

The Kalman H. Silvert Award was created in 1982 to honor the first president of the Latin American Studies Association, Kalman Silvert. One of the leading figures in Latin American studies during his lifetime, Silvert spent the majority of his teaching career as a professor of government, politics, and political science, with a special interest in studying Latin America. The award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made distinguished lifetime contributions to the study of Latin America. This year the award was presented to Ronald Chilcote, Professor Emeritus of Economics and Political Science at the University of California, Riverside.



Challenges of Being a Latin Americanist

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by **Ronald H. Chilcote**

All my early learning was through private institutions, University School in Cleveland, Dartmouth College to the east, and Stanford University to the west. Pushed toward a discipline, I reached early for broad-based learning. Initially, it was American, English, and comparative literature, but it seemed as though all the questions were settled there relative to finding an academic direction. At Stanford after a year in the business school, in late May 1958 I set off hitchhiking through Mexico and Central America and down the west coast of South America through Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, where inexpensive plane travel took me to Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and then Cuba a few months before Fidel and Che's revolutionary triumph—an amazing adventure, with a limited budget and encountering people everywhere. Upon my return to Stanford, I took every available course on Latin America, no matter the discipline. My venture south had included research and interviews on a tire manufacturing firm in Guatemala and the iron and steel complex in Concepción, Chile, and my professors facilitated the early publications about them that began as papers in their seminars. Occasionally students encounter exploitative situations as unpaid research assistants in advanced graduate courses for which effort is not acknowledged. In my case, in a graduate Spanish literature course the

instructor insisted I do research for a manuscript on José María Gironella's *Un millón de muertes*, a popular novel, but this was not a problem for me because I was deeply interested in the Spanish Civil War.

Convinced that Latin American studies necessitated training in Europe, in January 1960 I headed to Lisbon and Madrid for a couple of years of study. Under a program of the National Defense Education Act (a response to Cold War anxiety), I had studied Portuguese with a teacher from São Paulo but soon realized how different the language was in Portugal. I elected to study for a *diploma superior* in a ten-week program of six courses on Portugal (history, art, geography, linguistics, literature, grammar) offered by the University of Lisbon, and faced both written and oral exams, the latter a lengthy session in front of the professors seated together on a raised platform in a large room half filled with spectators. In perhaps my most challenging academic encounter, I recall having to detail the family history and rule of King João I of the House of Aviz from 1385 to 1433 and to engage with Luís Lindley Cintra (who later emerged among those academics opposed to the dictatorship) and his fascinating knowledge of Romance linguistics and the Portuguese language.

An editor at Oxford University Press offered me a contract for a book on the fascist Salazar dictatorship, but archival research proved impossible, useful documents and even many relevant published writings were unavailable, and, although weekly reporting to the PIDE secret police was intimidating, I was also in touch with the political opposition and with students from Portugal's African colonies as revolution burst forth in their homelands. I also enrolled at the University of Madrid in a year-long program on Spanish art, history, grammar, literature, culture, and geography and researched and interviewed and delved into the origins and history over centuries of the iron and steel industry to produce a dissertation and a book (*Spain's Iron and Steel Industry*, 1968). At the same time, I maintained contact with the African students, who when I returned to Lisbon in summer 1961 had fled to Paris. I began to build an archive of leaflets and documents of the revolutionary movements and also looked at official Portuguese colonial records and accounts of historical African revolts aimed at the slave and commodities trade in the colonies, and I somehow became recognized as knowledgeable. This eventually led to a published bibliography of the archive contents and translation of many of the documents. At the time, Charles Boxer, the eminent historian of the Portuguese Empire, had turned down an invitation from the Yale historian Robin Winks to write a book on Portuguese Africa for a series of country studies under his editorship, and Winks assigned it to me. I then traveled down the west coast of Africa, eventually reaching Luanda, Angola, where I was arrested as I deplaned, accused of complicity with a local brewery owner and a Jehovah's Witness missionary to overthrow the colonial government. Interrogated overnight by six PIDE agents, I was placed in solitary confinement in a dirty, blood-stained prison cell, where I went on a hunger strike. Later I was interrogated for 15 hours daily about a chapter of my book manuscript by a black-leather-jacketed fascist agent trained by the CIA to do espionage in Macau, who was especially curious about my work at Stanford and its conservative Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, and J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI. Upon my release ten days later, I flew to Dar es Salaam, where I met

Immanuel Wallerstein (then an Africanist) and Eduardo Mondlane, leader of the revolutionary movement for the liberation of Mozambique. On my way home I stopped in Algiers, then the center of Portuguese African revolutionary movements and Portuguese exiles opposed to the dictatorship. (My book *Portuguese Africa* was published in 1967.)

I returned to Stanford in late 1961 to become assistant director of its Institute of Hispanic American and Luso-Brazilian Studies and an editor of its monthly *Hispanic American Report*, which in October 1960 had reported, on the basis of newspaper reports in the region, that Cuban counterrevolutionaries were training in northern Guatemala for what months later became the abortive US-supported Bay of Pigs invasion. Reporters from the *New York Times* and other outlets came to Stanford to learn what was happening in Central America. Initially only *The Nation* published awareness of it along with an opinion piece by Ronald Hilton, editor of the *HAR* and head of the institute, and later this revelation served as a pretext for Stanford's removing him from his directorship and closing down his institute, replacing it with a new center with a large grant from the Ford Foundation.

At Stanford I also was an instructor and taught a course in the Spanish department that examined current events in Latin America through reading of a conservative weekly, *Visión*, and a progressive weekly, *Política*. Two of my early students were Fred Goff, a founder of *NACLA Report on the Americas*, and Michael Hall, later a history professor at UNICAMP in Campinas, Brazil.

The Cold War impacted my career in many ways. With others, I have recounted its influence on Latin American Studies (*Latin American Studies and the Cold War*, 2022), including some of my experiences during my Stanford student days. For example, a professor who relied on updated versions of his text dating to 1922 on the diplomatic history of US and Latin American relations considered it his mission to train his graduate students for careers in the US Foreign Service. A prominent historian argued that a professionalized military in Latin America

would abide by constitutions and enhance democratic life, when in fact the decade of the 1960s witnessed US-supported coups throughout the region and his book was supported by the Pentagon through a grant to the RAND Corporation. Six military officers were sent by the Pentagon to Stanford for training as Latin Americanists and master's degrees, and we learned thereafter of their counterinsurgency involvement, two of them in planning the 1964 coup in Brazil and another in leading the first brigade of US troops in the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Decades later, during the Iran-Contra scandal and Ronald Reagan's secret war against the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua, I agreed to teach a University of Southern California seminar on Latin America for ten US military officers at March Air Force Base near Riverside. Initially I surprised them by requiring them to read Eduardo Galeano's *Open Veins of Latin America*, a popular book critical of US policy. In turn, I soon learned that the ribbons they wore were for past missions in Central America and that their frequent absences from class were due to orders to return to the region.

We were interested in the work of the political scientist Robert Alexander because he traveled frequently and understood Latin America, related to progressive intellectuals in Latin America, and considered himself a democratic socialist, but the historian John French, while recently organizing Alexander's massive archive of the Latin American left and the labor movement, learned that at least eight of his trips to Latin America from 1952 to 1959 were financed through CIA funds.

Some of us turned to Paul Baran, a Marxist economist who had served the Office of Strategic Services during the war and written an influential work on backwardness, *The Political Economy of Growth*. Baran had traveled to Cuba and written a book on the revolution, and I first met him at Stanford in 1962, when a group of militant-left Brazilian students asked me to take them to his nearby home. A forthcoming manuscript in *Latin American Perspectives* reveals that these students were sponsored by the Inter-American

University Association, established by US businessmen with the Kennedy administration as a Cold War effort to influence progressive students to align themselves with the United States; one of them later did doctoral work at UC Riverside and MIT, another completed a doctorate in political science at UCLA, and both turned conservative.

Many of us were inspired by the Cuban Revolution and its influence elsewhere to study the revolutionary left in Latin America. At Stanford we organized a seminar for credit made up of a dozen graduate and undergraduate students, while Timothy Harding at UCLA and Donald Bray at Pomona College initiated seminars with a focus on the left in Latin America. We sought the support of Joseph Love, then a Stanford history graduate student, and Luigi Einaudi, a researcher at the nearby RAND Corporation. Under the National Student Association, both had traveled extensively throughout Latin America, where they made contact with leftist students and intellectuals; we were impressed with their knowledge, and they supported us with NSA funds that brought our three seminars together in 1963 in a three-day conference in Idyllwild, California. Later we learned from a sensational exposé in the March 1967 issue of *Ramparts* that government agencies had penetrated all walks of life in the United States and that the funds we had received from the NSA had emanated from the CIA. Consequently, we pulled away from the study of the left, realizing that our work might jeopardize the activities of progressive movements trying to bring about important changes in Latin America.

Kalman Silvert and Frank Bonilla influenced my early orientation and commitment to field research in Latin America. Both were involved in publishing in the *American Universities Field Notes*. Silvert's field research led to a dissertation and a book on Guatemala in the early 1950s, and when we met during his visit to Stanford in spring 1963 he encouraged me to pursue my own commitment to interdisciplinary study and field research in Latin America at a time when those academics with whom I was studying either had done no fieldwork or had not returned

to the region in many decades. Bonilla's work with José Silva Michelena on the Venezuelan power structure was drawn from elaborate field interviews and led me to my own interviews on the power structure in two communities in Juazeiro and Petrolina in the Northeast Brazilian *sertão* and in Coquimbo and La Serena in Chile.

Professional Associations and Founding of Latin American Perspectives

Early on I was "elected" a "fellow" of the African Studies Association (ASA), whose executive committee included no Africans, and I turned to the only two Africans from the Portuguese colonies who had earned doctorates: Amílcar Cabral in agronomy from the University of Evora and Eduardo Mondlane in anthropology from Northwestern University. We became friends, I visited them and their revolutionary movements, and I brought them to California to present papers at UCLA and UCR, where I had begun teaching in 1963. Before independence, Portuguese letter bombs killed both of them, and I later wrote about Cabral as one of Africa's great intellectuals and leaders (*Amílcar Cabral's Revolutionary Theory and Practice*, 1991). Early in the 1969 conference of the ASA in Montreal, black progressives seized control of its business meeting, over several days demanding reforms, and eventually secured African representation.

Like the ASA's, the original constitution and bylaws of LASA established an executive council of nine and required a majority vote of approval of persons desiring to join. Its constituent assembly voted favorably on the constitution and bylaws on May 7, 1966. In a "first selection" its first president, Kalman Silvert, invited me to become a member on September 15, 1966. I attended all of the LASA congresses except the one, in 1970, in which younger Latin Americanists disrupted the business meeting presided over by a frustrated John J. Johnson (who at one point abandoned the proceedings). (The Arizona State political scientist Marvin Alisky has alleged that I was there, but I was in the backlands of the Brazilian Northeast.) Important membership votes occurred at that meeting, including a resolution to establish an alternative journal to the *Latin*

American Research Review. In my personal archive on the early years of LASA there is a letter to Donald Bray from the Yale historian and LASA officer Richard Morse, dated February 4, 1970, that refers to the panel "Radical Perspectives on Latin America" being organized by Karen Spalding of Rutgers University: "I am delighted to hear of your Radical Caucus. We have been looking high and low for radicals, but I had trouble identifying groups with a clear silhouette." On April 17, 1970, the LASA executive council met to consider five resolutions of the Radical Caucus and permitted four of them to move forward: opposition to LASA member participation in any "governmental classified research"; access to US libraries for all Cuban scholars in Cuba; free exchange of information with Cuba; and active LASA promotion of female participation in association affairs and equality in the award of fellowships, grants, and teaching positions. (A fifth motion, by Brady Tyson, condemning torture in Brazil was not considered.) Nine resolutions were put to a mail ballot, and the results reflected the sentiment of the membership at that time: LASA publication and distribution to Latin America of US dissertations (498 to 56); access for Cuban scholars to US libraries, archives, universities, and scholars (367 to 180); LASA publication of an alternative "journal of opinion" (367 to 174); an end to academic purges, arbitrary arrests, and torture in Brazil (356 to 195); and acquisition of and transmission to the newly organized Centro de Estudios sobre América (CEA) at the University of Havana of all US university press books on Latin America published since 1961 (349 to 195). Not surprisingly, a resolution that asked LASA to promote the recruitment of more women graduate students and the establishment of child-care centers by Latin American centers and departments was rejected (276 to 266). Also rejected were resolutions on the study of colonial relationships of the United States with Latin America (325 to 217) and on intervention in the Dominican Republic (279 to 255) (*LASA Newsletter*, 2 [2], 1971, 62).

The resolution favoring an alternative journal of opinion led to the founding of *Latin American Perspectives* (LAP) but independent of LASA. The LASA executive council initially responded

by asking me to submit a proposal, including a budget. On April 27, 1971, LASA president Federico Gil wrote me: "Let me assure you that the council and I, personally, have the greatest interest . . . to make it financially possible for the Association to comply with the desires of the membership." My proposal included a budget of \$5,000, and LASA had just received a Ford Grant for \$100,000, but on August 16 Gil wrote: "It is clear that the present financial situation of LASA does not permit the use of our own funds for this purpose." My colleagues and I persisted in our efforts to establish a journal, and at the 1973 LASA congress in Madison, Wisconsin, we held a meeting of the Radical Caucus and the proposal to launch *LAP* with me as its managing editor was unanimously adopted. Fortunately the daily *Riverside Press Enterprise* had just converted its printing presses from traditional linotype to computer presses and agreed to publish the journal in exchange for rights for its subsidiary firm Custom Microfilm to distribute and sell microfilm runs of Brazilian journals I had obtained during my research in 1967 and in Chile in 1971 and 1972 thereafter. The microfilm had earlier been distributed by UCR's Latin American Research Program as a means of continuing its program after the expiration of its Ford grant. This arrangement lasted a decade, until the *Wall Street Journal* acquired a minority interest in the Riverside daily and cast off Custom Microfilm.

Although its collection of journals focused on behavioral social science, SAGE Publications agreed to take on *LAP* as an area studies journal, permitting the journal to maintain its commitment as an independent and "cutting-edge" progressive journal located on the UCR campus (initially in my office) and free of university pressures. At one point a dean offered to cover our telephone and office supply expenses, but within six months he withdrew the support when the bulletin board outside my office displayed a call for manuscripts for a journal issue on "imperialist" influences on Puerto Rico. Our budget has always been balanced, occasionally generating a surplus and with sufficient assets to ensure future operation.

Field Research and Publication

The path to field research is usually not smooth, and one must celebrate the past meaningful experiences and not despair the failures. Careful planning may be helpful, but there are always obstacles to meeting commitments. My field research in Brazil, Portugal, and Luso Africa and Chile always included local institutional support, and several of my monographs were translated and published in Portuguese editions. All of the interviews and data are available both in the countries of research and in my extensive personal archive in UCR's Rivera Library's Special Collections. Early in my career I published journalistic pieces on Portugal and Brazil in the respectable weekly *The Nation*, then edited by Carey McWilliams, whose writing on California politics and culture had fascinated me. At the time, however, I was admonished by my department chair to pursue more scholarly writing, even though one colleague had secured tenure largely through publication in the same magazine. Years later I struggled with another journalistic piece about the Portuguese revolution of April 1974, and after several drafts it was no longer timely. While pursuing research on the Portuguese opposition, I published an article in the Spanish journal *Cuadernos*, only to learn that it was subsidized by the CIA.

My fieldwork in Latin America, especially during the Cold War, commenced in Brazil during the summer of 1964, a few months after the military coup. Aware of my plan, the UCR vice-chancellor asked me to cooperate with the CIA upon my return (an intimidating request in my first year of a tenure-track professorship). In search of a new position while at Stanford, I visited the placement center and was immediately herded into an interview with a CIA agent who offered me a position at four times the salary of the assistant professorship I was about to accept at UCR (in political science, its faculty of six including two members who as graduate students had collaborated with the CIA). Four years earlier a CIA agent had found me and my partner, Frances, within 24 hours of our renting an apartment in Madrid for our study year ahead; not even our families knew how to reach us. Most ensuing

summers I was in Brazil, and upon my return to UCR a CIA agent was waiting for me, but I always refused to cooperate.

In Rio I found Theotônio dos Santos in hiding, having been abruptly terminated from his professorship at the Universidade de Brasília. This was the beginning of a long collaboration and friendship—for him nearly two decades of clandestinity and exile in Chile and Mexico, and for me yearly visits under military surveillance commencing with a 1964 analysis of the coup in *The Nation* and a 1967 sabbatical year of research on the Partido Comunista Brasileiro, mostly in Recife and the Northeast, while also benefiting from interviews with party members in Rio and São Paulo. This work was originally intended to be part of a series on communist parties coordinated by the Stanford political scientist Jan Triska, but upon learning that it was sponsored by the Hoover Institution I published the book in 1974 with Oxford; the censored Brazilian edition did not appear until 1982.

Our sabbatical year in 1967 began in Rio in an apartment building with occasional power outages that necessitated walking up ten flights of stairs carrying our sons, one and two years old. I searched for archives, but the Biblioteca Nacional had little to offer, bookstores rarely carried what I was interested in, and I soon depended on interviews with intellectuals and their extensive personal libraries while building my own library of 11,000 books and pamphlets as a means of sustaining my work on Brazil. One of my conditions in joining UCR was an allocation of \$5,000 for purchase of books in Latin America. Initially the chair of the library committee insisted that it was tradition that each faculty member fill out an order form for each book desired, but I was fortunate that the order librarian was interested in Latin American acquisitions (he later donated his collection on the Guatemala 1954 coup) and encouraged me to visit used bookstores. Since my Pan-American plane ticket allowed return with free stops in Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Santiago, La Paz, Lima, Quito, Bogotá, and Caracas on every visit, I would stop in each city's bookstores and select books to be invoiced and shipped to Riverside, and standing orders of new books

were established in Rio and Buenos Aires. Today UCR's Latin American collection comprises some 350,000 books along with thousands of periodical runs. I was also able to interview most of the intellectuals who had participated in the Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros (ISEB) and its search for an ideology of national development, and these were precious interviews because the ISEB was viewed as subversive and had been shut down in the early hours of the coup, with some of the subjects arrested and imprisoned and most living in clandestinity. It was only years later that I was able to include analysis of these interviews and this unique experience in a Cambridge University Press book (*Intellectuals and the Search for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil*, 2014).

I learned early in my research abroad that there might be ways to work around obstacles (Brazilians use the term *jeito*). Early in my 1967 sabbatical research in Brazil, learning that the entrance visa for me and my family had expired after 90 days and our passports needed to show we had entered with a longer stay, I discovered that a "semi-legal" *despachante* could expedite placing in our passports that we had legally entered on our arrival date, could remain up to a year, and could leave without a problem. I found two of them, one of whom needed up to a month to pass through several persons and agencies for a fee of \$50, and chose the other, who could work it out in several days for \$100.

In contrast to most of the "Brazilianists" who came to Rio and São Paulo for doctoral research, a few of us settled in the Northeast. I was motivated by Euclides da Cunha's *Os Sertões: Rebellion in the Backlands* to do so. Ralph Della Cava carried out his work on Padre Cícero in the town of Juazeiro do Norte, Ceará, and Peter Eisenberg researched and wrote about the history of sugar in the region. After Rio in 1967 I found an unusual way to reach the Northeast. I discovered in Rio a small hidden office selling tickets for eight days of travel and nearly 800 kilometers from the headwaters of the Rio São Francisco to the town of Juazeiro, Bahia. We flew to Belo Horizonte and, after a 16-hour bus ride through the backlands, we reached the town of Santa Maria and the

paddle-wheel steamboat *São Francisco*, which had cruised on the Mississippi until the end of the Civil War, when it and other riverboats were taken to the Amazon and later dismantled and carried up to the São Francisco to serve for over a century as the basic means of transportation of people and goods. The cabin with its two bunks, sink, and toilet was too small for all our family, but another was secured for the \$25 fee. It was travel beyond expectations, not only reflecting the life and struggles of the dry backlands but convincing me that my pursuit of a deep study of the region was possible and necessary.

My field research was compromised by Project Camelot, a counterinsurgency study initiated in 1964 by the US Army through American University in Washington, DC, that involved “behavioral” social scientists’ surveying people’s attitudes in nine Latin American countries, including Brazil. Once denounced in the Chilean Senate, the project was terminated a year later. Generally I was able to establish rapport with Brazilian social scientists and in 1967 carried out scores of interviews for my book on the Brazilian Communist Party. Through the years, my many interviews with Brazilian intellectuals were not a problem, including one instance when the sociologist Octávio Ianni consented but objected to tape recording, which he thought might reach the CIA.

In 1969 I initiated my study of influentials in two communities in the *sertão* of Northeast Brazil. The first phase included meeting with the mayors and influential people to explain what I was up to and assure them that the research and interviews would be available to the communities after publication of my book. With formal approval from both towns, I returned in 1970—a difficult moment not only because Brazil was under military rule but because urban revolutionary movements were active in the large cities throughout the country. Along the banks of the Rio São Francisco, Juazeiro (today 218,000 inhabitants) and Petrolina (354,000) have evolved as prospering communities, having grown from 35,000 when I first knew them. Today universities

exist there, and one of the professors has written about visiting UCR to research my interviews and data with the aid of an *LAP* fellowship.

In 1970, when I arrived in town, I first visited Padre Mansueto, director of the Emissora Rural São Francisco, the region’s only radio station, and I mentioned that in Rio we had interviewed *cantadores* (troubadours), whose verse is known as *cordel* (for the pamphlets hanging from a string for sale in a booth) and is focused on themes of love and sorrow, past and present, but also local, national, and even international politics—a tradition dating to European medieval times that had been a popular means of communication in the nineteenth century in the Brazilian Northeast. (My collection of some 5,000 pamphlets and several hundred books is in my UCR archive.) Mansueto then introduced me to two of them who had just arrived in town, and while we were driving with them to the radio station they asked why I was there and were curious about my family. Immediately upon arriving at the station, they were on the air singing about “professor Ronaldo” and his family and our plans to study the community. Convinced that my project would not move forward because of this popular exposure, the ensuing day surprisingly I found myself known to all, rich and poor, and as I and my family moved freely about we were greeted with friendly curiosity. I soon felt comfortable in my work and aware of the traditions, lifestyles, and the past and present historical political economy of these two small towns transitioning from agrarian and commercial economies under dominant paternalistic family rule in pursuit of a better life.

Our principal research consisted of two hours of in-depth interviews with 117 of the 118 identifiable community notables. The study also included questionnaires administered to high school teachers and in-depth interviews with children of the influentials. Everything shut down, however, when a questionnaire reached a part-time teacher who, unknown to our research team, was the intelligence officer for the local military battalion. Mansueto offered to call the prominent townspeople to a meeting in which I could explain the project. Many showed up to

question my interviews and purpose, but they seemed sympathetic to the project, probably because I had secured consent from the beginning and was known in the communities. The intelligence officer appeared with his family, including a young son with a tape recorder. Outside were four military jeeps full of soldiers with their guns. Although I worried about the transcription of the event and how the military might intervene, Mansueto said that everything was fine; the townspeople were supportive. (It was also thought that at some time the inquiry might have been carried outside the community and reached the Brazilian general who had signed off on my Organization of American States grant supporting the community research.) The next day everyone greeted me with smiles, and we carried on with the research. I had given Mansueto all my research results, and later he told me they had been placed in the safest place in town, under the local bishop's bed.

My ambitious project was designed for comparative research of two contiguous communities in Chile and two in Mexico. The study moved to Chile in late 1971 and 1972. The project was supported by the Instituto de Organización y Administración (INSORA) of the Universidad de Chile, located in Santiago, which provided me office space, research assistance, and support. We worked closely together in preparation of an interview schedule for notable persons in Coquimbo and La Serena, and INSORA colleagues carried out some 50 interviews, the data were coded and tabulated, and some preliminary analysis was undertaken. The objective was to provide a substantive basis for possible municipal reform. The institute also sponsored a Russian scholar working on a dissertation and suggested that we debate current ideas of dependency theory critical of US views of capitalism as well as the Soviet position that underdevelopment was an outcome of semifeudalism. We agreed to debate, but the Russian, who may have been a KGB agent, did not show up. I was excited about the affiliation with INSORA and the possibility that the research data and findings might be relevant to municipal

reform under the Unidad Popular and the Allende government. Alas, it was not to be: the 1973 coup brought an end to the project.

Two of my graduate students adapted parts of the study to their dissertation work in Calexico and Mexicali. I also managed an innovative teaching grant for a class of 25 students who carried out interviews with maquiladora managers and women workers and produced documentary films such as *Runaway Shop* that were used in university courses in Southern California.

Teaching

I began my teaching in political science. Most of my colleagues were Americanists, with several of us in comparative politics and international relations, the fields of interest for two-thirds of the graduate students—many of whom were also able to build a third field in political economy in the economics department, which eventually led to my colleagues' abolishing cognate fields altogether. As director of Latin American Studies I had to teach additional courses on Latin America, and I also taught the introductory graduate course on comparative politics and published a popular text on it (*Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm*, 1981 and 1994). At one point the departmental chair called me into his office and demanded that I use the books he had selected for the course. My text was being described as "a disgrace to the profession" because of an early chapter on "ideology and issues of comparative politics," an assessment that denied me a promotion (although I was rescued a year later by a review in the *American Political Science Review* that referred to it as the outstanding comparative politics book of the 1980s). The department also denied my proposal to teach courses on the political economy of the state and imperialism, but eventually I was able to teach those courses after an invitation in 1990 to move to the economics department.

At the outset I taught subjects about which I knew little. For example, in my first two years I taught several hundred students in an introductory comparative politics course about

Great Britain and France jointly with a young colleague who disagreed with my approach to the point that we each taught half the course with a different syllabus. In my initial year I was also assigned to teach a senior honors seminar. Generally, it was a good experience, although I was initially challenged by a bright senior whose fascist perspective pervaded our weekly discussions. I suppose my recent experiences with the Salazar and Franco regimes helped me to moderate our contentious discussions.

The political science department listed a year-long seminar that allowed graduate students to propose and teach a lower division course, but it had never been offered. My many graduate students were interested, and I assumed responsibility for it. The first quarter consisted of critical review of alternative approaches to teaching and especially learning. During the 1969 People's Park demonstrations I had joined with other junior professors to reassess our approaches to teaching and their implications, and we had recognized that our focus had to be not on teaching but on learning and all its possibilities. We prepared and debated personal statements on learning, and mine guided me throughout my teaching career. For me it was a decisive revelation that our mission was finding ways for our students and ourselves as teachers to be open to all paths to learning (thinking, skills, collaborative learning, integration of technology, and so on). The second quarter was devoted to writing a course proposal and presenting it to the departmental faculty, who were skeptical and turned down most of them. One course on women was found acceptable, but the woman teaching it refused to sign the University of California loyalty oath and spent the spring quarter with her students in court struggling with university attorneys. Another, on revolution in Latin America, was revised a half dozen times but eventually taught. The graduate students were generally bewildered by the faculty opposition, some of it politically motivated, and their own assessment of the process was published as a case study in a journal on teaching that stirred up more faculty concern, eventually causing the course to be dropped from the curriculum.

I tended to hold more office hours than most colleagues. I recall one moment when a distraught student insisted I meet with him immediately; there were several students in line waiting to see me, and I promised I would be with him soon, but he did not remain, and I regretted it. A year later he appeared to tell me that he had been on verge of suicide and had dropped out of school. Some years later a graduate student came to my door, frantic and needing to discuss concerns; I immediately apologized to the waiting students and departed for a nearby café and a couple hours of conversation about how he had been deeply depressed about his doctoral program but was very excited by our seminar the previous day. Later, he let me know that our conversation had turned him around; indeed, he went on to finish his degree and became a successful teacher at a nearby university.

Over many years, and unable to escape the impact of the Cold War, I was surprised by the interest in Latin America of five former CIA operatives who sought my assistance with their graduate programs. They encountered faculty resistance to their programs for reasons I could not understand, especially with two colleagues who had experience with the intelligence agency. Only one of them finished and found a teaching position. Another who was very progressive and open about his past broke down during the written final exam in one of my undergraduate classes on Latin America and disappeared. This so disturbed me that thereafter I abandoned blue-book written essay exams and sought alternative innovative ways to examine. Due to my earlier work the Angolan Bernard Pangulula also sought my support and revealed details of the CIA's support of his Angolan revolutionary movement in Kinshasa and its opportunistic leader Holden Roberto in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The late 1960s was a time of protest, including movements on civil rights, student freedom, women's liberation, and the environment and against the Vietnam War. Students concerned about political issues provided the opportunity to create courses that broadened the field and promoted activist scholarship. In 1968 my

colleague Carlos Cortés and I launched the first Chicano courses at UCR, his on history and mine on politics. My course was developed in cooperation with MEChA, the Chicano student group. Planned as a seminar for 25 students during spring 1968, it had as one of its objectives research on important issues related to the Chicano community in nearby South Colton, where Adaljiza Sosa-Riddell, one of my doctoral students and later the director of the Chicano Studies Center at UC Davis, had been the only Mexican American teacher in the school district. The course met weekly, and at the initial meeting over 100 students appeared; eventually we reduced the enrollment to about 50. The Chicanos among them took on an educational project focused on South Colton, while the Anglos studied the power structure of Colton, which was under white Anglo rule at the time. As part of my preparation I collected complete runs of Chicano newspapers and magazines around the country. Subsequently, there were important changes in Colton, including the election of a Chicano school board majority (previously there had been no Chicano representation). Anglo community leaders approached the UCR chancellor Ivan Hinderaker to complain about the course, and the UC Board of Regents agreed to investigate and fund a study. A report presumably ensued; I never saw it, nor was I interviewed or sanctioned.

In spring 1969 the protest of the plans for the People's Park by UC Berkeley students led to Governor Ronald Reagan's calling out the National Guard and the death of one student and injuries to others. The UCR faculty met to discuss the problem and the peaceful campus protests. I had been a founder of the faculty union and introduced a motion that the faculty support the peacefully protesting students. The motion failed, and soon thereafter I received word from the chancellor's office that my anticipated tenure promotion was under review. I was also surprised when two of my graduate students (one of them a community organizer from New York City and the other once involved in UC Berkeley's Free Speech Movement) joined in coordinating the peaceful campus protest, occupied the chancellor's office, and encouraged faculty and students to take their courses into the

community. Reagan had ordered the university to shut down, but the Riverside campus remained peacefully open with its flag at half-mast. In 1970 students again mobilized a protest against the US invasion of Cambodia and the shootings at Kent State University.

A few months later the former Berkeley student attended a meeting of the Western Political Science Association at which he openly criticized Reagan, who was a featured speaker. He also met with the departmental graduate committee of which I was a member, requesting a week beyond spring break to travel to Cuba for preliminary work and support for his dissertation. During the meeting he informally referred to me by my first name, and the chairman exploded in anger and sternly replied that his behavior was inappropriate and the committee should deny the request. What ensued was a full front page of the *Highlander* student newspaper elaborating and critically assessing what had happened. Instantly I was known by many on campus and thereafter always addressed by my first name by my students, and I came to appreciate the informality. It simply opened dialogue and allowed learning.

In the early years of our political science graduate program, the Ford grant for Latin American Studies supported ten students, most of whom completed their doctoral programs and found positions, including possibly the earliest Chicano political scientists at UC Davis, Santa Barbara, Irvine, and Riverside (where Armando Navarro, an effective community organizer, distinguished himself as professor and author of a half dozen books). All in all I supervised a dozen Chicano doctorates, including three who joined the impressive Chicano Studies Department at California State University, Northridge. I also worked with three Brazilian academics who spent a year in Riverside completing their doctorates. There was one student, however, whose fieldwork in Guatemala was apparently supported by the RAND Corporation. While I was abroad with field research I offered suggestions on early chapters of his dissertation, but he objected to my input, persuaded a conservative departmental colleague who knew nothing

of Latin America to replace me as chair, and finished his project, which immediately became classified information and unavailable through the university. I learned this from Susanne Jonas, who was also working on Guatemala, and it was some time before she could see it.

In search of a Latin American visiting professor for the campus in 1965 in Bogotá, I persuaded Camilo Torres Restrepo, a progressive Catholic priest trained in the Netherlands as a sociologist, to spend a year with us in Riverside, but instead he joined the guerrilla Ejército de Liberación Nacional and died a martyr in his first combat on February 15, 1966. Later we were able to bring Orlando Fals Borda from Colombia, and José Nun briefly and Alberto Ciria for a year from Argentina. Most impressive was José María Arguedas, the Peruvian anthropologist and novelist who in his only visit to the United States spent a month in Riverside, insisting on living with students in the Casa Hispánica, lecturing on his novels in Spanish, and reading his poetry in Quechua.

Community Activities

The university encourages its faculty to participate in the community, and in my town I was drawn into many activities: since 1975 serving on the board of the Laguna Greenbelt and many years of activism, including a walk of 10,000 people into Laguna Canyon in protest of a massive development that culminated in its purchase and conservation of 22,000 acres of land as public open space; sharing in efforts to recognize our town as a Historic American Landscape, a designation of the National Park Service; participating in a neighborhood organization representing 800 households and editing its newsletter over a half century; and serving nine years on the local school board with the active participation of hundreds of parents and students in search of participatory democratic practices, including budgeting, innovative curriculum, and attending to the individual needs of students. My early retirement allowed time to complete monographs on Brazil and Portugal, but I also sought a way to combine my research and conservation efforts in

landscape photography and publication of books through the Laguna Wilderness Press, which I founded in 2002.

Given all the attention that Brazilians had given to me and my family, I was committed to giving back, first through Fulbright professorships in political science at UNICAMP in Campinas (1984) and in sociology at the Universidade Federal do Ceará in Fortaleza (1984 and 1993). The initial Fortaleza experience was eventful. An hour before meeting the graduate student seminar, a departmental colleague warned that my course was too difficult. Undeterred, I met with the students, reviewed the requirements (which included a brief paper each week), and mentioned the concern that they might not be able to cope with the course. Immediately, several students responded that they were committed to meet all requirements, and it became one of my most satisfactory classroom experiences: all 25 students completed the course work, only one of them needing a week's extension. Three of them went on to complete doctoral degrees. There was ample discussion, and in the early weeks I was confused by political positioning but soon learned through student visits to my office that they were reflecting different party lines of thinking. A second means of involvement was on behalf of the UC Education Abroad Program, establishing and directing the Brazil Studies Center at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio) in 1993 and 1994. There was no administrative support. I prepared proposals for some hundred PUC-Rio courses for approval by the University of California and set up a program that began with ten days on a riverboat in the Amazon, followed with eight weeks' immersion in language and culture in Fortaleza and a semester program in Rio. There were 13 students the first year, 29 the second, and 200 today. Initially, Frances and I accompanied them on 36 hours of flights to São Paulo and on to Manaus, arriving at the boat at 3 a.m., awakening three hours later to the calls of howler monkeys, and embarking in small boats to explore the rainforest at sunrise. These were anxious, urban-based Latinos enraptured by their new world of nature and wildlife—some of them hallucinating from the malaria drug the university required, two

of them having lost their luggage, and another suffering from heat exposure. Then, in the coastal city of Fortaleza and its university, each student lived with a local family—one of them sneaking in a male companion one night, scandalizing her traditional family, and another befriending a prostitute during his stay. One woman celebrated her liberation from her Jewish family life by displaying her large tattoo of the Virgin of Guadalupe but instantly upon arriving in Brazil anxiously called home to reaffirm her mother's support. Once settled in cities we had to discard jewelry and dress modestly, with only small change in the pocket, and move with caution. There were occasional assaults, frightening but of little consequence, and Frances and I each experienced four of them. In one case, warned by a bus passenger that a woman had cut into her daypack and lifted its contents, she chased the thief out of the bus, confronted her on the sidewalk, and retrieved the item.

Whatever success I may have experienced in this lifetime adventure was largely due to my interest in everything before me—not becoming mired in a single academic discipline but reaching out and trying to understand Latin America, its peoples, language and culture, history, politics, and economy, and to envision a way forward. I find it exhilarating to reflect on the past, not to celebrate but to recognize what was missed along the way and try to fill gaps of awareness, knowledge, and insight.

Ronald H. Chilcote: Relevant Books and Monographs

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