeles, California.

Otra obra preparé y publiqué en el Instituto en relación con la California mexicana. Fue ella: *Cartografía y Crónicas de la antigua California*. Reuní

en ella un gran conjunto de mapas, algunos del siglo XVI y otros de las centurias siguientes. El propósito fue mostrar, por una parte, la interrelación entre el contenido de las crónicas y el de la cartografía. Por otra, poner de manifiesto la significación de las exploraciones a lo largo de la península, tanto por tierra como por mar, para una delineación más precisa de la *imago mundi*. Dicho en otras palabras hacer ver que el conocimiento del perfil geográfico de la península de California complementa cabalmente la cartografía de América del Norte y, en general, del Nuevo Mundo.

Otro proyecto cristalizó entonces relacionado también con nuestra California: la creación de un Centro de Investigaciones Históricas UNAM-UABC (Universidad Autónoma de Baja California). Hablé con los rectores de la UNAM, y de la Universidad autónoma de Baja California. A ambos interesó la idea. El nuevo Centro comenzó a operar en Tijuana en 1975, teniendo como director a David Piñera Ramírez que se había formado en nuestro Instituto. Ese centro se consolidó y hoy está convertido en Instituto dentro de la UABC. Es una avanzada en la frontera norte que fomenta la conciencia histórica de los bajacalifornianos.

Concluido mi encargo de director del Instituto, aproveché un año sabático para dar dos cursos en universidades norteamericanas, la de Texas en Austin y la de Arizona en Tucson. Pude fomentar allí el estudio de la lengua, la literatura y la historia de los pueblos nahuas. Creo que la labor desarrollada en el Seminario

de Cultura Náhuatl y por medio de las publicaciones que hacemos en la UNAM, así como las actividades académicas en esas universidades y en otras también de los Estados Unidos, en que impartí conferencias sobre temas afines, han contribuido a incrementar el interés por estas investigaciones en ese país. En la actualidad son bastante numerosos los estudiosos norteamericanos, así como los europeos y otros que se dedican a este campo de investigación. Añadiré que en el Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, que ha funcionado continuamente, contando con el auxilio de un adjunto, el doctor Patrik Johansson, se ha propiciado la preparación de otros bastante numerosos investigadores extranjeros.

Al acercarse el V Centenario de lo que, a propuesta mía, comenzó a designarse como Encuentro de Dos Mundos, se creó en nuestro país una Comisión Nacional Conmemorativa. Los secretarios de Relaciones Exteriores, y de Educación Pública, invitaron a coordinar dicha Comisión. Acepté este encargo y obtuve la colaboración de José María Muriá, director de El Colegio de Jalisco y antiguo discípulo mío, así como de Roberto Moreno de los Arcos director entonces del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM. Más tarde colaboró también con nosotros el antropólogo Guillermo Bonfil Batalla. El propósito de esta Comisión fue lograr que se tomará en cuenta la presencia de los indígenas como participantes en ese encuentro con los europeos. El cambio de enfoque no fue fácil. Había quienes consideraron que con este nuevo enfoque se quería paliar o esconder lo que a su juicio fue un genocidio de las poblaciones indígenas.

Otros, en cambio, sostenían que, al emplear la palabra encuentro en vez de descubrimiento, se estaba privando a España de su gloria histórica. En las varias reuniones de las comisiones de los países iberoamericanos propugnamos por este enfoque e insistimos en que, más que celebrar, debía conmemorarse lo ocurrido a partir de 1492 por la trascendencia que tuvo.

Algún tiempo después el mismo secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, en consulta con el de Educación Pública, propuso al presidente de la República, licenciado Miguel de la Madrid, se me designará embajador delegado de México ante la UNESCO. Allí obtuve la participación de la UNESCO en la conmemoración del V Centenario del Encuentro de dos Mundos. Sometido esto a la consideración del Consejo Ejecutivo y después a la Conferencia General de la UNESCO, se aprobó por unanimidad un programa de actividades. Comprendieron estas ciclos de conferencias y congresos, en los que participaron indígenas de varios países, en varios lugares de Canadá, México, Perú y Guatemala. El propósito fue lograr que, aprovechando la coyuntura de ese V Centenario las demandas de los pueblos indígenas comenzaran a ser escuchadas. Creo que esos congresos prepararon el camino de lo que luego ha ocurrido.

En la UNESCO, como embajador-delegado de México obtuve también la declaración de varios bienes culturales nuestros que fueron incluidos en la Lista del Patrimonio de la Humanidad. Entre ellos estuvieron el Centro Histórico de la

SILVERT AWARD CONTINUED...

Ciudad de México, Teotihuacan, Puebla y Cholula. Habiendo concluido el encargo de representar a México en la UNESCO, a mediados de 1992, regresé a la UNAM donde hasta hoy continúo laborando.

Otros proyectos he dirigido. Mencionaré el de la traducción al castellano del manuscrito de *Cantares Mexicanos* que conserva la Biblioteca Nacional de México. Contando con la participación de diez investigadores, el proyecto está en vías de concluirse. Este manuscrito es una de las joyas principales de la literatura náhuatl de la antigua tradición. Poner su contenido al alcance de todos en versión paleográfica y traducción al castellano, debidamente presentada y anotada será ciertamente logro de considerable significación.

He trabajado asimismo en torno a la persona y la obra de fray Bernardino de Sahagún. A tres proyectos me referiré: la publicación de textos de los *Códices matritenses*, (UNAM, 1958), la edición y traducción del libro de los *Coloquios* (UNAM, 1986), en el que Sahagún transcribió una versión prototípica de los diálogos entre los franciscanos y los sabios indígenas, fechados por él hacia 1524; una biografía de *fray Bernardino, pionero de la antropología* (UNAM, 1999), que ha sido publicada también en inglés. Mi interés sahanunense me ha llevado a apoyar la creación de un museo y biblioteca, dedicados a Sahagún y sus aportaciones, en Tepapulco, en el actual estado de Hidalgo, donde él inició emprendió sus pesquisas en 1558.

Un último punto mencionaré, que es el de mi interés por los códices o antiguos

libros de pinturas y signos glíficos elaborados en Mesoamérica. Es obvio que, a la par que los textos escritos ya con el alfabeto en náhuatl, maya y en otras lenguas indígenas, así como las crónicas del siglo XVI, tienen fundamental importancia los manuscritos picto-glíficos de los antiguos mesoamericanos. En torno a ellos preparé un libro *El destino de la palabra. De la oralidad y los códices a la escritura alfabética* (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996). En él me planteo la problemática que implica el transvase al alfabeto de aquello que había tenido como soporte la tradición oral y los libros de pinturas y signos glíficos. Tiempo después publiqué *Códices, los antiguos libros del Nuevo Mundo* (Aguilar, 2004), que ofrece una visión de conjunto acerca de su origen, diversos contenidos, características, así como el registro y valoración de las ediciones que se han hecho de algunos de ellos. En paralelo, propuse a la editorial Raíces, que saca a luz la prestigiada revista *Arqueología Mexicana*, emprendiéramos la publicación de algunos códices en números especiales de dicha revista.

Hasta la fecha han aparecido ya dos códices, *la Matrícula de Tributos* y el *Fejérváry-Mayer*, rebautizado como *Tonalámatl de los Pochtecas*. Publicados en muy fieles reproducciones a partir de fotografías obtenidas directamente de los originales, estos códices con sus comentarios y una presentación muy digna, se han ofrecido al público a precio sumamente bajo en tirajes de 40,000 ejemplares, lo que permite su muy amplia difusión. Por primera vez, diría que no sólo en México sino en el mundo,

manuscritos de esta índole se vuelven asequibles para todos los que deseen estudiarlos.

En estas actividades, así como en otras relacionadas con El Colegio Nacional del que soy miembro, entre ellas la impartición de cursillos y conferencias en universidades de provincia, así como en mi encargo principal en la UNAM, donde soy investigador emérito, continúo mis quehaceres académicos. He tenido muchas satisfacciones en la vida. Se me han concedido 16 doctorados honoris causa por universidades de México, América del sur, Estados Unidos, Europa e Israel. También he recibido buen número de premios en México y fuera de él.

Pronto cumpliré ochenta años y espero seguir trabajando hasta que las fuerzas me lo permitan. Considero un privilegio muy grande haber podido servir a México en estas tareas, relacionadas principalmente con sus pueblos originarios que son los que más requieren nuestra atención ya que han estado por siglos olvidados y abatidos. ■

President's Report

by SONIA E. ALVAREZ | University of Massachusetts, Amherst | soniaa@polsci.umass.edu

We are proud to inaugurate with this issue the *LASA Forum's* new cover and design, the “graphic” culmination of our efforts to transform this newsletter into a more vibrant publication that would help keep scholarly debates alive among our members *in between* our Congresses. As this issue goes to press, the Secretariat is abuzz with final preparations for LASA2006—similarly the culmination of many, many months of hard work and creative energies contributed by our indefatigable LASA staff, an exceptional Program Committee and a first-rate Local Arrangements Committee, headed by Dra. Margarita Ostolaza in San Juan.

Over 4000 had pre-registered to attend the Congress as of the December 15, 2005 deadline, so we can easily expect this to be the biggest meeting in LASA's forty-year history (the largest thus far was held in Washington D.C. in 2001, with 4,171 in attendance). More importantly, the requirement of pre-registration for those wishing their names to appear in the Congress Program should reduce the number of last-minute no-shows and thereby improve the coherence and, hence, quality of many Congress sessions. Thanks to generous support from the Open Society Institute and the Inter-American Foundation, to member contributions to our various travel funds, and to Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas' efficient management of LASA's reserves and endowment, we are happy to report that we were able to maintain our travel funding for Latin American participants at or above our historic levels, despite a dramatic increase in the absolute number of requests received for this Congress (800+

applications, over 25 percent of which were funded).

We are delighted to have such expanded participation as the bountiful and diverse LASA2006 program, which will unfold across a spectacularly beautiful, beachfront Congress site, should provide an unusual opportunity for our members to engage in collective discussion and debate about cutting-edge scholarly topics and pressing socio-economic and political issues in a peaceful and relaxing setting. The historically rich and culturally effervescent city of San Juan will also offer all participants a chance to engage in plentiful *distracciones* as well as debates during the meeting; the essay by Local Arrangements Committee member, Lcdo. Rafael Torres Torres, provides a preview of some of the *diversiones* available for mind, body, and spirit.

The March Congress will be an opportune moment for debate, nonetheless, as 2006 is a year that portends many changes in the region: major elections will take place in Chile, Haiti, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Brazil—and the nature and possible direction of those changes will no doubt inform many formal sessions and informal conversations during the San Juan meeting. Rather than focus on electoral processes per se (as we did in the Winter 2005 issue of the *Forum*), the *Debates* Section in the present issue, entitled *Theorizing Contemporary Latin American Social Struggles/Teorizando as Lutas Sociais Contemporâneas na América Latina/Teorizando las Luchas Sociales Contemporâneas en América*



Latina, explores societal (civil society or social movement-led) processes that also have provoked significant changes in the region in recent years—again, in the hope of anticipating some of the debates that will unfold during LASA2006.

At least since the 1999 protests that brought down the De la Rúa government, the panorama of social-cultural-political struggles in the region has changed dramatically. Involving an impressively broad array of non-State actors, that transformed landscape spans from massive mobilizations in Bolivia and Ecuador and novel forms of organizing among indigenous and Afro-descendent peoples to the innovative modalities of resistance developed by Brazil's MST and Argentina's *piqueteros* and multi-scalar networks emerging out of the World Social Forum and other recent national, regional, and global organizing processes. These and many other developments “on the ground” have prompted fresh theorizing by scholars and activist-intellectuals alike. The present *Debates* Section features a sampling of theoretical reflections by prominent scholars and activist-intellectuals in the field about the changing dynamics of social struggles over the course of the past decade.

We asked contributors to contemplate a wide range of questions, including: Do recent expressions of social mobilization portend a deepening and extension of democracy in the region? Or do they

PRESIDENT'S REPORT CONTINUED...

instead (or also) undermine democratic “governability”? If the 1990s arguably saw the “NGOization” of a number of important social movements (such as feminism), is the present decade witnessing the return of mass-based mobilization and protest actions as the “preferred” mode of social activism in the Américas? Are seemingly “unorganized” or even “disorganized” mass protests simply “mob actions”? Might they signal a surge of anarchy, political chaos and Praetorianism, as many critics contend and some supporters worry? Can we conceptualize apparently un/dis-organized social protest actions as “social movements”? Do such actions signal a lack of political leadership or of a coherent political project on the Left? What expressions/forms/modalities of contemporary activism seem particularly promising to you and why? What “old” and “new” theoretical perspectives and conceptual tools might help us to better apprehend the dynamics of recent expressions of social struggle? Individual essays included in the present *Debates* Section address some of the above questions or pose additional ones regarding the key theoretical and political issues the authors believe to have been raised by the social movements/struggles of the past decade.

The topic of the *On the Profession* section in this issue also prefigures many of the debates we hope will animate conversations during the San Juan meeting and like the previous three in our LASA 40th anniversary commemorative series, this special section, entitled “Transnational Dialogues on Globalization and the Intersections of

Latina/o-Chicana/o-Latin American(s) Studies, also previews one of the Congress’ nine planned Thematic Plenary Sessions. Guest edited by Professor Juan Poblete of the University of California at Santa Cruz, this collection of brief essays represent a range of compelling reflections about how we might move beyond the binary opposition between Latina/o and Latin American Studies and analyze the manifold transborder flows and points of intersections, as well as points of tension, between these knowledge formations. Like the question of the place of Latin American scholars in “*latinoamericanismo*,” explored in the Fall 2005 issue of the *Forum*, the “bridging” of Latina/o and Latin American Studies is also arguably a privileged *problemática* from which to contemplate and better theorize the “decentering” of Latin American Studies, the core theme of LASA2006 and one of the principal concerns of this presidency. Thanks to the pioneering efforts of many members of our Latino Studies Section and to the kinds of conceptual and methodological innovations undertaken by many of our members, aptly captured by this issue’s *On the Profession* essays, LASA has become one of the key sites for rethinking what Lynn Stephen in her essay enjoins us to conceptualize as “the Américas.”

Because of Puerto Rico’s “in-betweeness,” it is particularly well suited to serve as an ideal site for productive conversations between U.S. Latina/o Studies, Caribbean Studies, and Latin American Studies. However, because of what Jorge Duany referred to as the island’s particular status as a “postcolonial colony” (*LASA Forum*,

Spring 2005), and despite the fact that we all regard San Juan as very much a Caribbean/Latin American venue for this Congress *at heart*, Puerto Rico nonetheless presents the same problems as the U.S. mainland with respect to *access* for non-U.S. citizens. Most members are no doubt familiar with the fact that visas were denied to all 61 Cuba-based would-be participants who were scheduled to participate in our Las Vegas Congress. As of this writing, we can report that the Cuban visa application process for LASA2006 is nevertheless again well underway, that we were able to secure third-country funds to subsidize the visa application fees for some Cuban participants, and that members of the Cuba Section and of the special Cuba Task Force continue to monitor the visa process closely. The visa application process also is becoming ever-more difficult and (monetarily and politically) costly for other Latin America-based members in and LASA is attentive to that broader situation. In 2009, we will at least momentarily be rid of the visa problem for non-U.S.-based members, as the Congress will be held in one of three Latin American venues: Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Buenos Aires. Final details are being worked out by the Secretariat regarding contracts and other local arrangements and the chosen site for LASA2009 will be announced during the San Juan meeting. ■

Associate Editor's Report

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First and foremost, I want to call attention to our new cover design. Beginning with this year—and with this issue—the new design not only represents the culmination of the changes generated by LASA's 2003 *Strategic Plan*, but it becomes a visual reminder of the many changes that have taken place since the Plan was approved shortly after the XXIV International Congress in Dallas. The winner of the graphic design contest is Jason Dancisin. We extend our heartfelt congratulations to him. Indeed, LASA's Executive Director Milagros Pereyra-Rojas is so happy with his work that she hired him to also design the Puerto Rico Congress program and the accompanying CD. The change of format is part of our effort to transform the *LASA Forum* into an intellectually and politically relevant publication that aims to stimulate debate among our membership.

In line with the thinking of the editorial team, the “new” *LASA Forum* will air some of the major issues that a significant sector of the LASA membership has been debating during the recent past. Look for these issues in the *Debates* and the *On the Profession* columns in this first 2006 *Forum*—and in those to follow. Of critical importance, most of the conversations that appear in this issue prefigure upcoming Congress thematic plenaries and featured sessions. This enables us not only to give continuity to prioritizing new spaces of knowledge that are presently transforming Latin American Studies, but also to spark further interest in LASA2006. We are hopeful that these debates will continue during the Congress itself and beyond.

While the present *On the Profession* section was guest-edited by professor Juan Poblete of the University of California, Santa Cruz, LASA President Sonia Alvarez defined the theme and commissioned the papers for the *Debates* section. Sonia explains this process in her *President's Report*. It suffices here to say that she requested all authors of this section to focus on the political and cultural significance of the a wide range of social mobilizations presently taking place in the Latin America—and which have brought to the presidency of Bolivia the first indigenous person to occupy such a position in over 150 years in the entire continent: Evo Morales. Sonia's, and our, interest, is in the meaning of these mass-based mobilizations and what they portend, given their protagonism in the last ten or so years. We were particularly interested in discerning how contemporary forms of activism are changing the nature of Latin American politics, and whether these changes are of a qualitative nature, genuinely promising a better future for their peoples. In this process, the scholars invited to participate begin to theorize about new social and political perspectives that might better explain the innovative dynamics of these social struggles we are witnessing.

The *Debates* section includes six articles. The first one, “Evo Morales en el contexto de los más recientes movimientos sociales,” is by professor Guillermo Delgado-P. of the Latin American/Latino Studies program at the University of California, Santa Cruz. While recognizing the euphoria of “el Evo”'s election, Guillermo Delgado traces this outcome from its origin in the late

1980s, and describes it as “múltiples movimientos sociales asincrónicos, aunque *transcomunales*,” as ways in which “eticidades, feminismos, sexualidades, y clases subalternas, rearticulan, en sus propios ambientes *glocales*, las respuestas posibles ante el bulldozer de la homogeneización globalista.” Delgado concludes that these movements, however heterogeneous, aim to truly reinvent nation-states, and to create a more egalitarian form of citizenship that truly enfranchises the great majority of their people. In this context, Evo Morales merely seems to be the individual capable of channeling those collective desires for the Bolivian people at the present moment.

As a counterpoint to Delgado's treatment of the Bolivian movement, we have Amalia Pallares's appraisal of the Ecuadorian movement in “Mass Mobilization and Presidential Removal in Ecuador: *entre la ira y la esperanza*.” Pallares explains this country's new strategy of popular removal of elected presidents. Defining them as *pueblazos*, a concept employed by Eduardo Galeano, she describes the most recent *pueblazos* in Ecuador to problematize their nature, social composition, and consequences for its indigenous movement. From this analysis, she draws three important reflections on the limits of this kind of mobilization. She argues that *pueblazos* are similar in style, but different in substance. She also states that, while *pueblazos* have been incapable of bridging the great divide between civil society and the central state, other political developments taking place at the same time might facilitate the creation of

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bridging mechanisms. Finally, she concludes that this division between the power of those who disrupt, and the power of those who govern, is a "political straightjacket" for activists who are members of the social and political movement at the same time. Amalia Pallares teaches at the University of Illinois, Chicago.

Problematizing social movements in Brazil, we have Jeffrey W. Rubin's "In the Streets or in the Institutions?" Tracing their growth from 20 or so years ago, Jeffrey Rubin argues that by choosing a more institutional path, many activists opted for reform instead of revolution. This implied that the reform needed to be significant to justify this gamble. Retrospectively, Lula's election in 2002 was the culmination of this historical effort. By now it is evident that Lula did not champion significant reform, and that the PT became involved in political corruption. As a result, nearly all activists who supported Lula and the PT feel betrayed. However, many present social movements "act at the edge" of this overall political process, and Rubin finds this "the most innovative and desirable path for pursuing social justice" in the country. Jeffrey W. Rubin is in the Department of History, Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs of Boston University.

Margaret E. Keck and Rebecca Neaera Abers argue in "Civil Society and State-Building in Latin America" that social movement scholars have not paid enough attention to state-building in the region. During the transition to democratization, scholars emphasized the importance of

civil society and its movements, seeing the state as its adversary, given the legacy of dictatorial regimes. But very little work has been done "on the state side of these participatory processes." However, Keck and Abers believe that state-society interactions "might be the seeds of building alternative forms of public political organization, or an alternative proposal for stateness." Given present-day movements, civil society has a high stake in the type of state-building that takes place. Because of this, they believe that scholars should pay more attention to this process, so that Latin American nations can actually build future states that actually address the real needs of civil society. Margaret E. Keck is in the Department of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. Rebecca Neaera Abers is associate researcher at the Center for Public Policy Research at the University of Brasília.

Virginia Vargas addresses "Las nuevas dinámicas feministas en el nuevo milenio". Vargas argues that feminist movements are living through significant modifications that not only transform agendas, but also those spaces where they operate, thus broadening the horizons of feminism. She emphasizes the role that the Foro Social Mundial has played in this last aspect, and how the Diálogos Feministas have operated within it, enabling feminists from all over the world to come together in both Mumbai and Porto Alegre. This has enabled feminist movements to become better articulated with other movements operating simultaneously within civil society, to better understand how their own membership can be active in various

spaces and groupings, and to come to terms with their need for diversity and "interseccionalidad" as a collective challenge. Virginia Vargas is a founding member of Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán in Lima and is active in the Articulación Feminista Marcosur.

Finally, Xóchitl Leyva-Solano addresses "las redes del movimiento zapatista como una respuesta a la globalización." This article rethinks the relationship between local movements and an alternative globalization by focusing on the alliances and convergences that the Zapatistas have established during the last 10 years, primarily in Europe. Leyva-Solano places these alliances within the concept of social movement networks, to define a space of transnational political convergence that opens up the global possibilities of membership in the Zapatista movement. She then proceeds to analyze how these work, and concludes by arguing that after understanding these g/local convergences, we can no longer conceive of movements such as zapatismo as local organizations. We have to understand them within transnational frameworks, and come to terms with how multi-faceted, fluid, global anti-neoliberal movements operate. Xóchitl Leyva-Solano works with the CIESAS SURESTE in Chiapas, Mexico. ■

Transnational Dialogues on Globalization and the Intersections of Latina/o-Chicana/o-Latin American(s) Studies

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The short pieces featured below have been written in response to the following convocation:

What are the benefits and risks of national/transnational/cross-border frameworks in the analysis of Hemispheric issues? Are there Hemispheric issues?

Which of those perspectives—including Latin America-based analysis of globalization and regional configurations and U.S.-based dialogues on the intersections of Latina/o-Chicana/o-Latin American(s) Studies—have been most fruitful conceptually and theoretically and why? What additional conceptual leverage can we gain from promoting these perspectives and conversations? In what particular thematic/issue areas might that leverage be most useful?

Which perspectives/dialogues have been less productive and why? Are there areas/issues where they can be counter-productive?

This convocation is itself a revised version of collective work developed at the University of California, Santa Cruz by a group of colleagues including Sonia Alvarez, Jonathan Fox, Manuel Pastor, Juan Poblete and Patricia Zavella, in the context of the Hemispheric Dialogues project
<http://lals.ucsc.edu/hemispheric_dialogues>.

The comments by Manuel Antonio Garretón (Universidad de Chile), Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (New York University), Lynn Stephen (University of Oregon),

José Manuel Valenzuela (Colegio de la Frontera Norte) and George Yúdice (New York University) represent first approaches to what we hope will be a productive conversation in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in the context of a Plenary Session at LASA. The panel will focus on the impact of globalization on, and the emergence of transnational perspectives for, the analysis of Latin/o American issues.

In my view, these short pieces also represent the emergence of a more complex framework for the analysis of contemporary Latin/o American issues. In this perspective, there is a serious effort at confronting the multiple angles created by the differential acceleration of the flows of people, discourses, goods and capital across the continent. Those angles must include, more often than not, the intersectionality of the sub-national regional, national, supra-national regional and global dimensions. In those intersections, some questions are paramount: how is the nation as a social and cultural imaginary being transformed by transnational processes; how is it reacting to those developments; are we witnessing the emergence of transnational, bi-national, trans-border, trans-local, inter-national, micro or macro-regional social and cultural imaginaries? The answer to some of those questions is being written by multiple actors across the hemisphere, from migrant workers to business leaders, from town councils to Mercosur. This is what Arjun Appadurai and others have called an expansion of the social imagination which must be met by an expansion of the research imagination of the social and human

sciences. These disciplines can and must also perform a role in making new and old invisible dynamics, visible, and in understanding how exactly those already visible are being visibilized by the current paradigms, methods and approaches to Latin/o American issues.

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by GEORGE YÚDICE

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América Latina como unidad analítica: del desarrollo a la globalización

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Los estudios latinoamericanos centrados en la región como una unidad socio-histórica abordaron como problemática central sucesivamente, el desarrollo, la revolución, la democracia. La derrota de muchos de los proyectos de cambio, la globalización, las reformas neo-liberales, han significado que desaparece una problemática propiamente latinoamericana, quedando reducida ésta a dinámicas y estrategias de países aislados pero que tampoco, por efectos de la globalización, tienen fuerza y autonomía. ¿Es posible redefinir una unidad de la problemática latinoamericana? Hay quienes afirman que América Latina como unidad de análisis y proyecto ya no existe y que, a lo más, hay ciertos polos que se desprenden de la región. La ponencia intenta mostrar cuáles serían los posibles ejes de reconstitución de una problemática latinoamericana desde una perspectiva que no puede sino ser interdisciplinaria.

En términos más específicos, es posible mostrar dos enfoques que el autor junto a otros intelectuales, ha elaborado y que rescatan esta unidad de problemática en la región como lo hicieron los estudios de los períodos anteriores centrados en el desarrollo, la dependencia, la revolución o la democracia.

El primero es el de la matriz socio-política, que estudia la descomposición e

intentos de recomposición de las relaciones entre Estado, sistema de representación, base socio-económica y orientaciones culturales, mediadas por el régimen político. Aquí la pregunta básica es hasta qué punto los procesos de globalización permiten hablar de modelos de sociedad que tienen su base en los Estados nacionales y si hay, como hubo en la época estatal-nacional-popular, una matriz propia de América Latina con sus variaciones, o si, fuera de la vigencia de democracias formales, cada país ha desarrollado su propia matriz, con lo que deja de haber una problemática común.

El segundo es el enfoque del espacio cultural, donde más que una problemática común, como la del primer enfoque, de lo que se trata es de ver si en las dinámicas de globalización América Latina puede presentarse como un bloque. Partiendo de la base que el mundo se constituirá a partir de principios geo-culturales, lo que cabe es preguntarse si América Latina puede constituir un espacio cultural propio, lo que lleva a la cuestión de la capacidad de constituir modelos de modernidad con sus propias variaciones internas.

Si el primer enfoque apunta a si América Latina es una unidad de problemática socio-política, el segundo apunta a la dimensión socio-cultural. En todo caso la unidad problemática y de proyecto histórico para la región ya no radicaría en la cuestión del desarrollo, como lo fue durante largas décadas, sino en el lugar de América Latina como unidad en el mundo globalizado.

Some Thoughts on Concepts to Cut Across Latino/Latin American/ Chicano Studies

by LYNN STEPHEN

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I want to suggest that we work with the concept of "The Américas" to incorporate areas that have been geographically divided into North America, Central America, South America, and the Caribbean. Within the area we can call "The Américas" I will put forward some ideas for how to conceptualize flows of people, capital, and culture. On the one hand, my suggestions question the container of the nation-state as our primary focal lens by considering transborder processes, identities, and institutions. On the other hand, I will also suggest ways in which we still have to consider the "nation" in our discussions because of the strong historical presence of nationalism in creating categories that have powerful roles in defining how people are inserted into relations of power as well as states which still have a great deal of power to define who does and who does not have access to the formal rights associated with citizenship and legal residency.

In my own work on the west coast of the United States I have thought long and hard about how to conceptualize the Mexican spaces in Oregon and California (Stephen in press). One possibility would be to follow Nick De Genova's suggestion that cities with significant populations of immigrants from Latin America be considered a part of Latin America. He suggests the specific concept of "Mexican

Chicago” in relation to the large number of Mexican immigrants there (De Genova 1998: 89-90, 2005). Offered as a corrective to perspectives that sees Latin America as “outside the United States,” and assimilation as the logical and desirable outcome of migration, De Genova suggests that “rather than an outpost or extension of Mexico, therefore, the ‘Mexican’-ness of Mexican Chicago signifies a permanent disruption of the space of the U.S. nation-state and embodies the possibility of something truly new, a radically different social formation” (2005:190). Others have used the words “transnational” community to characterize this kind of space (Besserer 2002, 2004; Kearney 1990, 1995a, 1995b 2000; Rouse 1992, 1995; Levitt 2001, Glick-Schiller 1995, 2003). Another characterization, particularly when referring to grassroots organizations is “binational civil society,” suggesting parts of transnational communities that participate in their national country of origin, in their country of settlement as well as creating unique third spaces that can be called “transnational” (Fox 2005).

One positive contribution of work on transnational communities is that it has encouraged scholars to work outside the container of the nation/state and the kinds of binary divisions which have permeated so much of social analysis such as global/local, national/transnational. It is certainly important to consider the “national” in the “trans” part of migrant and immigrant histories and experience—particularly when it comes to the recognition or lack thereof of basic human and labor rights often connected

to their positions in relation to the legal frameworks of the nations they are moving between. I want to suggest, however, that we have to look beyond “the national” in order to understand the complete nature of what people are moving or “transing” between. In the cases of the indigenous Mixtec and Zapotec migrants I study, the borders they have crossed and continue to cross are much more than national.

In many communities such as the Mixtec community of San Agustín Atenango and the Zapotec community of Teotitlán where migration to and from other places has become a norm that spans three, four, and now five generations, the borders people cross are ethnic, cultural, colonial, state borders within Mexico as well as the U.S.-Mexico border. When Mixtecos and Zapotecos come into the United States, they are crossing a new set of regional borders that are often different than those in Mexico, but may also overlap with those of Mexico (for example the racial/ethnic hierarchy of Mexico which lives on in Mexican communities in the United States). These include ethnic, cultural, and regional borders within the United States. For these reasons, it makes more sense to speak of “transborder” migration in the case I am describing here, rather than simply “transnational.” The transnational becomes a subset of the “transborder” experience. I believe the concept of transborder can be applied elsewhere in the Américas as well to processes of immigration and migration.

In major cities, such as Los Angeles, and other places where many transborder migrants are concentrated, Saskia Sassen

argues that not only do such cities emerge as strategic sites for globalized economic processes and the concentration of capital, but also for new types of potential actors. While Sassen concentrates her analysis on global cities such as Los Angeles, New York, Tokyo, Paris, London, Brasilia, Mexico City, and others, some of the characteristics she attributes to global cities—denationalized platforms for global capital and sites for the coming together of increasingly diverse mixes of people to produce a strategic cross-border geography that partly bypasses national states—can also be found to some degree outside of global cities in many parts of the Américas (Sassen 2004:649). Woodburn, Oregon is such a place. By the year 2000, Woodburn was 50 percent Latino and 44.5 percent of the population was of Mexican origin as discussed above.

In these cross-border geographies, Sassen suggests that it is important to capture the difference between powerlessness and “the condition of being an actor even though one is initially lacking in political power” (2002:22). She uses the term “presence” to name this condition. She suggests that in the context of the strategic space of the global city, that people like transborder indigenous Mexican migrants can “acquire a presence in the broader political process that escapes the boundaries of the formal polity. Their presence signals the possibility of a politics” (2002:22). The specific context will determine what kind of politics. In Los Angeles, for example, a wide range of non-formal political participation has emerged from Mexican immigrant presence, from federated

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home-town associations and transborder organization that negotiate directly with U.S. and Mexican public officials (See Fox and Rivera 2004), to major participation in unions like UNITE-HERE (see Milkman 2005). Participation in these forms of non-party politics has also led to groups such as UNITE-HERE having influence in mayoral races in Los Angeles.

The ever-increasing numbers of Mexican immigrants and most recently of indigenous migrants in the western United States (and elsewhere) can have similar results in terms of those actors developing a "presence" that can exist as a precursor to more organized political participation.

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Some Thoughts on Migration Studies and the Latin American Exodo

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The last decade of the Latin American twentieth century closed a circle in a great migratory chain that had built and gained powerful momentum in the second half of the 19th century. From roughly the mid-19th century into the first two decades of the 20th century over 6.5 million immigrants, largely European peasants, arrived in Argentina, over 4 million in Brazil, over 1 million in Cuba—and hundreds of thousands more arrived in Uruguay, Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Peru and Paraguay. Indeed, more than 20 percent of the over 55 million Europeans who left the continent in the 19th century and first decades of the 20th century settled in the River Plate Basin—including Argentina, Uruguay and Southern Brazil (Moya, 1998: 46). By the beginning of the new Millennium, Latin American finds itself in the middle of the largest wave of emigration in history. Virtually every one of the traditional regions of Latin America is “on the move”: Mexico and Central America, the Caribbean, the Andean region, and the Southern Cone countries. According to recent UN Population Division data from 1995 to 2000 the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and South America had a net migration of rate of approximately -916,000 persons per annum. During the same time Europe was gaining roughly 769,000 new immigrants per year and the United States was gaining some 1.2 million new immigrants per annum (UN

Population Division, 2003: p. 1). Latin Americans are on the move—leaving in unprecedented numbers for the United States, Europe and, to a lesser extent, Asia.

The power and ubiquity of the new global flows structuring the Latin American *Exodo* are now acknowledged by almost everyone—scholars, policy makers, and the public at large in both sending and receiving countries. While there is a general consensus that migration from Latin America is changing the Americas and the world beyond, there is little systematic empirical, conceptual, and theoretical work examining the *Exodo* in an interdisciplinary, comparative, and regional framework. My reflections in this brief essay hope to begin a much-needed discussion among scholars of migration about the great Latin American *Exodo* and its Aftermath.

Background: The world is now witnessing the largest migratory flow in human history. There are well over 185 million transnational immigrants and refugees worldwide. This is only a fraction of the total number of migrants, as the majority stay within the confines of individual regions or nation states (China, for example, has in excess of 150 million internal migrants). Immigration today is generating epochal transformations in both immigrant-sending and immigrant-receiving countries. Immigrant languages are now ubiquitous in most advanced post-industrial cities. Immigrants organize themselves in transnational webs of social, cultural and political relationships that make international borders porous and in some ways

redundant. Globalization’s Latin American ecotype has left a legacy of frustrated ambitions, declining quality of life, and growing poverty and inequality. Under globalization’s regime, large numbers of Latin Americans have developed new appetites that simply cannot be satiated by local economies.

Immigration today seems to be structured by three distinct but related currents: 1) the globalization of capital and the post nationalization of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services increasingly linking immigrant-dependent economies to transnational labor recruiting networks; 2) transnational wage (and access to credit) differentials generating powerful incentives for migration; and 3) new information, communication, media, and transportation technologies that instantly connect individuals and communities, generate new structures of desire and appetites, and tend to lower the costs of human movement across space and over time. The very same factors structuring migration today also are at the root of why large numbers of immigrants remain powerful actors, in economic, cultural and social terms, in the societies they leave behind. Many immigrants today are social actors “here” and “there” at once transforming their countries of birth and their countries of choice.

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TRANSNATIONAL DIALOGUES ON GLOBALIZATION CONTINUED...

Globalización, fronteras y procesos transnacionales

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Uno de los rasgos claves del mundo contemporáneo consiste en la prevalencia de una paradójica centralidad de las fronteras culturales. Los crecientes procesos de globalización han difuminado algunas fronteras nacionales, pero también han potenciado la visibilidad y sentido estratégico de otras fronteras socioculturales, como ocurre con la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos, que es también la frontera latinoamericana con “el norte”. Al mismo tiempo, observamos un incremento de la polarización social y el crecimiento de los procesos migratorios, especialmente hacia Estados Unidos, con lo cual la migración y las diásporas contemporáneas juegan un papel importante en la definición de los vínculos interculturales.

Las metáforas y conceptos para definir los procesos fronterizos son múltiples: mutilación, herida, cicatriz, pozo del mundo, tierra de nadie, trinchera, umbrales, intersticios o rizomas. La frontera entre México y Estados Unidos ha sido escenario de múltiples procesos de refracción sociocultural, de cambios y persistencias, de permanencia y transformación, pero, a partir del 11 de Septiembre de 2001, se han presentado de manera más clara nuevos mecanismos de control fronterizo y se ha incrementado el peso geopolítico de la frontera. Esta situación se solapa con los fenómenos culturales transfronterizos y proyectos

artísticos definidos desde ambos lados de la frontera. La producción cultural fronteriza ha estado definida por procesos intensos de transculturaciones, recreaciones, préstamos, resistencias y disputas culturales. La intensa vida de la frontera también ha conformado procesos socioculturales transfronterizos, como ha ocurrido con las culturas juveniles de los pachuchos, los *cholos*, las *maras* y los *colombianos*, y ha sido escenario para la producción de expresiones musicales, como la música norteña y de banda, el *Tex-Mex*, un estilo rockero identificable y una expresión electrónica reconocible como *Nortec*.

La frontera ha sido motivo recurrente en la producción plástica, literaria y visual. Junto a las miradas estéticas vinculadas al movimiento chicano, y las posiciones muchas veces estereotípicas de ambos lados de la frontera elaboradas durante los años setenta y ochenta, emergen perspectivas diferentes donde cobran fuerza posicionamientos como los proyectos de artistas de ambos lados de la frontera y propuestas de carácter transfronterizo.

Sin lugar a dudas, la frontera ha tenido un papel central en el debate nacional sobre la definición y cambios en las identidades nacionales, así como en la definición de nuevos proyectos y estéticas transfronterizas. Gran parte de estas discusiones estuvieron marcadas por la incompreensión, pues consideraban que en la frontera la población sufría una importante desnacionalización y pérdida de identidad.

Sin embargo, las investigaciones disponibles indican que los procesos culturales e identitarios fronterizos son mucho más complejos y no corresponden a los vaticinios de la desnacionalización o del apochamiento.

El conjunto de temas arriba señalados, configuran ejes imprescindibles para la comprensión y (re)creación del arte, la cultura y las representaciones de la frontera México-Estados Unidos.

Linking Cultural Citizenship and Transnationalism to the Movement for an Equitable Global Economy

by GEORGE YÚDICE

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The charge presented to us by Juan Poblete involves assessing the conceptual and political effectiveness of “national/transnational/cross-border, etc., frameworks in the analysis of Hemispheric issues” and the dialogues on that basis in the “intersections of Latina/o-Chicana/o-Latin American(s) Studies.” Two frameworks come to mind: cultural citizenship, which can be conceived of as the extension of T.H. Marshall’s paradigm of civic, political and social rights and obligations, and transnationalism, “the processes by which immigrants build [multiple and extensive] social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992: 1). Historically, cultural citizenship, as it refers to Latin@s in the United States, refers to “the various processes by which groups define themselves, form a community, and claim space and social rights” (Flores 2003: 297). These claims were framed by the more general struggle, from the civil rights era of 1960s on, to empower ethnoracial minorities, women, gays and lesbians, the disabled and other marginalized and excluded groups. Against *de facto* and sometimes *de jure* exclusion from citizen rights, they sought to legitimize the adjudication and legislation of rights on the basis of group need rather than the possessive-individualist terms that traditionally define rights discourse in the largely

“difference blind” republican democratic tradition. In other words, the differential cultural identity of the “nonnormative,” provided the ground for a politics based on the interpretability of needs that required extension of universal rights via bilingual education, maternity leave, gay marriage and rent-controlled apartment inheritance, and the like. (The inclusion of maternity leave, gay marriage and apartment inheritance as “cultural” rights makes it evident that culture is not circumscribed in this view to ethnicity. Culture has to do with performative force of the social and cultural narratives that define inclusion and exclusion, in this case to the category of rights-bearing subjects.)

Transnationalism both extends and challenges this more traditional approach to rights. The continued migration of Latin Americans to the United States bolsters cultural claims, especially to language rights for Latin@s, and forces onto the political agenda the extension of guestworker labor and certain social rights for the non-citizen undocumented, at the same time that some “normative” citizens become increasingly anxious and seek to marginalize them (and in some cases all Latin@s, as in Huntington [2004]), even to the point of denying all rights and monitoring and fencing in the U.S. MexicoBorder. The past decade has seen an explosion in research on transnationalism, making the case that rights need to be extended beyond a national framework, that new immigrants belong culturally to and are active in more than one nation-state, and most importantly that the new circumstances of migration—putatively wrought by

globalization processes, especially in communications, transportation, and finance—have an impact on the sending countries. Until very recently, the focus on the “new” post-1965 migrations had been on the effects in the United States, and on the extensions and complications of political, social, and cultural pan-ethnic formations. Juan Flores (2000), for example, discerned a tension between Nuyoricans, who maintained connections with African Americans, and newer migrants who increasingly wielded a double strategy of integration as specific nationalities (e.g., Colombians) and Latin@s. For Flores, panethnicization tends to defuse the kinds of claims that Nuyoricans had made in the post-civil rights context. On the other hand, Salvadorans, who fled warfare and political witchhunts in the 1980s and established migrants’ rights organizations such as CARECEN for Salvadorans have reconverted those organizations more recently to offer “community support services and empowerment activities to the greater Latino community” (CARECEN home page). There is some measure of legitimacy to be gained by entering Latin@ politics and the vibrant world of voluntary social institutions that have considerable uptake in the United States (and which counter stereotypes that Latin@s do not have robust civil societies).

One critique of these two frameworks that I have voiced elsewhere is that as important as cultural citizenship and transnationalism are in recognizing and providing a space for minority and immigrant communities, it should also be acknowledged that they can also become

TRANSNATIONAL DIALOGUES ON GLOBALIZATION CONTINUED...

instruments of governmentality or the management of populations (Yúdice 2003). As one scholar of the impact of globalization on citizenship observes, in multicultural societies, particularly, "culture and identity [as] particular forms of agency...have to be somehow managed" (Delanty 2002: 61).

Management cuts two ways: it relativizes agency but at the same time enables some of its force. Hence caution should lead activists to take state, foundation and NGO absorption into consideration but should not paralyze the efforts of expanding rights.

The other, and my major critique, is that both cultural citizenship and transnationalism have focused mostly on the situation in the receiving country, and in this context have limited to a degree the horizon of expectations to that of people moving from developing to developed countries and expanding citizenship there. It should be obvious that migration will not solve its own root causes. Moreover, migration can exacerbate problems in the sending country, about which current scholarship has little to say. While there is abundant work on such pull and push factors as migration from low-wage/labor-rich states to higher-wage/labor-poor states, global integration and structural adjustment that erode traditional family economies, particularly in agriculture, the attraction of dual labor markets in receiving countries, and cumulative causation frameworks for explaining the pull of established transborder networks, there is relatively little with regard to social (Levitt 2001) and cultural (Flores 2005) remittances, such as the ideas, behaviors,

identities, social capital, and values, on the social side, and narratives, musics, cuisines, styles of dress, forms of consumption, etc. that circulate back to the sending countries. The literature on hometown associations (Andrade-Eekhoff and Silva Avalos 2004) and on youth gangs, such as the Salvadoran *maras* (Garland 2004), has made up for this lack, often pointing to the pathologies that ensue when the United States deports criminalized youth (Yúdice forthcoming).

While social and cultural remittances and related phenomena are not difficult to integrate into some of the transnational consumption and identity frameworks, such as subcultural studies in the case of *maras*, developed within Cultural Studies, other issues such as brain drain, the impoverishment of education and healthcare systems in the wake of migrations, etc. are much more difficult to integrate into any of the frameworks considered above. What are the Latin@-Latin American migrant circuits for dealing with labor and remittances in the context of government incentives for their most lucrative export: migrants? (Salvadoran government officials refer to migrants as an export and are lobbying intensively to maintain the dual "pipeline" of migrant export and remittance repatriation, which also functions as collateral for multilateral development bank loans. See Yúdice, Forthcoming.) The ideal remedy for this would be a more equitable global economy, which is far from view. While it is crucial to ratchet up the citizen rights of Latin@s and other minoritized groups in the United States, that in itself will not provide a solution for the need to

migrate. Hence, it is necessary for Latin@ politics in the United States to make common cause with movements not only for labor equity (as was the case with anti-sweatshop movement in the 1990s) but also those that challenge trade agreements and intellectual property arrangements whose unfavorable terms will further erode economic viability in Latin America. The moment is ripe for such coalitions, at least as far as Latin American activists are concerned. This is evident from Mexico to Argentina, where Bush's bid for the Free Trade Area of the Americas was trashed. It is, after all, inequality in the global economy that not only generates migrations but which also makes local cultural production difficult to maintain.

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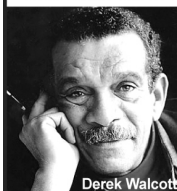
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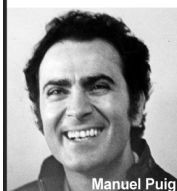
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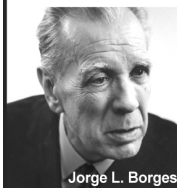
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Evo Morales en el contexto de los más recientes movimientos sociales

by GUILLERMO DELGADO-P. | University of California, Santa Cruz | guiller@ucsc.edu

In Memoriam

Richard P. Schaedel (1920-2005)

La reciente elección del candidato indígena Evo Morales en Bolivia ha generado atención en las irrupciones sociales multitudinarias que recientemente se produjeron en este país. De las mismas se ha dicho que tienen como objetivo el de “democratizar la democracia.” Esto parecería un juego cacofónico, pero no lo es. El estudio de los movimientos sociales está ligado a la democracia emergente del siglo XXI. La pregunta de fondo es si estos movimientos recientes contribuyen a profundizar la democracia en las Américas, radicalizándola mucho más, o bien si su carácter fractal los redefine como movimientos multidispersos, limitados a ser tan sólo descolonizadores críticos del estado neoliberal y del sistema global, pero sin más.

En apariencia, los mismos parecerían no tener la fuerza para acometer transformaciones estructurales del estado. Ubicándolos en su contexto histórico, podríamos afirmar que a fines de los ochentas, el proceso de re-democratización que se visualizaba como venidero, se traslapó con la imposición del proyecto neoliberal y de la globalización. El objetivo de éste último, centrado en reducir y aminorar el papel del estado reforzando la omnipresencia del mercado, corroboró, por lo menos indirectamente, la credibilidad (y aceptación) de exigencias autonomistas por parte de movimientos de corte étnico. Al rescindir el estado su responsabilidad histórica, la autonomía se transformó en el subtexto no pronunciado del neoliberalismo. En esos espacios

autónomos se pensó que se le podría dar respuesta a todo lo que el estado no pudo, o no quiso, hacer. Es por ello que por esos años, algunos líderes indígenas interpretaron el neoliberalismo como el proyecto que finalmente coincidía con sus demandas autonomistas.

Las secuelas de la redemocratización de fines de los ochentas, concluyen ahora con la incursión de múltiples movimientos sociales asincrónicos, aunque *transcomunales*. Por esto último entendemos que etnicidades, feminismos, sexualidades, y clases subalternas, rearticulan, en sus propios ambientes *g/locales*, las respuestas posibles ante el bulldozer de la homogeneización globalista. Durante el primer lustro de este nuevo milenio, los movimientos sociales agilizaron sus estrategias de crítica y proposición, debatiendo el precio de los recursos naturales en un contexto global. Varios de ellos carecen de la permanente estructura o jerarquía de sus antecesores. A cambio de lo anterior, redefinen su relación con el estado-nación al proponer refundar la nación misma. Entre estos movimientos, la politización de la memoria social, o bien la invisibilidad y la exclusión (racial, de género), pueden interpretarse como locus del descontento de su membresía, quienes poseen una lealtad flexible y múltiple: p.ej., sus reivindicaciones pueden ser feministas, sindicalistas y étnicas. En consecuencia, estos sujetos pueden estar afiliados a los movimientos desde una variada procedencia.

Las movilizaciones de los noventa fueron identificadas por la presencia constante de movimientos indígenas. Es importante

reconocer que estos no son los únicos participantes, pero sí los de más peso. Su emergencia galvanizó un rico debate en torno al racismo y a la exclusión (de género, étnica, nacional, regional, etc.), subrayando el hecho de que, en respuesta a sus propias movilizaciones, los estados tan sólo ejecutaran cambios nominales pero inefectivos. Por ello continuamos observando el retorno de las mismas “*en forma de miles*.” Confrontados por la urgencia, los estados nacionales aprobaron transformaciones cosméticas. Su implementación *oenegeizada* se acompañó de rémoras e ineptitud. Por lo tanto, ese *nuevo público* afiliado a los movimientos recurrió a la protesta abierta, masiva. Un ejemplo de las consecuencias de éstas puede ser la emergencia de nuevas movilizaciones que ahora exigen refundar los estados nacionales, transformando los aspectos legales para conceder derechos efectivos, y no sólo nominales, de ciudadanía. Pareciera, en todo esto, existir un paralelo entre una profunda segregación (racial, de género), y la galvanización de movimientos sociales que presionan por nuevas formas de inclusión y de visibilidad. Un estudioso de los movimientos indígenas como Jonathan Warren subraya que, en el trasfondo de este escenario humano, la estructura del racismo en las Américas no ha cambiado cualitativamente en siglos, pero que “sólo al enunciar seriamente la problemática del racismo se puede deslindar y enfrentar la desigualdad social. América Latina es afamadamente una de las regiones más desiguales del mundo” (2004:224). Esta observación derrumba casi todos los programas-parche que se formularon y ejecutaron en el continente con

anterioridad, muchas de ellas con la asistencia o cooperación técnica internacional de ONGs especializadas en la administración de la pobreza.

El resultado más tangible de estos cinco últimos años ha sido la multiplicación de movimientos que rebasan las plataformas de los partidos políticos tradicionales que aprobaron la onda globalista. Los gobiernos de los noventa fueron vistos por los movimientos sociales como meros administradores del capital transnacional (Ecuador, Bolivia), y fueron obligados a renunciar o fueron violentamente derrocados (Argentina). A diferencia de esto, y reclamando posiciones de izquierda, existen hoy en día al menos cinco nuevas administraciones gubernamentales democráticamente elegidas (Brasil, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay y Bolivia) que emergieron como respuesta a la exclusionaria dinámica neoliberal y a la nueva relación con una agresiva administración estadounidense que, a menudo, recurre al nostálgico dictamen imperial. Los efectos de 9/11 pusieron a los movimientos en la peligrosa mira de la autoridad del panóptico, en un contexto en el cual la criminalización de un movimiento podría ocurrir porque sí.

Pese a esto último, dos veces consecutivas en el caso de Bolivia, (Sánchez de Lozada en 2003, y Carlos Mesa en 2005), movimientos múltiples con un claro sentido de autonomía y de “democracia directa”—ese concepto tabú—derrocaron a dos gobiernos percibidos como demasiado entreguistas de los recursos naturales. En aquellos otros países en los cuales se derrocaron presidentes

(Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador), los movimientos sociales criticaron un concepto demasiado controlado de democracia. En el caso de México, la presión internacional del movimiento global—un nuevo público a su manera—logró que no se criminalizara al movimiento social Zapatista, cuya problemática nunca fue resuelta por el presidente Fox. Todo esto evidencia que ya no se puede hablar de los movimientos sociales en forma uniforme u homogénea, ya que la pluralidad de tantas formas e intensidades de los mismos obliga a observar el contexto *g/local*, simultáneo y multi-identitario, en el cual estos ocurren.

Algunos aspectos que todavía se podrían reconocer como un denominador uniforme de esta diversidad de movimientos son la politización de la memoria social, la importancia estratégica que poseen los recursos naturales en la agenda de los mismos—porque éstas se transforman cada vez más en mercancías de propiedad transnacional—la violencia de la exclusión, y la invisibilidad. ¿Qué existe detrás de estos intangibles que alientan la aparición de tanta movilidad? Sin duda un sentimiento de frustración e indignidad ante el ningunoo. Repentinamente, el efecto del ningunoo crece y se transforma en una irrupción multitudinaria, con la diferencia de que la misma surge con propuestas concretas, que sería como decir que aparecen ejecutando funciones de estado. Ante la violencia urbana, Carlos Monsiváis piensa que ésta tiene inclusive aspectos melodramáticos, ya que ocurre en el *performance* de la invisibilidad (2005:240), pero también con un Estado,

a menudo ineficiente o reducido, como el otro gran actor en el tablado social.

La irrupción de los movimientos ocurre, generalmente, ante el menosprecio o la ineffectividad (o ausencia) de canales adecuados—a menudo débiles o poco eficientes—que solucionen los problemas que estos denuncian. La futilidad o sorna con que el estado moderno los percibe subraya su carácter invisible, su inexistencia. El hecho de que el neoliberalismo hubiera reaccionado atomizándolos y descalificándolos—en ningún momento se aludió al “desclasamiento” de los mismos—significa ahora que, en respuesta a esa actitud, surja la alternativa de su pluri-recomposición. Raúl Prada Alcoreza, quien ha escrito sobre el lustro de movilizaciones en Bolivia, asigna la noción de “molecular” a estos movimientos, ya que están basados en núcleos infinitamente múltiples, coordinados y complementarios, antes que estar jerarquizados. Cuando se les observa de cerca, aparecen más bien como estrados de constante negociación, casi *g/local*. Son flexibles, pueden verse trans/nacional o regionalmente; una vez que solucionan una demanda, pueden desaparecer, o bien transformarse en otro movimiento de distinta naturaleza. A través de su ideología pragmática procedente del descontento, la frustración y la futilidad del estado nacional, los movimientos se unen reactivando y narrativizando la memoria social de la explotación de los recursos naturales. Su unidad es elástica. Algunas veces es profundamente étnica (aymara o quechua), en otras tiene raigambres moleculares o complejos rizomas en los

EVO MORALES EN EL CONTEXTO DE LOS MÁS RECIENTES MOVIMIENTOS SOCIALES CONTINUED...

cuales clase, etnicidad, género y sexualidad interactúan entre núcleos de pluri-coaliciones con multipropuestas.

Dos movimientos sociales que irrumpieron al estrado social boliviano fueron la Guerra del Gas y la Guerra del Agua. Sin entrar en detalles precisos sobre ambos por falta de espacio, se puede decir que los dos tienen que ver con los recursos naturales, y con la forma en que estos juegan un papel en la memoria social de los movimientos bolivianos. Ambos, gas y agua, poseen un carácter vital. En su importancia geopolítica no están alejados de una historia local—que pareciera repetirse *ad infinitum*—que fue la de la minería de la plata y el oro en la colonia, el guano y el caucho a fines del siglo XIX, el estaño y la coca en el siglo XX y, recientemente, el gas y el agua. Los movimientos actuales se plantean la pregunta básica: ¿Por qué la pobreza no desaparece? Por el contrario, se reproduce, sin que quienes firman los acuerdos internacionales (en representación del estado) piensen en una política de reversión y redistribución más igualitaria de la riqueza para promover la capitalización (y no la descapitalización) del país. Sin duda, los movimientos desnudan y revelan el endeble carácter del estado nacional, y de las clases sociales dirigentes que, en la percepción de los propios movimientos, han subastado el país para beneficiarse de un capitalismo neoliberal que crea excedentes en Miami o Nueva York, pero no en los bancos nacionales que implementan un capitalismo de características usureras (se puede medir por la deuda externa de cada país). En otro momento de la historia social boliviana se organizó un

movimiento de “deudores morosos,” personas a las que el sistema endeudó a través de lo que se llamó “el micro-crédito” con altísimas tasas de interés y de defección. Esto es casi un retrato del país en relación a su propia deuda con el FMI, el BID o el BM. Uno podría afirmar que Bolivia adoptó un capitalismo en el que no es el productor quien fija el precio, sino es el comprador.

Este primer lustro del siglo XXI se estudiará como el período en el cual se fragua o articula el descontento de una nueva generación de actores sociales no estatales, de multifacéticas comunidades que se autoconstruyen al fragor de la lucha contra la exclusión e invisibilidad a través de movimientos descentralizados pero coordinados. Varios de ellos tienen como trasfondo común niveles de pauperización creada y profundizada por una incisiva desigualdad directamente causada por los “linkages” globalistas del neoliberalismo. Sin embargo, el aspecto económico ya no es el único determinante en la emergencia de un movimiento social. Pocos son los países en los que no pasa nada interesante, lo cual tampoco significa necesariamente que haya ausencia de movimientos sociales en los mismos. En muchos otros se han logrado verdaderos triunfos que pueden constituir una nueva noción de ciudadanía de igualdad (“*equal citizens*”), nuevos sujetos sociales que, con su irrupción en escena, redefinen los estados nacionales haciéndolos más inclusivos, acentuando el *democratizar la democracia*.

Finalmente, se puede decir que la fuerza de los más recientes movimientos influye seriamente en la redefinición del concepto

de estado nacional en su contexto global. La reciente elección del dirigente cocalero Evo Morales en Bolivia significa la emergencia de un estado nacional transculturizado. Sin la comprensión de esa transculturación, la administración del presidente Evo Morales no podría redefinir ese estado que necesita refundarse a través de una asamblea constituyente. Al refundarse el mismo, la ciudadanía nominal (“*unequal citizens*”) que siempre otorgó el estado boliviano, por primera vez podría transformarse en una ciudadanía efectiva y activa. Al enfatizarse la plena participación democrática, como ya se ha visto en las más recientes elecciones (diciembre 2005), la ciudadanía como sociedad civil mostró su capacidad de hegemonizar con el voto la dirección y *transparencia* del mismo estado nacional; éste será lo que la ciudadanía apruebe sin la influencia de fundaciones extranjeras especializadas en el *marketing* del voto al estilo estadounidense. Será una democracia sin la intervención de “la embajada,” hasta ahora tan ubicua e interesada en apoyar no un proceso democrático, sino a los candidatos que garantizan sus exigencias de “estabilidad” a través de un nuevo autoritarismo imperial que *territorializa la dominación*. Esa es, al menos, la percepción recurrente entre los movimientos críticos de una globalización cosmética, que hasta ahora ha sido imposible de desechar.

A diferencia de lo anterior, los movimientos sociales incluyen en su agenda nociones tales como la redistribución igualitaria de la riqueza, la implementación del sistema educacional, de salud pública, del derecho a la

vivienda, al empleo y al salario justo, el derecho a los recursos naturales que posee el país, derechos a la seguridad y al bienestar. Todos estos son vistos como derechos humanos individuales y colectivos, no como privilegios. Naturalmente, lo anterior tiene que ver con la emergencia de nuevas subjetividades sociales movilizadas a través de sistemas cibernéticos de comunicación alternativa. Los movimientos sociales también han promovido y se han alimentado del derecho a la libre información (es decir, en oposición a las cadenas globales). Sin ese derecho, la emergencia de una asamblea constituyente que articularía la verdadera representación de los movimientos sociales en Bolivia no podría tener la competencia para proponer verdaderas transformaciones estructurales. De acuerdo a Raúl Prada Alcoveza, "la asamblea constituyente representa la constitución misma del poder originario" (2005). En esta percepción, Evo Morales no es sino el individuo que puede dar el paso fundamental para transformar y refundar el país. El termómetro de su triunfo lo medirán, en última instancia, los movimientos sociales que lo eligieron.

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Mass Mobilization and Presidential Removal in Ecuador *entre la ira y la esperanza*

by AMALIA PALLARES | University of Illinois, Chicago | amalia@uic.edu

The popular mobilizations that have toppled presidents in recent years in Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina indicate the emergence of a new form of collective action that Eduardo Galeano calls “the *pueblazo*.” According to Galeano, the *pueblazo* joins the historic *cuartelazo* as a common strategy used in the region to depose presidents. In Ecuador some would say that this practice has been institutionalized, as massive protest has led to the removal of three presidents in the past nine years: Abdalá Bucaram (1997), Jamil Mahuad (2000) and Lucio Gutiérrez (2005). While always appearing spontaneous, precipitated by some crisis, popular removal has become a feasible and rational option available to social and political sectors deeply dissatisfied with the incumbent regime. To some, *pueblazos* seem to complement electoral participation. Even as people vote they may mention “*y si no cumple, lo sacamos*.” While these popular uprisings appear alarming and nonsensical to many external observers, they make perfect sense from the perspective of their protagonists and of scholars who have been studying the profound economic and political crises enveloping Ecuador. However, as the aftermath of the recent mobilization against Gutiérrez illustrates, these mass actions have not necessarily proven successful conduits to meaningful change.

In a country deeply fragmented by race, class and region, it has been difficult to achieve a democratic consolidation in which political officeholders adequately represent the broad spectrum of social sectors. Electoral structures characterized by congressional at-large districts

(representing either the entire country or an entire province) and proportional representation have led to a multiplicity of parties and political movements, yet highly inadequate social and geographic representation. There is a profound disconnect between the central political system and society at large. Furthermore, regional, class and racial divides have meant that no political party has broad national support or carries a majority in the parliament. In this scenario of multiple, fragmented parties, newly elected presidents must create congressional coalitions in order to govern. Party leaders threaten to withdraw their support of the president to advance their interests. The strongest parties control the Supreme Court, the electoral tribunal, and other important judicial bodies. When one or more powerful parties decide to remove their support, they frequently accompany this move with accusations of executive corruption and congressional indictments of key government figures. Executives are then forced to seek other partisan support, often making questionable compromises in exchange. In a region purportedly characterized by strong executives and weaker legislatures, presidents nevertheless can rarely act without congressional backing. Even Gutiérrez’s stacking of the Supreme Court to facilitate the return of former president Abdalá Bucaram, which provoked such popular ire, was sanctioned by a majority of parliament.

These conditions have led most Ecuadorians to view electoral politics and politicians as dirty and corrupt; the largest traditional political parties as out

of tune with the needs of the majority; and the congress as a cesspool in which votes are bought and sold. Traditional politicians either present themselves as representatives of the oppressed (populist Bucaram), technocrats using rational methods to solve Ecuador’s problems (Mahuad), as political outsiders whose legitimacy derives from a new independent electoral force (Gutiérrez’s Sociedad Patriótica), or/and their association with an important social movement (Gutiérrez’s electoral alliance with the predominantly indigenous party, Pachakutik). Presidents are elected to the extent that they are considered incorruptible, unwilling to consort with traditional elites or be tainted by traditional political practices, and committed to social policies that will address the needs of Ecuador’s poor (over 60 percent of the population). When presidents fail to keep their promises, either by protecting the interests of elites (Mahuad, Gutiérrez) or/and manifesting excessive cronyism (Bucaram, Gutiérrez) they trigger mass disappointment, as both are viewed as corrupt and immoral practices. In a context in which the congress and the courts have become completely delegitimized, institutional solutions to a crisis are deemed impossible, and popular removal seems like the only logical alternative.

Frequently complicit actors in a contemporary global context in which traditional coups would be seriously questioned, the congress, traditional political parties, the United States Embassy, and the military are also playing key roles behind the scenes of these “popular” uprisings. The military, for

example, may signal that it will do nothing to stop the mobilization, “stepping in” only to ensure that the deposed president is safely removed, and that a politically acceptable replacement is instated. Traditional political elites may provide tacit support while remaining publicly silent, resurfacing to opine on what the most democratic and constitutional succession would be, or to negotiate the distribution of cabinet positions with the new president. Finally, the United States Embassy plays a pivotal role in determining who may or may not inherit power, as its support for the removal of the triumvirate designed to replace Mahuad made quite evident. Overlooking the role played by elite actors in these “*pueblazos*” not only underestimates the actual political role of traditional political forces, but can overestimate the power of popular protest and foster profound disappointment when popular power does not eventually lead to broad-scale change.

While this new strategy of popular removal has become a reasonable alternative for a variety of social and political actors, it does not follow that it is an effective means for achieving significant reform. A brief description of the events following the removal of Lucio Gutiérrez will provide an illustration. In April 2005, middle class urban sectors, youth, local politicians, and professionals from Quito mobilized against Gutiérrez and pursued congressional representatives demanding “*que se vayan todos*.” Having won the presidency with the support of the indigenous party Pachakutik, Gutiérrez broke ties with the indigenous movement in a matter of months, refusing

to pursue the leftist agenda he had committed to during the campaign. Gutiérrez then turned to the traditional right-wing party Partido Social Cristiano (PSC) and adopted even more conservative policies. Interpersonal and political conflicts with PSC leaders led Gutiérrez to later rely on the Partido Roldosista Ecuatoriano (PRE), which lobbied for the return of ousted former president Abdalá Bucaram. Patterns of nepotism, cronyism and corruption, the packing of the court to facilitate Bucaram’s return, and Bucaram’s eventual return led masses of *quiteños* to take to the streets and demand the president’s removal. After Gutiérrez’s departure, Vice-President Alfredo Castillo assumed the presidency promising to immediately address the demands of the *forajidos*, or outsiders, as the protesters called themselves. Members of parliament committed to examining their past mistakes, removing members found guilty of corruption and other forms of abuse, and working to reconstitute the courts in a less partisan way. Both branches agreed that the government should move towards fundamental political reform. There was nation-wide euphoria. Several sectors of civil society pushed for a referendum in which Ecuadorians would decide whether they wanted a constitutional assembly to reform of elections, political parties, courts and the congress.

Seven months later, and despite President Castillo’s vocal support for the referendum, congress and the Court of Constitutional Guarantees have blocked the possibilities for a referendum. After hundreds of proposals were sent by

different sectors of civil society suggesting themes that should be voted upon, the government produced a list of topics that excluded most of these proposals. Members of civil society bitterly complained that there was no public debate on what the proposed themes should be. While this has been the classic *modus operandi*, it is still profoundly disappointing to peoples who, according to Ecuadorian political theorist, Agustín Cueva, have historically existed “*entre la ira y la esperanza*.”

Ecuador’s recent history of *pueblazos* leads to at least three reflections on the limits of these types of mobilization.

Pueblazos are similar in style but quite different in substance.

Pueblazos are not always carried out by the same collective. Just as the term *pueblo* has been critically interrogated for its simplification of a complex set of groups, networks and subjectivities, focusing mainly on the similarity of the strategy used overlooks the fact that each of these uprisings involved a distinct set of actors, not always the most disempowered. The uprising against Bucaram combined members of the professional middle class, a few sectors of the working class and indigenous activists from Quito and the highland region. Bucaram’s crass form of coastal populism and rampant corruption irked the aesthetic sensibilities of Quito’s middle class. His intent to manipulate the indigenous movement and disregard for indigenous demands mobilized indigenous activists. It was an uncommon front, uniting people across race and class

MASS MOBILIZATION AND PRESIDENTIAL REMOVAL IN ECUADOR CONTINUED...

boundaries in a way that has not occurred since. The uprising against Mahuad, by contrast, was primarily an indigenous mobilization, with the support of a coalition of urban movements, chauffeur and taxi unions, and some disaffected young members of the Ecuadorian military (Lucio Gutiérrez the most notable among them). This uprising best reflected the class and race oppositions that characterize Ecuador, as Mahuad's protection of the economic interests of bank elites to the detriment of ordinary citizens' livelihoods instigated the cross-regional mobilization of working class and lower-middle class sectors. Finally, Gutiérrez's removal was primarily a mobilization of middle class professionals, local politicians, students, movement activists and NGOs from Quito, who felt excluded from the normal channels of power by Gutiérrez. The indigenous movement was absent, as were other social forces across the country.

These differences begin to shed light on the difficulties of organizing effective post-uprising political coalitions. The very question of who has a right to make demands and who represents "*el pueblo*" are up for grabs, even in instances in which the role of the protagonists in ousting the president is clear. Indigenous activists who failed in their attempt to reform the political system after removing Mahuad learned this the hard way, when other social and political sectors questioned their use of non-democratic and non-constitutional means to replace Mahuad, and argued that indigenous activists could not speak for all the Ecuadorian peoples. In cases of

mobilizations instigated by groups of actors that are not a clear social movement, such as the *forajidos*, the lack of identification with a specific movement led to a simultaneous invisibility and ubiquity in which no one and everyone was a *forajido*.

While pueblazos have been unable to bridge the profound schism between civil society and the central state, other political developments may facilitate the creation of new bridging mechanisms in the future.

As the Gutiérrez uprising shows, the ability of the central state not only to ignore the demands of civil society but also to deny them a place at the negotiating table is a consistent pattern that has only been broken by the enormous organizing power of the contemporary indigenous movement. This is a structural problem that remains in place regardless of the political orientation of the president. However, three important and relatively recent developments provide hope for future organizing.

First, the creation of the Pachakutik Party in 1997 as an alliance between indigenous activists and mestizo progressives provides an alternative model, as Pachakutik members are expected to represent the demands of the indigenous movement and its allies. When they don't, as happened recently in the Gutiérrez presidency, they are held accountable by the indigenous movement. As it has gained positions in local and national elections, Pachakutik has become a more important force in the parliament,

broadening the center-left coalition that provides a counterweight to the right and to traditional political elites.

Second, the very recent creation of citizen watch organizations designed to monitor the work of state bureaucrats is also a hopeful sign. The most notable is the Civic Committee against Corruption. However, there are also organizations that monitor national elections, the fulfillment of electoral quotas for women, and the implementation of different social policy projects. The members of these organizations usually have a history of movement activism and/or previous NGO involvement. Finally, one of the most exciting developments is the growing linkages between local governments and civil society organizations. Many rural and urban municipalities have redefined their roles and reinscribed their identities as partners with civil society organizations. In many instances, movement activists have been elected to local office and restructured the relationship between local government and citizens, utilizing participatory democracy methods. Indigenous activists were pioneers in this notion of empowering and democratizing at the grassroots level, but this process is now becoming more prevalent in non-indigenous and some large urban municipalities as well. The connections between movements and local governments force us to rethink theoretical models that have viewed movements, by definition, as being oppositional to the state. They also confirm recent critiques of civil society literature that point to the deeply embedded connections between state and

civil society. However, in this instance as in others in the region, it is important to qualify this as a linkage with *local* expressions of the state and not central state actors. These new types of partnerships also help to render traditional state practices more obsolete, as people compare them to more meaningful citizenship experiences at the local level.

This Manichean division between the power of those who disrupt and the power of those who govern (reinforced during these pueblazos) is a political straightjacket for activists who simultaneously constitute a social and a political movement.

While the 1990s were characterized by the NGOization of many 1980s movements, indigenous movements in the region, by contrast, staged massive social protests, challenging structural adjustment policies and modernization and privatization efforts. By the end of the 1990s, the Ecuadorian indigenous movement had become the most powerful in the country—the only one that could truly occupy a leadership role in opposing neoliberal reforms. After years of avoiding electoral politics, the National Confederation of Ecuadorian Indians (CONAIE) created the Pachakutik Party in coalition with other indigenous and non-indigenous allies with the intention to maintain two active movements: the social movement, embodied in CONAIE; and the political movement of Pachakutik. While Pachakutik gained important ground in municipal elections and won some congressional seats, CONAIE continued to utilize the politics

of disruption to protest subsidy cuts, privatization efforts, and ultimately, to oust Mahuad in 2000. Their inability to translate that victory into significant reform and the repression they experienced under Mahuad's successor, Gustavo Noboa, led indigenous activists to ally with Gutiérrez's Sociedad Patriótica, pursuing executive power as the best path to achieving their agenda.

Once Gutiérrez was in power, whether one could govern and be opposition at the same time was no longer a theoretical question. However, the social movement literature did not provide many useful maps, as movements are expected to transition into interest groups or political parties, but not necessarily do both. The break between Gutiérrez and Pachakutik eight months later was a bitter disappointment to indigenous activists. Gutiérrez's instigation of divisions among indigenous leaders also tested the movement. The relationship between some Pachakutik leaders and CONAIE were severed when some Pachakutik members supported the Gutiérrez presidency. Overall, the indigenous movement's association with Gutiérrez hurt its public approval, and came back to haunt it during the subsequent *pueblazo*, as they were seen as complicit in Gutiérrez's web of corruption, cluelessness, and nepotism. Eager to maintain its momentum as an oppositional movement, in recent declarations CONAIE has denounced a number of Pachakutik members as betraying the movement and has announced that it will abstain from the 2006 presidential electoral process. Pachakutik, in turn, is attempting to

consolidate itself after the departure of several members and has now launched Auqui Tituaña as its political candidate for president. Both organizations continue to struggle as they cross uncharted territory, caught between the quest for political power and the fear of being used.

These developments raise a number of questions for social movement theorists in Latin America. While movements in industrialized nations may be able to afford the luxury of abandoning the politics of disruption, this is not an option in countries where power differences are so stark. However, the opposition of the "*pueblo*" against the politicians erases the sites of exchange and cooperation that may in fact be more effective forces of change: linkages between movement activists and local governments, participatory democracy practices at the local level that engender new citizenship practices, watch organizations engaged in the daily grind of holding public officials accountable, and indigenous politicians negotiating with indigenous activists about goals, strategies, and tactics. ■

In the Streets or in the Institutions?

by JEFFREY W. RUBIN | Boston University | jwr@bu.edu

Seeing

Social movements in Brazil have experienced a unique trajectory: they have grown and flourished during a twenty-year period of discernible and highly uneven democratic deepening. As a result, Brazilian activists face ongoing and urgent questions about the location of politics. Since the mid-1980s, many grassroots activists have opted to move from “the streets” to “the institutions,” seeing in elections or policymaking the possibility of advance for issues of equality and inclusion.

As some activists chose a more institutional path, others continued to work in local communities, in religious groups, in transnational protest networks, and in the streets, or to move back and forth or pursue both paths simultaneously. Ongoing engagement with political institutions has meant that many radicals replaced their notion of revolution with one of reform. Generally, they did so with the conviction that reform needed to be significant to justify the bet on the institutions. And most remain radically uncertain about the result of this bet and their own future strategies.

In the course of fieldwork among activists in southern Brazil in 2001-2002, I was repeatedly struck by the sense of achievement of the people with whom I spoke and the vital character of their debates and activities—in participatory budgeting meetings in Porto Alegre, rural women’s mobilizations and MST settlements in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul, and the performance projects of

the Afro Reggae Cultural Group in Rio de Janeiro. In saying this, I do not mean to minimize the difficulties Brazilian social movements have faced or to cover over their many limits and contradictions, which I sought to describe and critically evaluate in my research. Rather, I mean to underscore that Brazil is one of the few places in the world today where activists have seen their work consistently advance, despite harsh repressions and setbacks, over the course of two decades, including the election of a Workers Party president in 2002.

Looking backward, Lula’s electoral victory represents the culmination of twenty years of movement between the streets and the institutions. And indeed this is what democracy hopes and promises—that the animation of social movements will take up residence in institutions and that the quality of ordinary people’s lives will improve through the policymaking that results. However, it is now clear that Lula has not championed significant reform and that PT officials routinely bought votes in Congress and made use of illegal campaign contributions. Furthermore, it appears that PT leaders, despite the innovation they initiated or observed at the level of social movements and municipal government, have little conception of what a *national government* might say or do to exercise power in new ways to further equality and inclusion. Without such imagination, economic orthodoxy and political corruption can appear essential and even legitimate.

What is at stake in Brazil in this context is enormous. As one of the best scenarios for democratically-driven socioeconomic reform in the world today, Brazil puts to the test the claims of those who champion democracy or argue pragmatically for entering the institutions: that democracy can improve people’s lives; that citizenship *within* political institutions fosters inclusion and well-being; and that nation-states can be significant forces for self-government and social justice in today’s globalized world.

What Brazilians active in social movements will do next is unclear. Virtually anyone who supported the PT or hoped it might carry out significant reform feels betrayed. Brazilian activists may continue their two-pronged strategy, innovatively connecting activism within democratic institutions to mobilization outside them, committed by necessity or conviction to a democratic wager. Alternately, the failure of Brazil’s democracy under Lula significantly to transform the lives of the poor may lead activists to look elsewhere and experiment with new forms, such as the very different ones that have developed in Venezuela, the Andes, and Argentina, as well as in transnational protest networks and evangelical churches. My fieldwork revealed that few Brazilian activists—and none of the many with whom I spoke at the grassroots—believe in democracy as a paramount good. Despite their partial embrace of democratic institutions and their awareness that these institutions at times provide protection for organizing, activists remain largely neutral or skeptical regarding the value of

democracy for making headway on issues of social justice.

For those who believe or hope that democratic mechanisms at the national level and within social movements can constitute a viable path to equality and inclusion in Latin America, the choices Brazilian activists make in the face of disillusionment with Lula and the PT—and the choices the President and party themselves make concerning progressive reform—will be of great consequence. If reform in Brazil, including new economic relations with the United States and the IMF, were to lessen inequality, then promises made in the name of democracy and civil society would gain credence internationally. In today's world of real and imagined fundamentalisms, such an outcome would be of considerable benefit.

Not Seeing

In the course of my research on social movements and states in Mexico and Brazil, I have developed the concept of “seeing and not seeing” as a bridge between conventional historical and social scientific approaches, with their emphasis on bounded, coherent actors and interests, and poststructuralism, with its focus on multiple, decentered, and cultural forms of subjecthood and power. “Seeing and not seeing” means acknowledging the existence, force, and cohesiveness of political actors and regimes, while simultaneously recognizing something else at play in them, the mixture of fragments and pieces, with their own histories, out of which subjects are constituted.

The analysis above speaks in terms of discrete, coherent actors, a democratic process with rules that are kept or broken, and the choices that activists make. It seeks to characterize a particular political moment with clarity and urgency. In so doing, it delineates a possible path, a coalescence that comes out of a more varied and complex set of circumstances. What I would like to do in the rest of this essay is present some examples of what becomes visible primarily when we are “not seeing” formal political actors, but rather looking inside and around them. Drawing on the Brazilian social movements I have studied, I will briefly describe the kinds of questions, fragments, exclusions, and possibilities out of which this moment of social movement activism in democracy has been made. I do this because the messiness and incompleteness beneath the surface may prove more central to the future of cultural struggles and material conditions than the political phenomena we more easily perceive and address.

The explosiveness of hidden spaces.

Many policy analysts argue that Lula has appropriately adjusted to the politics of the possible and that democratic change is a slow process, while leftist critics counter that significant reform could have been initiated after the 2002 elections and that social movements need new strategies. In different ways, each looks past the pervasiveness of harm, hunger, and violence in places such as Rio's *favelas* and the rural Northeast and ignores the possibility that these violences will spiral out of control before political strategies bear fruit. The reality of Brazilian *favelas* in a radically divided

society brings continuing anguish to millions of Brazilians, and this will likely continue unabated for the foreseeable future. In the documentary, *News from a Personal War*, Rio's then-Chief of Police Hélio Luz wonders how to keep two million people who earn less than \$100 a month under control and says bluntly, “I practice law enforcement to protect and serve the status quo.” Captain Pimentel of Rio's Special Police Operations Battalion explains the excitement that surrounds this task: “I am in a war. The only difference is that I go home every day.” A “seeing and not seeing” approach would keep everyday political processes and everyday violences simultaneously in view.

The unevenness of citizenship. The notion of more developed and enduring citizenship parallels that of democratic deepening. However, while claims and practices of citizenship are an integral part of Brazilian social movements, my research suggests that such practices are *always* partial and uneven, not because one or another aspect of citizenship has not yet been fully realized, but rather because being a citizen who claims rights—what kind of citizen, which rights?—is just one aspect of the lives that people bring to politics. As a result, it doesn't make sense to talk about pathways to deeper democracy or more participatory citizenship as if greater amounts or deeper qualities will lead to better results. The “thing” itself, citizenship or democracy, is always partial, gendered, constructed, etc. What is interesting and important are the particular ways in which citizenship or democracy in a given place become part

IN THE STREETS OR IN THE INSTITUTIONS? CONTINUED...

of individuals and societies and what this makes possible. Thus, women in the Movement of Rural Women Workers (MMTR) in Rio Grande do Sul may in the same week march against neoliberalism in front of the Governor's Palace, attend a workshop on stress that includes advice on when to drink one's afternoon *chimarrão*, feel keen nostalgia for the early days of unified women's mobilization as they negotiate in predominantly male labor unions, and hope that daughters grow up quickly so they will help around the house. The nostalgias one harbors, the personal needs one brings to public spaces, one's contradictory impulses about transformation—these are always components of citizenship.

The corruptions inherent in democracy. The PT corruption scandal is a reminder that different forms of corruption are constitutive elements of any politics, including democracy, if by corruption we mean a range of practices from favoritism to patronage to cash, along with politics fueled by rumor, fear, vengeance, and varieties of religious faith. Claims to transparency elicit beliefs about conspiracy because democracy is partial and functions to obscure as well as illuminate. The scholarly and political question of any democracy or social movement needs to be, what is its character, its story? What is the mix and balance among everyday practices and formal rules, and what does this changing mix make possible for particular groups of people?

The institutional spaces for ordinary passions. Institutions and social

movements are not only or necessarily places people enter to pursue political goals, foster identities as citizens, or reshape local communities. They are also spaces where people bring angers, gossip, rumor, crime, and the dramas of daily life. The real-life *telenovela* of corruption hearings in the Brazilian Congress, with politicians, bureaucrats, publicists, and their spouses moving from conspiracy to revelation as ordinary citizens sit glued to their TVs, has made clear the role of these cultural motivations and performances in defining Brazilian democracy. The pathways connecting local life to social movements and democratic institutions depend on the ways in which each makes spaces for the less overtly political aspects of people's lives and what happens in these spaces. Even as Participatory Budgeting develops skills of concise argument, for example, it encourages emotion and storytelling, as people use open-comment time at meetings to talk about what is most pressing or engaging in their lives. Women in the MMTR can analyze pensions and plan takeovers of legislative offices, while in role-playing workshops in church basements they find the words out of which discussion and negotiation are crafted in families and tell, often for the first time, stories of pain and loss.

The paradoxes at the heart of social movements and life trajectories. "Seeing and not seeing" means laying out more detail, more ambiguity and complexity, than conventional social science allows. But what then is one to do with all that complexity? How does one craft a compelling analysis or explanation? In my work on the MMTR, I have written

portraits of several women activists, focusing on ways in which each of them "holds paradox." This means, for example, the paradox of seeing all sorts of injustices in one's daily life, but having to continue to live intimately with those injustices, working from before dawn until long after dark to feed and clothe one's family; or the paradox of having moved into a "broader" public space, as president of a rural union, but remaining suffused with nostalgia for the early days of the women's movement and the inspiration it provided. Paradoxes range from the seemingly personal to the explicitly political: the paradox of having the courage to establish a lesbian relationship because of the subjecthood encouraged by the women's movement, but finding that relationship unspeakable within the movement; or the paradox of having "two hearts," one in the streets and one in the institutions, and constantly having to choose between them. These paradoxes in social movement activism reveal particular ways in which history is carried into the present and underscore the tensions that propel activism forward.

Movements-in-democracy. In the countryside where the MMTR has been active, I glimpsed the possibility of a new way of being a social movement in a democracy, of being in the streets *and* in the institutions simultaneously. This means combining, in different forms and moments, *concientización*, inspiration, connection with daily life, creation of innovative political forms, and pressure and threat from the streets—the multifaceted work of social movements—with running health and education departments, gaining political office, and

negotiating and implementing legislation and policy reform—the work of democratic institutions. Most of the women in the MMTR do not believe this combination can be contained within one movement or political vision, and they act to claim the women’s movement for one side or the other. In contrast, some women emerging as leaders, some older leaders who have distanced themselves from the MMTR and pursued other paths of activism, some radical priests, and some scholars speak of what does not yet exist in fleshed-out form: a pluralism within one movement about both the goals and the locations of politics. Social movements in Brazil under Lula act at the edge of this possibility, which may be the most innovative and desirable path for pursuing social justice in a democracy.

Governing-as-movement. Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre has gained international acclaim because of its success in creating new democratic procedures that foster animated discussion about local budgets. The cycle of participatory budgeting and the theory of local participation behind it have been exported globally, by the World Bank, international foundations, NGOs, scholars, and the Prefeitura of Porto Alegre itself. What made Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre flourish as it did, however, was that the PT and urban social movements infused a government program with the spirit and dynamics of a social movement, bringing neighborhood cultures and passions into local meetings, fostering participation through the rootedness of activists in people’s lives; garnering national and

international media and political attention; sparking impatience and anger (and corresponding possibilities of learning and rapprochement) in meetings between community residents and government officials; and reinventing the commitment and carnival of movements within the repetitive agendas of meetings.

Storytelling. I conclude with a question: how can scholars of social movements and politics “see and not see” compelling political forms and bring into our analyses the complexity and messiness that shape politics on the ground? The conventions of storytelling demand and encourage those facets of empirical reality I have described above: hidden spaces, explosiveness, unevenness, corruptions, ordinary passions, and paradox. We might better discern and enact movements-in-democracy and governing-as-movement if we focused our attention consistently on these “other sides” of politics and developed new ways of representing them. ■

Civil Society and State-Building in Latin America

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In this essay we will suggest that significant barriers to deepening democracy in much of Latin America include not just the weakness of civil society vis-à-vis the state, but also the weakness of the state itself vis-à-vis its public administrative, technical, and enforcement functions. This is not a recent phenomenon, though it has become more visible and has probably worsened under the regime of neoliberal state-slashing. Latin American states have often been thought of as “strong states”. But this strength was a combination of hierarchy and authoritarianism, of military might and the capacity to spend large quantities of money. It did not represent the kinds of strength that are relevant in a democracy—the ability to provide routine services efficiently, to provide for the security of citizens, to administer public business, to enforce the law in an appropriate manner, to regulate, collect taxes, respond to emergencies, and so forth. Latin American states were strong on the ability to act irregularly—repressive actions with excessive force, big development projects—but rather weak, with pockets of capacity, on the everyday qualities of stateness. Recent work by O'Donnell and associates on horizontal accountability and the quality of democracy has made the connection between democratization and state (and not just regime), stressing especially the requirement that the actions of state officials be legally bounded¹. But most of the work on civil society participation in Latin America has paid scant attention to the debilitating effect that state weakness has on the prospect of greater social or grassroots control of the state.

Scholars of social movements, civil society, and deliberative or participatory democracy in Latin America have thus far not paid a lot of attention to state-building. Studies of civil society flourished as the wave of authoritarian military regimes that took power in the 1960s and 1970s began to recede. It was (and to a large extent remains) a politically engaged literature, in which scholars of both contemporary and historical movements were consciously trying to build a stronger scaffolding for emerging civil societies. In Brazil, where the transition period lasted the longest, this literature retained a strongly oppositional tone in which “the state,” encompassing everything from authoritarian and/or elitist institutions to a generalized system of social hierarchy and injustice, was opposed by a “civil society” comprising both organizations seeking inclusion and justice and an emergent public sphere of deliberation. During the 1990s, the disappearance of the unifying “enemy” that the authoritarian state had represented seemed to pronounce the end of a cycle of radical mobilization. At the same time, two other phenomena increasingly dominated studies of civil society in Brazil: the growth of a private non-profit or NGO sector and the establishment of a tremendous number of deliberative bodies, mainly at the municipal level, in which representatives of a range of civil society organizations (community groups, NGOs, unions, religious groups, private sector associations) join with representatives of state agencies to discuss problems and make policy recommendations in areas like health, education, child welfare, and the

environment. This council format has been replicated in some instances at state levels, and more recently, at the level of the river basin (through river basin committees, the subject of our current work in the Watermark Project / Projeto Marca d'Água)². At the same time, some municipalities experimented with participatory budgeting as pioneered in Porto Alegre, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, through which community members deliberate over priorities for capital expenditures.³

In general, these new arenas of decision-making and partnership have been studied primarily from the standpoint of civil society organizations. The key issues addressed in this literature are: a) whether civil society can influence policy through these new deliberative bodies; b) whether they can hold states accountable for their actions; c) whether these spaces genuinely represent the constituencies in whose names they speak; d) whether the “politically excluded” are effectively represented by them; and e) how democratic decision-making is within them. There has to our knowledge been very little work on the state side of these participatory processes. Despite the influence in the 1990s of ideas such as Evans' “State-Society Synergy”,⁴ many scholars of civil society and of the public sphere seem to resist breaking down the state-society divide when it comes to the roles actors play in participatory decision-making forums. Leonardo Avritzer's approach to participatory publics and political renovation recognizes that democratization impulse cannot remain insulated at the societal level, but his solution is the proliferation of spaces for

public deliberation.⁵ Civil society should express interests, deliberate, and make decisions, and should leave concern with their implementation to the state. The emphasis remains on either the input side of policy (deliberation, participation) or on the output side (accountability). Neglected in this story is the throughput: Is the state capable of implementing the decisions deliberative bodies make, taking into account both political and technical capacity? Of what do these capacities consist? How widespread are they—that is, are they concentrated in the main population centers or distributed over the national territory?

We believe that answering these questions requires taking two important steps away from the vision of civil society and state as alternative (and mutually exclusive) spheres of activity that has characterized much of the literature in Latin America to date. First, as implied at the beginning of this essay, we must stop taking for granted that if only the political will existed, state institutions have the capacity—managerial, administrative, technical, human—to do their jobs properly. This is not the same question asked by those seeking to privatize state functions, who were concerned mainly with the scope of state action, nor are we entering here into the issue of the contracting out of state services to NGOs or private firms. Instead we are interested in the flow of decisions and their implementation through state agencies. Secondly, we must pay a great deal more attention to the role of state-society networks in pushing policy decisions and implementation through both political and administrative process.

Especially relevant for studies of civil society participation is the role of activists within the state who are committed to the goals espoused by the civil society groups—indeed, who upon coming home from work at the end of the day may even be members of the civil society groups in question.⁶ In a forthcoming book on environmental politics in Brazil, Kathryn Hochstetler and Margaret Keck show that the implementation of environmental policy frequently requires continued coordinated action on the part of activists both inside and outside the state, from lobbying for policy decisions all the way through implementation.⁷ Similarly, the Watermark Project has found that state technical employees must often collaborate with activists outside the state to force agencies that resist coordinating their activities to do so in the ways that socially inclusive and environmentally sustainable water management requires. We suspect that these policy areas are not unique, but unless the black box of bureaucracy is opened up to demonstrate *how* these interactions occur, they remain opaque.

This opacity is a problem. As long as the state is assumed to have the capacity—or the ability to get it—to implement decisions produced by deliberation, then the solution to its frequent failure to do so can only be to increase the pressure, or perhaps eventually to vote out the government in power in the hope that another one will do better. But increasing the pressure without getting results undermines the authority of deliberative institutions and the willingness of participants to continue trying to make them work. In other words, deliberation

and participation in decision-making will only deepen democracy if the decisions that are made can be carried out by the appropriate public agencies, and if upon mandating that those decisions be carried out, public agencies have the enforcement ability to ensure that they are.

The issue of state weakness has gained a lot of attention over the last few years. Many economists who supported the Washington Consensus in the 1990s have come to see the costs of cutting back on the state vis-à-vis its economic activities without simultaneously strengthening its regulatory and fiscal capacity. According to Francis Fukuyama, even famed free market exponent Milton Friedman came to realize that privatization should not have preceded the consolidation of the rule of law.⁸ Capacity-building and institutional strengthening programs roll regularly off the drawing boards of a wide variety of development agencies, often in the form of training programs for state officials. The rule of law—by which economists mean above all secure property rights—has moved to center stage in economic discourse. For students of political institutions, making the rule of law apply universally has come to be seen as a major stumbling block in democratic consolidation. However, to capacitate the state to operate effectively and responsively requires a political process that goes beyond training, planning, and property rights guarantees.⁹

We believe that for this purpose, empirical studies of *the process of* state-society interactions for policy implementation could be very relevant. The focus would be less on “best

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practices” than on the pathways the ideas for them traveled, and the strategic moves of their carriers. New practices often result from active attempts to steer policies through bureaucratic pitfalls, find ways to shift agency agendas, and build bridges between agencies that do not normally collaborate. Proponents identify veto points in the bureaucracy and seek out ways to gain leverage over them. We often expect powerful actors to use informal channels of influence to get policies they care about implemented, but have paid less attention to efforts by the less powerful to do the same. Yet this kind of political entrepreneurship provides a veritable map of the functioning—and dysfunctions—of state administration. By illuminating the dead ends and routes around them, the points in policy implementation where brokerage is necessary to get agencies to collaborate, and other key landmarks along the bureaucratic pathway, such studies provide key insights for democratic state-building. In one of the water committees we are studying, the committee was eventually able to convoke a working group of state employees from environmental agencies and from the Ministério Público to pressure other state agencies to do their job—without which their own activities could not be carried out. Studying these kinds of state-society interactions could provide valuable information for democratic state-builders. In fact, these state-society interactions might be the seeds of building alternative forms of public political organization, or an alternative proposal for stateness.

Civil society has a major stake not only in state-building, but also in the *kind* of state-building that takes place. For that reason, scholars of participatory processes in Latin America should study more carefully the administrative process through which decisions are or are not effectively implemented. As long as the state is understood as a sealed system, it is difficult to imagine what democratic state-building would actually look like. The fierce defense of the necessary distinction between the two spheres reflects the long struggle to establish the “autonomy” of civil society, especially in Latin America—where populist and/or corporatist traditions of state control of social organization are particularly strong. But if democracy is understood as self-government, then the state cannot be a separate “other.” Just as civil society organizations must defend their own autonomy from control by the state or other powerful organizations, they must also defend the state from capture by powerful private interests or political clienteles. From this perspective, it makes no sense to posit a realm of state responsibility from which civic participation and/or oversight should remain absent. Deepening democracy requires not simply the creation of a countervailing sphere of deliberation—but also an active process of making the state public—of rebuilding the state so that it can actually defend public interests.

Endnotes

¹ See Andres Schedler, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999) and Guillermo O'Donnell, Jorge Vargas Cullell, and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta, eds., *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

² This is a multi-year collaborative study that began in 2001, comparing the development of participatory river basin councils (committees and consortia) in 20 river basins in 12 Brazilian states, involving Brazilian and U.S. scholars and activists. See <www.marcadagua.org.br>.

³ Rebecca Abers, *Inventing Local Democracy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000); Leonardo Avritzer, “O Orçamento Participativo: As Experiências de Porto Alegre e Belo Horizonte,” pp. 17-46 In *Sociedade Civil e Espaços Públicos no Brasil*, ed. Evelina Dagnino (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2002); Gianpaulo Baiocchi, *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

⁴ Peter Evans, ed., *State-Society Synergy: Government and Social Capital in Development* (Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, International and Area Studies no. 94, 1997).

⁵ Leonardo Avritzer, *Democracy and the Public Sphere in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

⁶ See Evelina Dagnino, “Sociedade Civil, Espaços Públicos e a Constituição Democrática no Brasil: Limites e Possibilidades,” In Dagnino, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-88, who nonetheless ties this collaboration to the political project of the government in office rather than activists in the regular bureaucracy.

⁷ *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*, forthcoming.

⁸ Francis Fukuyama, “The Imperative of State-Building,” *Journal of Democracy* 15:2 (April 2004): 28.

⁹ On the difficulties of state administrative reform, see the excellent edited collection Ben Ross Schneider and Blanca Heredia, eds., *Reinventing Leviathan: The Politics of Administrative Reform in Developing Countries* (Miami: North South Center Press, 2003). ■

Las nuevas dinámicas feministas en el nuevo milenio

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En el nuevo milenio, los feminismos están viviendo modificaciones en sus dinámicas, estrategias y espacios de intervención, complejizando y diversificando la orientación de sus luchas. Existen nuevos marcos interpretativos para la acción (Jelin 2003), que inciden tanto en el contenido de las agendas como en los espacios de actuación, ampliando los horizontes de transformación de los feminismos.

En relación a los espacios de actuación, dos cambios son significativos y prometedores: el haber recuperado una política cuyo lugar no sea solo el estado, sino la sociedad y la cotidianidad. Y el haber trascendido el espacio propio para conectarlo y disputar contenidos con otras fuerzas y movimientos sociales que se orienta al cambio, abriéndose hacia interacciones y alianzas que amplíen los contenidos del horizonte emancipatorio y avancen en el desarrollo de un contrapoder que confronte y de alternativas a los poderes hegemónicos.

En relación al contenido de las agendas, algunas nuevas dimensiones o nuevos énfasis son la complejización y radicalización del paradigma de derechos humanos, incorporando nuevos derechos frente a nuevos riesgos y nuevas subjetividades. Son estrategias contraculturales que ponen en el centro de la visibilidad feminista la recuperación y ampliación de los derechos económicos, los más devaluados en el período neoliberal, y los derechos sexuales y derechos reproductivos, los más resistidos por los espacios oficiales y los más postergados en el contenido de las agendas feministas de la década anterior.

Al mismo tiempo, se busca incidir en las múltiples dimensiones de las agendas de transformación global. Esto último se expresa en una activa lucha contra el modelo económico neoliberal, con su exacerbado individualismo y consumismo, así como oponiéndose a la militarización creciente impulsada por el gobierno norteamericano. Existe también una preocupación por evidenciar la articulación de raza, clase, género, edad, y orientación sexual como elementos constitutivos de un mismo “núcleo” de dominación. Paralelamente, se busca visibilizar y disputar la ampliación de los marcos interpretativos de otros movimientos, colocando dimensiones que no están claramente incorporadas en las agendas de transformación de otros movimientos sociales. Son los “saberes impertinentes” (Mafia, 2000) para la legitimidad del discurso tradicional, presente también en las fuerzas de cambio.

Una de estas dimensiones es la lucha contra los fundamentalismos, cuyas múltiples expresiones—en nombre de dios, el mercado, la tradición—defienden pensamientos únicos e inmutables como norma para la sociedad y con consecuencias nefastas para las vidas y los cuerpos de las mujeres. Por ello, en esta lucha contra los fundamentalismos, el cuerpo es uno de esos “saberes impertinentes” que amplían los referentes de transformación. El cuerpo se ha transformado en un “campo dotado de ciudadanía” (Ávila, 2000) a través de una serie de experiencias sociales disponibles, que producen múltiples articulaciones. Poniendo la mirada en los impactos que las grandes fuerzas globales producen

sobre el cuerpo, se puede evidenciar este contenido ciudadano que no logra cuajarse en sentido común transformador. Son los derechos del cuerpo los que están en disputa en la lucha por los derechos sexuales y los derechos reproductivos; la lucha contra el SIDA es también una disputa contra las patentes y las transnacionales de medicamentos; el militarismo coloca los cuerpos de las mujeres como botín de guerra de todos los bandos, el racismo es discriminación real y simbólica por el color de la piel, y tiene expresiones perversas en los cuerpos sexuales de las mujeres; el hambre que esta quitando capacidades irre recuperables a los cuerpos de las nuevas generaciones.

El cuerpo, así concebido, recupera la articulación entre lo público y lo privado, confronta el capital y el estado, confronta la instituciones nacionales e internacionales, luchando por ampliar su normatividad democrática, confronta los sentidos comunes tradicionales, alimentando una nueva subjetividad que recupere lo político personal en las estrategias de emancipación. A propósito, la Campaña por una Convención Interamericana de Derechos Sexuales y Derechos Reproductivos es parte de esta estrategia, expresando las nuevas formas de interacción y disputa con los espacios oficiales transnacionales, pues la iniciativa no viene de Naciones Unidas sino de los feminismos organizados y con fuerza argumentativa.

LAS NUEVAS DINÁMICAS FEMINISTAS EN EL NUEVO MILENIO CONTINUED...

El Foro Social Mundial: espacio de disputa en la construcción de contrapoderes

Estas nuevas miradas han encontrado fuerza e impulso en nuevos espacios globales, como el Foro Social Mundial (FSM) que hoy por hoy se ha convertido en un espacio de construcción de articulaciones, saberes y pensamiento global democrático entre movimientos sociales, cuya orientación hacia los feminismos no siempre es de reconocimiento. El FSM alberga una multiplicidad de movimientos cuyo vértice común es la lucha contra las catastróficas consecuencias que el neoliberalismo ha traído en la vida de las gentes. Sin embargo, sobre cómo y desde dónde hacerlo es parte de la diferencia que alberga el Foro, trayendo procesos de disputa adicionales. Si bien la Carta de Principios del FSM deja amplio espacio para el reconocimiento de las diferencias, esto no sucede siempre en la práctica. Una visión unívoca no sólo de los impactos del neoliberalismo sino de las dinámicas del cambio social pueden excluir las luchas de sentido que expresan otras formas subversivas en las que se desarrolla el cambio democrático en lo global.

Para los feminismos, el FSM es un terreno de despliegue de articulaciones pero también de disputa, frente a pensamientos únicos y desbalances de poder. Es claro que para incidir en una nueva mirada democrática, hay que perfilar la visibilidad del propio aporte. Y ésta es también una lucha de reconocimiento. Para que éste tenga espacio, dice Marta Rosenberg, es necesario politizar las

diferencias, celebrando la conciencia de la igualdad, como vehículo de justicia, y proteger la expresión de las diferencias, como acto de libertad (Rosenberg, 2002).

La politización de las diferencias es el mayor acto de libertad en el FSM, en diálogo y en disputa con otros movimientos y redes globales. Los feminismos politizan su presencia en diferentes niveles. La participación activa de redes feministas al interior del Comité Internacional del FSM, cuya presencia numérica es dramáticamente escasa (10 redes feministas regionales y globales en un conjunto de alrededor de 70 otras redes y movimientos sociales que participan en este espacio) pero cuyo impacto al interior de este CI es clara y evidente, construyendo alianzas que permiten impulsar las dimensiones más democráticas que el FSM ha ido alcanzando en su metodología y contenidos. La posibilidad de conexión y “traducción” con otras redes y movimientos sociales, como aporte a la metodología del Foro y como una forma diferente de acercarse a la diversidad es otra de las estrategias. Por ejemplo, el Panel “Diálogo entre movimientos” organizado en los tres últimos FSM—por redes y movimientos feministas de diferentes regiones—hace coincidir a feministas, dalits, sindicalistas, gays, lesbianas y transexuales, e invita a reconocerse en sus diferencias y a construir su comunidad. Es un esfuerzo de recuperar las palabras plurales que alberga más y más el FSM que nos colocan frente al reto de cómo dialogar con las múltiples identidades en conflicto, tanto fuera como dentro de nosotras

mismas, y como fortalecer interacciones democráticas, de redistribución de poderes y de reconocimiento de causas entre las múltiples agendas de transformación social.

Ampliar los marcos de sentido del FSM es una preocupación permanente de los feminismos. Un ejemplo es la disputa por incorporar los fundamentalismos como horizonte de reflexión del FSM, levantando también la exigencia democrática de recuperación del carácter laico de los estados, tanto en los países como en el sistema de Naciones Unidas (exigiendo que el Vaticano sea excluido como país observador, por ejemplo). Si bien como dice Lucy Garrido, un estado laico no resuelve por sí solo el problema de la pobreza, es sin embargo una condición fundamental para la democracia, porque garantiza espacios públicos plurales y diversos, contruidos no sobre verdades reveladas e incuestionables, sino sobre argumentación política. Precisamente, un espacio de confluencia en conexión con el Foro, son los Diálogos Feministas en donde participan muchas de las mujeres que asisten a los FSM.

Diálogos feministas desde la diferencia

Un conjunto de redes, articulaciones y organizaciones feministas asumieron el reto de organizar un espacio de reconocimiento y diálogo entre feministas de todas partes del mundo que confluyen en el espacio del Foro. Una reunión bajo los árboles en el FSM 2003 dio origen a los Diálogos Feministas (DF), en el FSM 2004, en Mumbay, India y, posteriormente, en el FSM 2005 en Porto

Alegre, Brasil. En una reunión de tres días, coincidieron feministas de todo el mundo (180 en Mumbay, 260 en Porto Alegre), muchas de las cuales no habían estado en diálogo frecuente, menos en diálogo feminista global, a pesar de haber tenido conexiones de diferente tipo.

En los Diálogos Feministas se buscó justamente articular los aportes feministas a las orientaciones comunes del Foro—neoliberalismo, militarismo—añadiendo el eje de los fundamentalismos y teniendo el “cuerpo” como énfasis emergente e integrador que alimenta una democracia radical:

“Conscientes, como feministas, que nuestros cuerpos están repletos de significados culturales y sociales, experimentamos también que los cuerpos de las mujeres son sitios claves donde se dan muchas batallas políticas y morales. Es a través del cuerpo de las mujeres que la comunidad, el estado, la familia, las fuerzas fundamentalistas (estatales y no estatales), la religión, el mercado procuran definirse a sí mismos. Estas fuerzas e instituciones, a través de plétora de controles patriarcales, transforman los cuerpos de las mujeres en expresiones de relaciones de poder. Los cuerpos de las mujeres, así, están en el centro de propuestas autoritarias o democráticas”

(Nota Conceptual de los Diálogos Feministas, 2005).

La reflexión que nutrió los Diálogos Feministas reconocía que los dramáticos cambios vividos en las últimas décadas habían trastocado los paradigmas previos con los que se pensaba y actuaba en el

mundo en-desde los movimientos sociales, y que frente a la actual globalización neoliberal, era necesario impulsar el desarrollo concreto y teórico de una globalización alternativa a la existente. En este reto, la distinción entre asuntos locales y globales se desperfilaba, obligando a una “transformación de la mirada” desde una centrada sólo en el estado nación a una imaginación cosmopolita, que no eliminaba sino contenía e iluminaba—desde otros horizontes—lo local. Se generan así dos miradas complementarias, lo que permite disolver la “ficción” que cada una arrastra. Sin embargo, es la mirada cosmopolita la más cercana a la realidad actual, porque abre posibilidades de acción que la mirada nacional, sola y en sí misma, cierra (Beck, 2004).

Esta mirada cosmopolita o de solidaridad global, desde la perspectiva de los movimientos sociales (Waterman, 2004), es fundamental para entender las nuevas dinámicas que va dejando la práctica de los movimientos sociales en su articulación global-local, expresando pluralidad de luchas y contenidos emancipatorios. Beck expresa bien este proceso al decir que los conflictos de género, clase, etnia y homosexualidad tienen su origen en el marco nacional, pero ya hace mucho que no se quedan en él, sino que se solapan e interconectan globalmente.

Los Diálogos Feministas han dejado hasta ahora algunas pistas importantes sobre esta dimensión global-local y sobre las dinámicas que se generan: los feminismos expresan a nivel global diferentes posicionamientos cuya diversidad se

relaciona con las específicas realidades en que se desenvuelven. Los feminismos son plurales, desarrollan múltiples estrategias. Encontrar puntos de articulación y de recuperación de la complejidad de las diferencias es el reto de las agendas feministas globales. Asuntos de justicia económica y redistribución de recursos y oportunidades, luchas por derechos sexuales y derechos reproductivos, lucha contra los crecientes fundamentalismos, son algunas de las constantes que dan sustento a un nuevo horizonte de sentido a nivel global.

En este proceso, los feminismos enfrentan dilemas internos y externos, relacionados con su conflictividad movimientista: recuperación de la autoreflexividad, articulación de la fragmentación, reconocimiento de las nuevas presencias, tensiones y aportes para la complejización de los discursos feministas (jóvenes, negras, indígenas, discapacitadas), peso de la institucionalización feminista, asuntos de poder y competencia en su interior, entre otros factores que tensionan las dinámicas democráticas de los movimientos. Las influencias externas socavan el piso democrático para el despliegue de los intereses de las mujeres incluyendo la influencia de la religión en los estados, crecientes autoritarismos y fundamentalismos, crecimiento de la pobreza y exclusión, aislamiento de las preocupaciones de las mujeres en otras agendas emancipatorias, resistencia al derecho a una sexualidad diversa, crisis de Naciones Unidas, agravada por el poder omnipresente de Estados Unidos, y debilidad de las democracias, entre otras.

LAS NUEVAS DINÁMICAS FEMINISTAS EN EL NUEVO MILENIO CONTINUED...

Frente a todos estos dilemas, los feminismos requieren repensar sus estrategias y afirmar la construcción de alianzas, entre ellos mismos, y con otros movimientos, levantando asuntos de disputa democrática, redefiniendo a los feminismos como parte de un proyecto político contestatario frente a saberes y prácticas excluyentes, inventando nuevas vías de aproximación y posibles reordenamientos interdisciplinarios (Mafia, 2000).

Los DF han significado también un intenso aprendizaje para el grupo que dio el primer impulso, y que ahora se ha ampliado. Aprendizajes metodológicos, políticos, descubrimiento de otras miradas, de otros conocimientos, de otras formas de interrogar la realidad y las mismas estrategias con otros resultados. Enriquece el saber que causas comunes de justicia y libertad no necesariamente tienen las mismas estrategias, ni los mismos resultados. Amplían los límites de lo posible, complejizando las apuestas feministas en lo global, y poniendo nuevamente en cuestión las soluciones universales y los pensamientos únicos.

Una de las evidencias más significativas en todo este proceso es que otro mundo no será posible sin otra economía, y otra economía no será posible sin otra democracia. Otra democracia tampoco será posible sin revoluciones personales, subjetivas, de mujeres y de hombres, sin un reconocimiento activo de nuestra diversidad, y si no buscamos la interseccionalidad como desafío colectivo. Es allí donde las feministas llevamos la disputa por múltiples democratizaciones,

en lo global, en los estados-naciones, en la casa y en la cama.

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Zapatista Movement Networks Respond to Globalization

by XOCHITL LEYVA-SOLANO | CIESAS Sureste, Chiapas, México | xleyvasolano@yahoo.com

Sirva el presente texto para repensar cómo se da la relación dialógica entre los movimientos locales y el fenómeno global. Sobre ello he trabajado en los últimos 10 años desde lo que hemos dado en llamar la *antropología activista* (Hale 2001) tomando como estudio de caso, las redes neo-zapatistas. Lo que trataré de hacer en este breve texto es salirme de los esquemas comunes para poder tener una mirada diferente. Busco ir más allá del estudio del Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) y enfocarme en las alianzas y las convergencias que el zapatismo desarrolló a lo largo de la década que lleva de vida política no-clandestina, o sea, de 1994 a 2004.

Estas alianzas y convergencias políticas no son fijas, ni permanentes, ni racionalmente planeadas. Son contingentes, fluidas y multifacéticas. Se dan de diferente manera, en diferentes momentos y con distintos objetivos. Tienen altos y bajos, tienen en su interior tensiones, rupturas y continuidades. Estas alianzas y convergencias permiten la construcción del (neo)zapatismo como “redes de movimientos sociales” (*social movement networks*). La metáfora de la red en movimiento “nos da la posibilidad de imaginar de una manera más vívida los enredos (*entanglements*) a muchos niveles de los actores de los movimientos con los campos natural-ambiental, político-institucional y cultural discursivo en los cuales están anclados” (Alvarez *et al.*, 1998: pp.15-16). En otras palabras, las “redes de movimientos sociales” “transmiten la complejidad y lo precario de las muchas imbricaciones y ligas entre las organizaciones en movimiento, los participantes-individuales así como con

otros actores de la sociedad civil, (de la sociedad) política y (d)el Estado” (ibid:15).

No he encontrado, pese a buscarlo por una década, concepto más adecuado que el de *social movement networks* para hablar del zapatismo y de lo que se genera en torno a él y se le vuelve concomitante, orgánico, permitiéndole a un movimiento y organización como el EZLN convertirse en lo que nunca se había convertido ninguna organización indígena o campesina de Chiapas o México; es decir, en un espacio de convergencia política transnacional que genera adeptos que se auto-definen como zapatistas lo mismo en Las Cañadas de la selva Lacandona (Chiapas) que en las ciudades de Venecia, Berlín, Londres, o Barcelona, por sólo mencionar algunas.

Sorprende que una identidad como la “zapatista” nacida originalmente en el contexto revolucionario mexicano de principios del siglo XX, se recree y reinvente a finales del mismo siglo y principios del XXI, para dar cabida a una diversidad político-ideológico que puede incluir lo mismo a una anarcosindicalista madrileña de la Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), que a una defensora de los derechos humanos alemana, a un italiano de los centros sociales, a un chileno exiliado en Londres, a una ex solidaria Sandinista, o a una empresaria catalana de la industria del mueble. Todos ellos están tejidos en redes neo-zapatistas que van más allá de ser redes de defensoría transnacionales. Son más que redes cibernéticas, pero sin duda no pueden ser entendidas fuera de la *Era de la Información y de la Sociedad Red* que

Manuel Castells (1998) nos invita a pensar como un nuevo modelo interpretativo social, cultural y económico, como un nuevo modelo social vigente en la nueva fase del desarrollo capitalista.

Contenido de las redes neozapatistas de movimientos sociales

Las diferentes redes socio-políticas que conforman el *neozapatismo* han estado compuestas por miembros de ONGs, de colectivos, académicos, intelectuales, de movimientos de barrios, movimientos urbanos y universitarios, de organizaciones campesinas, indígenas, de maestros y de mujeres. Éstos se han organizado y expresado políticamente a través de coordinadoras, convenciones, talleres, foros, asambleas, consultas, congreso, encuentros y colectivos. Todas estas formas organizativas en diferentes momentos han respaldado las demandas políticas del zapatismo, pero también han contribuido a transformarlas. De ahí que, para fines puramente analíticos, que he dado en hablar de la existencia de redes agraristas neo-zapatistas, de redes democrático-electoralistas, redes indianistas-autonomistas, redes revolucionarias-alternativas, y de las redes de internacionalistas.

No pasaré a describir a detalle todas y cada una de éstas, pero sí puedo decir brevemente, a manera de ejemplo, que lo que llamo la *red o las redes agraristas neozapatistas* estuvieron formadas por nodos de organizaciones campesinas, indígenas y de productores que remitían su génesis a la lucha agraria de los años 70s y 80s en Chiapas. Otros nodos de

ZAPATISTA MOVEMENT NETWORKS RESPOND TO GLOBALIZATION CONTINUED...

la(s) red(es) eran formas asociativas (uniones de ejidos, sociedades de producción rural, etc.) producto de las políticas para el campo echeverristas y salinistas, y otros nodos eran frentes políticos de campesinos y de maestros.

Bajo la perspectiva mencionada, es posible hablar analíticamente, sobre todo a partir de 1995, de la conformación de *redes neo-zapatistas indianistas autonomistas* constituidas por indígenas organizados (en su mayoría fuera del sistema corporativo del partido de Estado o en los márgenes del mismo) en “naciones”, “pueblos”, frentes, “tribus”, “concejos”, uniones, municipalidades, comunidades, coordinadoras, comités y foros. Antes que el EZLN emergiera públicamente en 1994, la mayoría de estas organizaciones ya estaban operando en los ámbitos sectorial, local y regional, pero entre 1996 y 1998 muchas de éstas establecieron alianzas políticas muy fuertes con el EZLN. Dichas alianzas tenían como sustento la demanda de reconocimiento constitucional de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas. Con el tiempo, las mismas cambiaron, se rompieron o se reconstituyeron.

Para darles una idea más detallada de la naturaleza de las redes *neozapatistas* internacionalistas, les comentaré mis intercambios con *zapatistas* europeos. En 1999, en una pequeña ciudad cercana a Barcelona, se celebró el 2do. Encuentro Europeo de Colectivos Zapatistas. Asistí al mismo, en el cual se dieron cita miembros de 21 colectivos zapatistas de 8 países de Europa Central. A este nivel, el *neozapatismo* internacional es prismatico y multifacético, al ser traducidos los ideales

del EZLN a muchas lenguas, ideologías y culturas políticas. Muchos de estos zapatistas europeos logran construir desde sus realidades locales y problemas fundamentales cotidianos una agenda compartida con el EZLN. Esto es posible sin duda por que el neoliberalismo ha permitido construir *gramáticas morales* (Honneth 1996) que sostienen agendas políticas transnacionales. Entre las gramáticas más relevantes que comparten los miembros de las diferentes redes *neozapatistas*, encontré que están aquellas basadas en las denominadas Luchas por el Reconocimiento, y en la defensa de los derechos, fuesen éstos humanos, indígenas, étnicos o de la mujer.

Pero regresemos al Encuentro Europeo Zapatista; los zapatistas del colectivo de Lugano (Suiza) eran obreros, estudiantes y campesinos que luchaban contra transnacionales (como la Coca Cola), y contra el avance del neoliberalismo. Los del colectivo de Sicilia (Italia) trabajaban sobre todo para enfrentar los problemas de inmigración, marginación y pobreza en el sur de su país. Los de Copenhague (Dinamarca) afirmaban que eran parte de la resistencia anti-danesa, y de una organización más amplia de resistencia que incluía desde Chiapas hasta Kurdistán. En Granada (España) la experiencia *neozapatista* se incrustaba en una comuna espiritual que dirige un centro cultural “autónomo” instalado en una casa “ocupada”. En París, el M.A.R se definía como parte de la lucha contra el neoliberalismo, y se ubicaba en el extremo más radical de la izquierda parisina. Otra *neozapatista* de París era colorista en una casa de diseño, a la vez que hija de una emigrante colombiana

trabajadora de intendencia. En Bristol (Inglaterra) “autónomos” de una casa comunitaria alternativa hacían del zapatismo un punto de encuentro con ex-solidarios con Centroamérica y con miembros de un club de fútbol sensibilizados políticamente a través de los problemas del racismo y de la inmigración a Inglaterra. En Madrid los anarcosindicalistas de la Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), libertarios por excelencia, veían en el zapatismo la posibilidad de hacer avanzar la idea de formar un frente internacionalista más amplio y de revitalizar su propia organización.

En Ginebra (Suiza), un miembro del colectivo zapatista se definía como “rebelde, artesano y ocupa” en rechazo al avance del capitalismo en general y, en particular, de la propia forma de vida de su familia adinerada. En un poblado industrial de los valles orientales de Cataluña, un colectivo de apoyo a los indígenas de Chiapas era encabezado por una próspera empresaria de la industria del mueble que encontraba similitudes entre las comunidades en resistencia zapatistas y la resistencia catalana al Estado español de “ocupación”. En el poblado de a lado, los *neozapatistas* venían de una experiencia de solidaridad con Nicaragua y ahora la extendían a Kosovo y a Chiapas. En cambio, en la Toscana (Italia) los *neozapatistas* eran anarquistas, católicos de base en industriales locales.

En las capitales europeas de Barcelona, Londres y Berlín también encontré que los *neozapatistas* se inscribían dentro de las redes de solidaridad tejidas en los años

80s con los movimientos guerrilleros centroamericanos, o desde los 70s con los militantes de izquierda “víctimas” de las dictaduras y los golpes de estado en Sudamérica. Los *neozapatistas* de Estados Unidos y Canadá también provenían de redes de apoyo con Centroamérica, así como de redes anti-TLC organizadas desde antes de 1994. Las redes pro-Centroamérica muchas veces fueron construidas por miembros de las iglesias evangélicas y católica en su versión pro-teología de los pobres y pro-teología de la liberación. Particularmente relevante fue el apoyo que recibió Nicaragua desde Barcelona y Londres. Lo que es más, en Barcelona, Londres y Berlín existían “Casas Latinoamericanas” (cada una con sus nombres particulares) que jugaron un papel central en la formación del movimiento cultural y político de los viejos movimientos solidarios con Centroamérica. Casas que antes que nada eran *locus* de redes socio-políticas y que después de 1994, se reactivaron con “guerras” como las libradas en Chiapas y en Kosovo.

Pero en Londres y Berlín los *neozapatistas* también eran parte de las redes socio-políticas locales tejidas en torno a los chilenos refugiados políticos que dejaron su país después del golpe militar orquestado en 1973 por el dictador Augusto Pinochet. Dichos refugiados en Berlín promovieron la fundación de un centro de análisis y sistematización de información sobre América Latina, centro que en años recientes ha dado albergue a grupos pro-indígenas de Chiapas. Otros chilenos radicados en Londres, a través de periódicos locales escritos en español y boletines distribuidos en clubes y escuelas

de salsa (propiedad de inmigrantes colombianos), hacen circular información sobre el zapatismo que lo redimensiona internacionalmente.

Para concluir

Como hemos visto a lo largo de estas páginas, el zapatismo no puede ser entendido como una simple organización político-militar localizada en Chiapas. Es una red de movimientos sociales donde la transnacionalización de las luchas ha sido posible porque los activistas han *construido marcos cognitivos y gramáticas morales* anti-neoliberales, y en pro de la defensa de los derechos. Estos marcos y gramáticas pueden tener muchos sentidos y matices locales, pero comparten el que resuena globalmente en la actual fase del capitalismo. Sin duda que su dimensión anti-neoliberal es sólo la gran sombrilla que ha cobijado muchas otras luchas (por la tierra, por la autonomía, por los derechos, etc.), y que ahora dan contenido y forma a las redes neozapatistas. Éstas últimas son multifacética y fluídas a pesar de que los analistas se empeñen en encajonarlas en categorías rígidas y las enfoques con viejos esquemas de análisis.

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From the Program Co-chairs

by FRANCES R. APARICIO AND AMALIA PALLARES

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At this writing we are nearing the end of 2005 and, as we get busy with holiday preparations and events, we would like to share more details about LASA2006. We have spent the last couple of months addressing requests for changes in panels and panelists in order to accommodate panelists' travel schedules as well as a few small errors that occurred in the process; thankfully, the program book is almost ready to go into print. We have tried to make sure that as many panelists as possible can attend and participate in the Congress.

The Local Arrangements Committee, headed by Margarita Ostolaza, continues to work on preparing a number of events, including the opening reception on Wednesday evening, the *Gran Baile* (to be held on Friday), and a possible concert with Gilberto Santa Rosa (still tentative).

You may wish to take note of some of the following activities as you plan your Congress schedule. Most of the Section panels have been scheduled for Wednesday, the first day of the meeting. If you are interested in attending any of them, make sure you make travel reservations for Tuesday at the latest. LASA also is celebrating its 40th anniversary and in honor of this birthday, we have scheduled a Wednesday night panel titled *Tumultuous Times: LASA in the 1960s* to celebrate and reflect on the past. Other important events include a performance by Chilean writer and performance artist, Pedro Lemebel, a lecture by Carlos Monsiváis, two special panels marking 20 years of the democratic transition literature, a panel on the relationship between indigenous

peoples and afro-descendants in the region, and a panel of Puerto Rican poets and writers. (A special invitation has been extended to Puerto Rican writer Giannina Braschi). And on Friday night there will be a panel honoring the memory of Argentinian writers Juan José Saer and Saul Yurkievich.

We also want to foreground the panels organized around Puerto Rican Studies. The LASA members who organized these panels worked very hard to ensure a rich and varied set of offerings; we would like to thank them for such a high level of engagement. You may want to use this list as a guide to the Puerto Rican panels:

Military Power and Civil Society:
The Case of Vieques, Puerto Rico:
Part One: Military Power During and
After the Cold War
(*LASA Section Presentations*)
Wednesday 10-11:45 am

Más allá de la "soberanía": escribir
por nadie desde Puerto Rico (cruce de
lo ensayístico y lo teórico) Parte I
(*Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary
Approaches*) Wednesday 12-1:45 pm

The Racial Counterpoint of Cuban-ness
and Puerto Rican-ness: Diaspora Struggles and
Performing Knowledges Part II
(*Race, Racism and Racial Politics*)
Wednesday 12-1:45 pm

The Racial Counterpoint of Cuban-ness
and Puerto Rican-ness: Diaspora Struggles and
Performing Knowledges Part II
(*Race, Racism and Racial Politics*)
Wednesday 2-3:45 pm

Building Bridges among Latino,
Latin American, Chicano, Dominican
and Puerto Rican Studies — Workshop 1
(*LASA Section Presentations*)
Wednesday 2-3:45 pm

Las relaciones internacionales
de Puerto Rico, 1930 al presente
(*Histories and Historiographies*)
Wednesday 2-3:45 pm

Military Power and Civil Society:
The Case of Vieques, Puerto Rico:
Part Two: Struggle and the Environment
(*Social Movements, Civil Society, NGOs and
the Third Sector*) Wednesday 4-5:45 pm

Vieques, Puerto Rico: The Struggle Continues
(*Social Movements, Civil Society, NGOs and
the Third Sector*) Wednesday 6-7:45 pm

Building Bridges among Latino,
Latin American, Chicano, Dominican
and Puerto Rican Studies — Workshop II
(*LASA Section Presentations*)
Wednesday 4-5:45 pm

Puerto Rico's and Puerto Ricans' Cultural
Politics and Politics of Culture
(*LASA Section Presentations*)
Wednesday 6-7:45 pm

Cuba and Puerto Rico in Comparative
Perspective, 19th and 20th Centuries Part I
(*Histories and Historiographies*)
Thursday 8-9:45 am

Cuba and Puerto Rico in Comparative
Perspective, 19th and 20th Centuries Part II
(*Histories and Historiographies*)
Thursday 10-11:45 am

Examining the Puerto Rican experience in
schools: From the diaspora to the Island
(*Education and Educational Policies*)
Thursday, 10-11:45 am

Literary Representations of Puertoricanness:
Island/Mainland Views and Debates
(*Latina/os in the United States*)
Thursday 12-1:45 pm

Colonial Commonalities: Puerto Ricans and
Filipinos in Comparative Perspective
(*Migration and Cross-Border Studies*)
Friday 12-1:45 pm

Identity Formation in Puerto Rico
(*Culture, Politics and Society*)
Saturday, 8-9:45 am

Puerto Rican Politics in the XXI Century:
Elections, Civil Society, Gender and Religion
(*Culture, Politics and Society*)
Thursday, 2-3:45 pm

De Pájaros y Alas: Turismo gay
en Puerto Rico
(*Genders, Sexualities and LGBT Studies*)
Thursday 2-3:45 pm

Lectura de Poesía Puertorriquena (Parte I)
(*Meetings*) Thursday 4-5:45 pm

The Place of Puerto Rico/Puerto Ricans
in Latin American Studies: Perspectives from
the Diaspora (*Plenary Sessions*)
Thursday 4-5:45 pm

Más allá de la “soberanía”:
escribir por nadie desde Puerto Rico
(cruce de lo ensayístico y lo teórico) Parte II
(*Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary
Approaches*) Friday 2-3:45 pm

The Puerto Rican Lettered City on the Move
(*Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary
Approaches*) Friday 4-5:45 pm

Más allá de la “soberanía”:
escribir por nadie desde Puerto Rico
(cruce de lo ensayístico y lo teórico) Parte III
(*Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary
Approaches*) Friday 4-5:45 pm

Lectura de Poesía Puertorriquena (Parte II)
(*Meetings*) Friday 4-5:45 pm

Retando los usos y costumbres de
las sexualidades en Puerto Rico
(*Genders, Sexualities and LGBT Studies*)
Friday 6-7:45 pm

Construcciones y representaciones de la
criminalidad en Puerto Rico: 1875-1925
(*Histories and Historiographies*)
Friday 6-7:45 pm

Luisa Capetillo: A 19th Century Puerto Rican
Revolutionary for the 21st Century
(*Feminist Studies*) Saturday 10-11:45 am

Currents in Boricua Literary Criticism
(*Latina/os in the United States*)
Saturday 2-3:45 pm

Recentrar los márgenes:
El lugar de Puerto Rico en los
estudios latinoamericanos y latinos
(*Plenary Sessions*) Saturday 2-3:45 pm

De vuelta a la posmodernidad: figuras,
fisuras y (des)lindes del “debate posmoderno”
en Puerto Rico
(*Culture, Politics and Society*)
Saturday 4-5:45 pm

Panoramas, sonoramas y letras:
La descomposición de las representaciones
de la puertorriquenidad desde medios
dialogantes
(*Literature and Culture: Interdisciplinary
Approaches*) Saturday 4-5:45 pm

We are looking forward to seeing you in San Juan in March.
Please remember to book your flight and hotel as soon as
possible — it’s high season in Puerto Rico and spaces will
go fast. And for those of you currently experiencing frosty
temperatures (as we are here in Chicago) don’t forget to leave
your coats at home!

Accommodations

Thanks to the efforts of Local Arrangements
Committee Chair Margarita Ostolaza we have
been able to create a list of more affordable
hotels in San Juan. The following hotels are
not working with LASA through a contract, but
they are available for relatively cheaper rates.
(Please note that LASA cannot offer shuttle
transportation between these hotels and the
Caribe Hilton.)

Hotel Iberia
787-392-1976 / 787-723-0200

At Wind Chimes Inn
1-800-946-3244 / 787-727-4153 /
atwindchimesinn.com

El Canario by the Lagoon
787-722-5058

El Canario Inn
787-722-3861

El Canario by the Sea
787-722-8640

Hostería del Mar
(only for students)

The following hotels are under contract and
transportation will be provided between them
and the Caribe Hilton, the main meeting site:

Normandie [about 15 percent of the
meetings are held here, just a three minute
walk from the Caribe Hilton]

Wyndham Condado Plaza

Marriott

Radisson Ambassador Plaza

San Juan Beach Hotel

Child Care

For parents who are considering taking their
children to Puerto Rico, the Caribe Hilton will
offer a children’s camp for kids between the
ages of 4 and 12 years old. However, the camp
will only be offered if there is a minimum of 40
children requesting the camp and staying at the
Caribe Hilton. Please let the LASA staff know if
you are interested in this service as soon as
possible. The camp will be \$45 a day per child
and it will run from 9 am until 5 pm every day.

Bienvenida a los visitantes de LASA

by LCDO. RAFAEL TORRES TORRES | Comité Anfitrión

Por su posición estratégica en el Caribe, Puerto Rico fue considerado por España como llave de las Indias, y codiciada como tal por otras potencias coloniales europeas. Los españoles hicieron de su capital, San Juan, una plaza fuerte y uno de los puntales de la defensa de su imperio en América. La ciudad vieja, todavía murada, conserva los fuertes y bastiones que la hicieron inexpugnable. Con siglos de existencia, la inmensa mole del Castillo de San Felipe del Morro continua enfrenándose al mar como mascarón de proa en la isleta de San Juan en la que esta enclavado.

Las estrechas calles y caletas de la ciudad transpiran historia y guardan importantes estructuras del pasado colonial, algunas de ellas entre las más antiguas de América. Los vestigios góticos de la catedral y la vieja Torre del Homenaje del Palacio de Santa Catalina, residencia ejecutiva en uso más antigua en la geográfica americana, constituyen muestras únicas de la arquitectura medieval europea.

Perdido su valor estratégico desde el punto de vista militar, su particular historia y su situación geográfica han hecho de Puerto Rico un puente entre la América hispana y la del norte. Su identidad de pueblo se forjó al calor de tres influencias étnicas y culturales: la indígena, la española y la africana. Su particular relación política con los Estados Unidos por poco más de un siglo la ha sometido también a una fuerte influencia de origen culturalmente distinto. Por otro lado, la isla respondió históricamente al patrón de la plantación que la hermana con las demás islas caribeñas, incluso con las que fueron en clave de franceses, ingleses, holandeses y daneses.

Esa amalgama cultural y el hecho de seguir estando abierta a una siempre fresca inmigración, sobre todo de gente procedente de la variada geografía americana, le ha dado una particular fisonomía espiritual al puertorriqueño. Es un pueblo hospitalario por naturaleza, con vocación latinoamericana, a pesar de que a veces, erróneamente, se le conciba más anglicado de lo que es realmente. Su lengua sigue siendo la española, en la que ama, canta, y reza y a la que se ha aferrado a pesar de una centuria de fuerte influencia norteamericana.

En su limitada geografía, la menor de las antillas mayores ofrece por otro lado una rica biodiversidad, exacerbada por su variada topografía. Un bosque lluvioso en el norte y un bosque seco en el sur; una maravillosa zona de Karso, con mogotes que parecen senos de mujer y que esconden complicados laberintos subterráneos; un interior montañoso y valles suaves y aterciopelados en la costa. Su vegetación, exuberante como es propio en el trópico, engarza pintorescas poblados coronados por los campanarios de sus iglesias. Sus caseríos, pintados con audaces tonos de rosa, turquesa, amarillos... pintan de color un paisaje que se caracteriza por la riqueza y variedad de sus veredas.

El país posee una rica literatura que se ha proliferado, sobretudo en el cuento y la poesía; y goza de una amplia tradición musical. La plena, la bomba y la danza así como la moderna salsa han sido contribuciones autóctonas al acervo musical universal. Nuestros compositores han adoptado también a la mayoría de los géneros musicales con composiciones que le han dado la vuelta al globo. La isla

cuenta con una valiosa tradición plástica que ahonda sus raíces en nuestro pasado histórico y que se ha abierto a las más variadas influencias del arte actual. Instituciones museológicas como el Museo de Arte de Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte Contemporáneo, y la colección Nacional del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña atesoran lo mejor de la expresión artística del País. Algunas, como el Museo de Arte de Ponce ofrecen también un recuento importante del desarrollo del arte en Europa y América.

La gastronomía, por otro lado, presenta en Puerto Rico influencias de todas partes, pero ofrece también la riqueza sensorial de una rica cocina autóctona. Los restaurantes abundan, tanto los de comida internacional como las típicas fondas que permiten degustar lo que el puertorriqueño come en el seno del hogar.

Por el hecho de su pequeñez y por contar con un excelente sistema de carreteras que llevan hasta el lugar más recóndito, la isla es fácil de visitar y de conocer en poco tiempo. Una ruta panorámica descubre al viajero la belleza de su interior montañoso, desde cuyas cumbres es siempre posible divisar el mar. Cruzar la isla de norte a sur, pasar de un paisaje atlántico a uno caribeño, es descubrir que una cordillera central marca una diferencia ecológica.

Puerto Rico constituye, sin duda, una pequeña caja de sorpresa. La Compañía de Turismo de Puerto Rico ofrece amplia información sobre el país que puede hacer de la visita de los miembros de LASA una experiencia inolvidable. Puerto Rico los acoge con hospitalidad y le brinda lo mejor de su pueblo. ■

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by SANDY KLINZING

It's rare that we pat ourselves on the back excessively, but in this case LASA members and friends deserve a great vote of thanks for their efforts to support LASA Funds! Thanks to you—and to good returns on the LASA Endowment—a portion of Endowment proceeds will benefit LASA2006 travel grantees from Latin America and the Caribbean. Thanks to your generosity as well, \$33,000 was available for grants through the LASA Travel Fund. The Student Fund has grown as well, to \$6167, and will be used to provide partial support to student members presenting their papers in Puerto Rico.

LASA also has two new Life Members! Our thanks to **Norma Chinchilla**, California State University, Long Beach, and **Philip Williams**, University of Florida, for their commitments to Life Memberships. During this season of thanks we are especially grateful to all LASA members and friends who strive to help the Association realize its mission. Thank you!

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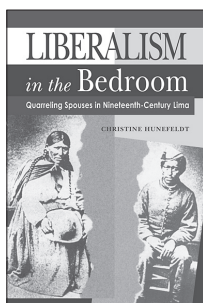
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Finally, a special note of gratitude to **Jack Child** for his contributions to all the above Funds, and to the Martz Fund as well. Thank you Jack!

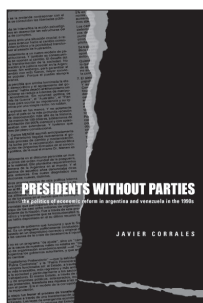
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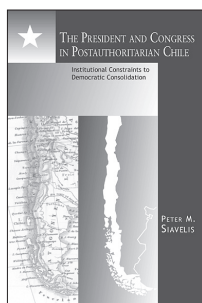
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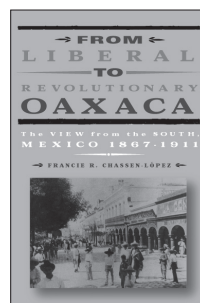
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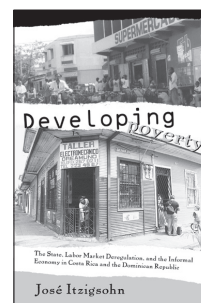
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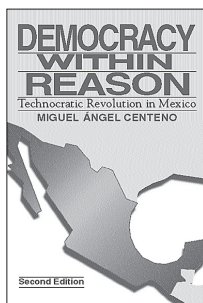
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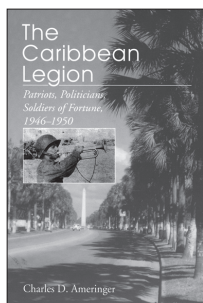
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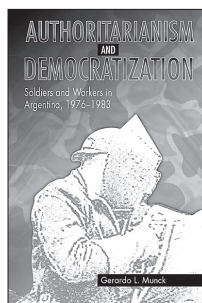
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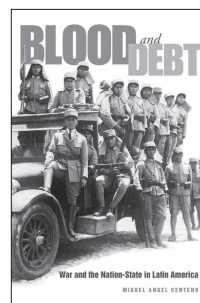
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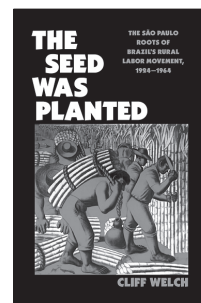
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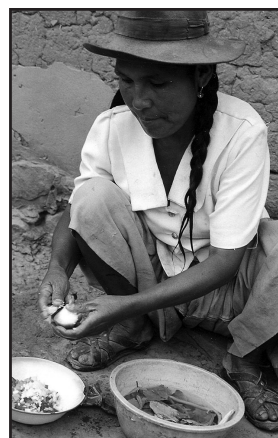


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