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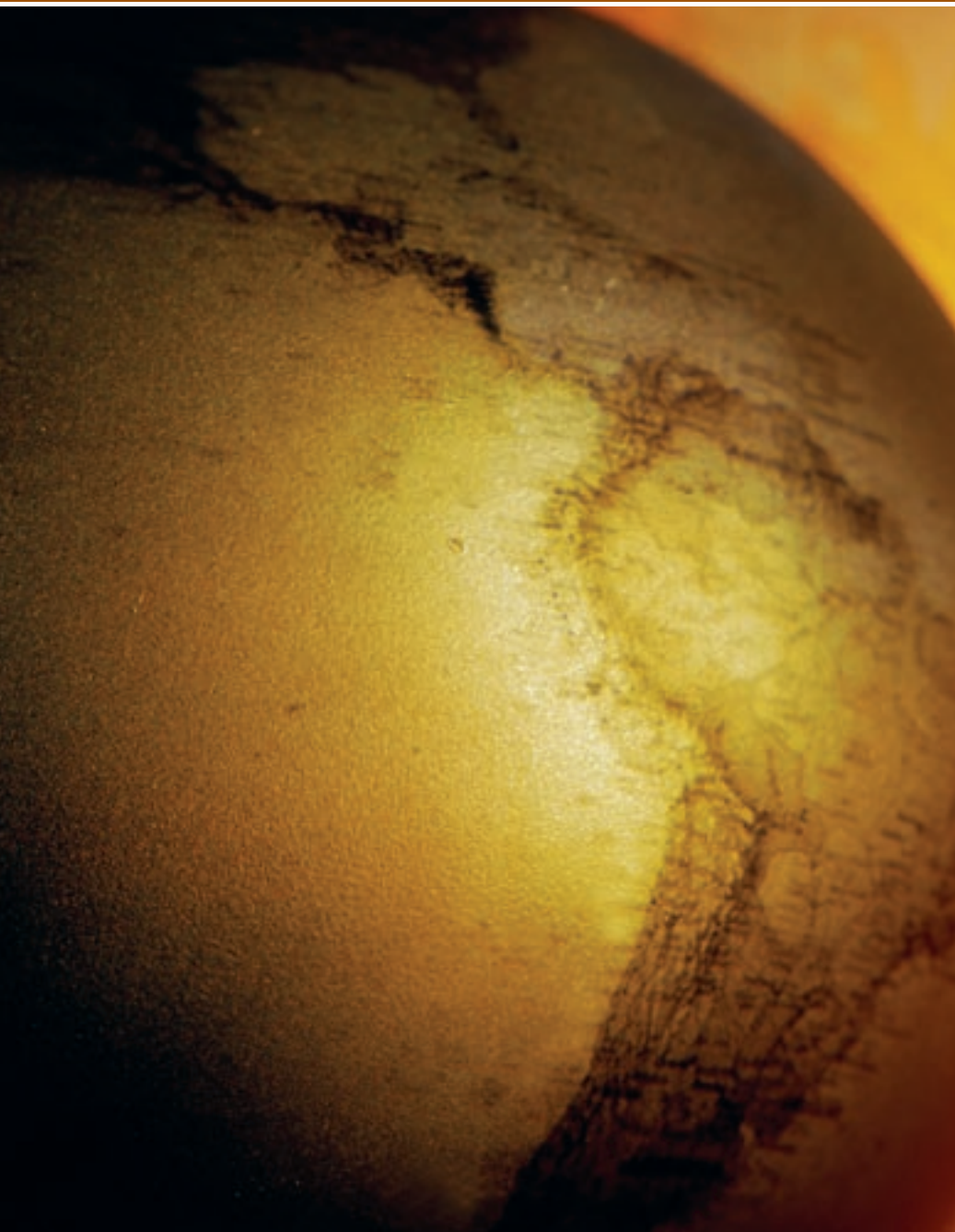


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Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers.

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President's Report

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Preparations for the 2010 LASA Congress, to be held October 2-6 in Toronto, are moving ahead. Program co-chairs Javier Corrales and Nina Gerassi-Navarro report they have received 750 proposals for panels and 724 proposals for individual papers. Track chairs will select the panels and papers to be included in the program early in the spring. They will assign the individual papers they select to new panels, but will not attempt to add any of them to existing panels. Special panels will mark the bicentennial of the Latin American independence movements, the centennial of the Mexican Revolution, and the 40th anniversary of the Canadian Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CALACS). By popular demand, LASA2010 will also feature short registration lines, audio-visual capabilities in every meeting room, and the return of the *Gran Baile*.

After Toronto, LASA will return to the United States to meet in San Francisco on May 23-26, 2012. (San Francisco was the most popular site of all those mentioned by members who responded to the survey sent to participants in the LASA2009 Congress; runners-up included New York, Chicago, and Washington.) LASA's decision to return to the United States was based, in part, on evidence that the U.S. government has resumed the practice of routinely issuing visas to Cuban scholars and scientists seeking to enter the United States to teach at U.S. institutions, carry out research, collaborate with U.S. counterparts, and attend scholarly gatherings. LASA surmised that a return to blanket denials, in contravention of the spirit and intent of U.S. laws, was unlikely any time soon.

When and where we meet in 2013 will depend on whether the LASA Executive Council opts for an annual meeting schedule like most other area studies associations. It will also depend on whether the LASA EC

decides to continue the pattern of holding every third meeting in Latin America. How about spring break in the Caribbean?

In the *On the Profession* section of this issue of *LASA Forum*, we respond to a growing interest among LASA members for information on academic journals published in Latin America. Three of the most distinguished are represented here. The oldest of the three, *Desarrollo Económico*, was founded in 1961 at a time when social science journals were not only scarce, but often persecuted or shut down by military rulers throughout the region. It continues to publish a wide variety of articles and essays that examine problems of economic growth, social equity, and democratic governance.

The *Revista CEPAL*, is equally eclectic—perhaps even more so—and has recently changed its appearance, updated its editorial policies, and added scholars from Asia, Europe, and North America to its editorial board (including myself, I should confess in the interest of full disclosure). This journal, unlike the others, is firmly attached to an international organization, the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), formerly CEPAL in Spanish and Portuguese, before the addition of the Caribbean to its name.

Finally, the *Revista de Ciencia Política (RCP)* has transformed itself in recent years into one of a new breed of academic journals with a decidedly more specialized disciplinary mission than the other two. *RCP*'s aim is to publish work in political science, whatever its regional or topical focus, that contributes to debates that would be familiar to readers of political science journals in the United States or elsewhere.

This issue also contains three important commentaries on the recent coup d'état in Honduras, including an illuminating



interview with historian Darío Euraque, who was summarily fired from his post as director of the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia by the regime that took power when President Manuel Zelaya was sent into exile. Further insight into the coup and its aftermath is provided by the contributions of historian Greg Grandin and Honduran sociologist and activist Leticia Salomón.

What happened seems clear enough. At the last possible moment before the November 29 presidential election, the United States stepped back from its insistence, in concert with the rest of the hemisphere, on the restoration of President Zelaya. This was followed by a declaration of victory by U.S. Senator Jim DeMint (R, South Carolina), who led efforts in Washington to weaken U.S. opposition to the de facto government. Having declared victory, DeMint then lifted the “hold” he had placed (preventing U.S. Senate action) on the nominations of two key officials: Thomas Shannon to be Ambassador to Brazil and Arturo Valenzuela to replace Shannon as Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs. Both were speedily confirmed in the days after DeMint's celebration.

The U.S. retreat may have helped the Obama administration get its Latin American policy team into office, but it did so at some cost. It weakened the Organization of American States when U.S. policy seemed to be aimed at strengthening it. It also undermined the Obama administration's efforts to improve U.S.-Latin America relations, particularly with Brazil. Ambassador Shannon seems to have made his new job more difficult even

Revista de Ciencia Política en el contexto de la “ecología internacional” de las publicaciones académicas

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COATSWORTH *continued...*

before arriving in Brasilia. It will take some time before the damage can be repaired, because most Latin American countries do not accept the November Honduran elections as fully democratic and seem determined not to do business with the newly “elected” president, Porfirio Lobo.

In Honduras itself, it remains to be seen how the new conservative government will respond to the domestic and international crises that confront the country. It would add tragedy to farce if the new government were to opt for repression over negotiation and conciliation. Tragically, it appears that it will not have Washington to contend with if it does so.

Finally, the Honduran case suggests the need for a new kind of “Democratic Charter” in the Americas, one with greater specificity and at least a few teeth. Under what circumstances should *all* the governments of the hemisphere find themselves obliged to withdraw recognition and aid? Should the western hemisphere governments work to establish a new judicial mechanism for making rapid and binding judgments in disputed cases? Is it utopian to imagine a future without coups d’etat in Latin America? ■

En primera instancia creo que es importante destacar que *Revista de Ciencia Política*, de ahora en más “RCP”, no es una publicación de estudios latinoamericanos propiamente tal, sino que simplemente es una revista hecha y pensada en Latinoamérica y Chile en particular. RCP se define como una publicación internacional y arbitrada de ciencia política y no somos necesariamente latinoamericanistas en nuestro objeto de estudio. Si bien la mayoría de los artículos que atañen a estudios comparados, internacionales, o políticas públicas tienden a focalizarse en nuestra región o algunos países de ésta, no es porque se busque expresamente esto sino por la naturaleza de la revista y la cercanía de los colegas que contribuyen en general a la misma.

Asimismo, salvo las contadas excepciones de los volúmenes temáticos, como el “Anuario Político de América Latina”, RCP funciona de la forma más ecléctica que uno pueda imaginarse. Simplemente se van publicando aquellos materiales que pasan el proceso de doble referato ciego (al cual me referiré mas adelante). Habiendo dicho eso, de acuerdo a mi experiencia, efectivamente existe una suerte de filtro informal donde se favorecen aquellos trabajos de corte más empiricistas (positivistas, si se quiere) y menos ensayísticos. Los réferis de RCP tienden a ser bastante reacios a trabajos básicamente de corte descriptivo, o con fuertes componentes normativos (claro está, fuera de las propias discusiones naturales del área de teoría política).

Se podría decir que en el último lustro de vida de RCP, no hemos hecho más que abocarnos en repotenciar RCP como una revista de ciencia política relevante, influyente y significativa no sólo en Chile sino que en América Latina y fuera de ella. Notables esfuerzos hemos puesto en aumentar la visibilidad de RCP no solo en la región, sino que en el norte. Para esto

hemos usado tres estrategias de forma sincronizada: (a) procedimientos, (b) accesibilidad y (c) calidad.

Quizás lo más importante de todo, fue la intransigencia en el referato doblemente ciego y en tiempos razonables, creo que con promedios bastante mejores que otras revistas del norte (a pesar de no tener datos estadísticos comparativos). Si bien RCP está adscrita al Instituto de Ciencia Política de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, esta *no* es el medio de difusión de los colegas del instituto. De hecho, todo lo contrario. Asimismo, no nos casamos con un enfoque en particular de la disciplina, sino que las políticas editoriales de RCP obedecen a criterios amplios y pluralistas, tanto en cuanto a áreas de especialización, como a metodologías utilizadas. Además, intenta cubrir todas las sub-áreas de la disciplina: política comparada, teoría política, relaciones internacionales, análisis formal, estudios regionales, políticas públicas, etc.

RCP tiene digitalizada toda su colección online, de forma abierta, gratuita y pública. Esto fue una decisión explícita y consciente del Comité Editorial de RCP, con el completo apoyo del Instituto de Ciencia Política, su director—anterior Editor de RCP—y del Director Responsable. Así, respecto a la “accesibilidad” podemos hacer una breve reseña: Fuimos invitados a la Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y El Caribe (RedaLyc) en 2004, la Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) en 2005 y, desde el 2007, integramos el prestigioso Social Science Citation Index (SSCI). Todo esto ha involucrado un enorme esfuerzo cotidiano de nuestra parte.

Si bien una mayor circulación tiende estar asociada con una mayor recepción de manuscritos, esto no necesariamente asegura calidad. Me animaría a decir, entonces, que durante un largo tiempo estuvimos en cierta

medida situados en el “peor de los mundos”. Allá por el 2005, 2006, y hasta quizás el 2007, *RCP* ya se había logrado el estatus de ser una revista seria y exigente. Sin embargo, al no estar por ejemplo indexados en el SSCI, los incentivos racionales para los potenciales autores eran realmente marginales. ¿Quién en su sano juicio intenta publicar (“quemar”) algo bueno en una revista no indexada o famosa? Más aun sabiendo que perderá tiempo en revisiones sobre un futuro incierto de su trabajo ya que puede ser rechazado. Muchos malabares fueron requeridos para conseguir materiales originales y buenos para su publicación y sin caer en la endogamia parroquial.

Así, la estrategia fue en una primera instancia buscar materiales que fuesen notablemente interesantes por más que no “levantaran” una cantidad enorme de citas. En este contexto amerita señalar el volumen aniversario del año 2005 donde se releva la disciplina del continente, país por país. En algunos casos, unos artículos ya superan las 15,000 bajadas on-line. Luego efectivamente pasamos a los números con los que se buscaba material interesante, y más que nada “citable”. Así nació la idea del *Anuario Político*, que está dedicado a hacer una revisión y análisis de los aspectos políticos más relevantes y significativos del funcionamiento democrático en cada uno de los países de nuestro continente de una forma sistemática, comparable, y seria. La importancia del *Anuario* va mucho más allá del simple hecho de llenar un espacio inexistente y necesario en América Latina. Los precedentes del 2007, 2008 y 2009 han sido notables, y posiblemente esto se deba a varios factores que se combinan sincrónicamente: ausencia de un material semejante, información juiciosa, datos trabajados, confiables, públicos y gratuitos. Todo esto le permite a toda la comunidad sistematizar, comparar y analizar las

realidades políticas y sociales de nuestro continente.

Permítanme hacer también una reflexión sobre los mayores problemas crónicos que padecemos. Muchísimo de nuestro tiempo lo tenemos que estar dedicando a las idas y venidas desde y hacia las casas editoriales. Más tiempo aun le dedicamos a pelear con ellas, en apurarles el tranco y en el estar renegociando precios constantemente. Ni que hablar de la búsqueda constante de fondos para ayudar a cubrir, por más que sea parcialmente, el quehacer de *RCP*; cual no se limita a la impresión en sí misma, sino que a la edición, diagramación, corrección y distribución de los textos que publicamos. Si bien Chile está en una posición económica relativamente buena en el contexto regional, seguimos siendo un país del tercer mundo en cuanto la inversión en ciencia y tecnología y por supuesto en políticas científicas que obviamente no se limitan, pero indiscutiblemente incluyen publicaciones científicas.

Creemos no pecar de arrogantes si afirmamos que *RCP* se ha posicionado como una de “las” revistas de ciencia política en América Latina. Indiscutiblemente todavía queda mucho camino por recorrer, pero dando una mirada retrospectiva a la historia de *RCP*, no podemos sino que sentir cierta satisfacción que hemos logrado avances substantivos. ■

Desarrollo Económico

Una paleta amplia

por JUAN CARLOS TORRE | Desarrollo Económico | jtorre@utdt.edu

Los enfoques principales

Desarrollo Económico abarca una paleta amplia, no ceñida a una disciplina sino que acoge contribuciones del amplio campo de las ciencias sociales. Si bien surgió como publicación centrada en problemas económicos, como su título lo indica, muy pronto fue rebautizada y agregó a su nombre *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* para albergar en sus páginas trabajos del campo de la historia, la sociología, la demografía, la ciencia política, y la antropología. Cuando surgió, no había—o había pocas—revistas en el área de las Ciencias Sociales. En esas circunstancias, *Desarrollo Económico* jugó un papel para compensar esas carencias y adquirió desde muy temprano un carácter multidisciplinario. Esta amplitud temática original se ha mantenido aun cuando la situación en el terreno de las publicaciones académicas, afortunadamente, se ha ido modificando.

Además de suministrar un marco para las publicaciones en ciencias sociales ha servido también para registrar a lo largo del tiempo la sucesión de enfoques que van pautando el desenvolvimiento de nuestro campo.

Como órgano de expresión de una comunidad académica plural, la revista ha estado abierta a los cambios en las perspectivas conceptuales y en las áreas temáticas, como se desprende de la lectura de los 195 números publicados desde 1961. La única restricción que ha guiado las decisiones editoriales de la revista ha sido la promoción y la defensa de estándares de rigor académico. Estos esfuerzos han sido recompensados porque nuestra publicación goza de un sólido prestigio. El contenido de sus artículos, en el formato de *abstracts* o resúmenes, se encuentra en los principales bancos de datos que llevan el registro bibliográfico en ciencias sociales.

Desarrollo en la “ecología internacional”

Además de sus propósitos estrictamente académicos, la revista está animada por una voluntad de intervención cultural, como querían sus fundadores. En ese momento se trataba de situar en el centro de la reflexión la problemática del desarrollo y la modernización en sintonía con el clima de ideas de la época, los años 60. Hoy, sobre el telón de fondo de otras circunstancias locales e internacionales, el foco de nuestras preocupaciones gira alrededor de dos tópicos principales. Primero, los desafíos que plantea un mundo económico más globalizado al logro de los objetivos de crecimiento y equidad. Segundo, las demandas que suscitan la creación de instituciones que aseguren el gobierno y la participación ciudadana en un orden político democrático. Con estas inquietudes, la revista ha promovido la presentación de trabajos y la traducción de artículos con vistas a estimular el conocimiento y la discusión sobre la base de argumentos sólidos y empíricamente fundados. Se trata pues de una revista que aspira a desenvolverse en dos planos: el de las disciplinas de las ciencias sociales y el de los debates culturales de nuestro tiempo.

Estrategias de visibilidad

La revista se publica cada tres meses. Al ritmo de los tiempos, su visibilidad global—tanto en el Norte como en el Sur—está ligada al espacio virtual del IDES <www.ides.org.ar>, donde es posible acceder a los resúmenes en español e inglés de los artículos publicados. Existe además un convenio con JSTOR para la digitalización y puesta en línea de la colección completa. Por otro lado, la revista llega a instituciones—universidades, bibliotecas y

publicaciones afines del exterior—por medio de suscripciones y canje. Se distribuye así en más de cincuenta países, básicamente de Estados Unidos y Europa. ■

Revista CEPAL

Una nueva etapa

por OSVALDO SUNKEL, ANDRÉ HOFMAN Y MIGUEL TORRES | Revista CEPAL

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Principales enfoques temáticos y metodológicos

Una de las primeras decisiones de la nueva Secretaría Ejecutiva de la CEPAL, Sra. Alicia Bárcena, tras asumir su cargo en julio de 2008, fue la de renovar la principal publicación académica de esta casa: *Revista CEPAL*. Con el número 97 de esta publicación, de abril de 2009, *Revista CEPAL* inició una nueva etapa que incluyó la creación de un consejo editorial, la ampliación de su línea editorial y un renovado diseño de portada y página Web, atendiendo a la necesidad de reflejar los cambiantes escenarios y tecnologías de la realidad contemporánea, que se caracteriza por una acumulación generalizada de sucesivas transformaciones socioeconómicas, institucionales, políticas, ambientales, científico-tecnológicas, culturales y conceptuales, que configuran un verdadero cambio de época.

Conforme a ello, y con las nuevas realidades emergentes, la *Revista* seguirá ampliando su horizonte temático del desarrollo económico y social para abordar las principales tendencias contemporáneas del saber científico y tecnológico, incluyendo una amplia y profunda revisión crítica de los paradigmas dominantes de la economía y la política económica, así como para lograr una mayor cobertura y tratamiento adecuados de temas como la sustentabilidad ambiental, la gobernabilidad democrática, la incorporación de nuevos actores relevantes en la economía mundial, la agudización de las crisis económico-financieras globales, atendiendo también a las importantes dimensiones de género, juventud y etnia y del ordenamiento territorial.

Por otra parte, se procurará estimular en especial la publicación de artículos sobre países y regiones de América Latina y el Caribe que no han estado suficientemente

representados, como es el caso del Caribe, América Central y la región andina, y por autores de las nacionalidades correspondientes.

Revista CEPAL en la “ecología internacional” de publicaciones académicas

En sus tres décadas de existencia y la publicación de casi un centenar de números, *Revista CEPAL* ha mantenido una línea editorial coherente con el mandato principal de la CEPAL: la búsqueda permanente de un mejor conocimiento, comprensión, análisis y formulación de propuestas de políticas públicas tendientes al desarrollo integral de América Latina y el Caribe, combinando excelencia académica con una mirada crítica y comparada de la realidad económica y social.

Se ha tratado permanentemente de pensar y repensar el desarrollo desde la región y para la región, en el contexto de la evolución de la economía mundial. *Revista CEPAL* ha colaborado de este modo, por una parte, a la difusión permanente de las más diversas visiones y enfoques del desarrollo de la región, y por la otra, ha reflejado sistemáticamente las principales conceptualizaciones generadas en la CEPAL. Desde las formulaciones estructuralistas basadas en la visión Centro-Periferia del desarrollo propuestas originalmente por Raúl Prebisch y sus principales colaboradores, hasta ideas fuerza más recientes, enmarcadas en la reformulación neoestructuralista, como las de transformación productiva con equidad, cohesión social y ciudadanía y el enfoque de derechos.

La publicación ininterrumpida de la *Revista* durante los últimos treinta y dos años, en español e inglés, constituye así una invaluable colección de 99 números, con

cerca de un millar de artículos, sobre el proceso de desarrollo económico y social de la región, y sobre la evolución del pensamiento latinoamericano sobre la problemática del desarrollo.

Estrategias de visibilidad en Norte y Sur

Con una trayectoria de tres décadas de publicación ininterrumpida, en español e inglés, y con una amplia cobertura via internet desde los años 90, *Revista CEPAL* se ha constituido en un eficaz y ampliamente difundido medio de comunicación académica para cientos de profesionales de las ciencias sociales de América Latina, el Caribe y demás regiones del mundo. Una prueba palpable de ello es el elevado número de “downloads” registrados recientemente: durante 2009 estas bajadas ascienden a 340.000.

El eficaz trabajo editorial realizado en estos años y el constante mejoramiento de la calidad de sus artículos han permitido lograr que la versión en inglés—*CEPAL Review*—haya sido indizada en el *Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI)* de Thomson ISI y en el *Journal of Economic Literature (JEL)*, perteneciente a la American Economic Association, lo que constituye un importante aliciente para el mundo académico interesado en la problemática del desarrollo.

Por otra parte, el Consejo Editorial recién creado está integrado, entre otros, por destacados especialistas en desarrollo de Norteamérica, Europa y Asia, cuya misión incluye la difusión de la *Revista CEPAL* en esos ámbitos y la obtención de contribuciones para ser publicadas en la *Revista*. ■

Crisis in Honduras

Golpe de estado, clase política y proceso electoral

por LETICIA SALOMÓN

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El domingo 29 de noviembre se realizaron elecciones generales en Honduras, las octavas elecciones desde que se inició la transición a la democracia en 1981. Desde 1981 se han alternado en el ejercicio de la presidencia de la república los dos partidos tradicionales de Honduras, el Partido Liberal y el Partido Nacional, el primero con cinco presidentes y el segundo con dos, al cual se suma el presidente electo de las elecciones más extrañas, anormales y contradictorias que ha vivido el país en toda su historia.

Un solo ejemplo basta para comprender lo expresado anteriormente: El presidente de facto, que encabezó el golpe de estado del 28 de junio, y que ordenó una intensa represión y emitió decretos violatorios de los derechos fundamentales, acudía a ejercer el sufragio en su ciudad natal con una fuerte cobertura de prensa e intensas medidas de seguridad, proclamando su compromiso con la paz y la democracia. Mientras tanto, el presidente constitucional de la república, electo por mayoría de votos en las elecciones de 2005, víctima del golpe de estado y reconocido internacionalmente como el presidente legítimo, se encontraba refugiado en la embajada de Brasil, fuertemente custodiado por militares y policías, y sin posibilidades de ejercer su derecho al sufragio.

Para complementar el cuadro anterior, mientras el gobierno de facto proclamaba su convicción “democrática” y declaraba que ésas serían las elecciones más transparentes de la historia, militares y policías ocupaban el territorio nacional, allanaban residencias y oficinas, perseguían a dirigentes y militantes

de la resistencia al golpe de estado, reprimían la manifestación pacífica de San Pedro Sula, en el norte del país, y amenazaban las concentraciones de manifestantes que se producían en otros lugares. Anunciaban con fuerza intimidatoria que se esperaban atentados terroristas para lo cual se prepararon con maquinaria, equipo, municiones, bombas de gas y todo lo que se les ocurrió financiar con el presupuesto que le adjudicó para tal fin el gobierno de facto.

Al caer la noche y luego de cinco horas de silencio del máximo organismo electoral del país y de múltiples esfuerzos asociados a intensas negociaciones políticas por hacer coincidir los resultados electorales oficiales con el anuncio previo sobre la “impresionante afluencia de votantes” que habían vaticinado desde horas tempranas los medios de comunicación golpistas, se produjo el anuncio oficial de que el candidato ganador fue el candidato del opositor Partido Nacional, cosa que no extrañó a nadie porque esa era la tendencia. Se hizo el señalamiento de que la diferencia de votos del candidato ganador con respecto al candidato oficialista era de menos del 20%, cosa que sorprendió mucho porque todas las tendencias anunciaban un porcentaje superior al 30%. Finalmente, a pesar a la constatación física de la escasa participación electoral, se produjo el anuncio de que la participación ciudadana en las elecciones generales fue superior al 61%, cuando la misma empresa contratada por el Tribunal Supremo Electoral señaló un poco más del 47% y la resistencia nacional contra el golpe de estado no reconocía más del 30%.

El fenómeno más sorprendente en la historia del golpe de estado es, sin duda alguna, la agrupación de sectores sociales diversos, pluralistas y pacíficos en lo que se denominó “Resistencia nacional contra el golpe de

Estado”, quienes lograron consolidar una movilización social más allá de la adscripción política, que provocó una presencia social de gran trascendencia y culminó con una asombrosa presencia política en las elecciones del 29 de noviembre, superando con el abstencionismo el caudal de votos de todos los candidatos presidenciales. Esa misma resistencia salió a las calles a celebrar el triunfo del abstencionismo, ondeando banderas de Honduras y del Partido Liberal y enseñando, entre orgullosos y desafiantes, su dedo meñique para demostrar que no lo mancharon con la participación el día de las elecciones.

Hechos, supuestos, posicionamiento

Para comprender lo que ocurrió el 29 de noviembre en Honduras, es preciso destacar algunos elementos clave que permitirán insertar lo ocurrido en un marco analítico más amplio, el cual se detalla a continuación:

En noviembre de 2005 la ciudadanía hondureña escogió al candidato del Partido Liberal de ese entonces, José Manuel Zelaya Rosales, para que ejerciera la presidencia de la república por cuatro años que se contarían del 27 de enero de 2006 al 27 de enero de 2010. El golpe de Estado del 28 de junio de 2009 constituyó una burla al derecho ciudadano expresado en las urnas, lo cual se expresa en los siguientes hechos:

- En Honduras, ninguna institución del estado tiene atribución constitucional para destituir a un presidente de la república, lo cual incluye al Congreso Nacional.
- Ninguna instancia del sistema de justicia tiene atribución de ordenar la captura de un presidente de la república y menos de declararlo culpable sin haber iniciado un

juicio en su contra y sin haberle garantizado su derecho a la presunción de inocencia y a la legítima defensa.

- Ninguna institución del estado tiene facultades para expulsar a un hondureño del territorio nacional, como hicieron las Fuerzas Armadas el 28 de junio, y tampoco tienen potestad de negarle la entrada, como hizo el presidente de facto, el Fiscal General de la República, la Corte Suprema de Justicia, las Fuerzas Armadas y la Policía, en los dos intentos de ingresar al país que hizo el presidente constitucional.

La sociedad hondureña se encuentra en un estado de indefensión, totalmente expuesta ante la falta de protección por parte de las instituciones estatales, lo cual incluye al Poder Judicial y a las dos instituciones llamadas expresamente a defender los intereses de la sociedad, como el Ministerio Público y el Comisionado Nacional de los Derechos Humanos, fuertemente involucradas en el golpe de estado del 28 de junio. El hecho de no tener una instancia estatal a la cual acudir cuando se producen atentados a los derechos fundamentales, hace que la ciudadanía acuda a los organismos civiles de defensa de los derechos humanos, los cuales se han integrado en una plataforma para enfrentar con mayor eficiencia la creciente demanda ciudadana de protección y defensa.

Por eso la ciudadanía se encuentra expuesta a la presión de dos instituciones de control social como los medios de comunicación y las iglesias, que se han encargado de uniformar el discurso, manipular conciencias, convencer a la sociedad de que no hubo golpe de estado y repetir constantemente el mensaje de paz y democracia que corresponde a una visión ideologizada de la vida cotidiana.

Causas, debilidades y deformaciones

Es importante incorporar algunas características de la institucionalidad y de la cultura política hondureña que nos permitirán comprender con mayor precisión lo que ocurre en la actualidad, destacando algunos aspectos clave que existen y persisten en el país:

Un estado de derecho frágil. A pesar de los millones que la cooperación internacional ha invertido en la reforma del sistema de justicia, sigue existiendo un Fiscal General que ordena a los fiscales cuáles casos deberán atenderse y cuáles no, para no incomodar a las autoridades del país o de su partido; un magistrado de la Corte Suprema de Justicia que emite órdenes de captura, después de que condena a un sospechoso; un policía que asume que su institución tiene el poder para decidir, que los procedimientos legales pueden obviarse y que se puede aplicar la fuerza a cualquier ciudadano por presumir que puede transgredir la ley; y un militar que cumple órdenes ilegales para atacar a la ciudadanía y rechaza otras argumentando que son ilegales.

Instituciones democráticas débiles. Las instituciones estatales están muy expuestas a los intereses políticos y empresariales, deformadas como instituciones partidizadas y con una actuación al margen de los intereses nacionales. Estas son las instituciones subordinadas al Congreso Nacional, en particular a su Junta Directiva, que se alinearon rápidamente para producir y sostener el golpe de estado.

Una cultura política autoritaria. Todavía persiste en nuestro país una cultura irrespetuosa, intolerante, vertical y excluyente, pues aún no se consolida una cultura política democrática que destaque valores como pluralismo, tolerancia, respeto a la diversidad, solidaridad, a los cuales son

ajenos los dirigentes de partidos políticos, los empresarios, los líderes religiosos, los periodistas y tantos otros que tanto daño le hacen al país al aferrarse a valores propios de una época ya superada en el país.

Una clase política cínica, manipuladora, calculadora y cómplice. Es una clase política que acusa al presidente Zelaya de atentar contra la Constitución cuando sus integrantes, liberales y nacionalistas, la han violado una y otra vez, sin inmutarse siquiera. Prueba de ello son el presidente de facto (Roberto Micheletti) y el presidente electo (Porfirio Lobo), quienes presentaron sus candidaturas a la presidencia existiendo una prohibición legal para hacerlo en su momento, por su condición de presidentes de un poder del estado; el candidato perdedor del partido Liberal (Elvin Santos), quien lanzó su candidatura teniendo una prohibición legal por su condición de vicepresidente de la República; un ex presidente (Ricardo Maduro), quien lanzó su candidatura y resultó electo presidente sin haber nacido en el territorio hondureño; otro ex presidente que resultó ganador sin haber sido el candidato más votado y, finalmente, el presidente de facto que acusa a Zelaya de querer reelegirse a través de una Asamblea Nacional Constituyente y el mismo promovió la idea en el Congreso en los años 80, para asegurar el continuismo de otro presidente.

Torpeza política y empresarial para analizar lo que pasa en el país y el mundo. En los últimos meses se pudo observar un partido político (el Liberal) que apoya un golpe de estado a un presidente de su partido, a cinco meses de las elecciones generales y pretendía salir victorioso; un candidato del opositor partido (el Nacional), hoy presidente electo, que cree que lo ocurrido en el país es un asunto del Partido Liberal que no le incumbe a él, que prefiere proclamarse neutral y que cree que con un

SALOMÓN *continued...*

llamamiento al diálogo va a ganarse el apoyo de la resistencia; políticos y empresarios que alteraron el clima de tranquilidad que se vivía en el país y hoy viven prisioneros de sus casas, sus negocios y sus guardias de seguridad; además, que con sus acciones abrieron las puertas a la inestabilidad política del país e hicieron que los militares recuperaran su viejo papel arbitral.

Escasa habilidad militar para analizar y mucha habilidad para aprovechar las circunstancias. Militares que argumentaron no estar obligados a obedecer órdenes ilegales y acataron otras órdenes ilegales de reprimir a la ciudadanía que ejercía el derecho constitucional a rechazar a un gobierno ilegal. Aprovecharon la crisis y el miedo de los golpistas para aumentar su presupuesto, adquirir armas, equipos y municiones y quedaron preparados para la guerra contra la ciudadanía.

Proceso electoral, resultados y perspectivas

Los resultados de las elecciones del 29 de noviembre colocaron políticamente a un actor ineludible en el escenario nacional, como es la ciudadanía en resistencia al golpe de estado, la cual creció en conciencia de su potencialidad y se convertirá en la principal fuerza opositora del próximo gobierno, destacándose en ella el liderazgo del presidente Zelaya, para demandar de nuevo la Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, castigo a los golpistas y violadores de los derechos humanos y tratarán de neutralizar los miedos del presidente electo a los militares, a los empresarios y los líderes de las iglesias católicas y evangélicas. Todo ello se realizará en un clima político y social ensombrecido por la incertidumbre sobre el tiempo real que durará en la presidencia y, lo que es peor: tratando de controlar, neutralizar y denunciar las concesiones que

estará dispuesto a otorgar a todos los sectores golpistas, para que no le den a él un nuevo golpe de estado. Todo lo anterior se producirá en un clima de amenazante presencia militar y policial, líderes religiosos con fuerte injerencia política, empresarios con poder de veto y medios de comunicación al servicio de quien les pague. Solo la ciudadanía en resistencia nos puede dar esperanza de la creación de un clima de auténtica democracia. ■

Honduras, Obama and the Region's New Right

by GREG GRANDIN
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Uncanny similarities link the current Honduran crisis with the conflicts that rocked Central America in the 1970s and 1980s. Then, Jimmy Carter entered the White House as cascading crises threatened to cripple Washington's global authority. With the exception of Cuba and the Panama Canal, Latin America was not high on his agenda. His real concerns were in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, and, eventually, Afghanistan. But insurgencies in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua forced him to focus on Central America. Now, another transitional president, Barack Obama, is entrusted with salvaging U.S. power after a period of economic and military overreach. And like what happened on Carter's watch, Central America has erupted as an unexpected distraction from a broad foreign-policy program only minimally concerned with the Western Hemisphere.

Then, conservative intellectuals such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, who would go on to serve as Ronald Reagan's ambassador to the UN, leveraged the Central American crisis to paint Carter as soft on Communism, rightly pointing out an obvious contradiction in his diplomatic philosophy. Carter said he wanted to deal with third-world nationalists on their own terms, not through the distortions of the cold war. Yet he still assumed it was Washington's right and responsibility to contain them. Carter thus legitimated the underlying premise of the cold war even as his confused policies allowed opponents to depict him as a ditherer, a Hamlet president. Obama is caught in the same trap. He promises to respect multilateralism, but he won Florida

by identifying “anti-Americanism across the region” as a problem that the United States needed to confront. So when supporters of the Honduran coup, inside and outside the country, made their case by pointing to Hugo Chávez, who could argue?

Thirty years ago, an emerging new right, based and financed largely in the United States but pan-American in its reach and vision, used Central America to build its institutional network, focus its critique, and lay the groundwork for Ronald Reagan’s patronage of the Nicaraguan Contras and Salvadoran and Guatemalan death squads. The signature episode of that patronage, the Iran-Contra affair, was more than a conspiracy; it was the coming-out of a coalescing coalition of first-generation neoconservatives, religious right activists, law-and-order anticommunists, free-marketeers, soldier-of-fortune mercenaries and Latin American oligarchs. This formidable social movement dabbled in Taiwan, Afghanistan and Israel, but Central America gave it its most extensive opportunity to remilitarize U.S. diplomacy—a campaign that used Honduras as its staging ground.

Today a new transnational coalition is shaping up behind the current crisis. This one includes Iran-Contra alums like Otto Reich, who in the 1980s ran what the U.S. Senate described as a covert domestic disinformation operation to dilute opposition to Reagan’s illegal Central American wars, and disaffected Venezuelans like Robert Carmona Borjas, who for about a year prior to the Honduran coup worked with Reich to mount a media campaign to destabilize Zelaya’s government.¹ These two are united in common purpose with corporate lawyer Lanny Davis, hired by Honduran businessmen to lobby Washington on behalf of the coup. Davis, a close supporter of Hillary Clinton and former

lobbyist for Pervez Musharraf’s 1999 coup in Pakistan, may have simply taken the job for the presumably sizable fee. His politics, however, broadly align with the neoliberal wing of the Democratic Party, which has close ties to those Latin American politicians displaced by the return of the regional left.

Honduras has galvanized Florida’s waning right-wing Latino community, expanded now beyond aging Cubans to include anti-Chávez Venezuelans. Republicans, such as South Carolina senator Jim DeMint, have used Honduras to harass Obama, blocking the confirmations of Thomas Shannon as ambassador to Brazil and Arturo Valenzuela as Assistant Secretary of State for Western Hemisphere Affairs. On the ground, among the many placards found at tea-party rallies are images linking Obama to Zelaya, and from there, to Chávez and Castro. And a survey of conservative blogs, both in the United States and Latin America, confirms the importance of Honduras in crystallizing and reconciling a number of half-formed ideas and fears, transforming Obama’s mild reformism into wild-eyed populism.

Within Honduras, Zelaya had taken a number of steps that stirred up familiar cold-war constituencies—the military, economic elites, evangelicals, and the Opus-Dei wing of the Catholic Church—and some new ones, like the biofuel sector, international mining interests, and energy companies. He raised the minimum wage, refused to criminalize the morning-after pill, promoted sex education in public school, apologized for a program of “social cleansing” that took place in the 1990s, which included the execution of street children, and resisted privatizing Hondutel, the state telecommunications company. He joined Petrocaribe, allied with Copán’s progressive bishop, Luis Santos Villeda, to limit open-pit mining, and worked with another environmentalist priest, Andrés Tamayo, to slow biofuel-induced

deforestation (Honduras has lost over a third of its forest cover since 1990).² This would be a provocative agenda for any country, but it was especially so for one of the poorest and most unequal in the hemisphere.

Those who overthrew Zelaya hoped to present themselves to the world as middle-class moderns, defenders of the constitution against the advances of retrograde populism. Yet they really are just cold-war gothic. Fernando “Billy” Joya, a former member of Honduras’s infamous Battalion 316, a paramilitary unit responsible for the deaths of hundreds in the 1980s, now serves as the new regime’s “security adviser.” Military chief General Romeo Vásquez Velásquez, twice a School-of-the-Americas graduate, implicated in presiding over an international car-theft ring, ran the recent sham presidential election as if it were his own private lottery.

As for the de facto president Roberto Micheletti, the *New Yorker* recently compared him to Dick Cheney, with less self-control. He falsely accuses Zelaya of trying to change the constitution to do away with term limits, yet in 1985, it was Micheletti who tried to do exactly that, to keep an ally in power. He supported the Contra War, and more recently led the fight to privatize Hondutel and ban the morning-after pill. Joining this cast of characters are, according to a UN working group on mercenaries, 160 foreign paramilitaries, forty from Colombia, who “have been contracted to support the government of Roberto Micheletti” and defend the interests of sugar and African palm planters.³

It would be comforting to think of Honduras as the new right’s Eighteenth *Brumaire*, at least when it comes to Latin America. Reich conjures up yesteryear’s glories to justify today’s battles, writing that Obama should turn Honduras into his

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Grenada, Reagan's 1983 invasion of which, he says, led directly to the toppling of the Berlin Wall.⁴ DeMint mimes Jessie Helms, who in his day held up foreign-policy appointments to ensure that movement conservatives ran Latin America policy. Thus far, there is no conservative intellectual with the weight of Kirkpatrick to skewer the platitudes of Obama's new multilateralists. In Honduras, Billy Joya justifies the coup by invoking his admiration for Chile's Augusto Pinochet, seconded by Pinochet's daughter Lucía, who praised Micheletti for continuing her father's legacy.

If the new right of the 1970s and 1980s was tragic in what it wrought in Central America, this crew seems farcical—except that it has succeeded in shaping Obama's position toward the Honduran coup. After months of mixed messages and missed opportunities to work with the Organization of American States, which would have signaled its seriousness about returning to multilateralism, Washington brokered a dishonest deal that the rest of the world interpreted as meaning the restoration of Zelaya but the right immediately knew was a turnaround. "The Obama Administration has finally reversed its misguided Honduran policy," said DeMint, who released his hold on Shannon and Valenzuela, and "will recognize the outcome of the Honduran elections regardless of whether Manuel Zelaya is reinstated."⁵

Obama's Honduran capitulation indexes a broader hawkish foreign policy turn, including acceptance of expanding Israeli settlements in the West Bank, thousands more troops to Afghanistan, an extension of military bases in Colombia, a renewed commitment to Plan Mérida in Mexico, and unexpected criticism of Brazil for hosting Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.⁶ Perhaps this turn is explained by the fact that the U.S. presidency is, as historian Garry

Wills argues, held hostage to the National Security State (and, I would add, captive to a sclerotic political system that forces politicians, unable to achieve even minimal domestic reform, to focus on foreign enemies in order to win at the polls).⁷ Whatever the case, it puts him at odds with most of Latin American and world opinion.

There is one crucial difference between Central America then and now. In the 1980s, the region's wars paved the way for the consolidation of the Washington Consensus, which tempered the new right's militarism with a moral vision of the market as a site of human fulfillment and national development. Today, in contrast, Honduras is but one of many instances of the ongoing unraveling of that "consensus."

Even if Washington convinces allies to recognize the elections—so far, these include Peru, Panama, Costa Rica, Israel and Canada—and even if the new Honduran president consolidates power, the legitimacy of both will be brittle. Washington's unilateralism has alienated it from important Latin American allies, particularly Brazil. "The United States will become isolated — that is very bad for the United States and its relationship with Latin America," Brazil's foreign policy adviser, Marco Aurélio Garcia, complained of Washington's decision to recognize the November vote.

In Honduras, the coup government has met persistent, creative and truly democratic opposition with steady repression. Over twenty Zelaya supporters have been executed.⁸ Many others have received death threats. The opposition press has been harassed and shut down, thousands arrested, many beaten, tortured, and raped, and there has been a spike in violent killings of women and LGBT activists.⁹ During the election, the military sent tens of thousands of soldiers onto the street and threatened to jail anyone

participating in a boycott of the vote (over fifty local and national-level candidates removed their names from the ballot), which took place under a state of emergency.¹⁰ The *New Yorker* rightly calls this "state terror," hardly auspicious conditions for an election meant to restore consensus. In fact, what the coup leaders seem to be angling for—and the United States is apparently willing to accept—might be called the Haiti option: in Haiti, the "restoration of democracy" has entailed the systematic exclusion of deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide's supporters from the electoral process.¹¹

Micheletti's crackdown reveals more than his particular desperation. It suggests the larger dilemma of Latin American conservatives, like Peru's Mario Vargas Llosa and his son Álvaro Vargas Llosa, who have tried to represent themselves as having rejected the authoritarianism of the region's old cold-war right. But in Honduras, as in most countries where populism has won electoral success, there is no social base to create something along the lines of, say, Europe's new conservatism. Clinging to a discredited free-market economic model, their political program is based nearly exclusively on "anti-Chavismo" and on maintaining their own considerable privileges. In countries as poor and stratified as Honduras, that means reliance on increasing doses of violence to maintain order and a resurrection of the same military nationalism that powered anticommunism. Needless to say, the coup's exemplary effect on the region, particularly in Guatemala, El Salvador, and Paraguay—and possibly Bolivia and Ecuador if Evo Morales and Rafael Correa, now popular, stumble—will be poisonous.

Honduras may very well be the "first reversal in the drive to spread '21st Century Socialism' in the region," as Otto Reich, recently wrote. Yet that reversal—which

may continue through the region's upcoming electoral cycle—comes at the cost of revealing the lie that there is a progressive alternative to the contemporary Latin American left.

Endnotes

¹ William Finnegan, in *The New Yorker*, identifies a September 2008 threat Reich made to Zelaya—not for turning against the United States (Zelaya continued to cooperate with U.S. drug interdiction efforts, for example) but for joining the Venezuela-sponsored Petrocaribe—as kicking off the campaign to overthrow him: “if President Zelaya wants to be an ally of our enemies, let him think about what might be the consequences of his actions and words.” “An Old Fashioned Coup,” November 30, 2009.

² “Honduran bishop wins president’s support in fight to halt mining permits,” Catholic News Service, August 4, 2006, <http://www.catholic.org/international/international_story.php?id=20800>.

³ “Use of mercenaries in Honduras on the Rise, U.N. Group Says,” CNN, October 10, 2009 <<http://www.cnn.com/2009/WORLD/americas/10/09/honduras.mercenaries>>; “Les Ofrecen Ser Mercenarios Al Servicio De Supuestos Empresarios Enlistan Ex AUC Para Ir A Honduras,” September 13, 2009, *El Tiempo* <<http://www.eltiempo.com/archivo/documento/MAM-3621653>>. According to Bertha Oliva, president of the respected and besieged Honduran human-rights organization, Comité de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos en Honduras, it was Billy Joya who contracted the Colombian paramilitaries. See Oliva’s interview here: <<http://www.box.net/shared/talsfmcqjr>>. See also Jeremy Scahill, *Blackwater: The Rise of the World’s Most Powerful Mercenary Army* (New York: Nation Books, 2007), pp. 206–207, for the use of a former CIA Contra base at Lepaterique, Honduras to train Latin American mercenaries by a corporate private security firm for service in Iraq.

⁴ “Honduras is an Opportunity,” *Foreign Policy*, October 27, 2009.

⁵ “In wake of Honduras agreement, DeMint releases hold on Obama nominees,” *The Hill*, November 5, 2009 <<http://thehill.com/homenews/senate/66621-in-wake-of-honduras-agreement-demint-releases-hold-on-obama-nominees>>; See also the very conservative Mary Anastasia O’Grady’s “Hillary’s Honduran Exit Strategy,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 1, 2009, which immediately got right what the rest of the world’s press got wrong: that the agreement brokered between Manuel Zelaya and Roberto Micheletti was a U.S. betrayal of Zelaya.

⁶ “Obama Writes to Brazil about Iran,” *New York Times*, November 25, 2009.

⁷ “Entangled Giant,” *New York Review of Books*, October 8, 2009.

⁸ Most recently Gradiš Espinal, a retired teacher and coordinator of the National Front against the Coup <<http://ellibertador.hn/Nacional/3519.html>>.

⁹ Tacuazina Morales, “Más feminicidio y violencia contra las mujeres tras el golpe,” November 18, 2009, ALAI, América Latina en Movimiento <<http://www.alainet.org/active/344928&lang=es>>; “Condenan asesinato de activista LGBT en Honduras,” October 21, 2009, *El Centro por la Justicia y el Derecho Internacional* <<http://www.un-mundo.org/externo/?w=http://www.cejil.org/comunicados.cfm?id=949>>.

¹⁰ “15,269 centros de votación listos para recibir las urnas,” *La Tribuna*, November 20, 2009; “Militares y policías patrullan las calles para garantizar la seguridad,” *La Tribuna*, November 24, 2009.

¹¹ Aristide Party Barred from Haiti’s February Ballot,” November 25, 2009, <<http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE5AP03K20091126>>. ■

An Interview with Darío Euraque

by JOHN SOLURI

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Darío Euraque is Professor of History and International Studies at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. From 2006 to August 2009 he served as Director of the Honduran Institute of Anthropology and History (IHAH). He was fired from his position following the June 28 coup. Professor Euraque was interviewed by John Soluri on November 16, 2009.

Soluri: Why did you decide to take on a job not typical for an academic working in the United States and what was your vision for the IHAH?

Euraque: In February 2006 Dr. Rodolfo Pastor Fasquelle, Minister of Culture under the then newly-elected President José Manuel Zelaya Rosales, called me to ask if I would be interested in being director of the Institute. I was intrigued. Pastor Fasquelle is a historian with a Ph.D. from the Colegio de México. We have been colleagues, and friends as well. When he was Minister of Culture for the first time, from 1994 to 1998, he had asked me to evaluate the Institute’s research program in history. So when he asked me to direct the Institute in 2006, and agreed to grant me autonomy, I sensed an opportunity to put into practice a number of policy recommendations that had been neglected for ten years.

Soluri: Would you briefly describe the scope of the Institute?

Euraque: The Institute is an autonomous agency of the Honduran State created in 1952. It has its own budget; it generates its own funds, primarily from receipts of visitors to the eight museums, archaeological parks,

SOLURI *continued...*

and Spanish fortresses. It has a Board that includes the Ministries of Education, Public Works, Finance, Culture, and Tourism; the Board is presided over by the Minister of Culture. Three members are not government-appointed: the presidents of the National University, the Academy of Geography and History, and the National Chamber of Tourism. The Institute has about 150 employees. Many people see it as the government agency charged with the conservation, restoration, and promotion of the cultural heritage of the country.

Soluri: Could you talk about the policy changes you implemented as Director?

Euraque: Getting back to why I took this on, in 2004 I published a book entitled *Conversaciones históricas con el mestizaje y su identidad nacional de Honduras*. I had intended for the essays in the book to provoke discussion about Honduran national identity and what I feel are misunderstandings of the relationship between race, culture and national identity. The Institute was a place where I could put the implications of that book into policy. One of these had to do with the role of archaeology in Honduran national identity. In one of the essays, I argue that the focus on the ancient Maya as the primary source of Honduran identity is problematic. The Mayans in Honduras were a tiny minority in the ancient period and certainly in the colonial period. Copán, which is where the ancient Maya world of Honduras was located, is about ten kilometers from the Guatemalan border—the vast amount of the physical territory [of Honduras] has nothing to do with the Maya.

In fact, Honduran territory is a fountain of diversity in ancient ethnic history. But if you look at ideas about Honduran national identity, those that were articulated in the twentieth century by government officials,

by the tourism industry, via parks, museums, and educational curricula, they all say that we are descended from the Maya. That is flat wrong. As Director of the Institute, I wanted to challenge those ideas. I did not wish to neglect the Maya, but to present a broader diversity of the ancient people of Honduras as well as the survivors today. The other very important part of the vision had to do with emphasizing the Afro-descendant population of the Caribbean coast, including but not limited to the Garífuna. So I was interested in promoting research and designing museums that would present a broader variety of African and native populations.

I also wanted to promote greater professionalization in our Institute, to have it be staffed not by members of any particular party, but by professional anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians. Another part of the vision was to establish closer relationships with academic institutions in the United States, Europe and Japan that would be supportive of our new policies. We signed many diplomatic and academic agreements. We also sought to diversify our publication series and compliment the emphasis on archaeology with an emphasis on history, literature and music.

Soluri: In our earlier conversations, you mentioned that as Director you also tried to involve non-experts in the Institute's projects.

Euraque: We wanted to link our policies and projects, to the extent possible, to what we perceived to be the broader vision of President Zelaya. There would be a greater emphasis on citizen participation. That meant that when we were going to design a new archaeological park or a new museum we didn't just contract with archeologists and museum people and say, "Here is our vision, give us some options." We organized workshops with Honduran citizens, not only

to seek their input as to what they thought should be in the parks and visitor centers, but also so that in the process ordinary Hondurans would gain a greater consciousness of their cultural heritage. Whether or not they provided ideas that would eventually be incorporated, they would meet others from the different communities. And that was very new; most museums in Honduras had been designed via a top-down process. In this way we wanted to connect with the overall emphasis that I, and others, think that President Zelaya was trying to have with respect to government policy in general.

Soluri: Turning now to the coup: you have talked about the "coups within the coup," things that have happened within ministries and below the radar screens of the mass media

Euraque: Ever since 2006 when I arrived there were different institutions and different personalities both inside and outside the state who were not happy with the vision that I have summarized. They were unhappy because they thought that I wasn't paying attention to Copán—after all that is where most of the tourists go and the largest single source of the Institute's revenue. There were others who were not happy with the fact that I was a historian or suggested that national identity is historical, as opposed to a continuum of an ancient past that is to be found in the material remains of archaeology. There was a lot of anxiety among foreign archaeologists, I think the majority, because they weren't used to a director who was a historian familiar with the academic world in the United States. Another sector that was uneasy was the tourist industry. On the one hand they liked having broader options for tourists to visit, but they were so secure in Copán, and as many business-oriented folks tend to be, they looked mostly at the short term. I was looking at the mid to long term,

because creating new parks doesn't happen overnight.

So, getting back to the coup within a coup, I think that those forces—and they have names—when the coup took place and President Zelaya was kidnapped and put on a plane and flown to Costa Rica, and my Minister [of Culture] was removed, those forces that had been “lying low” took advantage of the crisis to challenge me.

Soluri: In other words, they may not have been totally thrilled with your policies before the coup but with Zelaya in power they had to act cautiously?

Euraque: Of course they would never do that with President Zelaya in power. Once he was gone, things quickly moved in another direction. In fact, the new Minister of Culture convened a secret meeting of the Board on September 1 of this year, from which I was excluded. They charged me with a whole series of misdeeds including that I had neglected Copán. The income levels at Copán had declined. Of course they didn't say that it was the result of the recession that had begun at the end in 2008 as well as the coup itself. I was never given an opportunity to contest those charges. In the end anxiety and apprehension won out. If our vision been successful, it would have employed more people by creating new opportunities for tourism, but that isn't the mission of the Institute. The mission of the Institute is to promote the cultural heritage of the country, even if no tourists come to Honduras.

Soluri: Would you say that this de-centering of Copán and the ancient Mayans raised questions and brought forth actors who were not central in established views on Honduran national identity, including Afro-Hondurans?

Euraque: That is it exactly. See, the archaeological world, particularly as practiced in Mesoamérica, excludes the African diaspora. The idea that there is an archaeology of the African diaspora is almost unknown in Honduras. So, for example when we organized a symposium in Omoa at a Spanish fort built by African slaves, we wanted to make the African diaspora a central theme, meaning that we had to change the tourism literature in order to tell visitors that they would be seeing the African history of Honduras. When you say that to people who do not see themselves as having an African heritage they are put on edge. In a very profound way that is what we were all about: we were trying to give history a prominent, serious, epistemological role in Honduran national identity. We were trying not only to change that conception; we were actually mobilizing people through workshops and citizen participation. People who were either uncomfortable or just outright against that took advantage of the coup.

There were others who were trying to promote innovative policies in energy, agriculture, and taxation, who, in promoting different conceptual approaches as well as specific policies, challenged established constituencies. Once President Zelaya was removed, these middle people were vulnerable. That is the issue that is not talked about in the media, especially outside of Honduras, the way in which a coup of this kind, which was different from other coups, but a coup nonetheless, involves a “cleansing” of alternative policy orientations by dismissing people, intimidating people, forcing people to reorient themselves and if not, firing them. That is why I say that it was a coup within a coup.

Soluri: Given the political situation, how do you see the immediate future of the Institute?

Euraque: Well, the Institute is peculiar compared to other state agencies because it depends to a much greater degree than most on international financing. The Honduran state does not give much money to culture; it is not seen as relevant to development or to poverty. But now there is little money from outside. I would hate to be the director of the Institute for 2010 or 2011, since the resources they would have to work with would be minimal. We were supposed to start the budget planning process in July or August, but how are you going to plan your budget in the middle of a coup, particularly when a significant percentage of your budget is dependent on international bodies that don't recognize the new regime?

Soluri: Do you have any hope that the policies you implemented might have lasting effects in spite of the coup? That some of the people who participated in IHAH projects have different sense of Honduran national identity?

Euraque: I think that outside the Institute we mobilized a lot of people in workshops, in seminars, and in the context of the resistance that grew up around the coup. Many of those people, perhaps thousands (maybe I am being optimistic, but I don't think I am), will see that the consciousness-raising associated with the cultural heritage issue was connected to our policies. Insofar as they can maintain that mobilization, I am optimistic. Within the Institute I am not very optimistic; in fact, I am very pessimistic that there may be an effort to dismantle the Institute and make it a directorship of the Ministry of Culture or the Ministry of Tourism. After all, why not just have a directorship of culture and tourism, in which research is simply oriented toward supporting tourism? I think that there are forces in favor of that. ■

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_____ \$ 725 Commercial / University Press
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_____ \$ 400 Full page (7.5" w x 10.5" h)
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Cancellations

If an exhibitor is forced to withdraw from participation by July 1 2010, all sums paid by the exhibitor less a \$250 service fee will be refunded. No refunds will be issued after July 1, 2010. Cancellations are not effective until received in writing by LASA. No refund will be made if an exhibitor fails to occupy the space. No refund on late or no arrival materials.

Payment

A minimum deposit of 50% of the total booth rental fee is required. Booths will not be assigned without the 50% deposit. Failure to remit payment for the booth rental by June 1, 2010 constitutes cancellation of the contract, and the space will be subject to resale without refund.

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LASA Book Exhibit
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LASA2009 Survey Report

by MILAGROS PEREYRA-ROJAS, Executive Director

In 2009, in accordance with the recommendations of LASA members who participated in a survey following LASA2007, participants in LASA2009 were polled about their assessments of the Congress in Rio de Janeiro. This time the survey was greatly expanded from five to twenty-eight questions. Of the 5,833 LASA2009 registrants contacted, 1,648 responded. This represents an overall survey response rate of 28 percent, a significant increase from the 18 percent rate in 2007. In particular, the number of non-U.S. Congress registrants surveyed increased from 2,279 in 2007 to 3,192 in 2009. This significant growth in the number of non-U.S. registrants—one of the rationales for holding Congresses outside the United States—reveals a marked increase of activity and interest in the affairs of the Association.

The survey focused on four sections: demographics, LASA2009, future Congresses, and membership. This year many of the themes gathered from the past survey's open-ended questions were incorporated into the expanded closed questions, to make sure to include members' concerns and greatly aiding in the analysis.

This year the survey allowed respondents to indicate satisfaction with many specific aspects of the Congress, such as panels, receptions, film festival, etc., separately. Although overall satisfaction dipped slightly from LASA2007 from 87 percent to 79 percent, improvements made in specific categories should boost the level of satisfaction in the future. The drop in satisfaction undoubtedly reflects the difficulties of having a Congress for the first time in South America and outside the traditional and convenient hotel venues. This more specific feedback will better serve the LASA2010 planners. The feedback gained from the section focused on future

Congresses will also assist greatly in the planning process.

The open-ended question requesting comments regarding LASA2009 Congress produced 762 unique comments from 629 respondents. Excluding a large number of positive comments, the suggestions fell into three primary areas similar to the 2007 survey: logistics, papers/panels, and cost.

Logistical concerns included registration lines, communication and Internet connectivity, facility location and transportation, scheduling, and size. Respondents expressed their concern with unusual long registration lines, problems with the use of Internet in the conference location, inconvenient scheduling, and the difficulty of networking and socializing due to the huge size of the Congress. Paper comments focused on the need for increased quality and selectivity of session papers, while panel comments focused on the large number of absent panelists or cancelled panels.

Cost was another area of concern; comments included suggestions that LASA discount or waive student fees, increase and streamline grants, and try to make Congresses less expensive to come to. The survey indicates that the total expense to attend the Congress for a majority of participants was between one and two thousand dollars. Sixty-three percent of respondents received partial or full reimbursement from a variety of sources, most notably university funds and LASA travel grants.

Finally, many respondents requested that the Gran Baile and book exhibition return to future Congresses. (Both have been included in the Toronto plans.)

This expanded survey provided important feedback, both positive and negative, that will prove crucial to future Congress preparations and successes. All respondents should know that their comments have been heard and that LASA officers will use this feedback to continue what is working and improve what is not. The most immediate effect has been the decision, pending successful negotiations, to hold LASA2012 in San Francisco, following members' preferences.

Thank you to the many participants who took time out of their busy schedules to take part in this survey. Your contributions have helped immensely.

[LASA deeply appreciates the role of Ryan Lincoln of the University of Pittsburgh in this project. Ryan analyzed the considerable amount of data from the survey and contributed to the writing of this report.] ■

The Mellon-LASA Seminar Series Workshop Awards

by ERIC HERSHBERG | American University, Selection Committee Chair | hershber@american.edu

The first of three Mellon-LASA Seminar series workshop competitions elicited an impressive response from the membership. Forty-five eligible proposals were submitted in response to the call circulated following the Rio Congress, seeking one of three grants to be awarded during this cycle of the competition, which will be repeated after each of the next two LASA Congresses. The applications revealed a wealth of innovative research being carried out in ways that reflect the priorities of the Mellon-LASA program: in addition to a number of projects that explore comparisons and connections between Latin America and other world regions, we received proposals that engage cutting edge trends in discipline-driven scholarship and that envision incorporation of non-Latin Americanists into studies of phenomena that affect the region.

A preliminary review of the submissions yielded a short list of nine projects that were debated by the full selection committee. This process narrowed the pool to four consensus finalists, discussions of which generated a final list of three awardees and one alternate. A summary of these projects follows, and we look forward with enthusiasm to hearing about the results of their efforts at LASA panels that will be convened during the October 2010 meeting in Toronto.

Grant recipients include:

“Subnational Democratization: Latin America, Russia and India in Comparative Perspective,” organized by Jacqueline Behrend, post-doctoral fellow, CONICET, Argentina

Drawing on methodological and theoretical perspectives that combine multiple traditions in the social sciences, and on empirical studies of subnational politics across several world regions, this initiative will strengthen an incipient network of researchers analyzing subnational democratization as a key yet under-theorized component of broader processes of political change underway across much of the developing world. Participants are carrying out research that is shaping our understanding of federalism, clientelism and center-periphery interactions. An April 2010 conference in Buenos Aires will generate a series of papers that, following revision and presentation in Toronto, will be submitted for publication by the new year.

“Can Latin America Escape from the Middle-Income Trap? Policy Lessons from a Transregional Comparison,” organized by Eva Paus, Department of Economics, Mount Holyoke College

Economists agree that a pervasive challenge facing developing countries is how to move economic activities up the value chain so as to enhance opportunities for prosperity in increasingly competitive and globalized markets. Few countries manage to overcome the barriers to success, and identifying paths toward more knowledge-based development is a priority for both scholarly and practical constituencies. This project brings together experts on Chile, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Singapore, Ireland and Jordan to explore strategies for economic diversification and

upgrading in countries that lack the size-based advantages of other late developers in Latin America, Asia and Europe. A workshop at Mount Holyoke in early 2010 will be followed by presentation of results at the LASA Congress in October and at a conference in Costa Rica in early 2011. A book manuscript will be prepared subsequently.

“Bridging Conservation and Development in Latin America and Africa: Changing Contexts, Changing Strategies,” organized by Marianne Schmink, Department of Anthropology and Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida

Latin America and Africa share rich natural resource endowments, frequently weak governmental institutions and growing exposure to international markets. How best to draw on ecological resources without undermining environmental sustainability or community needs is a common challenge, about which scholars and practitioners in both regions have begun to articulate innovative solutions. This project will convene a January 2010 conference at the University of Florida at which experts from both regions will exchange information about empirical trends and elaborate common methodological frameworks for analyzing the intersections between natural resource abundance, community cohesion and economically sustainable development. Following presentation of preliminary results of their efforts at the Toronto LASA Congress, an edited manuscript will be prepared for publication during 2011.

The committee also selected one alternate project, to be funded in the event that one of the awardees were unable to complete the proposed initiatives:

Other Americas/*Otros Saberes* II Report

by RACHEL SIEDER | CIESAS Mexico | Rachel.Sieder@sas.ac.uk

The Political Economy Challenges of Development Based in Mining,” organized by Rosemary Thorp, Oxford University

Analyzing the complex interplay of institutions, politics and natural resources, this project aims to illuminate the factors that have impeded governments from effectively managing mineral wealth. Drawing on economic theory as well as detailed historical research by Latin Americanists and Africanists, the project will unpack micro-macro interactions, at both the economic and political levels, that have shaped outcomes in developing country settings where mining has played a central role in economic growth. Building on field research currently underway, the project envisions a March 2010 conference, a panel at the Toronto meeting, and a subsequent collaborative publication. ■

The second phase of *Otros Saberes* was launched in February 2009. This initiative provides grants to support research on *justice and citizenship-rights issues* undertaken by members of civil society organizations working collaboratively with university-based scholars. The call for proposals was sent out prior to the Rio Congress and elicited an impressive response, with nearly one hundred applications received. Dissemination of the call for research proposals was crucial: in addition to established LASA networks, there was a concerted effort to distribute the call through existing networks of civil society-based organizations associated with justice and citizenship rights.

The applications point to an enormous dynamism in research on rights and justice-related issues across the Americas, and to cutting-edge, interdisciplinary work that draws on the methodologies of a variety of fields such as sociology, anthropology and political science. Proposals were received from fourteen countries in the Americas. Over a quarter came from Colombia, more than double the number of applications submitted from any other country. Significant numbers of applications also came from Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Bolivia. Topics addressed included indigenous rights, environmental and land rights, access to justice, violence against women, and reparations for gross human rights violations.

A long list of twenty-two proposals was drawn up by the selection committee and reviewed in detail over two days at a meeting in Mexico City in July. The committee agreed that many of the research proposals received were excellent and had important policy implications, but gave priority to those that met the *Otros Saberes* criteria for innovative collaborative research methodologies. In the end, grants of

approximately US\$20,000 were awarded to each of four teams. The funds will support basic research expenses over the period of one year. A summary of the selected projects follows:

Legal Mobilization and Political Impact of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Movement in Colombia.

Mauricio Albarraçin, Colombia Diversa
COLOMBIA

Colombia Diversa is an NGO that engages in political, legal and social campaigning for LGBT rights in Colombia. The organization has carried out strategic litigation in association with the Group of Public Interest Law at the University of the Andes and with the Centro Derecho, Justicia y Sociedad (Dejusticia). The research project will systematize, analyze and evaluate the legal and social mobilization strategies Colombia Diversa has pursued in order to secure rights for same-sex couples from the Colombian Constitutional Court. It aims to contribute to academic debates about processes of legal mobilization in favor of the rights of marginalized groups, and also to help develop more effective campaign strategies to guarantee the rights of the LGBT community in Colombia.

Human Rights Trials and Access to Justice in Peru.

Jo-Marie Burt, Coordinadora Nacional de DDHH.
PERU

Although the recent conviction of former president Alberto Fujimori suggests important progress in efforts to prosecute those responsible for grave human rights violations during Peru's internal armed conflict, hundreds of cases remain backlogged in Peru's legal system. This

SIEDER *continued...*

research project aims to obtain data about the estimated thousand cases in varying phases of litigation in Peru. Researchers at George Mason University and the Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos will work together to gather these data through surveys and interviews with survivors and relatives of victims, human rights organizations, public prosecutors, and judges in order to identify the universe of human rights trials, and to systematize and analyze the data so as to discern the key issues and problems associated with the judicial process. The project aims to assist civil society organizations in advocating on behalf of citizens seeking justice for human rights violations in domestic and international forums.

The Experience of Training in Indigenous Law (“Derecho Propio”) in Cauca.

María Socorro Grande, Asociación de Cabildos Indígenas del Norte del Cauca (ACIN)/ Consejo Regional Indígena del Cauca, CRIC
COLOMBIA

In December 2002 ACIN (which is part of the CRIC) created the Espacio de Formación en Derecho Propio, Cristóbal Secue. This initiative forms part of ACIN/CRIC’s strategy to recover and revitalize ancestral justice systems, thereby strengthening autonomous government, and to achieve better coordination between indigenous and national state law, strengthening the Special Indigenous Jurisdiction established in the 1991 Constitution. Since 2004 more than eighty representatives of fifteen *resguardos* of different ethnic groups have systematically engaged in the collective construction of knowledge and intercultural exchange with other forms of justice. This research project aims to systematize, analyze and highlight the conceptual and practical advances generated through this process of

reflection and training in *derecho propio*. It aims to provide important data for traditional authorities to legitimate their own role vis-à-vis state justice officials, and also to reflect on, debate, and further develop and strengthen their own forms of law.

Women Leaders, Indigenous Rights and the Environment: the Legal Struggle for Cucupá Fishing in the Gulf of California

Alejandra Navarro, Cooperativa de Pescadoras Cucupá, Baja California.
MEXICO

This research project examines the conflicts between environmental conservation legislation and legal norms recognizing the collective rights of indigenous peoples in Mexico. It focuses on the strategies of women Cucupá leaders in a fishing cooperative fighting for recognition of their rights as indigenous peoples to their traditional forms of livelihood, rights that have been denied by conservation legislation, which deems such activity illegal. The Cucupá have been engaged in a legal struggle against the Mexican state for sixteen years, and in 2008 took their case to the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights. This project aims to document and systematize the legal restrictions to the exercise of indigenous fishing rights in the Gulf of California, and the ways in which different legislative changes have affected Cucupá organization and identity. It will hopefully contribute to the Cucupás’ struggle for their collective rights.

As with the first phase of *Otros Saberes*, *Otros Saberes II* will involve two methodology consultants, *Dr. María Teresa Sierra* (Centro de Investigación y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, CIESAS, Mexico City) and *Dr. Angelina Snodgrass Godoy*, (Law, Societies and Justice Program,

University of Washington, Seattle). Together, these methodologists will act as a liaison and point of contact for the research teams, visiting them in situ throughout the course of the year, documenting their collaborative research methods, and contributing to the workshop that will be held with representatives from the four teams immediately prior to the LASA Congress in Toronto in October 2010. The four teams will also present their research results at a special panel at the LASA Congress and we look forward with great enthusiasm to hearing about the results of their important work. ■

Report on Ford-LASA Special Projects

LASA is pleased to announce the outcome of the most recent LASA/Ford Special Projects competition. Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, LASA Vice President/President Elect, chaired the review and selection committee and the following LASA colleagues served on the committee: Carlos Acuña, ACEESA; Graciela Ducatenzeiler, Université de Montréal; and Rosemary Thorp, Oxford University. The committee had an award fund of \$25,000.

In response to a request for proposals issued in 2009, fifty-six applications were submitted for consideration by the September 1, 2009 deadline. Of these, two projects were selected for funding at \$12,500 each:

The Emergence of Civil-Society-Led Corporate Governance in Latin America: Building an Interdisciplinary Trans-regional Network of Researchers

Charles Hale, University of Texas at Austin, project director

Inequality: forms of legitimation and conflict in Latin American societies

Francisco Zapata, El Colegio de México, Project director

This fifth cycle of the Ford-LASA Special Projects competition was made possible by a contribution from the Ford Foundation to the LASA Endowment Fund. Proceeds from that contribution provide support for such activities as transregional research initiatives, conferences, working groups, the development of curriculum and teaching resources, and similar projects of LASA Sections or ad hoc groupings of LASA members. ■

LASA Voluntary Support

by SANDY KLINZING

The Association is grateful to the hundreds of donors who made contributions to LASA during the past year (many to multiple funds at the same time), to donors to two new designated funds, and to the LASA Fundraising Committee for its tireless efforts to increase support for the Endowment.

One of the chief sources of support for the LASA Endowment continues to be the LASA Life Membership. Since our last report, three more members have become Life Members: **Erik Langer** (Georgetown University, history); **Mark Ratkus** (La Salle University, economics); and **Brian Turner** (Randolph Macon College, political science). This brings the total of Life Members to 81. Thank you for your noteworthy commitment!

The following individuals have made generous contributions to one or more Association funds since our last report:

Holly Ackerman
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 Adlin de Jesus Prieto Rodríguez
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(For information on how you may make a contribution to any of the funds please contact the LASA Secretariat at 412-648-1907.) ■

Scott Van Jacob, the Iberian-Latin American bibliographer at the University of Notre Dame, died on October 10 at the age of 53 after a 21-month battle with melanoma. The Notre Dame community and the wider community of bibliographers who worked on Latin America will miss an extraordinary friend and colleague.

Scott came to Notre Dame in 1995, after serving as a bibliographer at Dickinson College. He was an innovative librarian whose skills ran the gamut from identifying invaluable and rare historical documents and archives to being on the forefront of electronic developments in library work. He worked assiduously to purchase and catalogue many unusual collections. Early on in the development of electronic library materials, he recognized the importance of this medium and heralded its use.

Scott was a pioneer in promoting and pursuing collaboration among libraries, especially collaboration in the Latin American collections of research university libraries. A leader in the international association SALALM (Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials), he was well known and esteemed nationally and internationally for his innovative work. He was project director of the Brazilian Government Document Digitization Project, a pioneering large-scale digital scanning effort that brought some 700,000 pages of 19th and early 20th century national and provincial documents to the Internet. He also served as chair of the Latin American Research Resources Project (LARRP), which began as a pilot project within the Global Resources Program, a joint effort of the Association of Research Libraries (ARL) and the Association of American Universities (AAU). A major goal of LARRP has been to expand access for scholars to research materials from Latin America, and Scott was

instrumental in establishing two of its major components: the LAPTOC serials indexing project (Latin American Periodicals Tables of Contents), a web database that provides access to more than 800 periodicals; and the LAOAP (Latin American Open Archives Portal) digital archive.

Scott forged strong professional relationships with Latin American bibliographers around the country and with librarians and book dealers in Argentina, Uruguay, and Spain. To his great personal delight, he oversaw the acquisition and study of an important collection of manuscripts by his favorite writer, Jorge Luis Borges, and many other special collections. At Notre Dame, he won both the President's Award and the Foik Award, presented in recognition of exemplary contributions by a Notre Dame librarian.

Scott grew up on cattle ranches in Oregon and never lost his love of the outdoors. He earned BA and MA degrees at Oregon College of Education (now Western Oregon University) and his Master's in Information Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He taught at an American school in Medellín, Colombia, after studying at the Oregon College of Education. An outstanding runner, he won the Harrisburg Mile at the age of 38 and had a personal best time of 4:07 for the mile and 30:50 for ten kilometers.

Through his final days, Scott exhibited the same wonderful spirit and kindness that characterized his life. We benefited hugely from Scott's outstanding work, deep humanity, and unsurpassed generosity.

Scott Mainwaring, University of Notre Dame ■



UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO
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Cuarto Congreso Internacional “Escritura, Individuo y Sociedad en España, las Américas y Puerto Rico.” Encuentro hispánico en homenaje a Rosa Montero, Elena Poniatowska y Mayra Montero.

UPR- Arecibo, 18-20 de noviembre de 2010

Homenajeadas, plenaristas y estudiosos invitados:

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Mayra Montero, CUBA/PUERTO RICO

Ramón Luis Acevedo, Universidad de Puerto Rico, PUERTO RICO
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El congreso incluye **pero no se limita** a los siguientes temas sobre literatura, cultura, sociedad, lengua y arte de España, las Américas y Puerto Rico:

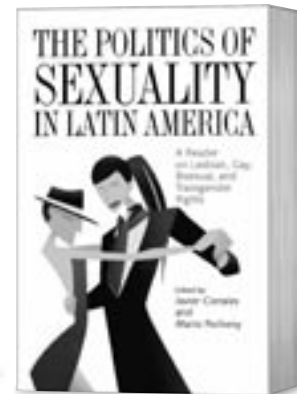
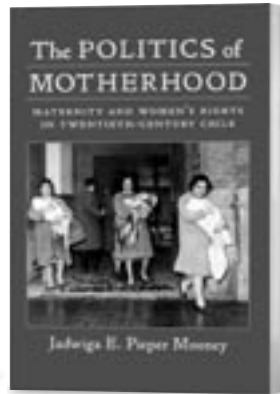
Arte culinario y literatura	Fetichismo	Literatura medieval	Poesía lírica y épica
Arte y literatura	Hispanos en EE. UU	Literatura mexicana	Posmodernidad
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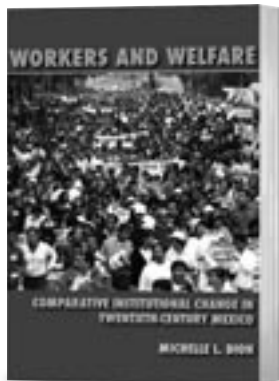
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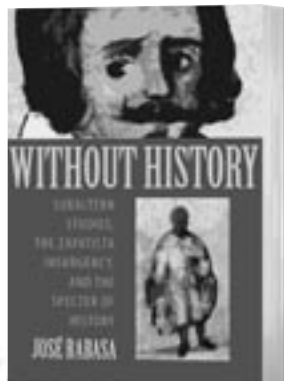
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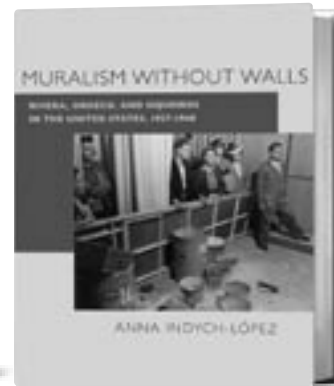
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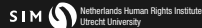
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