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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.

From the President

by **Lynn Stephen, President of LASA** | University of Oregon | stephenl@uoregon.edu

LASA2019, "Nuestra América: Justice and Inclusion," is going to have a wonderful set of panels, roundtables, workshops, invited sessions, and presidential sessions. We received session proposals from 58 different countries: 22 countries from Latin America and the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico), 24 from Europe, 2 from North America, 7 from Asia and South Asia, 2 from the Middle East, and New Zealand. We are delighted to see that the inclusive global participation in LASA that we saw in Barcelona will continue in Boston. The column in this issue written by Lorraine Leu, one of LASA2019's program co-chairs, highlights some of the themes in our presidential sessions. We look forward to sharing more details with you as the program is finalized this fall in November.

The LASA Anti-Harassment Task Force work is moving forward. The task force has been hard at work on a survey that will be sent to all LASA members and will be available in Spanish, English, and Portuguese. The purpose of the survey is to research the experiences of LASA members at congresses and any other LASA venues to register a spectrum of possible forms of violence, harassment, and discrimination, including sexual, racial, sexual orientation, physical, psychological, or emotional. The questionnaire is part of research being conducted by the task force with the goal of writing a report and policy recommendations. We hope that the survey will be arriving to you by mid-November and that you will take the 15 minutes necessary to complete it. Thank you in advance for your participation.

At the same time, the Executive Committee of LASA and a special subcommittee are working toward finishing a Code of Ethics and Behavior for LASA and outlining an implementation plan including the use of an ombudsperson to receive complaints. We hope to have these policies and plans in place for early 2019. In the spring issue of

the *LASA Forum* before the congress in Boston, we will be publishing a special dossier on the topic of anti-harassment work and research.

The LASA Commission for Academic Freedom and Human Rights

has been very active this fall under the leadership of Vice President Mara Viveros. The commission produced statements and press releases urging the Colombian government to protect the lives of leaders, activists, and journalists (http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/files/Colombia_2018.pdf); urging the government of Guatemala and the United Nations Development Program to guarantee the integrity of the Historical Archive of the National Police (http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/files/PR_Guatemala_8-2018_en.pdf); and expressing our solidarity in the aftermath of the fire at Brazil's Museu Nacional and calling for the protection of this patrimony of humanity, in conjunction with the Brazilian Studies Association (http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/files/MuseuNacional_LASA_BRASA_Statement_20180907_en.pdf).

I am pleased to note that this *LASA Forum* contains two exciting dossiers and two articles. The article by Wayne Cornelius follows up on LASA statements regarding the detention of families, the limiting of asylum protections, and the ending of Temporary Protected Status. The other article by Adriana Pou Hernández focuses on highlights from the Otros Saberes Section pre-congress program in Barcelona.

The dossier edited by Juliet Hooker connects directly with the statement, press release, and interview put out by LASA in June urging the



Nicaraguan government to stop repression against protesters, including many students. The articles in this dossier provide an update to the packed roundtable on Nicaragua in Barcelona. In fact, as Hooker points out, one of the participants in the roundtable who was supposed to contribute an essay was unable to because she was arrested and detained, and currently is unable to have a public presence. The articles in the dossier document the increasing authoritarianism, violence, and repression of the government, and the sustained and growing opposition. They also raise the important question of how to resolve the tension between calls for a more democratic Nicaragua and the accumulated historical tensions represented at the present moment that defy traditional ideological classifications.

The other dossier, edited by Carlos Aguirre (also a program co-chair for LASA2019) published the papers presented in the LASA 2018 presidential session titled "Revisiting 1968 in Latin America, 50 Years Later." A crucial moment in Latin America (as it also was around the world), 1968 saw student mobilization in various countries, the massacre of Tlatelolco in Mexico, a military coup in Peru, and the intensification of military repression in Argentina, Brazil, and other countries. Papers highlight experiences in Mexico, Peru, and Cuba, as well as some reflections on the legacies of that eventful year. I invite LASA members to read the dossier of 1968 in relation to the one on Nicaragua. Both dossiers in part document very significant youth movements with fifty years between them. The ideological positioning of youth in 1968 contrasts significantly with that of Nicaraguan student organizers in 2018.

I encourage you to use the *Forum* as a space of engagement with the ongoing life of LASA and its members. While there are still months before the year ends, I want to wish everyone health and hope in 2019. //

Introduction

by **Carlos Aguirre** | University of Oregon | caguirre@uoregon.edu

Fifty years ago, the globe was shaken by a series of events—student mobilizations, workers’ strikes, urban riots, police repression, coup d’états, political assassinations, and others—that threatened the status quo in countries and cities in both the capitalist and socialist worlds. Inspired by a diverse set of ideals, doctrines, and goals, 1968 put in question established notions about social hierarchies; the exercise of authority and power; the place of the state in the regulation of social life, gender, and generational roles; and ultimately the future of human societies. The meaning and legacy of 1968 have been disputed almost from the very beginning: Were the events of that year revolutionary? Were they intended to foster social justice and egalitarianism? Did they have a clear and realistic sense of purpose and means? Or were they just transitory expressions of dissatisfaction that were eventually subsumed by capitalism or suppressed by authoritarian forms of socialism?

In Latin America, 1968 was a year full of consequential and, in some cases, far-reaching episodes: the mobilization of students in Mexico and the massacre of Tlatelolco, the nationalist military coup in Peru, the Medellín Catholic Bishop Conference, and the intensification of military repression in Argentina, Brazil, and other countries, to name but a few. The recent death of Che Guevara and the movement toward a more rigid form of socialism in Cuba were also part of those changes, as was the imprint of literary and cultural phenomena such as the *boom* of the Latin American novel (*Cien años de soledad* had been published in 1967 and Mario Vargas Llosa had won the Rómulo Gallegos Prize that same year) or the “canción protesta” movement, whose first international meeting also took place in 1967 in Cuba.

To discuss and assess the meaning and legacy of 1968 in Latin America, our colleague Chuck Walker invited a group of scholars to participate in a Presidential Session at the LASA Congress in Barcelona earlier this year. Under the title “1968: 50 Years Later,” Diana Sorensen, Carlos Illades, Carlos Aguirre, and Gerald Martin presented papers, followed by incisive comments by Victoria Langland. This dossier includes revised versions of the four presentations.

I would like to thank Chuck, Victoria, and the authors of these essays for helping make this dossier possible. //

Rethinking Mexico's 1968 in 2018

by **Diana Sorensen** | Harvard University | sorensen@fas.harvard.edu

As a remembering species, we have turned to 1968 with the twin drives of nostalgia and reassessment: we long for some of its leaps of collective enthusiasm, and we also want to measure both its long-lasting effects and our own interpretive efforts. The 50 years that separate us from 1968 invite us to remember, commemorate, assess, interpret, and reinterpret—all practices that we scholars are keen to embrace. Hannah Arendt anticipated this urge to remember '68 by claiming that “the next century will once learn about 1968 the way we learned about 1848” (Arendt 1968). While we cannot claim that '68 engendered a work of the significance of the *Communist Manifesto*, it does occupy a central place in the revolutionary archive, filled as it was with the inevitable contradictions of a youth movement that sought to reach out to the working class even as it tried to integrate culture, eros, and politics.

In the North, the current bustle of commemoration has flourished in a variety of contexts and with a sense of its global reach. Even *Vanity Fair*, with its predilection for glossy culture, *faits divers*, and fashion, deemed it necessary to publish an article about April 1968 at Columbia University (Bingham 2018). The *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, and other mainstream publications have taken stock of the anniversary in the same spirit. Daniel Cohn-Bendit has shed his latest professional identity as a lobbyist and member of the European Parliament to return to his youth revolt days in numerous interviews in which he claims far-reaching consequences for 1968—from the birth of multiculturalism to deep changes in French society, the rise of powerful social movements, significant benefits for trade unions, and the questioning of global capitalism. There is a play that premiered in May in Toulon about the confrontation with De Gaulle: “De Gaulle 68: La Révérence” (Chuyen and Lenzini 2018); a novel, *Les 99 jours de Cohn-Bendit* (Quivy 2018), in which he rules for those

99 days, and, of course, all sorts of articles in the press. Scholars have organized lectures and film series: we are all delving into the spirit of '68, trying to recover it and discern its legacy, as if we were unearthing the genealogy of the present, which gets proleptically formulated in the events that took place 50 years ago.

It is in this context of commemoration and assessment that I turn to Mexico. In 1968, the Mexican difference is centered mostly on the hundreds that died at the massacre in Tlatelolco on October 2. I have written elsewhere about this, focusing on the writing of intellectuals that did not merely critique the events themselves, but seriously scrutinized the concepts of culpability, sacrifice, violence, and the legality of the state (Sorensen 2007, 54–105). Writing and denouncing came on the heels of violence: Mexican intellectuals held on to the power of the word in the most varied registers—novels, poems, testimonies, essays, personal memoirs. My focus back in 2007 was the relationship between justice, violence, and aesthetics as it obtained in works by Elena Poniatowska (1971) and Octavio Paz (1993). Today, I will briefly revisit the thinking of 1968 in light of some recently opened archives and scholarship, to close with a reflection on the present. It will therefore be a historiographical operation, as well as a tentative speculation on the present, shuttling back and forth between 1968 and 2018, trying to detect its afterlives and transformations as well as its disappearance.

I will begin with the opening of the archives, not only in Mexico, but in the United States as well. Accessing what has been withheld has the effect of a revelation, or, to use the Greek word that Heidegger favored, *aletheia*. First, a few comments on the opening of State Department Archives, which offer an external analysis filtered by US interests. Reading the dispatches sent by

the American Embassy in Mexico to the State Department in 1968 is like entering a particular interpretive consciousness: the disclosure that is produced makes intelligible for us now the parameters of understanding with which that moment was observed from the outside: the Mexican youth movement was read in the context of the broader concerns elicited by the neighbor to the south. Entitled the “current situation of youth in Mexico,” a dispatch of July 1968 notes, “First salient point is that vast majority of Mexican population can be classified as youth, since 71.7 percent, according to latest estimates, are under 35. . . . However, only small minority is politically active. Agrarian youth is largely inert despite participation in occasional rural incidents” (NSA 1998 [1968]).

And what about perceptions of the United States as discerned by the embassy employee writing the dispatch? Here is a telling example: “Ethos of the Mexican Revolution remains principal ideological guide for majority of Mexican youth. At same time, vague kind of Marxism, strong sense of nationalism . . . involving generalized opposition to “imperialism.” All of these tend to generate anti-US orientation among these groups. . . . While the left constantly seeks to link students with labor and agrarian agitation, there has been no such linkage of any significance” (NSA 1998 [1968]).

Clearly, for the American Embassy the Mexican summer of '68 does not augur the traumatic events that would unfold in September and October: the archive tells the tale of watchful eyes that keep track of the prevalence of youth, of their vague Marxist and their anti-imperialist inclinations. If anything, they give short shrift to the potential political consequences of the youth movement, adding to a generalized sense that the events of October 2 were unexpected. The US Archives read like a panoptical vision seeking to distantly understand and anticipate trouble.

And what about the Mexican archives, opened with great fanfare between 1998 and 2003? They have been the subject of multiple interventions, deletions, debates, and rewritings. Held in Galleries I and II of the National Archive (AGN) in Lecumberri (as we all know, the very prison that held those arrested after Tlatelolco), they contain

massive numbers of documents: reports on student activities, profiles of individuals, summaries made for authorities that were monitoring the course of events, photographs, posters picked up at rallies, statements made by those who were arrested, and more. They have been the subject of a number of studies; the one I have found most helpful and thorough is by Pablo Tasso (2016), who does what I would call a close reading of some of the documents to show not only the work of constructing an official story, but also the extent to which the numerous documents contain narrative inconsistencies and contradictions. One key question that remains unresolved, for example, is how the shooting started, by whom, and from where. Reading the discrepancies in the multiple documents is tantamount to discovering the errors in a narrative script designed to blame others, be they “agitators,” the army, or the office of the president. Some documents are clearly planned distortions that seek to confirm the version sanctioned by the intended reader in the Dirección Federal de Seguridad (DFS); others emerge from the sheer classificatory chaos of the bureaucratic archival practice itself, and from the questionable status of what could be deemed to be a “proof.” The photographic archives contained in the AGN also bear the mark of the unsteady drive to construct the official version: some of the photographs commissioned by the DFS suggest that the eye behind the lens was torn between recording the mass gatherings for those that were policing them, and a rendering of the almost heroic nature of the crowds advancing with their banners and their festive air.

Even a work with claims to objectivity by journalist Julio Scherer García and respected critic Carlos Monsiváis, *Parte de guerra, Tlatelolco 1968: Documentos del general Marcelino Barragán: Los hechos y la historia*, published in 1999 after the celebrated opening of the archives, reveals the contradictions that emerge from the documents themselves. The very title of the book, with the epistemological optimism rooted in “hechos” and “historia” is belied by the barely concealed attempt to remove any possible blame from the army in the shooting that began around 6 p.m. on October 2. What is opened up with these documents is a debate that is internal to the power of the state:

if García Barragán did not order the shooting (as the documents focused on him claim), it may well have come from the Estado Mayor Presidencial and its chief, Julio Gutiérrez Oropesa, who, of course, reported to President Díaz Ordaz. A few years earlier, in 1996, Gutiérrez Oropesa himself had published his own exoneration, with its own claims to veracity: *La realidad de los acontecimientos de 1968*. The recurring theme of contested narrative versions seems to be endless: in a speech given in 2001 at the funeral of Florencio López Osuna, one of the student leaders of 1968, his close friend Alfredo Revilla reflects on the aftermath of Tlatelolco and the need to add to the testimonial archive: “A todos ellos hay que entrevistarlos, hay que hacer que cuenten lo que les sucedió, que se sepa de una buena vez. Este es el momento, no tengo duda, pero le tengo miedo a las filtraciones y a las manipulaciones del gobierno” (quoted in Monsiváis 2008, 244). As murky as the debates continue to be in and out of the archive, undermining the attempted consistency of the official version, there is no doubt that the official story is still being written and rewritten.

Some rewritings, however, bear the unquestionable traces of blatant falsification, even though they first appeared as written by members of the student movement, and only recently have they been unmasked as apocryphal. Let me focus on *El móndrigo: Bitácora del Consejo Nacional de Huelga*, which was distributed for free shortly after the events of October 2, and which has appeared in a number of different editions. By the 1980s the book was understood to be apocryphal, but for this literary scholar it is actually quite fascinating to see how fictional devices are deployed to invent a character that will allow the DFS to alarm collective opinion and denounce the student movement. So we have novelistic form designed to make historical claims that are themselves manufactured for the sake of clearing the government of responsibility for the massacre. To begin with, the book presents itself as the printed version of a typewritten collection of papers carried under the belt by a dead student: the authors commissioned by the government knew the literary presentation strategies dear to the realist novel,

which introduces its inventions as if they were found documents with claims to truth. Here is the introductory material:

A pocas horas del combate en la Plaza de las Tres Culturas y edificios circundantes en Tlatelolco la trágica noche del 2 de octubre de 1968, después que los ambulantes casi habían acabado de levantar muertos y heridos, y que la policía había capturado a reales y supuestos franco tiradores, unos vecinos descubrieron semi agazapado el cadáver de un joven en el pasillo del tercer piso del edificio “Chihuahua.” En busca de identificación le hallaron bajo la cintura y fuertemente sujeto con el cintillo, un pequeño portafolios mal cerrado que contenía un legajo manchado de sangre fresca . . .

Resultó ser el “diario íntimo” en que anotaba meticulosa y ampliamente los sucesos más salientes del Movimiento Estudiantil, del que debió ser uno de sus líderes. Estaba escrito a máquina, salvo la última hoja, con anotaciones a mano, en desorden, segundos antes de iniciarse la batalla. (6)

It is revealing to see the coincidences between the documents in the DFS and the text of *El móndrigo*; now we can ascertain its sources and its political remit: to affirm that the Consejo Nacional de Huelga (CNH) and the students in the movement were heavily armed by outside Communist forces whose goal was to bring down the government and usher in a socialist revolution. Clearly, the text avers, the students themselves had begun the shooting. This, as we know, is the long-established official view that has not been dispelled and that was voiced right after October 2 in many letters written to President Díaz Ordaz and by the president himself. But I wish to stress that the historiographical operation remains deeply problematic because the archive itself is contested to this day. I was struck by an anecdote shared by Jaime Pensado, author of a fine 2013 book on student unrest during the long sixties. As a young researcher from the University of Chicago seeking to access the archives at the Instituto Politécnico Nacional (IPN, where major student clashes took place in 1968), he found himself chastised by the director, who assured him he was wasting his

time in the archive: “Frankly, I am not sure why a historian at an American university would be interested in such a fictional topic” (Pensado 2013, 2). The debate continues to be articulated through the tension between fiction and the “real”: a 1996 book by General Gutiérrez Oropesa, from the president’s office, bears the title *La realidad de los acontecimientos de 1968*. His use of the archival footage not only attacks student “agitators”; it also participates in the debate internal to the Díaz Ordaz regime about the contested role of the army and the presidential forces—and in which *Parte de guerra*, mentioned above, favors the opposing version of General García Barragán.

Much could be said about “real” fiction written in Mexico about 1968: ranging from an early novel by Luis Spotta, *La plaza* (1971), or Jose Revueltas’s *El apando* (1969), to the more recent 2003 novel by Jorge Volpi, *El fin de la locura*, lucidly analyzed by Samuel Steinberg in his 2016 *Photopoetics at Tlatelolco* (Steinberg 2016, 146 ff.). For Steinberg, Volpi’s novel “integrates the memory of the sixties into a long history of decline” (p. 153). The temporal distance that separates us from 1968 (the very year of Volpi’s birth) enables the work of memory and of evaluation to coalesce. The result is the very disenchantment and sense of exhaustion that we perceive in our understanding of the present.

Lest that sense of exhaustion entirely color my evaluation of the work of memory and analysis, I want to make mention of important recent contributions to our understanding of 1968. The first has to do with work on gender and the hitherto ignored role of women in the student movement. Aside from the writings of Rosario Castellanos and María Azevedo, we must take note of an organization founded in 1972, *Mujeres en Acción Solidaria*, MAS, headed by 1968 activist Marta Lamas, and aiming to promote the political voices of women in labor and in the public sphere. Elaine Carey’s 2005 book brings gender to the study of Tlatelolco, showing how the turmoil of the sixties began to undermine the patriarchal figure of the president. And, in terms of public commemoration, a crucial institution founded in 2007 is the Museo Memorial del 68, located in the Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco and affiliated with the UNAM. Recognizing that the student

movement of 1968 is one of the most significant social events of Mexico’s contemporary history, its mission statement proclaims its potential for transformation and renewal. The memorial is set up as a multimedia archive that engages the viewer as if she were offered the chance to explore the traces of ’68, watching, reading, listening.

As we consider the unstable memory of ’68 in Mexico, we must recognize that it is more than the result of trouble in the archive. The wounds of Tlatelolco were reopened before healing could begin. There was a veritable dirty war of disappearances both *before* Tlatelolco and after it. In the ’70s, there were incidents such as the Corpus Christi Massacre of June 1971 and the violent repression of urban and rural movements. Even the spirit of commemoration was crushed, as was the case in the 2014 Iguala mass kidnapping, when 43 students on their way to commemorate Tlatelolco were “disappeared.” The point to be underscored is that repetition has operated as a reenactment that deepens the traumatic wound.

In closing, a few thoughts on one of the questions I opened with: Does 1968 live on in the present? “Que reste-t-il” seems to drive a lot of the commemorative writing in the press and in academic circles, in large part because of the formative and transformative effect of the events on a generation that is looking back on the meaning of their own lives (see Weber 1998). In the North, the mood of disenchantment is prevalent, especially in the face of the Trump administration and its values. To think about Mexico I want to first turn to an article published in 1989 in *El Colegio de México’s* journal *Foro Internacional*, significantly entitled “México 1968: Los orígenes de la transición.” Thirty years ago, Soledad Loeza could claim that ’68 marked the beginning of the dismantling of authoritarian forms, that it was the first great defeat of the authoritarian postrevolutionary state as it eroded an alliance begun in 1910 between middle-class leaders and the working and rural classes. The pact lost ground as demands for change remained unmet and public discourse incorporated a new language of emancipation. And indeed, it was after Tlatelolco that the formidable power machine of the PRI began to break down, as marked by the election of Vicente Fox in July 2000. My question

for today is, Can we claim that the dismantling of authoritarian forms announced by Loeza in 1989 have opened up equivalent forms of civic engagement, with access to a participatory politics that is transformative in terms that would be consistent with the goals of 1968? Loeza's article appeared just as political life in Mexico took a turn toward the state of ungovernability that it is mired in today, ravaged by the drug war, corruption, and kidnappings. A sense of fear that makes the notion of public space unsafe and precarious has caused a retreat to the private sphere. The utopian longings of '68, so clearly captured by Elena Poniatowska's masterful *La noche de Tlatelolco*, would at best be perceived as naïve in the current political mood. The recent presidential election (July 1, 2018) dealt a major blow to the PRI, and to the very alliance that '68 began to erode.

Meanwhile in the academy we continue the important work of memory, critique, and commemoration that this dossier is engaging in. UNAM is devoting the entire year to 1968; the museum at Tlatelolco compels us to return to the events, to study, critique, reevaluate the materials in this vast and dissonant archive. It is important to do this, to bolster the civic engagement that such work presupposes. But I confess that in moments of discouragement I think of the final lines of Borges's "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius," in which, as the world disintegrates around him, the narrator merely continues to revise a translation of Browne's *Urn Burial*. Can our commemorative work amount to more than that? I certainly hope so.

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El 68 en México: José Revueltas y la nueva revolución

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Al comenzar la segunda mitad del siglo XX el mundo desarrollado experimentaba lo que E. P. Thompson llamó la Gran Apatía: una sociedad que gozaba del progreso material sin precedentes alcanzado en la posguerra, una clase obrera dócil con alto poder de consumo y una izquierda socialista que había renunciado a la transformación radical del *statu quo*. En este contexto, el historiador constataba en “El socialismo y los intelectuales” (1957) que “hoy día me parece que el circuito por el cual las ideas son transformadas en energías sociales efectivas se ha roto; por un lado, con la retirada de los intelectuales, y por el otro, debido a la estructura burocrática del movimiento obrero” (Thompson 2016, 86).

Del otro lado del Atlántico Marcuse realizaba la teorización más sólida del estado de ánimo de la época, de la imposibilidad cuasi orgánica de la sociedad industrial avanzada de romper la hegemonía del capital, consentida incluso por los subalternos, esa suerte de “servidumbre voluntaria” contemporánea de la que habló La Boétie en la modernidad temprana. La administración en la “sociedad opulenta” o “sociedad cerrada” racionalizaba esta forma de dominación despersonalizada en la que el cambio social era inconcebible y la autonomía del individuo irrealizable, dado que la cultura industrial filtró hasta la médula del proceso de producción, de modo tal que en “el *pensamiento* y conducta *unidimensional* . . . las ideas, aspiraciones y objetivos, que trascienden por su contenido el universo establecido del discurso y la acción, son rechazados o reducidos a los términos de este universo” (Marcuse 2016, 50).

El 68 mexicano no escapó al estado de ánimo del momento: los más jóvenes entre los universitarios y politécnicos eran los más enojados, aunque la

resistencia más robusta a la embestida del Ejército la llevaron a cabo los estudiantes de las escuelas de graduados del Politécnico, con mayores nexos profesionales y familiares con los obreros industriales. No obstante, la ira no fue lo que se impuso: el 68 “fue un movimiento en defensa de los derechos humanos”, como apunta Carlos Monsiváis. Un pliego petitorio con seis demandas básicas —libertad a los presos políticos, destitución de los jefes de policía y del cuerpo antimotines, desaparición de este aparato de seguridad, derogación del delito de disolución social consignado en el código penal, indemnización a las familias de los muertos a causa de la represión del movimiento y fincar responsabilidades penales a los mandos de los órganos de seguridad— desató la violencia del Estado autoritario erigido por la revolución triunfante (Rodríguez Kuri 2003, 84; Zermeño 1978, 2018–219; Monsiváis 2008, 11).

Rotos críticamente los lazos con las ideologías de la Revolución mexicana y del comunismo oficial, José Revueltas abrazó las propuestas de la nueva izquierda y el movimiento estudiantil de 1968 fue el laboratorio de su praxis política. A poco de iniciado este, el escritor literalmente fijó su residencia en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Nacional: la revolución no debía únicamente pensarse, debía también vivirse. El gurú intelectual de los jóvenes universitarios fue Revueltas, y ellos hicieron todo lo que estuvo a su alcance para resguardarlo cuando el Ejército ocupó la Ciudad Universitaria en septiembre de 1968. Durante dos meses lograron su propósito, pero el 15 de noviembre de 1968 lo aprehendieron las fuerzas de seguridad en la colonia Narvarte (Ruiz Abreu 2014, 31).

Aquella tarde el autor de *Los días terrenales* había dictado en Filosofía y Letras una conferencia sobre “autogestión académica y universidad crítica”. Los textos dedicados a estos temas muestran desplazamientos conceptuales interesantes. Sin abandonar la problemática de la enajenación que recorre toda su obra y sin hacer de lado el objetivo de la revolución, Revueltas “carga” los nuevos conceptos con el contenido previamente dado al partido (“cerebro colectivo”). Sin embargo, no será esta entidad “históricamente inexistente”, el PCM, quien tenga el cometido de fungir como la “conciencia organizada” de la clase obrera: el nuevo espacio será transitoriamente la universidad. Pero no el claustro habido hasta entonces, sino la universidad crítica prefigurada en las jornadas estudiantiles. Ahora bien, para ser crítica la universidad debía ampliar su noción de autonomía. Esta no debía ceñirse al autogobierno, más que nada habría de entenderse como “libertad y extraterritorialidad del pensamiento sin límites de ninguna especie que lo contengan”. En consecuencia, la autonomía debía concebirse en tanto que “categoría gnoseológica”, es decir, constituía una manera de producir conocimiento, pero que no se conformaba con explicar la realidad sino transformarla (Revueltas 1979, 112, 110).

La reflexión crítica instituida durante aquellas jornadas y la democracia horizontal del movimiento estudiantil constituían para el novelista el embrión de la sociedad futura, la nueva práctica (autónoma, crítica y plural) en la que ésta debería fundarse. Por tanto, el sujeto del cambio no sería en lo inmediato un movimiento obrero sometido por el régimen autoritario; lo conformarían los estudiantes dentro de un espacio universitario no alienado. De esta manera Revueltas aseveró: “La juventud no son los jóvenes sino los cambios que en la sociedad propugnan los jóvenes”. El escritor propuso que la autogestión académica, alimentada por una conciencia crítica, dejara atrás a la universidad en cuanto “almacén donde se depositen los conocimientos” que, liberados por la praxis autogestiva, asumirán el contenido revolucionario “al transformar lo que conoce” (Revueltas 1979, 110, 120).

Revueltas, dijimos, caracterizó el movimiento de 1968 como una “revolución estudiantil”, a su juicio el momento fundacional de la nueva revolución dentro del “horizonte histórico de México”, esto es, la superación dialéctica de la Revolución mexicana, con la cual la burguesía asumió “el poder desde 1917”. En reacción en cadena, el concepto y práctica de la autonomía traspasó las fronteras universitarias convirtiéndose en patrimonio común del estudiantado en su conjunto. Asimismo, extendió la crítica de la institución educativa hacia “*los planos del cuestionamiento político de la sociedad y de sus estructuras*”. De allí permearía hacia el resto de la sociedad, pues, en una segunda fase, cristalizaría en la “*autodeterminación política* de todos los sectores del pueblo, con la clase obrera a la cabeza, o sea, la nueva revolución que ha de cambiar en México el rumbo de la historia”. Con salvedades, trotskistas, maoístas y marxistas independientes, presentes en los “círculos dirigentes de la masa estudiantil”, podrían integrarse y contribuir a conformar el futuro partido de la clase obrera que encabezara la segunda gran Revolución mexicana del siglo XX (Revueltas 1979, 130, 140, 131, 136, 147. Énfasis propio).

La manifestación del 27 de agosto de 1968 en el Zócalo marcó la cúspide del movimiento estudiantil, mientras que la masacre del 2 de octubre en la Plaza de las Tres Culturas lo diezmó. Entre una y otra el gobierno escaló la represión contra los jóvenes que, después de la noche de Tlatelolco, derivó en persecución abierta. La policía capitalina prohibió las movilizaciones callejeras confinando la protesta estudiantil dentro de los recintos universitarios, lo que no evitó las detenciones arbitrarias por parte de la policía. A mediados de 1970 comenzó a reactivarse el movimiento estudiantil coordinado por los comités de lucha que se formaron en escuelas y facultades —herederos del Consejo Nacional de Huelga (CNH) disuelto en diciembre de 1968—, acaudillados por los militantes de la vieja y nueva izquierdas curtidas en las jornadas estudiantiles. La propuesta de amnistiar a los presos políticos por parte del nuevo rector de la UNAM, retomada por el presidente de la república entrante, brindó un segundo aire al movimiento (Rivas Ontiveros 2007, 628, 663 y ss).

Ese era el ambiente universitario cuando Revueltas abandonó la prisión “bajo protesta” —ya que continuaba sujeto a proceso— el 13 de mayo de 1971. Fuera de Lecumberri, el autor de *El luto humano* intentó promover la autogestión académica entre los estudiantes universitarios, y además derivó dos conceptos de aquella: “conciencia libre” y “democracia cognoscitiva”. El primero implica que la conciencia es una sola, por lo cual es erróneo —producto de la “beatería pseudomarxista”— escindir la maniqueamente en “conciencia burguesa” y “conciencia proletaria”, una mala y otra buena, aquella ideológica, esta científica, contrarrevolucionaria y pura, respectivamente. Únicamente existe una conciencia racional y esta es necesariamente crítica, de acuerdo con Revueltas. Para su desarrollo pleno la “conciencia libre”, esta suerte de ciudadanía de las ideas se ejerce dentro de la “democracia cognoscitiva”, la cual supone “la confrontación de tendencias”, la impugnación de situaciones, la lucha de ideas”. Este cuestionamiento libre, crítico y democrático constituyó para el escritor duranguense el legado mayor del movimiento juvenil de 1968 en todo el mundo. Ante la mediatización de la clase obrera —en Occidente, el bloque socialista y el Tercer Mundo— la conciencia proletaria había quedado depositada en los intelectuales críticos “cuyo objetivo esencial no es sustituir a la clase obrera, sino influir sobre ella y hacerla retomar su papel dirigente” (Revueltas 1979, 154, 156).

La derrota del movimiento ferrocarrilero, cuyo cuestionamiento llevó a final de cuentas a la expulsión definitiva de Revueltas del PCM, es resignificada por el novelista a través de la narrativa que construye a partir de la experiencia del 68. Ambos forman parte de un continuo histórico en el que el fracaso obrero es superado con lo que concibe como victoria del movimiento estudiantil, el mundo cerrado y oscuro del corporativismo estatal es descubierto por la acción de los jóvenes, y el lenguaje del proletariado lo verbalizan estos, adelantando el futuro. La represión gubernamental de los ferrocarrileros conculcó los derechos de toda la sociedad, en tanto que la lucha estudiantil abrió la oportunidad de resarcirlos. Ello, apunta el novelista, “no es un accidente en modo alguno:

indica la profunda naturaleza histórica que tiene y el camino que le falta todavía por recorrer” (Revueltas 1979, 153).

Posiblemente por su acercamiento al trotskismo en 1968, Revueltas delineó en 1971 una suerte de Programa de Transición —lo nombra “Plataforma”— del “Movimiento de la Nueva Izquierda Independiente”, el cual articularía a los estudiantes con las clases trabajadoras. La Plataforma de Transición constaba de cuatro puntos: 1) reforma universitaria; 2) independencia sindical y política de la clase obrera; 3) democracia agraria; 4) apertura del sistema electoral a todos los partidos políticos. Como es evidente, todas las demandas son inequívocamente democráticas. Habiendo abjurado del centralismo democrático comunista, el autor de *Los errores* propuso que el Movimiento de la Nueva Izquierda funcionara piramidalmente, de abajo hacia arriba, por medio de asambleas locales (centros educativos), asambleas generales (instituciones de educación superior), asambleas regionales (por entidad federativa) y por “la asamblea nacional de masas”. Esto es, una democracia sustantiva basada en la comunidad, no en la mera aritmética de su definición liberal (Revueltas 1979, 163-164; Draper 2018, 70. Se cita el primero).

Revueltas culminó de esta forma su ciclo comunista, que inició bajo el influjo de la Revolución de Octubre y cerró con la caracterización del Estado soviético como un “Estado nuclear” —equivalente al estadounidense— generador de nuevas formas de alienación humana y de afirmación del Estado, no de su extinción como auguró el marxismo clásico. Estados que transformaron a los individuos en objetos, en engranajes de una maquinaria que los consume, sacrificando su desarrollo en beneficio de la productividad y la eficacia orientadas hacia el lucro y controladas por el poder. Negación todo esto de los valores de la universidad crítica. Y, más que eso, de la libertad humana, traicionando “la gratuidad del hombre y la pureza del ocio” (Revueltas 1979, 168).

Revueltas no estaba por edificar mitos nacionales nuevos o por refrendar el esencialismo de la filosofía de lo mexicano; antes bien, pensaba que la

historia era un proceso, aunque no necesariamente para mejor (la transformación de la Unión Soviética en un Estado nuclear lo demostraba), que esta poseía estructuras profundas que delimitaban el campo de lo posible, pero que la acción libre, reflexiva y concertada de los actores era decisiva en su curso. Esto hacía imprescindible acabar con las “ficciones ideológicas” y alcanzar la “libertad real”, esto es, la autonomía, la posibilidad de la sociedad de gobernarse a sí misma. Ese era el sentido último de la democracia, el traslado del poder del Estado hacia la sociedad. Sin ejercer la violencia contra los demás —como hizo el Ejército en el 68—, pero con la autogestión obrera en las empresas privadas y públicas, además de la libre concurrencia política, podrían “las clases revolucionarias asumir el control del proceso histórico”. Más gramsciano que leninista, y más autogestionario que estatista, el último Revueltas no veía “otro camino que no sea —hoy por hoy— el camino democrático”, pues otro distinto “nos llevaría a un socialismo no democrático, es decir, nos llevaría a traicionar el proyecto socialista” (Revueltas 1979, 172, 162). Eso y no otra cosa sería la nueva revolución.

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Cuba's 1968: Between Revolution and Authoritarianism

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The year 1968 has become a powerful symbol to mark a number of political and cultural processes that took place during the (long) decade of the sixties, and that for reasons hard to pinpoint had some of their most visible and long-lasting manifestations during that critical year. It is commonplace to associate 1968 with a spirit of rebelliousness, a desire for radical change, a questioning of the existing status quo, the proliferation of utopian dreams, and the mobilization of urban masses comprised of students and workers, not always marching to the same tune. Paris, London, Berkeley, Prague, Mexico City, and many other cities were the scenes of those mobilizations and clashes, which, although they did not change the world as some of their protagonists wanted (or thought they wanted), left a powerful imprint on future developments, particularly in the realm of culture, forms of socialization, the exercise of authority, and relations between different generations and sexes.

When it comes to 1968 in Latin America, the most obvious references are the mobilization and repression of students in various countries, particularly in Mexico, where student demonstrations were crushed at Tlatelolco on the infamous afternoon of October 2, 1968. But there were other developments and scenarios of 1968 in Latin America that are not always included in accounts of that pivotal year: the nationalist coup that started a “peculiar revolution” in Peru, for instance, or the Medellín Bishop Conference and the consolidation of liberation theology as a major religious and political force in the region. Another such scenario rarely mentioned in global or regional accounts of 1968 is Cuba, a surprising absence given the prominent place that the Cuban Revolution had and still has in the imaginary of the global 1960s. In this brief essay, I will argue that

the two sides of 1968—its rebellious, liberating, and contestatory dimensions, and the authoritarian reactions they generated—coexisted within the Cuban process and help us understand the tensions and dilemmas that the Cuban Revolution faced as it entered the critical decade of 1970.

On April 9, 1968, Casa de las Américas published a Cuban edition of *Cien años de soledad*, the novel that would take Latin American and world literature by storm and whose first edition had been published the previous year in Buenos Aires with enormous success. On October 10, 1968, Fidel Castro gave a speech to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the beginning of the anticolonial rebellion led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes that would lead to the so-called Ten Years' War. In that speech, Fidel stated that Cuba was completing “cien años de lucha.” The reference to Gabo's novel was pretty obvious, as it was Fidel's intention to emphasize the revolution's connection to a longer history of Cuban nationalist, anticolonial, and anti-imperialist efforts.

By 1968, almost ten years after the victory of the revolution, Cuba continued to struggle against US hostility, diplomatic isolation, and economic shortages while, at the same time, trying to maintain and expand the social reforms that had benefited the Cuban people since January 1959. Because of these two elements—Cuba's defense of its autonomy and dignity and its insistence on a socialist and egalitarian path—by 1968 the revolution was still a source of inspiration for many around the world and particularly in Latin America. Although armed struggle had begun to decline as the main revolutionary tool, and Che Guevara had been defeated and killed just a few

months before, the Cuban example continued to enthuse revolutionary and utopian dreams in both developed and underdeveloped societies. The denunciation of US intervention in Vietnam and other parts of the world, for instance, an important component of many of the mobilizations of 1968, found inspiration in Cuba's anti-imperialist resistance. The spirit of the Cuban Revolution and of Che Guevara were important, although not always central, ingredients behind the mobilization of students and workers and their critique of bourgeois society, totalitarianism, and traditional ideas about power, culture, and gender relations.

At the same time, however, there were political and cultural developments in Cuba that were counter to "the spirit of 1968" and contributed to the gradual consolidation of a more rigid and authoritarian model of socialism in the island. Certain signs had appeared earlier: instances of censorship, the repression against homosexuals, the creation of the UMAPs (Unidades Militares de Apoyo a la Producción), or the Neruda affair in 1966, to name but a few. But 1968 would prove to be a decisive year in the consolidation of a new course for the revolution.

It could be argued that, for Cuba, 1968 started with the capture and death of Che Guevara in October 1967. It represented the end of an era marked by revolutionary idealism, resistance to the Soviet model, and active promotion of guerrilla-style revolution. It also signaled the beginning of the gradual entrenchment of a more Soviet-like system, which would reach its peak in the 1970s, particularly during the so-called *quinquenio gris*, the period of obscurantism and cultural repression that, as writer Leonardo Padura has pointed out, was actually longer than a *quinquenio* and darker than gray: he and others have referred to it as "el decenio negro."

In January 1968, Cuba held an international Congreso Cultural in Havana, a major event that gathered hundreds of Cuban and foreign intellectuals to discuss a number of issues including, quite centrally, the role of intellectuals in the revolutionary process. The congress reaffirmed the subordination of cultural and artistic creation to the needs of the revolution. In a lengthy speech

at the end of the congress, Fidel launched a frontal attack against the United States, defended the legacy of Che Guevara, and praised intellectuals for their role in the struggle against imperialism. He also questioned what he referred to as intellectual individualism: "el análisis, las concepciones, cada vez más tendrán que ser la obra de equipos de hombres más que de hombres individuales." Critical thinking was encouraged, but only to the extent that it stayed within the parameters of the revolution. The final declaration signed by the participants in the Cultural Congress stated that the fundamental duty of intellectuals was to resist imperialist aggression and to support struggles toward national liberation and decolonization efforts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The commission that debated the issue of the "responsibility of the intellectual" went a bit further in its rhetoric: "hacemos la revolución, luego existimos."

But not every intellectual or topic was welcomed in those debates in Havana in January 1968. It is well known that many were excluded, in particular a group of black intellectuals (among them Walterio Carbonell, Nancy Morejón, and Nicolás Guillén Landrián, nephew of the poet) who were demanding a more clear and direct commitment of the revolution against racism and discrimination. They were accused of opening a "racial breach" in the revolution, and some would eventually suffer various forms of ostracism, including temporary imprisonment.

Simultaneously, the revolution intensified its hostility against multiple cultural manifestations, both local and imported, that were perceived as counterrevolutionary: foreign music, fashion styles, religious beliefs, and, most ominously, homosexuality, that in official propaganda was equated with both cultural alienation and counterrevolutionary activities. Some of the very manifestations that were central to the mobilizations of 1968 around the world were seen in the island as detrimental to the revolution and actively discouraged and persecuted. In 1971, during the First National Congress of Education and Culture, homosexuality would be explicitly defined as a social pathology and a counterrevolutionary type of behavior: "With regards to homosexual

deviance, its character as a social pathology was established. The militant principle of rejecting all these manifestations or their propagation was clearly stated. . . . Cultural media should not be used as hotbeds for the proliferation of false intellectuals who try to convert snobism, extravagance, homosexuality, and other social aberrations into expressions of revolutionary art.”

Let’s get back to 1968. In August of that year, as is well known, Soviet troops and tanks invaded Czechoslovakia to put an end to the so-called Prague Spring, a period of reforms led by Alexander Dubček that was attempting to liberalize the existing Soviet-like Communist regime. The Cuban press did not offer much coverage of the events in Prague as they were unfolding, and Fidel said nothing publicly about it; at the same time, according to some testimonies, the “Casa de la Cultura Checa” in Havana had become a sort of cultural oasis, where foreign music and cinema unavailable elsewhere were made available to locals. Once the troops of the Warsaw Pact intervened and crushed the Dubček government, Fidel took a stand and publicly expressed his support to the intervention, which disappointed many on the left who wanted to think of Cuba as an independent and democratic socialist experiment, not a replica of the Soviet model. For Fidel, the Prague Spring was leading Czechoslovakia “into the arms of imperialism”; intervention for him was indubitably (even if painfully) justified.

Later that year, in October, the Cuban cultural establishment would be shaken by the first phase of what would be known as the Padilla affair: the scandal surrounding the prize that poet Heberto Padilla received for his book *Fuera del juego*. Padilla was a poet who had worked for the revolution in a variety of positions, including that of head of the office in charge of cultural imports and exports. He was not yet an open critic of the revolution, but he had been involved in various polemics, including his defense of the already exiled writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante and his critique of Lisandro Otero’s book *Pasión de Urbino*. Padilla’s book was chosen by an international jury comprised of José Lezama Lima, J. M. Cohen, César Calvo, Manuel Díaz Martínez, and José Z. Talled for

the 1968 Julián del Casal Award in poetry, a contest organized by the Unión Nacional de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba (UNEAC). Díaz Martínez revealed, many years later, that there were strong pressures from Raúl Castro to prevent Padilla from being the winner, and Díaz was temporarily discharged from the jury under various accusations, one of them being that he had publicly criticized the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, although he was eventually reinstated. Nicolás Guillén, UNEAC’s president, allegedly tried to convince Lezama Lima not to vote in favor of *Fuera del juego*.

Despite the pressures, the jury awarded the prize to Padilla. In their resolution, jury members stated that “*Fuera del Juego* is located on the side of the Revolution, is committed to it, and adopts the attitude that is essential to the poet and the revolutionary: that of the nonconformist [*inconforme*], of somebody that has higher aspirations because his desire projects him beyond the existing reality.” Such characterization of Padilla’s writings and of himself as a poet did not convince the official Cuban intelligentsia. An “inconforme” in Cuba was perceived as a dissident, a counterrevolutionary, an ally of the enemy. Padilla’s book was eventually printed, since that was one of the conditions of the award, but it appeared with a “warning” to readers written by UNEAC’s Executive Committee, according to which Padilla’s book was “ideologically contrary to our revolution,” “a defense of individualism against the needs of a society that is building its future,” and reflected an attitude of “skepticism or critical rejection” typical of a liberal intellectual that, in the context of an “impetuous revolutionary development,” “objectively became reactionary.” Authors like Padilla, they continued, did not serve the revolution but its enemies; they were sort of “Trojan horses of imperialism.” What needs to be mentioned here is that several poems by Padilla had been already published in mainstream Cuban journals, including *Casa de las Américas*. The scandal surrounding *Fuera del juego* is a clear indication of the tightening of control over dissent in Cuba. As Cuban literary scholar Jorge Fonet has underlined, by 1968 the official line of Cuban cultural politics was being set in the pages of *Verde Olivo*, the magazine of the Cuban Armed Forces: “To appeal to the organ of the armed forces,” Fonet writes, “was akin to sending military tanks

to the (lettered) city.” Padilla’s book, according to many sources, was not allowed to openly circulate in Cuba. Some reports suggest that most of the print run was burned or otherwise destroyed.

Space constraints prevent me from addressing other instances of this increasingly hostile attitude toward critical intellectuals in Cuba, such as the attacks penned in *Verde Olivo* against specific writers, including references to their sexual orientation, or the ostracism suffered by intellectuals such as Walterio Carbonell and Manuel Moreno Fraginals, who were critical of certain aspects of the official line of the revolution but by no means could be considered counterrevolutionary. I do not have time either to do justice to the existence in Cuba of individuals, groups, and spaces (such as the journal *Pensamiento Crítico* between 1967 and 1971) actively engaged in debates that did not necessarily follow or endorse the official line, or to the vibrant cultural and artistic scene that the Cuban population had access to thanks to an effective (albeit still subject to government control) democratization of education and culture. Although the trend was clearly toward a tighter official control of the cultural scene, critical and independent voices were not fully suppressed.

The episodes reviewed in this brief essay point to the contradictory nature of Cuba’s 1968. On the one hand, the revolution was still, objectively speaking, conducting a heroic effort toward self-determination, the fulfillment of its promises to build a new society, resistance against US hostility, and solidarity with national liberation movements around the world. The Cuban Revolution and Che Guevara inspired, at least in some cases, the mobilization of students and workers demanding more freedom and justice and/or denouncing US intervention in Vietnam. The project of 1968 was not always a socialist one, but many participants in those demonstrations and strikes had sympathies for a revolution that was still perceived as a model of dignity and courage.

On the other hand, many developments, including some key events that took place in 1968, pointed in the opposite direction, that is, the adoption of a more rigid and authoritarian model of socialism.

To a certain extent, the Cuban “*decenio negro*” began in 1968. To say this does not imply ignoring the context in which this was taking place: a revolution besieged by foreign powers and in need of defending its real existence. But even its most sympathetic defenders would acknowledge that the way in which the revolution responded to specific manifestations of cultural and political dissent was way out of proportion and revealed an authoritarian tendency that was at odds with the spirit of 1968. The revolution, I would argue, was actually trying to prevent a Cuban version of 1968.

What this proves, among other things, is that building a new and just society, while at the same time maintaining the fullest of freedoms and rights to everyone, including those that are critical of those changes, is a difficult if not utopian goal. Fifty years later, that challenge continues to haunt us, both in our interpretation of past events and in our vision for the future of our societies. //

Has Anything Happened since the 1960s? Reflections of an Old-Timer

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Inevitably, I have space in this short essay only for generalizations, in other words, assertions. This is sometimes a good thing but it always needs to be explained and excused. This brief piece is focused on the professional—my interest in Latin American history including the history of its literary narrative—and the personal, my own perception of the passage of time and the unfolding of global history over the past 50 years. Somehow, I hope to bring the two topics together in one or two significant and perhaps provocative ways. (We all write, of course, in the aftermath of the 2016 Brexit referendum in the UK and the 2016 election of Donald Trump.)

Professionally, anyone involved with Latin American culture has to be struck by the lack of new movements, new styles and, indeed, new “great writers” in Latin American literature since the 1960s—in comparison, say, with the 50 years before (I will return to Latin American fiction toward the end). This would probably be the case with US and European literatures too. It is almost as if the 1960s, that incomparable “conjuncture” (a moment I’ve always viewed as Phase II of the avant-garde 1920s), and not Fukuyama’s 1990s, were “the end of history,” as if we were now living almost entirely in some kind of “present” time—but not “mindfully.”

The second topic departs from a literally “superficial” perception—one about the surface of the past and the passage of time, a reflection on my own experience as a prelude to a brief meditation on the history I have witnessed this past half century.

When one looked back in the 1960s, when I was a young man, at film of the 1910s or 1920s, the physical contrasts were obvious. People and things seemed entirely different: it all looked, in every way,

“a long time ago.” And even when, in 1960s London, I thought back from the then present to the 1940s (the decade when I was born), the physical and visual differences were also obvious; for one thing, there were horses in the streets routinely delivering bread, milk, coal, and beer; and people dressed and spoke differently and had completely different looks on their faces.

Whereas if I look back now, either in film or personal memory, from September of 2018 to the 1960s, the opposite is the case. All the young people (I stress that I am talking about the young people) look like I do now, which is much the same as my children and grandchildren look now. The 1960s young people were the people of the future. The men all wore jeans and could wear hair of any length they chose, the women too could wear whatever they liked—for the first time in history—and houses and automobiles looked much the same as now.

Sputnik and the Cuban Revolution had foreshadowed a new era of political revolution and technological transformation. When I flew to Bolivia in 1965, I traveled in a Boeing 707 jet, which flew at the same speed that jets do now. Photocopiers and contraceptive pills were in use down there in the world below me; computers already existed and personal versions were on the horizon. TV had caught up with the cinema so that the world was now in color. The electric guitar—drama, transformation, the future, the individual and the mass—was already the background to most young people’s lives and it is now the unnoticed background to almost everyone’s life. Third World revolution was well under way and colonialism in full retreat. Questions of race, gender, and sexuality were being vigorously debated and contested. By the beginning of the 1960s it was clear to

perceptive observers that everything was changing; and by the mid-60s almost everybody knew it. And young people, for the first time in history, enjoyed genuine agency, and they and their concerns, from popular culture to revolution, were attracting much of the world's attention.

And all this was rapidly becoming global. When I lived in Mexico in 1968 the young people of the Mexican middle and lower urban classes were simply leaping at globalization. There was a radio channel exclusively devoted to the Beatles, and it was easier to buy books by French intellectuals or international Marxists in Mexico City than in London. The so-called cosmopolitan global elites so despised by Donald Trump's supporters and by advocates of the UK Brexit decision all these years later—mainly the educated middle classes—were already in existence, but postwar social democratic and welfare policies had provided the cosmetic of a newly emergent classless society and the reality of a relatively supportive state, meaning that they had not yet been radically distanced, politically, from the working classes. And of course, as implied above, by the time the 1970s appeared it had become much more difficult to judge a person's class by their dress. This is still the case today.

I find these impressions surprisingly surprising. Much more surprising is how difficult it is to write the history of the past 50 years. Take another superficial observation. The great rock and pop stars who emerged in the 1960s, who drew upon the various forms of African American music since the jazz and blues eras, are still the greatest rock and pop personalities in history and many of them are alive, still performing and still, apparently, relevant (Bob Dylan, Rolling Stones, Paul McCartney, Pink Floyd, Santana, and, until her death during the composition of this text, Aretha Franklin). And the great writers, artists, and intellectuals we look to in "high" culture now are much the same as the great writers, artists, and intellectuals we looked to then because, to underline the point, in historical terms—in relative terms—astonishingly few truly "new" movements, whether political, cultural, or intellectual, and very few "great" figures have emerged in the last half century. In literature younger writers are finding it difficult to produce what used to be called an "oeuvre," a body of work

added to and unfolding over time—because it is not at all clear that time is unfolding in the same way, just as it is no longer clear that young people are truly protagonists of their time. Our lives are no longer lived as *Bildungsromans*. If I think of my own hermetic world of literary criticism it is impossible to think of anyone as significant today as Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, Barthes, and their European poststructuralist contemporaries; or any artist as generationally significant as Warhol; or any filmmaker as impactful as Antonioni or Godard or Pasolini. What we have had, in almost all fields of cultural and intellectual endeavor, is variations upon a theme, a loss of most forms of radical newness, and a gradual loss of conviction and commitment.

As for me, now an old man, I have finally become a part of the history I have always talked about: as witness (for myself), case study (for my children), and specimen (for my grandchildren). I was 16 when the 1960s began and 26 when they ended. At the start of the decade I was a schoolboy with buddies and girlfriends, exhilarated by the Cuban Revolution and energized by rock and roll; by its end I was a married man about to become a father and teaching students on an area studies program. My area, of course, was Latin America. As a Londoner I watched my city evolve from decadent imperial capital to "swinging" center of cultural revolution during that decade. But also during the '60s I visited Paris at least seven or eight times—though not in 1968 (hélas!) because I was in Mexico. I visited Franco's Spain five times in the '60s and spent at least six months there, eventually traveling the entire country in a pickup truck. I spent a year in Bolivia and visited Peru, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil by bus and train. During my year in Mexico I attended every student demonstration in the capital city except the last, at Tlatelolco. . . . That year I traveled from New York to Panama by bus (taking in much of the American South, including Tennessee, three months after the assassination of Martin Luther King) and visited not only Mexico but every country in Central America. On my way home in 1969 I watched the first moon landing aboard a transatlantic liner in the Panama Canal; and then discovered, a few days later, that all oceanic ships dumped their garbage behind them to float briefly on the surface and then sink forever into the watery

depths in an obscene and irresponsible spectacle I have never forgotten. ("There's plenty of room down there," a crewmember reassured me.) In my first term at university the Beatles and Rolling Stones had burst on to the scene (I attended their early concerts but missed Dylan's), and the world was transfixed by the Cuban missile crisis. The next year I was at a rock concert when JFK was assassinated. Jorge Luis Borges had come to my university in England to speak in 1963. In 1967 Miguel Angel Asturias, the man I was writing my literary PhD dissertation about, won the Nobel Prize; I met Mario Vargas Llosa, whose biography I am writing now, in Asturias's company in May of that year.

So much happening, so much to learn, so much to do. We wanted to be everywhere at once, as in the 1920s modernist novels by Joyce, Dos Passos, Faulkner, and Woolf. We assumed that history would continue to unfold with the same intensity, the same apparent meaningfulness. Now we have the internet.

Finally I spent 1971 to 1972 (the end of the "long 1960s" in the minds of many experts) in California, another of the great homes of the 1960s transformations, and started to look back, post-assassinations, post-Manson, on an era that we already knew was over, as the Vietnam war juddered to its tragic close and aftermath. Then came the vast conservative push-back: the rise of the so-called think tanks, the international oil crisis and consequent shift of attention to the Middle East, and, for members of LASA (founded in 1966), the devastating Latin American coups and counterrevolutions of the '70s and '80s, beginning of course with Chile's neoliberal putsch; and we started to discover that the newly liberated women of the West didn't just have the right to work but an imperative to do so because now it required two workers per household to live at the standard of a working-class North American family of the 1950s. Since then the gulf between the world's richest and poorest has attained late nineteenth-century dimensions; and the gulf between our increasingly miraculous technology and our ability to build suitable and satisfying societies is reaching literally apocalyptic levels—and not just with climate change. The '60s told us that we needed to achieve appropriate harmonizations between, on the one

hand, the individual and the community, and on the other, between the local and the global. And that it could be done. It is difficult not to conclude that we are further away than ever from these goals. Art, love, communalism, and the quest for a new spirituality, against business, consumerism, individualism, and physical conflict.

Did more things happen in the 1960s than in any other decade in living memory? For sure. Was there any going back? No way. Or rather, there was no way we would accept the loss of our new formal, civil, human, and legal rights; our newly developing cultural, ethnic, and gender identities; and our new idea that culture was, above all, entertainment and fun. As for "Liberty-Equality-Fraternity" all together in one package, well, that would have to wait a bit longer; maybe much longer, we reflected, as the 1990s came and went. The world is "real," right? At least, so Thatcher and Reagan told us. And so we had a completely unexpected and unpredicted return to capitalism's gilded age to undergo (or undertake, *según*), a partial revisiting of that first vertiginous moment of neoliberalism and globalization forged in the late nineteenth century by those uncomfortable cousins and allies, the United States and the United Kingdom (just look at them now . . .). And by the turn of the twenty-first century, following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the USSR, that regression would be pretty much achieved—and celebrated by Fukuyama et al. Since then all of the history just sketched out has been available for investigation and clarification through the internet and the new social media (unless, of course, one concludes that they have mainly facilitated our historical amnesia, our global dementia); and the human genome has been established to demonstrate that mankind, now renamed "humanity," is unified under one microscopic banner. Those two phenomena—the internet and the genome and all that goes with them—seem to me the two most important developments of our era. Recent history makes it difficult to be optimistic that they will be used for human liberation. And artificial intelligence, robotics, and full-scale genetic engineering await us down the road. If we look up we can see them.

Let's be fair to Fukuyama. Contrary to popular belief, he has not been proved wrong; the market is still liberally regulating our affairs as he, subliminally, predicted. But whoever said that life was easy? (Or at least, whoever dared say that life was going to be easy again after we declared that it could be so during the 1960s?) It seems we will still be organized in the same way, politically and economically, when the arctic ice caps and mountaintops have melted and the oceans have expanded, when all the bees and frogs and rhinoceroses have departed, when every last inch of the planet has been "deregulated" and privatized, when the last utopian vestiges of socialism and social democracy have disappeared from our world, and the United States and the United Kingdom have been reorganized on the same much more practical basis as China and Russia for the smoother functioning of the global capitalist enterprise.

Sitting here in my 1960s-style jeans and this morning's clean T-shirt with its quirky, edgy, libertarian slogan ("fuck you" would be an approximate translation; we are all still rebels, with an electric guitar in our heads), I reflect that history has been moving very slowly, lavalike, since 1969 but also very determinedly, almost methodically; but most of us humans have not. Before Fukuyama was right about the end of history in the 1990s, Marshall McLuhan had been right about the future in the 1960s (about, among many other things, the end of "Gutenberg," the advent of the "global village," the annulment of the future, and the prophetic brilliance of James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* in the late 1930s). Sometimes it seems as if we have just been working through the contradictory focusing of history that the 1960s big bang brought about, with all its (apparently utopian) hopes and all its (apparently inevitable) disappointments. In the 1960s we intuited that if there was to be a change it had to be a total (though preferably not a totalitarian) transformation, and our unevenly developing world, it transpired, was not ready. Fifty years later the need is clearer than ever, and now we seem to have no choice; but still we are not ready. It seems to be easier to stop thinking, to look down from the sky to our screens. Through a glass darkly.

As for Latin America, it has ceased being the continent of the future, a role it had played for almost half a millennium. Socialism, revolutions, guerrilla movements, individual dictators, military juntas, assassinations of major political figures, all of them are past or passing; liberalism, with or without "populism," remains, and continues to spread, as it does everywhere else (though the need for the assassination of ordinary people has expanded exponentially). The region has absolutely failed to become the western hemispheric Latin political and economic union many of us had envisaged and is in many respects newly deferential to Spain, which is superficially beneficial for authors who want to be published and publicized in Europe. Even so, a majority of its younger writers and intellectuals appear to hope in the medium term for some kind of assimilation of the entire Latin American continent into the USA. (See Jorge Volpi's seminal *El insomnio de Bolívar*, 2009.) On the other hand, its historic "quest for identity," a staple of its literature and its history of ideas since the late eighteenth century and the very heart and dynamic focus of the 1960s boom of the Latin American novel, has moved on from Latin America and infected the entire planet. If nostalgic nationalisms are currently sweeping the globe in the absence of any other sacred truths in which to believe, that is precisely because in the throes of the neoliberal cultural revolution even places like the United States and the United Kingdom, traditionally triumphalist and exceptionalist, have not only lost their way but their very identities and are now searching for them—vainly—anew.

As for that 1960s boom, focused, as every googler knows, on the figures of Julio Cortázar, Gabriel García Márquez, Carlos Fuentes, and Mario Vargas Llosa, Did it exist? It did. Did the 1960s exist? They did. Do they still exist? They do, they simply won't go away; they have been cryogenically frozen. At the moment Carlos Fuentes died in 2012 we had the extraordinary situation in which the three most prestigious and most widely covered Latin American writers of the twenty-first century were aged 85, 83, and 76. Today Vargas Llosa, at the age of 82, is by some distance the most influential writer-intellectual in the entire Hispanic world. Latin America is still full of interesting writing but less full of interesting writers; few of them

give the impression that they might turn into a García Márquez, Vargas Llosa, Cortázar, or Fuentes, still less into a Borges, Carpentier, Asturias, or Lispector, those decisive writers from the pre-*boom* generation who knew Latin America better than even the *boom* writers themselves ever would.

The only writer, male or female, from the post-*boom* generation who seems self-evidently important in a world-historical sense is Roberto Bolaño, whose death in 2003 was a tragedy for world letters; and it is striking that he is less popular in Latin America itself, or among other Latin American writers, than in other Western regions. Yet it seems to me that no writer anywhere speaks more eloquently about the post-1968 world, its lack of purchase, its lack of direction, and lack of any kind of end product, than Bolaño does. Much of his writing was on the frontier of science fiction. Therein, perhaps, lies the key to the enigma of our age.

If I were younger I would write a book about all this.

Postscript: I have avoided the postmodernism/postmodernity debate, which has been, when all is said and done, and in the absence of Marxism, the great debate of the post-1960s era. We have all been flattened beneath the weight of that debate. If postmodernity existed and exists—in other words, if it designates something that really happened, or can usefully be said to have happened—I would assert that its inauguration was in the 1960s and was signaled, in my neck of the literary woods, by Cortázar's *Rayuela* in 1963 and unveiled by García Márquez's *Cien años de soledad* in 1967. //

Civil Society in Revolt against the Leftist Authoritarianism of the Ortega/Murillo Regime

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Since the spontaneous citizen protests that erupted on April 19, 2018, were met with violent state repression, Nicaraguans have experienced a horrendous human toll: over 400 dead, thousands injured, over 500 political prisoners (including hundreds charged with manufactured crimes and hundreds more detained without any charges being filed), as well as students expelled from their institutions of higher education and doctors fired for treating protesters.¹ Since April, international and local human rights organizations have documented violence by police and parapolice forces operating as paramilitary bodies using high-caliber weapons against university students, demonstrators, journalists, human rights defenders, Catholic Church clergy (who were initially serving as mediators in the stalled national dialogue between the government and protesters), and the population in general.

The present dossier is a follow-up to the emergency roundtable we organized for the LASA meeting in Barcelona in May 2018, entitled “Ni izquierda ni derecha, Nicaragua está arrechá: La juventud autoconvocada en revuelta popular frente al pensamiento único de un Estado autoritario.” The aim of that panel was to provide a corrective to the left/right prism through which the crisis in Nicaragua was and is being read outside the country. While the occupations of university campuses and *tranques* blocking access to roads and cities throughout Nicaragua have been dismantled by the use of force and police and paramilitary assaults, the situation in the country has not returned to normal, as the government claims. Protests continue, many university students refuse to return to classes, and the government

has begun rounding up and apprehending protest leaders and jailing them on trumped-up charges of violating anti-gang and anti-terrorism laws.²

In fact, the situation of one of our proposed contributors illustrates this reality. We had originally planned to include an essay by Enrieth Martínez, a fifth-year student in sociology at the UCA (Universidad Centroamericana) and a co-founder of the Coordinadora Universitaria por la Democracia y la Justicia, one of the student protest groups. Enrieth and other members of the CUDJ were arrested and briefly detained at the El Chipote jail in Managua and were only released thanks to the intervention of the mission from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights sent by the OAS to document the violence in Nicaragua.³ Many student leaders have fled the country or are in hiding, while reports continue of others being detained.

How can we make sense of what is happening in Nicaragua? Is this a “soft” right-wing coup fomented by the United States and are the students and other protesters naïve pawns of US imperialism and neoliberal capital, as many accounts in left-wing publications in the United States and elsewhere allege? One of the main themes of the present dossier is precisely to show that it is impossible to accurately understand the conflict in Nicaragua by viewing it through such outdated ideological lenses.

First, the characterization of the Ortega/Murillo government as “leftist” begs the question what that means given that Ortega was able to regain the presidency in 2007 thanks to a pact with ex-president and leader of the Partido Liberal Constitucionalista, Arnoldo Alemán, which

vacated the former's jail sentence for corruption and lowered the percentage necessary to win a presidential election in the first round from 45 percent to 35 percent (Ortega won with 38 percent of the vote). In 2006 the FSLN (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional) also endorsed a strict law banning all abortions in Nicaragua, and the Ortega/Murillo government has been consistently hostile to feminist organizations and women's groups, and until recently had close ties with the most conservative elements of the Catholic Church and the COSEP (Consejo Superior de la Empresa Privada) and welcomed investment by transnational capital. Moreover, the Ortega/Murillo government until the crisis had excellent relations with the United States, receiving US economic aid and cooperating with the US "war on drugs" and its immigration policies.

Second, the protesters and student groups who initially led the uprising are composed of people of all ideological stripes. From die-hard anti-Sandinistas to young leftists steeped in revolutionary lore but disillusioned with the authoritarian tendencies, corruption, and concentration of power in the hands of the Ortega/Murillo family, to ordinary citizens who had never before been active in politics but who took to the streets to protest violence such as the country had not seen since the bloody end of the Somoza dictatorship in the 1970s, protesters have a wide range of ideological positions.

Finally, Nicaragua's opposition parties have been playing catch-up rather than leading the protests. Like elsewhere in Latin America the traditional political establishment has lost credibility in Nicaragua. Opposition parties are weak and have not been able to mobilize significant support, which explains why (in addition to probable fraud and massive absenteeism) Ortega handily won reelection in 2016. The massive protests that erupted in April 2018 not only were not foreseen by anyone, they could not have been called by the opposition parties.

Instead, as the two articles in this dossier demonstrate, there was discontent from various sectors of civil society that does not fit neatly into standard ideological categories: from peasant

movements galvanized by the government's plan to build an interoceanic canal to black and indigenous activists on the country's Caribbean coast whose demands for communal territory and autonomous rights placed them at odds with the government's vision of development through mega-projects and its demand for tight control by the central state over decision-making at local and regional levels.

As the crisis in Nicaragua lurches on, only one thing is clear: the Ortega/Murillo regime is becoming more and more authoritarian, violent, and repressive against the sizable percentage of the population—perhaps a majority—that opposes it. The question is what comes next. As Creole feminist activist Shakira Simmons cogently observes in her article, the challenge will be to see how current calls for a more democratic Nicaragua can resolve long-standing tensions that defy easy ideological classification but are nevertheless central to the country's future.

Notes

- ¹ The figures increase constantly as the repression intensifies. The figures cited here are based on those compiled by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Centro Nicaragüense de Derechos Humanos (CENIDH). See <http://www.oas.org/es/cidh/informes/pdfs/Nicaragua2018-es.pdf> and <https://www.cenidh.org/>.
- ² For example, a third national strike was held on September 11, 2018, convened by the Alianza Democrática, which emerged after the protests and is composed of student groups, peasant movements, the private sector, and so on. The day of protest was in demand of the release of political prisoners, and during it most of the private sector was closed, including shops, banks, gas stations, transportation, and private colleges and universities. See <https://www.revistaeclesia.com/nicaragua-realiza-tercer-paro-nacional-en-protesta-contra-ortega/>.
- ³ "Policía libera a 20 líderes universitarios y a tres documentalistas que fueron detenidos en Carazo," *La Prensa*, August 25, 2018, <https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2018/08/25/nacionales/2463981-policia-detiene-21-lideres-universitarios-en-carazo.//>

Beyond Left and Right: Grassroots Social Movements and Nicaragua's Civic Insurrection

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Nicaragua has become unrecognizable in just a few short months. Those of us who have followed events closely since the April 18 protests against social security reform have witnessed the disintegration of a country through the mechanism of state repression. The standoff between the popular resistance movement and the government of Daniel Ortega and his wife and vice president Rosario Murillo has resulted in levels of brutality not seen since the civil wars of the 1970s and 1980s. Although violence has been documented on both sides of the conflict, national and international human rights organizations have attributed the vast majority of human rights abuses and deaths to the Nicaraguan state. According to these sources, police and parapolice have killed more than 300 men, women, and children, resulting in a massacre of significant proportions in this country of just 6 million people. Thousands of citizens have been injured, and hundreds have been illegally detained or disappeared. In contrast, violence against government forces and supporters has resulted in the deaths of some 50 people.¹

In addition to the astonishing violence, Ortega and Murillo have sought to punish their critics, suppress the resistance movement, and deny responsibility for the bloodshed and instability. For instance, the state funds parapolice forces, or masked gunmen in double cabin pickup trucks, to terrorize communities and obfuscate its role in the violence. Catholic clergy have been threatened and attacked for their efforts to mediate the crisis. Hundreds of doctors and other hospital personnel have been terminated from their positions for providing care to injured protestors, leaving a shortage of medical staff in public hospitals.² In July, lawmakers passed an antiterrorism law that the state has used to

criminalize protesters, grassroots activists, human rights defenders, and journalists. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of citizens have applied for asylum in Costa Rica.³ Claiming divine protection, Ortega and Murillo have responded to international condemnation with a disinformation campaign, labeling the diverse and largely nonviolent resistance movement “satanic,” “terrorist,” “criminal,” “golpistas” who are working at the behest of the US government to overthrow the socialist state.

Despite clear evidence of gross human rights abuses by the government, progressive sectors in the United States remain divided on how to respond to the crisis. Some on the Left are reluctant to disavow a leftist state, even one that has become increasingly violent and authoritarian in the last decade. Others have expressed concerns about US intervention and maintain a healthy distrust of mainstream media coverage of Latin American affairs. A vocal group of solidarity activists and commentators have defended the Sandinista state, reproducing the Ortega/Murillo narrative. These sources suggest the US government has played a lead role in orchestrating the civic insurrection. They label the resistance movement “right wing,” focus on opposition violence, calling into question the findings of human rights organizations, and frequently overstate the progressive achievements of the state. The Sandinista Revolution, as one of the few successful examples of popular national resistance to the long and bloody history of US intervention in the region, looms large in the pieces. They fall short, however, on serious analysis of Nicaraguan politics since the 1990 elections removed the Sandinistas from power.⁴ Thus, as

the standoff continues, there is little consensus on the Left about the origins of the crisis or how to respond to the violence.

This article offers some starting points for understanding the conflict via an account of social movements that oppose the state's plans to build an Interoceanic Grand Canal. The resistance has been represented in the now defunct National Dialogue with the state by the Civic Alliance for Justice and Democracy, an amalgam of diverse interests from the private sector, student movement, grassroots social movements, and civil society. Spanning the political spectrum, these groups make for strange bedfellows, giving the Alliance a certain ideological incoherence beyond the desire to see Ortega and Murillo step down, a restoration of democratic institutions, and an end to the violence. An examination of grassroots social movements, however, provides an often-overlooked entry point into the roots of the civic insurrection. These movements illustrate why traditional ideological and political divisions between the Latin American Left and Right have limited utility for parsing relationships among diverse sectors of the resistance movement and the state. An analysis of the factors that drive grassroots mobilization against Ortega and Murillo, such as Sandinista economic policy, corruption, autocratic rule, state violence, racism, gender oppression, and land dispossession, reveal a Sandinista state that no longer embraces leftist politics and a country that has outgrown its old political categories.

A View from the Caribbean Coast

I first traveled to Nicaragua as a graduate student in 1998. Since then, I have spent more than four years on the Caribbean coast of the country, where my research and activism focus on indigenous and Afro-descendant territorial rights. Most of my work has been with a small Afro-descendant Kriol community called Monkey Point, which since the late-1990s has been at the center of national debates over a series of interoceanic canal proposals that have targeted communal lands for infrastructure development.⁵ The US\$50 billion Chinese-backed Interoceanic Grand Canal, the centerpiece of Sandinista economic policy, is the latest and most controversial proposal to emerge

in 2013. Not surprisingly, my perspective on the crisis is informed by my years of engagement with Monkey Point and other community-based struggles for land rights in the region. What strikes me most about these grassroots movements is the continuity in forces that drove mobilization against the neoliberal Right (1990–2006) and those that now drive resistance to the self-styled socialist Left (2007–2018).⁶ Although each era has seen distinct geopolitical alliances, state ideologies and agendas, and degrees of official inclusion in the political sphere, certain conditions endure. State violence and land dispossession under mestizo racial rule continue to shape the everyday lived experience of community people.

Indigenous and Afro-descendant demands for land and self-determination date back to Nicaragua's military annexation of the Caribbean coast in 1894. Nevertheless, contemporary movements for territorial demarcation emerged after the Sandinista state negotiated regional autonomy as a settlement to armed conflict with these communities in the 1980s. The Sandinista state enshrined multicultural citizenship rights in 1986 with the adoption of a new constitution followed by the passage of an autonomy statute for the region in 1987. After the 1990 Sandinista electoral defeat, however, neoliberal administrations were generally hostile to multiculturalism as a project of the Left and treated indigenous and Afro-descendant lands as little more than vehicles for economic development. Despite state intransigence, international human rights decisions upheld community demands for territorial recognition,⁷ while multilateral development banks sought to reconcile capitalist accumulation with indigenous and Afro-descendant property rights. Both compelled the state to negotiate territorial rights with communities, which it did reluctantly, ultimately resisting demarcation and titling. During these years, demarcation became the central demand from communities that were experiencing extractivist exploitation, megaproject development, mestizo land colonization associated with the advance of the agricultural frontier, and "drug war" militarization.

Given the neoliberal state's resistance to territorial recognition, Daniel Ortega's return to power in 2007 after a 17-year hiatus was met with cautious hope that he would fulfill his campaign promise and title indigenous and Afro-descendant lands. Between 2007 and 2016, the Sandinista state did just that, titling some 30 percent of the country.⁸ As part of this process, Monkey Point and eight other indigenous and Afro-descendant communities received title to the Rama-Kriol Territory in 2009. But after titling, most of the contradictions of state-led capitalist intensification remained, even intensified, as did the repressive strategies used to secure these policies. Like neoliberal predecessors, this new Sandinista state proved unwilling to stop the advance of the agricultural frontier or the intense violence resulting from mestizo settler clashes with indigenous communities on the northern Caribbean coast, where the death toll from settler violence is high.⁹ Moreover, many community people believed Sandinista officials were personally benefiting from land trafficking and extractivist enterprises in the region.

Monkey Point people felt these contradictions acutely. For instance, in the years directly following titling, community leaders denounced counternarcotics forces stationed in Monkey Point for sexually abusing more than a dozen local girls. The military defended itself by using racialized discourses about black criminality and community involvement in the drug trade to delegitimize the accusations. Leaders received threats, and relations with the Sandinista state further deteriorated. Meanwhile, mestizo settlement of the territory continued, and Ortega announced plans to construct the Interoceanic Grand Canal, the largest earthmoving infrastructure project in history, on communal lands. Adding insult to injury, the Sandinista-controlled national legislature passed the canal concession (Law 840) in 2013 without consulting communities in the territory, violating its own multicultural statutes as well as international norms on free, prior, and informed consent for development projects on indigenous and Afro-descendant lands.¹⁰

The Interoceanic Grand Canal

Although communities of the Rama-Kriol Territory have been challenging infrastructure concessions on their lands since the 1990s,¹¹ after the passage of Law 840, the massive and unprecedented scale of the canal project spurred a national protest movement led by mestizo campesinos living along the proposed route. Particularly shocking were the terms of the canal concession, which privatized the venture and authorized subprojects such as free trade zones, tourism resorts, and a petroleum pipeline as well as any other infrastructure deemed necessary by the concessionaire, a Hong Kong-based firm backed by a Chinese billionaire. The state offered these incentives in exchange for a 1 percent share in the canal (to increase 10 percent each decade of operation) and an annual payout of US\$10 million for the first ten years.¹² These unfavorable terms displaced enormous market risk from international capital onto the Nicaraguan people. In a marked departure from 1980s Sandinista agrarian policy, the project would result in capitalist "accumulation by dispossession," transferring lands belonging to tens of thousands of campesinos and indigenous and Afro-descendant people to private foreign capital.¹³ Critics of the project further argued it would undermine national sovereignty, damage an already fragile environment vulnerable to climate change, and bring scant economic benefit to most Nicaraguans.¹⁴

Faced with a national outcry against the canal and a burgeoning campesino movement, the Sandinista state stepped up its repressive response to canal resistance. Some of the most visible instances of state repression occurred in December 2014 after a ceremonial groundbreaking that was to initiate the construction phase of the project. As a harbinger of things to come, anti-riot police and the military violently suppressed demonstrations in Rivas and El Tule, arresting some 50 protesters, including six members of the mestizo campesino grassroots group—the National Council in Defense of Our Land, Lake, and Sovereignty—who were illegally detained for days without charges. In the weeks and months following the repression, the state militarized communities that opposed the canal and surveilled and harassed movement leaders. Still anti-canal protests grew in the

coming years, garnering significant support from progressive sectors of Nicaraguan civil society. As a precursor to the mass demonstrations of the civic insurrection, the anti-canal movement organized dozens of marches, with the largest drawing tens of thousands of participants.

During this period, Doña Francisca “Chica” Ramírez, a 41-year-old mestiza from La Fonseca, Nueva Guinea, emerged as the face of the anti-canal campesino movement. Her leadership was projected onto the national stage as an emblem of popular demands for equality and justice. Sergio Ramírez, literary figure and former vice president to Daniel Ortega in the 1980s, said of Doña Chica, “She is the only true leader in the country, because she has credibility, the people pay attention to her. They trust her ethically, and this is very important. The ethical trust here has been lost.”¹⁵ When asked about her political orientation in an interview with the press, Doña Chica replied, “I have never held public office, and I have never followed any party. We have never liked to go along with politics. We have always been independent of the parties.”¹⁶

Her viewpoints on electoral politics reflected the general distrust and fatigue people in Monkey Point had toward the government and politicians in general, whom they viewed as corrupt and self-interested. Faced with their mutual destruction, some leaders from the Rama-Kriol Territory began to form relationships of solidarity with the mestizo campesino anti-canal movement. In the past, competition over land and the advance of the agricultural frontier had structured relationships of enmity among Caribbean coast communities and mestizo campesinos from neighboring departments like Nueva Guinea. Within the Rama-Kriol Territory, well-established campesino communities that had once felt threatened by the titling of indigenous and Afro-descendant lands now began to view their inclusion in the territory as a political asset in the fight against the canal.

There were, however, some developments that allowed the Ortega government to partially stem resistance to the canal in some communities. Titling brought new systems of territorial governance with far more intimate political and administrative ties to the state than during the

neoliberal era. Using these administrative entities, the state initiated a two-pronged campaign to tamp down dissent and co-opt community leadership. This involved initiating development projects in some communities. For instance, the central government funded a fishing cooperative in Monkey Point, providing boats and constructing a building with an icemaker to chill the daily catch. People living in an indigenous community to the north called Rama Cay received new homes, painted in the bright colors that Vice President Murillo favors. Unfortunately, the houses proved ill-suited to the humid coastal environment and quickly began to deteriorate. These efforts were in keeping with Nicaragua’s “compensatory” or redistributive development model. The approach marries integration into the global capitalist market via direct foreign investment with anti-poverty programs that were funded with billions of dollars in Venezuelan assistance and allocated using Sandinista patronage networks.¹⁷ The projects, however, did little to ease the contradictions of capitalist accumulation or stem mestizo colonization of the territory. Moreover, the diminution of Venezuelan aid in recent years became an additional underlying factor for the current crisis.

At the same time, regional Sandinista officials worked to co-opt community leadership. In some cases, they bribed leaders to gain their allegiance or promised other political and material benefits. When they were met with resistance, Sandinista officials worked to depose community boards and replace them with more compliant leadership. As a result, the state was able to garner enough support from leaders in the Rama-Kriol Territory to pass a consent agreement in 2016, outlining the indefinite lease of 263 square kilometers of territory for canal development. Monkey Point leaders opposed the agreement as an illegal land grab that would permanently dispossess them of their lands, as did people from Bangkukuk Taik, a nearby Rama community slated to become the canal terminus. From their perspective, the state (leftist or not) was in league with global capital and both were bent on destroying their way of life.

The Civic Insurrection Erupts

Grassroots experiences of capitalist intensification and state repression along the proposed canal route provide one window into the roots of the civic insurrection and popular grievances. Events in the Rama-Kriol Territory even helped to precipitate mass mobilization against the state in cities on the Pacific side of the country. Just weeks before the government's violent repression of social security protests in April, the Indio-Maíz Biological Reserve in the heart of the Rama-Kriol Territory went up in flames. The fire was likely caused by a mestizo settler—one of the growing numbers of land colonists in Indio-Maíz who are fleeing land scarcity, drought, and deforestation in the interior of the county. Over 12,000 acres of forest burned in the nucleus of the reserve (some of the last tropical rainforest in Nicaragua) while the central government failed to act decisively. In response, small groups of university students in Managua took to the streets to protest government inaction, initiating a social media campaign #SOSIndioMaiz.¹⁸ A week later university students joined pensioners in León and Managua to protest the social security reforms and were met with fierce repression from anti-riot police and gangs of Sandinista Youth.

Enrieth Martínez, a student leader from the Central American University in Managua, participated in the original Indio-Maíz protests and later formed part of the University Coalition in the National Dialogue. She describes her reaction to the violence: "I was not in León at the moment of the repression, but I felt indignation as I saw the way they attacked the young people that were protesting, the way they attacked the elderly, the way they attacked the feminists who led the protests against the reforms to the social security system there. It was all of that together. It was the feeling of impotency . . . the feeling of being attacked, of feeling vulnerable, powerless and at the same time feeling the anger, the rage at a system that has always done this. . . . And then you realize the spine-chilling reality that this government does not care if it kills you."¹⁹

People from many sectors of Nicaraguan society shared Martínez's shock and outrage. The repression catalyzed demonstrations in multiple

cities throughout Nicaragua in the coming days. Anti-riot police and parapolice shock forces suppressed the demonstrations, killing dozens of protestors and injuring and detaining hundreds. Although the state blocked independent news channels from covering the protests, Nicaraguans watched in horror as images of the massacre flooded social media. On April 22, Ortega withdrew the reforms, but by now the civic insurrection had taken root. The protests had become an expression of popular outrage at the government. More than a decade of accumulated grievances against the Sandinista state flooded to the surface, and tens of thousands of citizens took to the streets to demand Ortega's and Murillo's departure from office.

When the first mass marches began in late April, caravans of anti-canal campesinos joined the protests in Managua in a show of support for the civic insurrection, while members of the movement began erecting *tranques* or roadblocks around the country. In early May, via a communiqué authored by the Alliance of Indigenous and Afro-descendant Peoples of Nicaragua (APIAN), leaders from the Caribbean coast similarly expressed their solidarity with the student movement and the families of those "killed, disappeared, wounded, tortured and imprisoned while exercising their constitutional right to protest." Drawing a parallel between these acts of state violence and their own experiences of forced displacement, the communiqué states: "APIAN knows the vulnerable situation of people participating in social struggles in Nicaragua, since dozens of leaders and indigenous authorities from the indigenous and Afro-descendant territories have been criminalized throughout the country; we also know about the impunity that the assassins of these same people enjoy."

Conclusion

In May, when the Episcopal Conference of the Catholic Church began to mediate the National Dialogue, anti-canal campesino leaders and indigenous and Afro-descendant representatives from the Caribbean coast joined the negotiation as part of the Civic Alliance for Justice and Democracy, where contradictions between member groups were apparent. For instance, members of the Superior Council for Private Enterprise (COSEP),

business interests that had until recently cooperated with the Ortega/Murillo government in formulating national economic policy, joined leaders from the National Council in Defense of Our Land, Lake, and Sovereignty to confront the state. COSEP once supported the state's plan to construct a canal on campesino and indigenous and Afro-descendant lands. Nevertheless, they now found themselves allies in the effort to force Ortega's and Murillo's exit from power.

Now that the National Dialogue has failed and the Ortega/Murillo government continues to repress popular protest, there is little sense of what will become of Nicaragua. In a press conference in late July, Paulo Abrão, the executive secretary for the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, described the state's response to the civic insurrection in three phases. Phase one involved "traditional repression with excessive use of force against protestors." Phase two saw a violent cleansing operation against the roadblocks and barricades. Phase three has focused on the "criminalization of the demonstrators, using institutions and the justice system to arrest people and pursue legal actions and proceedings against them."²⁰ Some of the most chilling images from phase three that I have seen in Nicaraguan media are those of Medardo Mairena, the coordinator of the National Council in Defense of Our Land, Lake, and Sovereignty, and campesino leaders Pedro Mena and Silvio Pineda in police custody on false terrorism and murder charges.

As international reporting on the crisis in Nicaragua wanes, grassroots social movements need our solidarity more than ever as they confront the state's campaign of retribution. The first two political prisoners to be prosecuted and sentenced under this phase, Brandon Lovo and Glen Slate, are Afro-descendant Kriols from the Caribbean coast city of Bluefields. After a trial marked by irregularities, Judge Ernesto Rodríguez Mejía condemned Lovo and Slate to prison for the murder of journalist Ángel Gahona on August 29. Killed while covering the April protests in Bluefields, Gahona's death was live-streamed on Facebook. His widow, parents, and relatives all maintain that Lovo and Slate are innocent and instead blame the national police for Gahona's murder.²¹ Their story is

but one of many cases of ongoing state repression and reprisals aimed at participants in the civic insurrection. For Afro-descendant Nicaraguans, who have long experienced racialized policing in the so-called drug war as well as the criminalization of community land activism, the images of two of their own in prison garb reinforce their preexisting experiences of state violence under mestizo racial rule.²²

An effort to understand the historical roots of the insurrection and the diverse interests that drive the resistance movement is an essential starting point for taking a stance on the crisis. Support for grassroots actors in their struggles against capitalist intensification, dispossession, racism, gender oppression, and state violence does not necessitate uncritical support of all opposition actors regardless of their political motivations or ideological leanings. Nor should it legitimate past or present US intervention. History has provided ample evidence of the suffering caused by US meddling in Nicaraguan affairs. And while an end to the violence and Ortega's and Murillo's departure are important steps in the effort to rebuild the country, neither provide antidotes to the structural violence that plagues mestizo campesino and indigenous and Afro-descendant communities. Whatever happens to the Ortega/Murillo government, global and regional processes of capitalist accumulation, militarization, and ecological collapse are still waiting in the wings, demanding our attention and threatening our mutual survival. An analysis of the material conditions and power relations that drive grassroots activism for justice in Nicaragua can provide us with a valuable guidepost for confronting these deeply entrenched systems of race, class, and environmental exploitation.

Notes

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Grito por Nicaragua, un grito desde la Costa Caribe

by **Shakira Simmons**

Resumen

Sin lugar a dudas se puede afirmar que existe una Nicaragua de antes y una de después del 18 de abril de este año. Ese día iniciaron una serie de protestas en contra de las polémicas reformas al sistema de seguridad social. Desde entonces, han crecido hasta convertirse en una exigencia de la renuncia del presidente Daniel Ortega y la demanda de elecciones libres, justas y transparentes. A la fecha de hoy, organizaciones de derechos humanos nacionales e internacionales han evidenciado el uso desmedido de la fuerza policial, la presencia de elementos parapoliciales en diversos municipios, así como los centenares de casos de personas asesinadas, heridas, perseguidas, desaparecidas y detenidas. La situación ha generado una crisis humanitaria y socioeconómica nacional.

En la Costa Caribe, dos jóvenes afrodescendientes, Brandon Lovo y Glen Slate, son acusados del asesinato del periodista Ángel Gahona, en contra de lo que muestran todas las evidencias audiovisuales presentadas. Los jóvenes fueron apresados y trasladados a una cárcel de Managua. El manejo del caso por la fiscalía y el juez está plagado de irregularidades sistemáticas que han sido denunciadas en numerosas ocasiones. El actuar de las entidades estatales no ha hecho más que evidenciar, aún más, el racismo y el clasismo con los que somos tratadas las poblaciones del Caribe.

En el presente artículo, analizo en un primer momento cómo la participación de la Costa Caribe nicaragüense en la defensa de la democracia y la justicia no se limita al contexto actual, sino que tiene un largo desarrollo en el tiempo; en un segundo momento, cuestiono cómo se ha violado el régimen autonómico de las poblaciones

indígenas y afrodescendientes de la región para privilegiar intereses económicos y de poder de algunos sectores. Para este ejercicio me anclo en una mirada interseccional y antirracista.

Palabras claves: Autonomía, represión, violencia, racismo, derechos.

La Costa Caribe Sur, ¡presente!

Recién iniciadas las protestas en Nicaragua contra el gobierno de Daniel Ortega, el 21 de abril de 2018, integrantes de organizaciones de sociedad civil, medios de comunicación y ciudadanía en general de la ciudad de Bluefields convocaron y participaron en una movilización pacífica en protesta por las reformas al sistema de seguro social impuestas por decreto presidencial.

Bluefields es el municipio de cabecera de la Costa Caribe Sur; muchas personas, e incluso los partidos políticos, consideran que su población es apática políticamente hablando. Nadie se esperaba que pasara lo que pasó ese 21 de abril.

La actividad transcurrió con normalidad, pero al anochecer se generaron disturbios que fueron reprimidos por la Policía Nacional, lo que dejó como resultado pérdidas materiales, personas heridas y una víctima fatal: el periodista independiente Ángel Eduardo Gahona López, quien al momento de su muerte estaba transmitiendo en vivo lo que acontecía por medio de la página de Facebook de su noticiero.

En el video, y otras docenas de grabaciones tomadas y difundidas en redes sociales, se aprecia cómo Gahona, empotrado en un contingente policial, cae abatido después de un disparo en las inmediaciones del complejo judicial de la ciudad y

es trasladado a un centro hospitalario por colegas. En ningún momento fue asistido por ningún agente. Las pruebas audiovisuales muestran que los acusados no se encontraban en el lugar cuando se produjo el disparo y la familia de la víctima ha denunciado amenazas por parte de la Policía Nacional contra Gahona por sus investigaciones de casos de corrupción.

El asesinato de Gahona evidenció que el Estado no tendría límites en cuanto a reprimir el pueblo se refiere; también evidenció que la Costa Caribe no estaba al margen de lo que pasaba en la otra mitad de Nicaragua y atrajo la atención internacional sobre la crisis.

¿Autonomía?

La Costa Caribe nicaragüense cuenta con el estatus jurídico de autonomía¹ de la que deberían gozar las y los habitantes de las Regiones Autónomas² (Norte y Sur) en las que se divide. La RACCN y la RACCS fueron creadas en 1987 y sus primeros gobiernos regionales fueron elegidos en 1990.

Dicho estatus fue parte de la culminación de un largo proceso de búsqueda de paz, unidad nacional y reconciliación entre las familias y comunidades costeñas, por medio del cual se puso fin a un intenso período marcado por conflictos armados, enfrentamientos políticos y desencuentros históricos.

Se crearon instituciones y mecanismos que, en teoría, deberían promover y garantizar el respeto, reconocimiento y cumplimiento de los derechos humanos de las poblaciones multiétnicas de ambas regiones. Sin embargo, esta ha sido instrumentalizada políticamente por el actual partido de gobierno.

Históricamente, la Costa Caribe ha estado sometida al aislamiento, exclusión y marginalización respecto al resto del país. La región ha sufrido la explotación y el extractivismo de sus recursos naturales, bienes comunes, comunales y hasta culturales, ya que los sucesivos gobiernos han “folklorizado” las costumbres, tradiciones y formas de vida de sus poblaciones.

La población no ha sido sujeta de las llamadas inversiones sociales y/o productivas. En cambio, ha sido beneficiada de programas asistencialistas dirigidos a simpatizantes del partido de gobierno sin responder a las particularidades de las comunidades.

Así lo atestiguan numerosas campañas turísticas que cosifican los cuerpos de las mujeres y hombres indígenas y afrodescendientes, y las acciones de “combate a la pobreza”, donde las ideas de modernización y desarrollo borran las prácticas y formas de alimentación y vida comunitaria, y que son promovidas desde una mirada etnocéntrica (desde lo mestizo) y geocéntrica (Managua/Pacíficocéntrica), reproduciendo aún más el racismo, el machismo y clasismo institucionales.

Las inversiones productivas en las regiones han respondido a los intereses del gran capital, que ha mantenido estrechas relaciones con el gobierno-partido-empresa-familia ligados a los Ortega-Murillo y que en ningún momento han mostrado la intención de colocar al ser humano en el centro del desarrollo, mucho menos a la naturaleza o a la madre tierra, como gritan las cosmovisiones de las poblaciones indígenas y afrodescendientes.

Por otro lado, los indicadores macroeconómicos revelan también la violencia histórica y estructural en las regiones; ya en el 2005 el Informe de Desarrollo Humano del Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo señalaba: “En síntesis, el índice de desarrollo humano, IDH, para la RAAN 0,466 y para la RAAS 0,454. Ambas regiones presentan condiciones de desarrollo humano bajo”, a pesar de su riqueza en recursos naturales, culturales y biodiversidad.³

El despojo continuo y sistemático nunca se detuvo; solamente ha cambiado su cara y su mecanismo, dejando a las poblaciones indígenas y afrodescendientes en una mayor profundización de las condiciones de precariedad y explotación económica, social y cultural. Las y los líderes comunitarios/as de la Costa Caribe tienen años de estar discutiendo y denunciando las principales necesidades y problemáticas socioeconómicas de sus poblaciones, como por ejemplo:

- Desempleo, subempleo y/o empleos precarios
- Discriminación y exclusión
- Inseguridad ciudadana
- Poco o nulo accesos a servicios de salud y educación de calidad
- Limitado acceso a servicios básicos
- Altos índices de embarazo precoz
- Altos niveles de violencia intrafamiliar
- Femicidios
- Analfabetismo
- Déficit de vivienda
- Invasión de tierras por colonos/terceros
- Avance de la frontera agrícola
- Militarización de las comunidades
- Contaminación ambiental en sus territorios
- Concesiones ilegales en territorios comunales y/o de reserva
- Conflictos de tierra
- Desplazamientos o migraciones forzadas
- Pérdida de lenguas maternas

No será posible resolver ninguna de las anteriores sin antes determinar y asumir una forma distinta de relación entre el gobierno central y las regiones de la Costa Caribe. Se hace necesario cumplir con el marco legal existente⁴ que respalda los derechos económicos, sociales, culturales, políticos y territoriales de las poblaciones de las regiones autónomas y sus comunidades. Tampoco será posible lograrlo en el seno de un gobierno dictatorial y en un marco institucional incipiente, frágil y con tomadores de decisiones (dentro y fuera del territorio) que responden a los intereses de un caudillo y a intereses económicos particulares.

Sin embargo, es importante resaltar que para las comunidades de la Costa Caribe la situación no cambiará solo por el hecho de cambiar al dictador; es necesario cambiar la forma de relación entre el Gobierno Central y las regiones e impulsar acciones que promuevan el cambio del modelo económico y político colonialista, capitalista, racista y sexista que, desde la colonia, durante la república, a través de la dictadura somocista y el

periodo revolucionario y en los nuevos tiempos, ha saqueado y violentado nuestras comunidades. Esto implicaría, también, que como sociedad caribeña costeña autónoma tensionemos y problematicemos el significado de la ciudadanía en las poblaciones afros e indígenas y continuemos defendiendo nuestros derechos ante un Estado nacional.

¿Protagonistas?

Antes de estas protestas, en la región ya existían grupos luchando por la reivindicación de los derechos humanos, autonómicos, cívicos, políticos y ancestrales ante un Estado mestizo, racista, centralista y clientelista que ha venido desbaratando el tejido social, político y cultural de la sociedad caribeña. Muchas de estas demandas y agendas de lucha parecían no tener eco en la sociedad civil o los movimientos sociales del Pacífico, siendo otra más de las evidencias del aislamiento y la visión geocéntrica con respecto de las poblaciones de la Costa Caribe.

La rebelión surgida el pasado mes de abril ha logrado movilizar a la población costeña en la demanda por una Nicaragua libre, justa, democrática e inclusiva. Pero más importante, ha logrado generar opinión pública desde distintos sectores de la sociedad civil sobre las diversas temáticas que interesan y afectan a las regiones y sus comunidades, han surgido otras voces y nuevos liderazgos desde una lucha cívica y pacífica: hombres, mujeres, jóvenes y adolescentes, organizados y no organizados, de distintos orígenes étnicos, los medios de comunicación, activistas de derechos humanos, pastores de iglesias evangélicas y católicas entre otros.

Además, ha conseguido que simpatizantes de distintos partidos políticos con presencia en la región logren, por primera vez en mucho tiempo, trabajar de manera coordinada bajo un mismo fin y en una especie de alianza con la sociedad civil. Todas las acciones y manifestaciones realizadas lo han sido con fondos auto-gestionados, colaboraciones individuales y donativos de algunos negocios locales.

Los medios de comunicación independientes con presencia en las regiones han jugado un rol fundamental, no sólo en la generación y difusión de información veraz, objetiva y contextualizada sobre lo que pasa en el país —que no es poca cosa en una región en la cual la mayoría de los medios de comunicación están cooptados por el partido de gobierno, y los que no, sufren de asedio y de amenazas de instituciones y/o simpatizantes gubernamentales— sino también en la participación activa en las movilizaciones y generación de opinión pública en demanda de justicia por el asesinato del periodista Ángel Gahona y las más de 448 víctimas fatales⁵ de la represión gubernamental a nivel nacional; así como las víctimas de secuestro, torturas, privación ilegal de la libertad y desapariciones forzadas. La radio y las redes sociales han sido las principales herramientas de información y comunicación, sobre todo para las poblaciones de comunidades rurales.

En cambio, en más de cuatro meses de rebelión cívica, las autoridades de las únicas dos universidades con presencia en la región, — la Universidad de las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Caribe Nicaragüense y la Bluefields Indian and Caribbean University— se han mantenido en silencio ante tanta barbarie y a su vez en la complicidad de las decisiones, acciones y omisiones que han tomado las autoridades locales, regionales y nacionales en contra de la sociedad civil. Ambos centros universitarios son públicos y de carácter comunitario y funcionan con fondos estatales provenientes del presupuesto nacional, definidos en la ley de Autonomía de las Instituciones de Educación Superior. Muchas de las autoridades están cooptadas también por el partido de gobierno e incluso asumen algunas funciones de representación fuera del marco universitario. Su silencio e inacción, efectivamente, demuestran cuán profundo son los brazos políticos y clientelares del régimen dictatorial en la Costa Caribe, donde sus aliados no están dispuestos a romper el mandato dictatorial.

La pérdida de la autonomía universitaria ya venía suscitándose, puesto que desde hace varios años la ley no se cumple a cabalidad, pero los ataques violentos y armados en contra del estudiantado

dentro de recintos universitarios del país —como la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua (UNAN), la Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería (UNI), la Universidad Nacional Agraria (UNA) y la Universidad Politécnica de Nicaragua (UPOLI)— y los despidos masivos de docentes y catedráticos que apoyaron abiertamente las protestas contra el gobierno, la evidenciaron aún más.

Ciertamente, la rebelión ha generado cambios, crisis y tensiones para los y las nicaragüenses. El gobierno ha criminalizado la protesta y ha iniciado una persecución de la ciudadanía que no coincide con los lineamientos del partido; también ha generado más desempleo, migración forzada, mayores índices de delincuencia e impunidad y una profunda caída de la inversión y del turismo nacional e internacional. Las instituciones públicas han perdido la confianza, credibilidad y legitimidad ante la mayoría de la población.

Sin embargo, también ha generado una especie de despertar ciudadano, el fortalecimiento y/o la ampliación de redes solidarias y un sentimiento de objetivo en común. Ello ha fortalecido la determinación de lograr cambios profundos y positivos para el país, cambios de los cuales la Costa Caribe quiere y debe ser partícipe activa en las decisiones en torno al rumbo que debe tomar como país a fin de mejorar las condiciones de TODA la población, sin distinción de su etnia, clase social, origen geográfico o bandera político-partidaria.

Es decir sin distinción de esas condiciones pero atendiendo a los mecanismos racistas, clasistas, sexistas, territoriales que producen y profundizan las desigualdades. Considero que esto último será el mayor reto de todos, pero además podríamos iniciar por cuestionarnos: ¿Es posible pensar en un Estado nacional que practique una relación intercultural e integral con las regiones del caribe nicaragüense? ¿En el presente y en el camino a un futuro alternativo, la Costa Caribe realmente puede vivir en autonomía real? ¿Cómo integrar a las juventudes en su pluralidad de ser, pensar y actuar? ¿Es posible alcanzar agendas, políticas públicas y/o programas construidos participativamente con, por y para las poblaciones, reconociendo, asumiendo y respetando sus particularidades,

pensamientos, sentires y realidades? Esto último aplicable no sólo a instancias estatales, sino también a organizaciones no gubernamentales y universidades.

Cierro diciendo que a pesar de la brutal represión vivida en este periodo, ha sido esperanzador ver como una generación de jóvenes ha establecido diálogo con personas adultas; como han emergido otros actores sociales en búsqueda de transformar las realidades y plantear el reto de entender lo que ha implicado elevar la voz al Managua/Pacíficocentrismo presente no solo en el ámbito estatal, sino en amplios sectores sociales representados en la "Mesa del diálogo", un espacio en el que tampoco nos sentimos representados/as como costeños/as y/o movimiento, porque ha sido elegido por la jerarquía de la Iglesia católica sin tomar en cuenta a los sectores de sociedad civil de la región.

Notas

- ¹ Ley 28, Estatuto de la Autonomía de las Regiones de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua.
- ² Su población original la constituyen pueblos indígenas y comunidades étnicas con características multilingües (Miskitús, Creoles, Mestizos, Mayangnas, Ramas y Garífunas), situadas en territorios con un fuerte sentido de pertenencia de sus tierras comunales que habitan en los litorales y zonas interiores de alta vulnerabilidad ecológica y ambiental.
- ³ Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, *Informe de Desarrollo Humano 2005: Las Regiones Autónomas de la Costa Caribe* (Managua: PNUD, 2005), 67.
- ⁴ La Constitución Política de la República de Nicaragua; el Estatuto de la Autonomía de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua (Ley 28); la Ley de Lenguas (Ley 162) y la Ley de Tierras Comunales (Ley 445) reconocen la existencia de pueblos indígenas y comunidades étnicas.
- ⁵ Entre el 18 de abril y el 25 de julio, según informe de la Asociación Nicaragüense Pro Derechos Humanos. Elizabeth Romero, "Cifra de muertos por la represión en Nicaragua sube a 448, según la ANPDH", *La Prensa*, 27 de julio de 2018, <https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2018/07/27/nacionales/2453364-cifra-de-muertos-por-la-represion-en-nicaragua-sube-a-448-segun-la-anpdh>. //

Constructing Deterrence in the Age of Trump: Restricting Asylum, Separating Families, and Criminalizing Migration

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Lost amid the tumult surrounding the Trump administration's family separation policy, which took more than 2,600 children from their parents at the US-Mexico border, was a radical change in the grounds for granting asylum. The new policy, announced by Attorney General Jeff Sessions on June 11, 2018, disallows domestic abuse, gang violence, and drug-traffic-related violence as grounds for claiming asylum in the United States. Mr. Sessions claimed that US asylum law does not offer protection against these types of "private criminal activity" and other kinds of "misfortune." Only being a victim of "public" violence, that is, violence perpetrated by a home-country government, might qualify one for asylum.

This sweeping reinterpretation of US asylum law disproportionately affects nationals of the Northern Triangle countries—Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador—since they are the vast majority of asylum-seeking migrants who have been arriving at the US-Mexico border in the current decade, and because virtually all Northern Triangle migrants are fleeing some type of "private" violence.

Despite the Trump administration's frequent characterization of them as largely economic refugees, lawyers working with Northern Triangle migrants report that 85–90 percent are seeking asylum based on grounds now excluded by Mr. Sessions's ruling.¹ Women who are victims of domestic abuse and female teenagers threatened with sexual assault are particularly impacted. Anecdotal evidence suggests that, up to now, at least 35 percent of those who sought asylum in the United States because of domestic violence were granted protection.

In yet another step toward gutting the US asylum system, the Trump administration has announced its intention to stop processing asylum claims in ports of entry along the border, instead requiring asylum seekers to apply for protection from their home countries. This would significantly increase their exposure to the conditions from which they are fleeing. The administration has also made it considerably more difficult to get a credible-fear-of-persecution interview—the first step in the granting of asylum. Homeland Security agents at the border have been told that, given Attorney General Sessions's ruling restricting the grounds for asylum claims, Northern Triangle migrants do not have a realistic chance of passing such an interview and advancing to a hearing before an immigration judge.

On top of all these measures, the Trump administration has been drastically shrinking the whole asylum program. The annual ceiling for refugees who can be resettled in the United States has gone from 85,000 in fiscal year (FY) 2016 to 45,000 in FY 2018. Another 40 percent reduction, to 25,000, has been proposed for FY 2019. This cap would be the lowest since the current program was established by the Refugee Act of 1980, greatly increasing worldwide competition for protection in the United States.

Deterring Central American Transit Migration through Mexico

In 2017 Trump administration officials began advocating the deliberate separation of migrating families to discourage further migration from Central America. A formal family separation policy was announced on May 11, 2018. Mr. Trump

rescinded the policy by executive order on June 20, 2018, in response to an intense public outcry and a federal court order. The administration's replacement policy was to keep migrant families together but to incarcerate as many as of them as possible. This policy was blocked by a pair of federal court orders, including a ruling that denied the administration's request to modify the 1997 Flores settlement, which prohibits detaining children for more than 20 days. On July 10, administration officials suspended family incarceration, citing these court rulings. Henceforth families with children "apprehended"² at the border will be given a court date and released with GPS ankle monitoring devices, thus returning to the "catch and release" practice condemned by candidate Trump in 2016.

However, by early October the administration was planning to revive the family separation policy by placing the onus on migrant parents. Under a new "binary choice" policy, parents will be forced to choose between staying in detention together with their children for months or years as their case proceeds in immigration court, vs. releasing their children to a government shelter while the parents remain jailed. In sharp contrast to Obama administration policy, the Trump administration has been detaining virtually all asylum-seekers who present themselves at the border. Previously, nine out of ten asylum-seekers were released to sponsors on "humanitarian parole" pending their hearing in immigration court. Now, nine out of ten are detained, indefinitely, in federal lock-ups. By October 1 the detainees included about 13,000 children — a fivefold increase from 2017.

More than 765,000 cases are currently backlogged in the US immigration court system, of which nearly half are pending asylum cases. Given Mr. Trump's adamant opposition to hiring more immigration judges to speed up the process (he opposes giving more migrants due process), it may take many months or even years for these families' situations to be resolved. The administration has ordered construction of tent cities on military bases to house up to 20,000 of them.

Making it much harder to access the US asylum system is part of the Trump administration's larger project to reduce migration flows by constructing "deterrence" in various forms. In numerous media interviews, Trump administration officials have explicitly cited discouragement of would-be unauthorized migrants and asylum seekers as the rationale for a wide range of policies, from Mr. Trump's border wall to separating migrant parents from their children, restricting the grounds for asylum claims, stepped-up workplace raids, and a "zero tolerance" policy, under which 100 percent of unauthorized migrants apprehended at the US-Mexico border are prosecuted through the federal criminal court system rather giving them the option of "voluntary departure" as in the past. Moreover, huge cuts in the US asylum program are an integral part of the project pushed by Stephen Miller, Mr. Trump's senior policy adviser, to reduce the overall level of legal immigration by at least one-half.

Beginning in FY 2011, heavier flows of Northern Triangle transit migrants through Mexico have been driven largely by an increase in numbers of child migrants, either unaccompanied or traveling with family members, and women. As part of its response to a 2014 surge in such migrants from the Northern Triangle, the Obama administration launched the Central American Minors (CAM) Program, which allowed about 13,000 minors fleeing home-country violence to settle in the United States, even if they had been denied asylum. The program was terminated by the Trump administration in August 2017.

A new surge in Northern Triangle migration to the US-Mexico border began in the spring of 2018. As in 2014, the flow was dominated by families and unaccompanied children. This time, the Trump administration's simultaneous implementation of the "zero tolerance" policy and a ramped-up family separation policy created a genuine humanitarian crisis.³ Administration officials demonized asylum-seeking parents as suspected human traffickers, to justify putting their children into federal custody.

The zero-tolerance policy was suspended "temporarily" in June 2018, because the federal government lacked the bed space to incarcerate the thousands of migrants being referred for

criminal prosecution each week while keeping families together, as belatedly ordered by President Trump. However, the new restrictions on asylum claims remain in place, essentially closing off the main avenue for Northern Triangle migrants seeking legal entry into the United States.

The Failure of Deterrence

By October 1, 2018, there was little evidence that the Trump administration's new policies were having the intended deterrent effect, and arrests of migrant family units surged to a record level in August-September. Border apprehensions actually increased during the May-June period when both zero-tolerance and family separation policies were in effect.⁴ Nor was there evidence that would-be asylum seekers already at the border were turning around and going home after being blocked by US authorities from making asylum claims at legal ports of entry. This is hardly surprising: Most Northern Triangle migrants seeking asylum are fleeing life-or-death situations, and returnees would be targeted immediately by the violent gangs that control their home communities.

Thousands of other "turn-backs" have piled up in migrant shelters operated by NGOs and in makeshift camps in Mexican border cities, many in the shadow of bridges linking Mexico to the United States, waiting for US authorities to grant them a "credible fear" interview. Under guidance issued in June 2018 by the Department of Homeland Security in June 2018, officials at the border are discouraged from conducting credible-fear interviews, because passing them means that the interviewee has a significant possibility of winning asylum. Under Attorney General Sessions's new reinterpretation of asylum law, Northern Triangle migrants no longer have that chance.

Being bottled up on the Mexican side of the border exposes them to crime and exploitation by police. For example, Tijuana, which has the largest population of turned-back asylum seekers, has the fifth-highest homicide rate among all world cities with over 300,000 inhabitants.⁵ There are media reports that drug-cartel-connected kidnapping rings are systematically stalking migrants who have been turned away at the US border. Nevertheless,

focus groups and media interviews with Northern Triangle migrants have revealed a consistent pattern: The perceived risks of going to the United States are less than the dangers of staying home, and the risks of returning home from the US border (death, rape) outweigh the prospect of long-term detention.

The influx of transit migrants into Mexico, most headed for the United States, now exceeds the flow of undocumented Mexican nationals seeking entry into the United States. By the most authoritative estimate, 392,000 Northern Triangle migrants transited through Mexico in 2014.⁶ Estimates by the Pew Research Center show that inflows of Northern Triangle migrants into the United States nearly doubled between 2011 and 2014, while inflows of Mexicans declined. Similarly, US Border Patrol statistics show a nearly 300 percent increase in apprehensions of third-country nationals at the US-Mexico border, from 54,098 in FY 2012 to 148,995 in FY 2017.

The Trump administration characterizes these transit migrants as disguised economic refugees, but analytically it is impossible to disentangle the economic hardships they have endured from the personal safety concerns they faced. Field interviews conducted in fall 2017 with transit migrants from Northern Triangle countries suggest that most are motivated by a combination of gang-related violence and lack of economic opportunities in their home countries. Some migrants fleeing gang violence have been personally threatened; others have relatives who have been harmed, and others, like small business owners, have been targets of extortion by gangs.⁷

Transit migrants' passage through Mexico to the US border is by no means risk-free. Scholars, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mexico's National Human Rights Commission, and numerous nongovernmental organizations have extensively documented a pattern of human rights violations associated with transit migration through Mexico. Transit migrants are routinely robbed, assaulted, and kidnapped by criminal gangs, frequently operating in collusion with local police and officials. Those kidnapped are often beaten, tortured, starved, and deprived of their possessions.

A network of migrant protection organizations documented 5,298 criminal acts against transit migrants in 2016,⁸ but such crimes are severely under-reported. Still, the risk/benefit ratio favors attempting to reach the United States and, in many cases, be reunited with US-based relatives.

Mexico's Newly Important Asylum and Deportation Policies

As Northern Triangle migrants seeking asylum in the United States become bottled up within Mexico, due to new US restrictions on asylum claims, Mexico's own asylum and deportation policies assume greater importance. Mexico began deporting significant numbers of transit migrants in 1989, as the Carlos Salinas administration laid the groundwork for NAFTA. The policy continued under President Ernesto Zedillo (1994–2000), which began with an acute financial crisis. The Mexican government cooperated with the United States on migration control in exchange for much-needed financial aid. Under President Enrique Peña Nieto's Southern Border Program, enacted in 2014 in response to US pressure, deportations from Mexico have doubled. Altogether, from 1989 through 2016, Mexico deported more than 3 million people.⁹

The vast majority of Mexico's deportees are nationals of Northern Triangle countries. In all but one year (2013), Guatemalans have been a plurality, followed by Hondurans and Salvadorans. Nominally, the Mexican government seeks to apprehend and deport anyone in Mexico lacking legal status, but in practice its enforcement efforts have targeted Central American migrants. For domestic consumption, the Mexican government has justified its crackdown on transit migration by linking it with crime, portraying transit migrants as a threat to public safety, without evidence.

By 2015 Mexico was deporting more Central American migrants than the United States. Some transit migrants reaching the US-Mexico border in June–July 2018 had been apprehended by Mexican authorities while crossing Mexico's southern border; they were deported to Guatemala and had to start the US-bound trip again. Some transit migrants already in Mexico have taken up short-term residence in Tijuana and other border cities, seeing

a sojourn there as an opportunity to earn money and wait for conditions to improve in the United States. But some are using their stay in Mexico to apply for asylum in that country rather than in the United States.

In early 2018 the Trump administration pressed the Mexican government to sign a bilateral "safe third country" agreement, under which US officials could turn away most asylum-seeking transit migrants at the border and compel them to petition for protection in Mexico instead. The negotiations went nowhere, but the Trump administration has essentially enacted this policy unilaterally by disallowing so many asylum claims.

Mexico's asylum program, while improved in recent years, remains severely understaffed and underfunded. COMAR, the agency responsible for refugees, received just 5.3 percent of total federal government funding for migration-related activities in 2016, in a period of exponential growth in the flow of transit migrants. In 2007 COMAR received an average of one asylum petition per day; by 2016 it was receiving nearly 24 applications per day.¹⁰ In 2017, 14,596 migrants applied for asylum in Mexico—an elevenfold increase from 2013. In 2018 the number of applicants could reach 25,000.

Migrants who apply for asylum in Mexico have a much greater chance of success than in the United States. In 2017, 64 percent of completed cases resulted in protection, up from 46 percent in 2015. Petitioners may have to wait up to a year to have their cases resolved, but in the United States the average asylum claim takes nearly three years to adjudicate, and six-year waits are not uncommon. In 2017, The US approved only 19.9 percent of asylum applications submitted by Northern Triangle nationals. Moreover, Mexican authorities have been more humane to asylum applicants, releasing them from detention while their cases are processed, in contrast to the United States, where the Trump administration has been incarcerating growing numbers of asylum seekers in federal lockups.

Some asylum seekers turned away by US border officials are hiring Mexican coyotes to help them enter the United States clandestinely. But other

migrants who face life-threatening conditions in their home countries may conclude that they have no better option than staying put in Mexico—for as long as possible. Seeking asylum there seems likely to become more attractive, given the Trump administration's sharp restriction of the grounds for asylum claims and the huge backlog in the US immigration court system. Moreover, there is room for growth because many transit migrants still don't know they can ask for refuge in Mexico.

The Missing Policy Option

Strikingly absent from the ongoing debate over Central American transit migration is any serious discussion of a policy of creating alternatives to emigration through well-targeted development and rule-of-law assistance to the source countries. Indeed, the Trump administration has been disinvesting in this approach to migration control, and the US Congress has gone along. In FY 2018, the federal government allocated \$84.7 million less to Northern Triangle countries than in FY 2017, with major conditions on human rights and governance that must be met by recipient countries. For FY 2019, requested funding is \$100 million below the FY 2018 level.

Unless and until push factors in the Northern Triangle—especially threats to personal and family security—are addressed more robustly, future “migration crises” will be inevitable, along with ineffective and often inhumane US deterrence measures to deal with them.

Notes

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- ¹ Philip Schrag, “What Happens When Asylum Seekers Are Given a Chance to Make Their Case in the U.S.,” *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, July 3, 2018.
- ² Most migrants currently seeking asylum in the United States turn themselves in to border authorities, waiting for days to be inspected in legal ports of entry.
- ³ The practice of separating migrant parents from their children at the US-Mexico border began quietly, as a pilot program, in the summer of 2017. It was launched as official policy, and greatly expanded, in May 2018.

- ⁴ An analysis of Border Patrol apprehensions data found that the Obama administration's expanded use of family detention in July 2014, in response to the Central American “migration crisis” of that year, had no statistically significant effect on apprehensions of families at the U.S.-Mexico border. Tom K. Wong, “Do Family Separation and Detention Deter Immigration?” Center for American Progress, July 24, 2018, <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/reports/2018/07/24/453660/family-separation-detention-deter-immigration/>.
- ⁵ Josiah Heyman and Jeremy Slack, “Blockading Asylum Seekers at Ports of Entry at the US-Mexico Border Puts Them at Increased Risk of Exploitation, Violence, and Death,” Center for Migration Studies, June 2018, <http://cmsny.org/publications/heyman-slack-asylum-poe/>.
- ⁶ E. Rodríguez Chávez, “Central American Migrants in Irregular Transit through Mexico: New Figures and Trends,” Central America-North America Migration Dialogue, Policy Brief 14, March 2017, <http://www.canamid.org/en/publication?id=PB014>.
- ⁷ Zaira Razú Aznar, “Transcripción de entrevistas para el proyecto de migración centroamericana en tránsito,” Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD, La Jolla, CA, October 2017.
- ⁸ Red de Documentación de las Organizaciones Defensoras de Migrantes, *Migrantes en México: Recorriendo un camino de violencia* (México, DF, 2016), p. 95.
- ⁹ David FitzGerald and A. Palomo-Contreras, “México entre el Sur y el Norte,” paper presented at the conference, “Los migrantes y las ciudades: Fronteras en mutación,” El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana, BC, June 13-17, 2016.
- ¹⁰ Rodríguez Chávez, “Central American Migrants in Irregular Transit.” //

De camino a la academia, no olvidemos re-pasar por el corazón: Alianzas y activismos hacia la descolonización del presente

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El día 21 de mayo de 2018, se llevó a cabo el pre-congreso de la Sección de “Otros Saberes” de LASA bajo el tema “Alianzas y activismos hacia la descolonización del presente”. El evento consistió en un día completo de discusiones alrededor de las diferentes resistencias contra los despojos en América Latina y Europa, los retos que enfrentan los feminismos desde los márgenes y las luchas de las y los migrantes contra el racismo y la xenofobia en España. La finalidad de este encuentro fue crear un espacio de diálogo abierto al público, buscando un formato alternativo que permitiera un intercambio dinámico de saberes y experiencias entre activistas, académicas/os y estudiantes.

El taller, que más bien fungió como un “alter congreso” tuvo lugar en el Centro Comunitario Àgora Juan Andrés Benítez ubicado en el “Raval”, un barrio conocido, entre otras cosas, por ser un punto de confluencia de varios movimientos y activismos sociales locales contra los impactos que ha tenido la especulación inmobiliaria vinculada a la economía del turismo, así como un barrio donde la presencia de migrantes ha traído una gran diversidad cultural. El Centro Comunitario se levantó en un terreno ahora *okupado* por vecinas y vecinos del área como respuesta comunitaria frente al asesinato por parte de la policía local de un joven gay, Juan Andrés. Se eligió este terreno baldío para crear un ágora de expresión artística y política por encontrarse enfrente del punto donde ocurrió el asesinato en 2013 y por ser una propiedad destinada a ser un hotel de lujo, un proyecto más del proceso acelerado de gentrificación que viven los barrios céntricos de Barcelona. El lugar está cubierto por murales de

denuncia y mensajes de solidaridad ante diferentes injusticias sociales en la región y en el mundo, como es un mural recordando a los 43 estudiantes desaparecidos en Ayotzinapa, México, y a favor de las luchas en Palestina. Tienen también un huerto urbano que las y los miembros voluntarios de la Asamblea cuidan, entre otras actividades. Fue en este contexto que, desde la locación en sí del evento, se respiraba un legado catalán de luchas anarquistas y autogestivas que datan del período de la República previo a la guerra civil española, lo cual contrastaba enormemente con el carácter moderno y exclusivo del centro de convenciones frente al mar donde se llevaría a cabo el XXXVI Congreso de LASA en los siguientes días.



El pre-congreso de la Sección de Otros Saberes se organizó en respuesta a una de las limitaciones del magno-congreso de LASA que, al reunirse más de seis mil personas en un solo lugar, cuyos costos están fuera del alcance de una gran mayoría, no permiten entablar diálogos de reconocimiento con

sus contextos y su gente. Una de las aportaciones más valiosas de este “pre-congreso”, fue la posibilidad de crear puentes entre organizaciones de resistencia en Catalunya con movimientos feministas, trans, indígenas y afrodescendientes de Latinoamérica.

Si bien las plataformas académicas como LASA representan un importante espacio de producción intelectual socialmente comprometida, también es cierto que sigue latente una separación abismal entre la academia y los demás espacios de activismo y producción de conocimiento. Por eso no es suficiente llevar ciertas voces al foro LASA. Debemos igualmente buscar maneras de que estos foros salgan de su formato para escuchar las realidades de una lucha diaria que nos habla desde la poesía, desde una brocha de pintura y el arte plástico, desde el fogón y la huerta comunitaria. Cuando el centro reconozca la posibilidad de aprender desde los de márgenes, podremos realmente aspirar a un diálogo que construya puentes menos verticales entre la academia y los demás frentes de resistencia.

El programa comenzó con una mesa donde nos acompañaron Rosalba Velasco, Graciela Bolaños y Libia Tattay, miembros de organizaciones indígenas del Cauca y de Colombia, quienes nos hablaron de las luchas por la vida colectiva y el territorio del pueblo Nasa que buscan tejer alianzas con los pueblos afrocolombianos que comparten el mismo territorio. El diálogo se compartió con miembros de organizaciones locales de Barcelona: Lucía Delgado de la Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca que luchan contra los desalojos y por la recuperación del tejido comunitario en los barrios que están siendo arrasados por la especulación inmobiliaria e Irene Escorihuela del Observatorio de Derechos Económicos, Sociales, Culturales y Ambientales de Catalunya (DESC-Catalunya).

Carlos Rodríguez de la UAM Xochimilco, compartió las luchas contra el despojo que se han dado en México y reflexionó sobre el papel de la academia socialmente comprometida en estos contextos. Vasundhara Jairath, de la India, enriqueció el debate con sus perspectivas comparativas entre las resistencias de los pueblos Adivasis a los megaproyectos y los pueblos indígenas de

Guerrero con quienes ella ha trabajado. El diálogo fue coordinado por el antropólogo, Charles Hale, uno de los principales promotores de la iniciativa de Otros Saberes dentro de LASA.

En la mesa redonda de Feminismos desde los Márgenes, se hizo un homenaje a la feminista argentina-catalana Dolores Juliano, por sus aportes a las luchas por la justicia de las mujeres catalanas, trabajadoras sexuales, mujeres presas y migrantes, así como por sus contribuciones teóricas a un feminismo crítico y antisistémico. En la mesa participaron: Dolores Juliano, Pilar Salazar, feminista trans-guatemalteca, Úrsula Santa Cruz, feminista migrante peruana en Cataluña, Pamela Calla, feminista boliviana de la Red de Investigación Acción Antirracista y Suyapa Portillo, feminista hondureña de May Day Trans Queer Contingent. El diálogo fue coordinado por Aida Hernández Castillo, feminista mexicana del Comité Organizador del Pre-Congreso, donde cada una de las participantes compartió sus experiencias de lucha y sus genealogías políticas. Se enfatizó la importancia de la construcción de alianzas entre mujeres diversas, los diálogos intergeneracionales y la necesidad de construir comunidad desde una política del cuidado que confronte las múltiples violencias racistas, capitalistas y patriarcales.

La mesa sobre migraciones fue moderada por la antropóloga Lynn Stephen, especialista y activista en temas de derechos migratorios, con la participación de Liliana Suárez, antropóloga y feminista cuya trayectoria profesional ha estado enfocada las migraciones, identidades y ciudadanía en el sur de España. El portavoz del Sindicato Popular de Vendedores Ambulantes de Barcelona, Aziz Faye, junto con Ana Camargo, Presidenta de la Asociación de Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe en España, así como Remei Sipi de la Asociación de Mujeres Africanas en España, hablaron sobre la lucha por los derechos de personas en movilidad frente a tendencias globales de una criminalización racista que afectan a poblaciones tan dispersas como son la centroamericana en México y Estados Unidos, y comunidades de Guinea, Senegal y Nigeria en Catalunya. Hablaron sobre los procesos organizativos de lucha por derechos laborales y sindicales desde los márgenes de la legalidad

y la institucionalidad. Acompañó la discusión Sonia Ros, miembro de STOP Mare Mortum en Catalunya, organización que nació a raíz del naufragio de un barco en la Costa de Sicilia, donde murieron 900 personas, cuyo trabajo se enfoca en la sensibilización y educación de la ciudadanía, así como a la incidencia política para la protección de los derechos de las personas migrantes.



Por otro lado, las lecciones más inesperadas y valiosas resultaron del trabajo en equipo previo y durante la ejecución del taller dónde, al ser un grupo de personas voluntarias, habiéndonos coordinado de manera remota, sin conocernos, con un presupuesto limitado, se requirió de mucha energía y creatividad para entre los diferentes colectivos recibir y alimentar a 120 personas durante una jornada de 8 horas.

Así las organizaciones políticas y sociales se expresaban, literalmente, hasta en la sopa. En este caso, en una fideuá vegana preparada por el grupo anti-psiquiátrico "Radio Nikosia". Este colectivo está conformado por personas con problemas mentales difíciles, que se acompañan a través talleres de cocina como parte de una serie de terapias alternativas en rechazo a las metodologías clínicas. Como parte de sus talleres, prepararon un fideuá gigante para los más de cien asistentes. El grupo parte de la premisa de que la "locura" no existe y que las complejidades mentales tienen que abordarse desde la raíz del sufrimiento y su relación a ciertos contextos sociales que, al ser ignorados por los diagnósticos clínicos, condenan a la persona a ser considerada socialmente como una enferma sobre cualquier otro aspecto de su identidad. Al compartir su cocina con nosotros, este grupo nos enseñó también un poco sobre sus luchas en las que abogan por una transformación

de las perspectivas psicológicas desde un lenguaje poco valorado: El del amor y el reconocimiento del sufrimiento. Reivindicando el derecho a la diferencia con igualdad de oportunidades, buscan colectivamente removerse las etiquetas impuestas y encontrar diferentes formas de libertad.



El día cerró con una tertulia musical, por un lado, al son de la jarana de activistas mexicanos bajo el programa "Taula per Mèxic", que acoge y protege a periodistas y defensoras/es de derechos humanos perseguidos por ejercer su profesión. Se presentaron también el coro social de los laioflautas, un grupo de adultos mayores residentes en Barcelona, que acompañan movimientos sociales a través de la música. Sus líricas denuncian los recortes, la corrupción, los oligopolios y la "crisis de solidaridad" con relación a los refugiados, alertan sobre el rebrote de los fascismos y hacen llamados a "crear estructuras de poder popular", empezando "un nuevo ciclo de movilizaciones". Antes de comenzar, convocaron a un minuto de silencio de pie por los migrantes "que mueren por la incapacidad de los gobernantes". Tener la oportunidad de escuchar a los laioflautas fue

inspirador. En un contexto generacional donde muchas veces esa energía se vuelve decepción o incluso posturas reaccionarias ante viejos problemas y nuevos retos, las y los laioflautas deciden seguirse transformando en la lucha, para poner el ejemplo a nuevas generaciones. “Cantando de cara al poder” nos piden no perder la memoria; recordar, que como dice Galeano, del latín *re-cordis*, es volver a pasar por el corazón.



En el transcurso después de la realización del pre-congreso y la publicación de la presente nota, los y las compañeras del Centro Comunitario Ágora Juan Andrés Benítez recibieron una demanda judicial para desalojar el espacio que ha sido autogestionado por más de tres años, así como una multa de 20,000 euros. A pesar de haberse acordado con el Ayuntamiento de Barcelona mantener el proyecto para uso de la comunidad, un aparente propietario lo está reclamando para su especulación en el mercado. Desde el equipo de apoyo de la Sección de Otros Saberes, expresamos fuertemente nuestra solidaridad a un proyecto que, no sólo nos recibió y fue clave para el objetivo de fortalecer alianzas transnacionales y resistencias diversas, sino que representa también un apremiante espacio de empoderamiento ciudadano, donde a pesar de las estructuras de poder y las instituciones que muchas veces nos dividen, el Ágora Juan Andrés Benítez nos une a todos en un espacio donde caben muchas luchas. //



From the LASA2019 Program Chair

by **Lorraine Leu** | University of Texas at Austin | lorraine.leu@austin.utexas.edu

Quando pensam que morri
Renasço nas mãos de uma mulher
 ...
Reverberar o som com suas sementes
 – Elizandra Souza, *Águas da Cabaça*

In her 2012 collection of poetry *Águas da Cabaça*, feminist activist Elizandra Souza takes the calabash as a symbol of black women's suffering and resilience. Plucked from the vine, the fruit does not simply die but is reborn as a sacred receptacle and a musical instrument in candomblé ceremonies. Souza's poetry sounds like an act of defiance in the face of increasingly audacious acts of violence against women, especially black women in Brazilian political life and against black spaces of worship. Souza's writing, slam poetry performances, and leadership in cultural programming in the periphery of São Paulo are about being seen and being heard. Her activism inserts the voices of black women from Brazil's favelas into a dialogue with leading black female voices across the diaspora.

LASA2019 in Boston will open up such spaces for dialogue in the context of the erosion of civil discourse and democratic norms across the Americas and beyond. Let us make Boston a place to reflect on how to learn from the knowledges and experiences of those othered by racism and bigotry. Let us interrogate what social, political, and cultural interventions and engagements are necessary and possible in our work to commit our own acts of defiance against abuses of power and social inequalities. Universal values and political rights are under siege in government discourse and policy across the hemisphere. However, these aspirational notions have always been a mirage for communities of color and first peoples in the Americas whose social realities demonstrate that there can be no one-size-fits-all

notion of citizenship for people whose founding contract with the state was and is based on genocidal violence.

Our Boston 2019 presidential sessions will consider some of the challenges facing the hemisphere from the perspective of activists, cultural producers, and intellectuals. Two of our sessions in particular emphasize listening and dialogue. "Vozes/Voces Negras: Black Women's Poetics, Performance, and Politics" will feature Elizandra Souza performing her work alongside writer and anthropologist Ana-Maurine Lara, who was born in the Dominican Republic and grew up partly in New York. Souza and Lara will discuss how their work engages with questions of art and social justice, and imagines freedom in the face of the daily restrictions placed on black, indigenous, and queer subjects. "Indigenous Matters: A Critical Hemispheric Dialogue" will bring together four indigenous scholars from South, Central, and North America to discuss urgent common concerns across the hemisphere, such as resource extraction, cultural heritage, and the environment. The panel will highlight alternative knowledges and uniquely indigenous perspectives on resistance.

Three sessions will focus explicitly on issues of democracy and justice. "Media, News, and Democracy" will feature leading Mexican journalist and defender of press freedom Carmen Aristegui in conversation with journalist Julia Preston from the nonprofit news organization the Marshall Project. They will explore the role of the mainstream and alternative media in sustaining democracy, violence against the press, "fake news," and new possibilities for press coverage in Mexico with the Lopez Obrador presidency. In the session "Employment, Social Inclusion and Justice," Rebeca Grynspan and José Manuel Salazar-Xirinachs will discuss how wages, employment conditions, and worker organization and representation reproduce cycles

of inequality and exploitation. Grynspan, a former vice president of Costa Rica and Secretary-General of the Ibero-American General Secretariat (SEGIB), and Salazar-Xirinachs, Director of the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, will consider how labor markets can be improved in the service of social mobility, inclusion, and equality. "Immigrant Families and Youth: Justice and Democracy" will put two notable scholars of immigration and social injustice in conversation. Roberto G. Gonzales is Professor of Education at Harvard Graduate School of Education and has undertaken one of the most comprehensive and impactful studies of undocumented immigrants in the United States. Patricia Zavella, Professor Emerita of the Latin American and Latina/o Studies Department at University of California Santa Cruz has made an outstanding contribution to scholarship on reproductive justice, family, poverty, sexuality, and transnational migration in Mexican and Chicana-Latinx communities.

"Thinking Territory in Latin America" brings together Arturo Escobar, Kenan Distinguished Professor of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Raquel Rolnik, Professor of Architecture at the Universidade de São Paulo and UN Special Rapporteur on adequate housing (2008–2014). They will consider the correlation between territorial and social exclusion, especially in the context of the crisis of democratic processes across the Americas. These two world-renowned scholars of territory in Latin America will contemplate alternatives to hegemonic models of development and urbanism that are not producing adequate standards of living for the urban and rural poor.

The session "From Populism to Fascism? The Americas in the Era of Trump" will also take stock of the undermining of democratic discourse and process since the inauguration of Donald Trump. Panelists will discuss the threats posed to human rights, civil liberties, efforts toward social justice, and practices of inclusion and tolerance, both in the United States and abroad. Two other sessions will focus closely on current events and the present social and political climate. "Taking Action Against Harassment" will continue to break the silence

around harassment within LASA and our profession and discuss strategies for inclusivity in our organization, our policies, and our ways of working. The session "Puerto Rico's Challenges, Before and After Hurricane Maria" will propose approaches to reconstruction and revitalization in housing, health, education, and the economy. Speakers will discuss the social and political fallout of the hurricane, as well as how to secure a safer and more prosperous future for the island.

Finally, "The Cuban Revolution 60 Years Later" addresses the present moment, as well as the past and future of the revolution. Its goals and promises continue to inspire and mobilize peoples in Cuba and beyond, but the challenges and setbacks it has faced are also part of its legacy. A stellar group of scholars—Carmelo Mesa-Lago, Lillian Guerra, Zuleica Romay, Carlos Alzugaray, and Alejandro de la Fuente—will contemplate the impact of the revolution on society and politics in Cuba and the Americas over the years.

The Program Committee has focused on the theme and the imperative of inclusion in proposing and organizing presidential sessions. We also hope that our theme will be reflected in the diversity of presenters at this upcoming congress. We look forward to lively discussion and debate on the diaspora, the Atlantic, and the borderlands at LASA2019. //

LASA2019 Congress “Nuestra América: Justice and Inclusion”
Boston, USA / May 24-27, 2019

CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE LATIN AMERICAN FILM FESTIVAL and LARR FILM SECTION REVIEW

The LASA Film Festival and the Documentary Film Reviews Section of the Latin American Research Review (LARR) make a joint call for the submission of films related to Latin America. All proposals will be considered for the LASA Festival 2019 and/or LARR Film Review Section.

Requirements and submission instructions: <https://film-festival.lasaweb.org/>

Submission deadline: November 27, 2018

If you have questions or want to know more about the LASA 2019 Film Festival,, please contact lasa@pitt.edu.

Thank you for your attention,
LASA Secretariat //

Section Reports 2018

ASIA AND THE AMERICAS

By *Monica DeHart*

On Wednesday, May 23, Asia and the Americas co-chairs Vladimir Rouvinski and Monica DeHart convened the section business meeting as part of the LASA 2018 Congress in Barcelona, Spain. The meeting was attended by 20 section members, including 6 standing members of the section's executive committee in addition to the section co-chairs. During that meeting, the co-chairs informed participants of section activities of the last year, solicited and voted on individual proposals for participation in the executive board, and discussed possible activities for the 2018-2019 LASA cycle.

Membership

Section membership continues to grow, with 134 members registered as of November 2017. This membership number enables the section to propose two section panels for LASA 2019 in Boston.

2018 Congress participation and pre-congress activities

As in previous years, the section capitalized on local connections to collaborate with the Casa Asia to host a pre-congress workshop, entitled "Mapping a Shifting Global Context and Trans-Regional Relations: Asia, the Americas, and Europe. The daylong event took place at the Casa Asia and included both a workshop, "Engaging Asia from Europe, Latin America, and North America," and a panel, "Latin America's Role in China's Global Development Strategy." The event was well attended by both LASA international participants and interested members of the local community. Following the event, participants enjoyed a group lunch sponsored by the section.

Congress panels and events

In keeping with the trend of the last several years, the number and range of panels related to Asia and the Americas has continued to grow at LASA, with increasing representation of humanistic scholarship and pan-Asian foci. This year, that trend was accentuated by the addition of a track dedicated to Asia and Latin America, although there was surprisingly little overlap between section and track-sponsored panels. This year's congress program featured no less than 98 panels dedicated to or containing papers related to some aspect of Asia and the Americas, including a presidential panel, "Los estudios Latinoamericanos en Asia y Rusia." The section sponsored two invited panels, "China's Geopolitical and Geoeconomic Presence in Latin America: Assessment and Perspectives" and "Latin America and the Philippines: From Microhistory to Transglobal Connections." All of these panels generated large audiences and considerable conversation throughout the panel.

Public relations and communications

During the business meeting, members discussed several new initiatives that the section has launched over the last year:

Section newsletter: The newsletter circulates both via e-mails to the member list, as well as posting on the group's Facebook page. It lists new publications, calls for papers, conference announcements, and grant opportunities. The newsletter is produced by a support team at the University of Icesi, allowing for sustained production and updates. Analytics show that about 40% of the newsletters delivered via e-mail are opened, showing good interest via that medium. Members at the business meeting expressed their sense of the value of the newsletter and encouraged its continuation. Several recommended that the newsletter include links to the growing number of observatories and centers

dedicated to Asia and the Americas scholarship so as to highlight resources and create more connections among scholars working in the area.

To further enhance the visibility of scholarship within the field, the group discussed the possibility of nominating books produced by section members for book prizes and recommending scholarship by section members and thematic for LARR's open access journal.

Finally, section members discussed ways of inserting news of Asia and the Americas into other area studies conferences and events. Another option would be to pair section funds with institutional funds to try and organize a conference around the idea of "Interrogating Latin American Studies" to spearhead some of this inquiry and conversation.

2019 Congress planning: Members discussed possible themes and collaborators to shape a pre-congress event for next year's LASA in Boston. Possible collaborators included Boston University, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Fairbanks Center, and Harvard. Various members will follow up on these possibilities. The group agreed that it would be desirable to organize a pre-congress around the idea of Asia and the Americas broadly, rather than narrowing the focus to China in particular. Members of the executive board will continue to develop these possibilities.

Section business: In terms of the executive board and chair positions, the group has sought to maintain a co-chair system that spans representatives from North and South America, ideally serving in three-year rotations with alternating schedules so as to ensure continuity in the leadership with the advent of each new chair. This year, 2018, marks Monica's third year as co-chair, so she proposed stepping down to enable the election of new co-chair representing North America. At the business meeting, participants expressed an interest in having Monica stay on another year, but to begin to look for and consider a new co-chair to be elected at next year's meeting. The section currently maintains an executive board of eight members, not including the chairs, Monica DeHart and Vladimir Rouvinski. Six of

these executive board members (Evan Ellis, Kathy Lopez, Junyoung Veronica Kim, Gonzalo Paz, Sue Gronewold, and Maria Montt Strabucchi) were present at the business meeting and all agreed to continue their service on the board. Two new members, Allison White and Sebastian Naranjo Rodriguez, postulated their candidacy for service on the executive board and were unanimously voted in by the quorum of participants present at the business meeting.

Executive Committee Roster (all positions are for three-year terms): Monica DeHart, co-chair 2016–2019, University of Puget Sound; Vladimir Rouvinski, co-chair 2016–2020, Icesi University; Kathy Lopez, officer, Rutgers University; Evan Ellis, officer, US Army War College; Sue Gronewold, officer, Kean University; Maria Montt Strabucchi, officer, Manchester; Junyoung Veronica, officer, University of Pittsburgh; Kim Zelideth Rivas, officer, Marshall University; Gonzalo Paz, officer, Georgetown University; Benjamin Creutzfeldt, officer, Wilson Center; Allison White, officer, Tulane University; Sebastian Naranjo R, officer, Renmin University.

BOLIVIA

Por Núria Vilanova, Linda Farthing, Guillermo Delgado, Nancy Postero, Chris Krueger

Número de miembros que pagaron sus cuotas hasta el 11 de junio, 2018: 112.

Secretaria Sección (2016–2017): Núria Vilanova, American University, Washington DC (saliente); Martín Mendoza Botelho (2018–2020). Miembros de la directiva: Raquel Alfaro (University of North Carolina, Pembroke); Martín Carrión (University of the Sciences, Philadelphia); Annabelle Conroy (University of Central Florida); Jessika Eichler (University of Essex). Consejeras: Chris Krueger (Red Bolivia Mundo); Elizabeth Monasterios (ex-secretaria Sección Bolivia).

Balance actualizado, sólo membresía: \$262.00.

Balance Beca Kohl: \$4,037.75.

1. Reunión de trabajo

La membresía de la sección se reunió el miércoles 23 de abril de 5:30pm-7:00pm. Asistieron 25 miembros.

Agenda de la reunión: (1) Bienvenida y presentaciones; (2) Informe de actividades de la sección; (3) Informe sobre el estado actual de la membresía miembros. Debemos hacer esfuerzos para seguir aumentando el número de miembros; (4) Informe sobre la presencia de Bolivia en LASA-Lima; (5) Informe de Linda Farthing sobre el primer año de implementación de la beca "Ben Kohl" Se están haciendo esfuerzos para recaudar fondos para la beca de manera más sistemática, con la ayuda de la administración de LASA, que facilitarán una casilla para las donaciones en línea, junto a la membresía de la sección; (6) Informe económico: Para LASA Barcelona 2018, se destinó 2400 dólares a ayudas de viaje de tres ponentes de la sección, que viajaron desde Bolivia: Julieta Paredes, José Antonio Martínez y Rafael Bautista; (7) Elecciones del nuevo secretario de la sección 2018-2020: Martín Mendoza Botelho.

La reunión fue muy positiva y confirmó el potencial y el entusiasmo de sus miembros para continuar creciendo y desarrollando actividades.

2. Administradores de la Sección 2018-2019

La Directiva encargada de la sección desde mayo 2016, sigue su período hasta LASA 2019, con una vigencia de 2 años de servicio (resolución acordada en Puerto Rico). Ver arriba Miembros de la Directiva. Debido a que los miembros de la Directiva no pudieron asistir a LASA 2018, se propone alargar su período de servicio un año.

3. Actividades y planes futuros

"Bolivia: Assessing the Contemporary Social and Political Landscape". El simposio sobre la actualidad de Bolivia tuvo lugar el día 5 de marzo en la American University, de Washington, DC.

Para LASA Barcelona 2018, la sección preparó dos paneles y apoyó uno más. Es de destacar el homenaje a Xavier Albó que la sección Bolivia quiso rendir a Xavier Albó en su tierra natal, Cataluña. La sección contó con el generoso apoyo

de la administración de LASA para este merecido homenaje. Albó era uno de los ponentes de una de las mesas presidenciales y recipiente del premio "Martin Diskin". Lamentablemente, Xavier no pudo viajar por problemas de salud, pero su colega y co-autora de sus memorias, Carmen Beatriz Ruiz Parada, estuvo con nosotros y participó en su nombre en las actividades organizadas. En el panel que acompañó la ceremonia de la entrega del premio "Martin Diskin" participaron: Brooke Larson, Julieta Paredes, Carmen Beatriz Ruiz Parada y Kevin Healy.

Paneles: "State-Society Relations under the MAS Administration: Experiences from El Alto, the Rebel City, and Beyond". Angus McNelly (organizador); Angus McNelly (chair), Jeffrey R Webber (comentador); Angus McNelly, John Brown, Nell Haynes, Martín Mendoza Botelho (panelistas).

"The Life Work of Xavier Albó: His Enduring Contribution to the Founding of Social Sciences in Bolivia". Núria Vilanova (organizadora y chair), Guillermo Delgado (comentador), Rosaleen E Howard, Bruce Mannheim, Nancy G Postero, Kevin Healy, José A Martínez (panelistas).

"Prácticas indígenas como estrategias políticas de autodeterminación y empoderamiento en la Bolivia andina. María X. Postigo y Ximena Córdova (organizadoras y chair); Rafael Bautista, Michael Aronna, Ximena Córdova y María X. Postigo (panelistas).

"El giro antropocéntrico o la crisis de soberanía que atraviesa la cultura del Antropoceno" (I): Elizabeth Monasterios (organizadora); Meritxell Hernando Marsal (chair); Cristina Rojas, Paola Mancosu, Julieta Paredes (panelistas).

"Conversatorio sobre la obra y proyección intelectual del escritor Gamaliel Churata, en el auditorio de la Facultad de Letras y Ciencias de la Universidad de San Marcos, en Lima". Participantes: Guissella Gonzáles Fernández, Meritxell Hernando, Elizabeth Monasterios, Mauro Mamani.

4. Planes para el futuro

Seguir involucrando activamente a la membresía en las propuestas de paneles y talleres para los próximos congresos, muy especialmente LASA 2019 en Boston, Estados Unidos. Seguir con el simposio bianual de la sección Bolivia. Fortalecer la página web de la Sección, con la finalidad de: a) difundir la investigación de la membresía, b) posicionar temas claves, y c) facilitar redes de difusión e intercambio entre la bibliografía producida en Bolivia y la que se genera fuera de ella. d) de ser posible, crear un enlace a la publicación *Bolivian Studies Journal* (University of Pittsburgh). Vincular la publicación *Bolivian Studies Journal* (University of Pittsburgh) a la Sección Bolivia. Seguir apoyando la beca Ben Kohl, mejorando temas de logística y de acceso a los fondos. Apoyar futuras propuestas que surjan de la membresía.

The Ben Kohl Scholarship Fund of the Bolivia section has funded four students to date, three to complete their undergraduate theses and one to begin studies in communications. Two of the theses students are top undergraduates in the history department of the Public University of El Alto, Hebert Layme and Edgar Poma, and organizers of the First Latin-American Congress on Indigenous History; the third is Monica Guzman at Gabriel Rene Moreno University sociology department in Santa Cruz who is studying the role of lowland indigenous women (chimán, mojeño, movima, y yuracaré) in political decision-making. All three of these students are indigenous. A fourth student, Claudia Meneses, is just beginning. She has been a street vendor in Cochabamba since she was eight and was president of the local Child Street Vendors Association.

At the present time, we have funds for an additional five scholarships and hope to continue to raise funds from the Bolivia Section and elsewhere to keep the fund at this level.

The scholarship is completely run by volunteers with administrative assistance from LASA. The four scholarship committee members process the applications, and one of us interviews the proposed students. The Cochabamba-based Andean Information Network disburses the funds on a

monthly basis within Bolivia when no committee member is in-country. Financial records and copies of receipts from the recipients are regularly provided to LASA.

We want to close with a comment from the final report of Hebert Layme, who has recently completed his thesis with scholarship fund assistance: "Agradezco de manera extensa a Linda Farthing responsable de la (Beca Ben Kohl) de la Asociacion de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA). Misma beca que me ayudo de mucho en la investigación como en los gatos administrativos. Quedo muy agradecido y felicito por tan importante labor de la institución LASA en beneficio de los estudiantes de bajos recursos. Estaré a cualquiera disposición de la comisión de la beca (Ben Kohl)".

BRAZIL

By Adam Joseph Shellhorse

The Executive Committee of the Brazil Section for 2017–2018 consisted of the following members: Nelson Cerqueira, Co-chair; Tracy Devine Guzmán, Co-chair; Adam Joseph Shellhorse, Treasurer; Fabrício Chagas Bastos; Odile Cisneros; Mónica González García; Thomas Vicino.

2018 Brazil Section Prizes

Submissions: articles (31), approx. 29% published in Brazil (Prize Committee: Fabrício Chagas-Bastos, Odile Cisneros, Aiala Levy); doctoral dissertations (14), approx. 35.7% from Brazilian institutions (Prize Committee: Isadora Moura Mota Adam Joseph Shellhorse, Thomas Vicino); books (17), approx. 23% published in Brazil (Prize Committee: Aaron Ansell, Ana Lucia Araujo, Nelson Cerqueira, Tracy Devine Guzmán).

Article Prize winners (\$100): Social Sciences Award Winner: Letícia J. Marteleto, Luiz Gama, Molly Dondero, and Letisha Brown, "The Weight of Inequality: Socio-Economic Status and the Intergenerational Transmission of Child Nutrition in Brazil," *Social Forces*; Social Sciences Honorable Mentions: Katherine C. Jensen, "The Epistemic Logic of Asylum Screening: (Dis)Embodiment

and the Production of Asylum Knowledge in Brazil," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*; Jan Hoffman French, "Repensando a violência policial no Brasil: Desmascarando o segredo público da raça," *Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia Universidade Federal de Sergipe*. Humanities Award Winner: Courtney Campbell, "Four Fishermen, Orson Welles, and the Making of the Brazilian Northeast," *Past & Present*; Humanities Honorable Mentions: Cassia Roth, "Policing Pregnancy: Reproduction, Poverty, and the Law in Early Twentieth-Century Brazil," *Journal of Women's History*; Eli Lee Carter, "Silence Behind the 'Talk of Crime': Representations of Violence in a Sample of Contemporary Brazilian Films and Television Series," *A contra corrente: Uma revista dSECTION NEWS e estudos latinoamericanos*.

Doctoral Dissertation Prize winners (\$100): Social Sciences Award Winner: Laurie Denyer Willis, "The Salvific Sensorium: Pentecostal Life in Rio de Janeiro's Subúrbios," McGill University; Social Sciences Honorable Mention: Juan P. Marsiaj, "Unpacking Social Movements' Democratizing Impact: The Case of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Travesti Movement in Brazil," University of Toronto. Humanities Award Winner: Jacob Blanc, "The Price of Peace: Itaipú and the Meanings of Land and Opposition in Brazil, 1957-1984," University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Book Prize winners (\$150): Social Sciences Award Winner: Sean T. Mitchell, *Constellations of Inequality: Space, Race, and Utopia in Brazil* (University of Chicago Press); Humanities Award Winner: Eve Buckley, *Technocrats and the Politics of Drought and Development in 20th Century Brazil* (University of North Carolina Press); Humanities Honorable Mention: Patricia Acerbi, *Street Occupations: Urban Vending in Rio de Janeiro, 1850-1925* (University of Texas Press).

Elections/voting

Co-chair outside of Brazil (votes): Gustavo S. Azenha (10); Adam Joseph Shellhorse (26); Executive Committee members elected (votes): Ana Amélia Melo (26), Stephanie Mojica (7), Lidiana de Moraes (12), Daniel Raso Llarás (8), Paulo Andrade (25). Naming of Prizes: Antonio Candido Prize in the

Humanities (article, dissertation, book): Yes (34), No (2); Sérgio Buarque de Holanda Prize in the Social Sciences (article, dissertation, book): Yes (35), No (1).

Small travel awards to attend LASA (\$400/each), panels sponsored at the LASA Barcelona Congress: Rubens Lima Moraes (Concordia University); Vanessa Oliveira (Universidade Federal do ABC & Université Sorbonne Paris 8 Vincennes); Macarena Moraga Agurto (University of Florida); Katie Jensen (University of Texas at Austin), Jefferson Sanches (Universidade Estadual de Campinas), declined; Angela Meirelles de Oliveira (Universidade de São Paulo), declined; Cássia Reis Donato (Concordia University), declined.

Panels sponsored at the LASA Barcelona Congress: "Brazilian Foreign Policy in Hard Times"; "Cultural Performances: A New Approach, Possibilities, and Perspectives" "Understanding Brazil's Political Crisis: A Multidimensional Approach" "Politics of Memory and Claims-Making in Brazil."

CENTER DIRECTORS

By Laurie Medina, Chair

An estimated 60-80 attended the business meeting. At the business meeting, we presented the results of the section's survey conducted in fall 2017. At the business meeting at LASA 2017, section members had endorsed the idea of approaching foundations to seek funding, but no clear project ideas emerged from that discussion. Thus, the purpose of the fall 2017 survey was to learn about center directors' needs and priorities, in order to settle on some possible initiatives to pursue with foundations.

The survey revealed that most of the centers are quite small: 47% of responding centers consisted of 3 or fewer persons; 38% had 4-8 staff members.

According to the survey, top center priorities were: funding; networking across centers; collaborative programming across centers; funding for visiting scholars; efforts to increase student interest in area studies.

In response to these priorities, the section board proposed to: organize panel for LASA 2019 with representatives of foundations that fund programming in Latin America to learn more about their priorities; seek foundation funding for visiting speakers/scholars program; annual competition; groups of institutions near one another collaborate in a proposal to bring (and share) a scholar/speaker from Latin America; section will work with LASA central leadership (Executive Committee, Development Committee) to develop collaborative plan to approach foundations.

The results of the section's elections: Chair: Laurie Medina (2017-2019, Michigan State University, USA); Secretary-Treasurer: Natasha Borges Sugiyama (2017-2019; University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, USA); Board members: Paloma Diaz (2017-2019, University of Texas, USA), Pedro Garcia-Caro (2017-2019, University of Oregon, USA), Carmen Ilizarbe Pizarro (2018-2020, Pontificia Universidad Católica, Peru), Ma. Ignacia Fernández G. (2018-2020, RIMISP, Centro Latinoamericano para el Desarrollo Rural, Chile), Barbara Göbel (2018-2020, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Germany).

Review of term activities and plans for the coming term: The chair and secretary-treasurer met with the LASA Ways and Means Committee in Barcelona to discuss collaboration in approaches to foundations. We understand the importance of having LASA speak with a coherent voice. The outcome of that meeting was a plan to work with the LASA 2019 planning committee and the Development Committee to coordinate plans to engage foundations at the LASA 2019 meeting. I have begun that process and will follow through on it.

CENTRAL AMERICA

By Leisy Abrego and Steven Osuna

Business meeting

There were 36 people in attendance. We discussed: (1) nominations for 2018-2019 CAS-LASA board; (2) the section's needs, activities, and panels; (3)

financial support and travel grants awarded; and (4) heard from guest speakers, the Honduran writers and activists Melissa Cardoza and Lety Lazo.

Election results

We recruited four nominees during our business meeting, and will be conducting elections via online ballot with the assistance of LASA before the end of June 2018.

Review of term activities and plans for the coming term

Leisy Abrego and Steven Osuna developed the call for papers for the CAS-LASA section in line with LASA's 2018 conference theme "Latin America in a Globalized World." They reviewed and accepted two paper panels and one roundtable. As requested by CAS-LASA members, CC also supported in organizing a roundtable on the current political crisis in Nicaragua. Incoming chairs will develop the thematic focus for next year.

Financial report

Total: \$4,785.48 (included donations to the section from members); spent: \$4,666.38; left: \$119.10.

Section financial support and travel grant winners

Ismael Moreno Coto, Honduran priest and activist, \$2,082.71; Doris Melissa Cardoza Calderón, Honduran writer and activist, \$1,412.15; Letty Elvir Lazo, Honduran writer and activist, \$471.52; Monica Mazariegos Rodas, Universidad Rafael Landívar, Guatemala, \$300; Patrick Illmer, Universidad Rafael Landívar, Guatemala, \$300.

COLOMBIA

Por Sandra B. Sánchez López y Felipe Martínez Pinzón

Miembros y equipo directivo: El día sábado, 23 de mayo de 2018, nos reunimos 21 de los 199 miembros de la sección LASA - Colombia en la sala Sala CCIB 121 - P1, de 5:45 pm a 7:15 pm. Tomamos lista de los asistentes y todos los asistentes se presentaron y compartieron brevemente sus intereses de investigación.

Tras una bienvenida pasamos a hacer un anuncio del equipo directivo compuesto en el 2017-2018 por: Felipe Martínez-Pinzón, Brown University y Sandra Beatriz Sánchez, Universidad de los Andes (Co-presidentes); Annie Mendoza, East Stroudsburg University (Tesorera); Diego Bustos, University of New Mexico (Secretario - Editor boletín mensual); Carlos Gardeazábal Bravo, University of Connecticut (Representante Estudiantil y redes sociales).

Se presenta una modificación del equipo directivo, dada la renuncia de la Tesorera, Annie Mendoza, el pasado mayo de 2018. Dos de los miembros estarán actuando como interinos durante este 2018-2019, mientras llega el momento de elegir definitivos o ratificarlos en sus cargos, según las decisiones que se tomen en 2019 y con aprobación de los miembros de la Sección. El equipo estará funcionando en 2018-2019, así: Felipe Martínez-Pinzón y Sánchez-López, Co-presidentes; Carlos Gardeazábal Bravo: Tesorero interino; Diego Bustos: Secretario y Editor del Boletín; Mariana Sierra: Representante Estudiantil interina y redes sociales.

Este será el último año de servicio de los co-presidentes, de manera que se presenta propuesta de continuar rotando los cargos como hasta ahora se ha venido haciendo- a partir de 2019, por supuesto previa aceptación y aprobación de los miembros más adelante y a su debido momento en 2019.

Revisión de actividades

En la reunión se hizo un resumen de actividades del año académico 2016-2017.

Auxilios: Este año académico dimos tres auxilios de viaje, así: Katherine Cuéllar (Universidad de Antioquia), Luisa Fernanda Loaiza (Universidad Nacional de Medellín). Jennifer Vargas (FLACSO).

Paneles. Así mismo, este año tuvimos tres paneles patrocinados en el marco del Congreso, así: "Homenaje a Ginny Bouvier y Marck Chernick"; "Espacios y conexiones locales, regionales y globales en la producción cultural colombiana contemporánea"; "De la radio a la parabólica, de la canción a la parrilla: sonido, cultura y tecnología mediática en Colombia".

Premios. De igual manera, la Sección otorgó el Premio Montserrat Ordóñez a la Dra. Cheryl Elston (presente en el congreso 2018 para recibir el premio), por su libro *Women's Writing in Colombia. An Alternative History* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). Se le facilitó un reconocimiento de \$500 dólares a la Dra. Elston. El jurado estuvo compuesto por Prof. Carolina Alzate (Universidad de los Andes), Diana Paola Guzmán Méndez (Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano) y Catherine Vallejo (Concordia University). En la reunión de la sección se leyó el fallo del jurado y se hizo entrega del diploma. Asimismo, se le agradeció a los jurados que hicieron la selección y escribieron el fallo.

Por último, anunciamos que el Premio Michael Jiménez se dará en la reunión del 2018-2019 de LASA en Boston.

Planes para el próximo año. De acuerdo con nuestra agenda académica, el próximo año será entregado el Premio Montserrat Ordóñez al mejor libro de Historia de Colombia. Para este comité contamos ya con el liderazgo de la Prof. Ana María Otero Cleves (Universidad de los Andes). Están por confirmarse aún quiénes la acompañarán. Se ha planeado que sea un colega académico con sede en Estados Unidos y otro con sede en Europa, de preferencia. Los términos de la convocatoria serán circulados a partir del próximo mes de julio, vía boletín, redes, contactos y demás plataformas de difusión de la Sección. La fecha tentativa de entrega de textos concursantes será el 31 de octubre 2018. El anuncio del ganador se hará en el Congreso LASA 2019 que se llevará a cabo en Boston.

A partir de este mismo junio, 2018, intentaremos recaudar fondos para el premio Michael Jiménez, a través de las gestiones lideradas por el Prof. Mauricio Archila de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá). De esta manera podremos constituir un fondo para proveer este importante reconocimiento para futuras entregas.

Como se logró el año anterior, para este nuevo periodo se planteará expandir el número de registrados como miembros de la sección, en lo posible a unos 250 miembros. Para esto estaremos

trabajando en una campaña de publicidad, a través de un afiche promocional de la Sección, que circularemos entre colegas y departamentos afines.

Anuncio de reunión social. Antes de dar por concluida la reunión, anunciamos que la reunión social de este año tendría lugar en el restaurante barcelonés de Nass Beach Surf. Esta reunión fue coordinada con las secciones de Venezuela y Ecuador con el fin de crear espacios, fuera del ámbito de la conferencia, para que los académicos, de países con historias tan afines, pudieran encontrar espacios para realizar proyectos conjuntos.

COLONIAL

By Pablo García Loaeza

Business meeting (Thursday, May 25, 2017): presiding, Pablo García Loaeza; secretary, Caroline Egan. Twelve members attended the meeting. García Loaeza, the section's chair, offered an update on the number of section members and guaranteed sessions for LASA 2019 and he announced the composition of the 2018-2019 executive committee. García Loaeza also reported on the LASA section chair's meeting. The main topics addressed were the possibility of proposing dossiers to the Latin American Research Review, the possibility of taking advantage of Maestro Meetings, and the discussion surrounding program tracks for LASA 2019, which are nebulous and unwieldy. One of the attendees raised the need to discuss and eventually state more clearly the relevance of colonial studies.

Elections: The new Executive Committee members are Kelly McDonough (chair), Nathan Gordon (vice-chair and chair of Awards Committee), Caroline Egan (secretary-treasurer), Rocío Quispe Agnoli (council member), Pablo García Loaeza (council member).

Term activities and plans for the coming term: Four issues of the section's newsletter were published and will continue to be published. The section's social-communications officers will continue to maintain and look for ways to increase the section's presence on social media.

Section prizes: The 2018 Best Article in Colonial Latin American Studies by a Junior Scholar Award was presented to Matthew Goldmark (Florida State University), "Reading Habits: Catalina de Erauso and the Subjects of Early Modern Spanish Gender and Sexuality." The Award Committee was chaired by Kelly McDonough. Next year the section will recognize the Best Book in Colonial Latin American Studies.

CUBA

By Carlos Alzugaray Treto

La principal actividad de la Sección Cuba fue la de trabajar por lograr la mayor asistencia de sus miembros al Congreso de Barcelona. Al propio tiempo se esforzó porque esa participación no sólo fuera cuantitativa sino también cualitativamente superior. Al momento de escribir este reporte no se tiene la cifra exacta de participantes, pero sí sabemos que el Consulado español en la Habana otorgó entre 300 y 400 visas. Se puede calcular que fueron más de 600 los miembros de la Sección, residentes tanto en Cuba como fuera de la Isla los que participaron. Esta es la mayor participación que ha tenido la Sección en toda su historia. Para el Congreso de Barcelona el número de miembros de la Sección creció hasta 1200.

Sin lugar a duda, esta cifra se alcanzó en gran medida por las facilidades dadas por el Comité Ejecutivo al continuar otorgándole a los miembros residentes en la Isla la gratuidad en las cuotas de membresía y registro (inscripción). Pero a ello también contribuyeron las facilidades dadas por las autoridades españolas en la Habana para el trámite de visados. En este sentido no hubo que lamentar ningún inconveniente.

La Sección organizó 4 talleres sobre los temas siguientes: (1) Cómo investigar en Cuba; (2) Jóvenes artistas e intelectuales en Cuba: creación, pensamiento, acción e interconexión en el escenario global; (3) Recordando a Lourdes Casal. (Conocida académica de origen cubano que se caracterizó por su activismo en la promoción de los vínculos entre investigadores norteamericanos

y cubanos y en defensa de la no discriminación por origen racial u orientación sexual); (4) Las relaciones entre Cuba y la Unión Europea en la era de Trump.

El Business Meeting (o Asamblea General) se celebró el 24 de mayo y contó con una participación de entre 250 y 300 miembros. A pesar del corto tiempo disponible pudieron tratarse los 15 puntos previstos, entre los cuales estaba la proyección del trabajo para el 2018-2019. En este contexto se trataron los desafíos que tendrá la Sección para participar en el Congreso de Boston, dada la política que tiene la Administración Trump hacia Cuba, que pone dificultades a los intercambios académicos.

Poco antes del Congreso de Barcelona tuvieron lugar las elecciones de nuevos oficiales de la Sección. El Comité Electoral estuvo presidido por Lillian Manzor e integrado por Jaime Gómez Triana y Douglas Friedman. Resultaron electos los siguientes colegas para sustituir a los directivos salientes: para co-presidente por los miembros no residentes en Cuba: Mabel Cuesta, Universidad de Houston; para miembro por los residentes fuera de Cuba: William LeoGrande, American University; para miembro por los residentes en Cuba: Jesús Guanche, Universidad de la Habana; para representante de estudiantes graduados: Elizabeth Cerejido, Universidad de Miami.

Al no vencerse este año sus mandatos, se mantienen los colegas siguientes: Carlos Alzugaray, co-presidente representando a los residentes en Cuba. Stephen Wilkinson, Tesorero. Julio César Guanche, miembro de la Junta Directiva residente en Cuba. Michelle Chase, miembro de la Junta Directiva no residente en Cuba.

Por razones conocidas, este año no se convocó al Premio Lilia Rosa de la Carrera de Domínguez y José Domínguez Morejón. Sin embargo, en el Business Meeting (Asamblea General) sí se entregó el Premio otorgado el año pasado a Maikel Pons Giralt.

El Premio a la Obra de la Vida fue analizado por un Comité integrado por Julio César Guanche, Jacqueline Laguardia Martínez, Lisandro Pérez, Ada Ferrer y Ana Cairo. Se decidió otorgarlo al

investigador Emilio Cueto, por los aportes que ha hecho a conservar la memoria histórica de Cuba y de sus relaciones con Estados Unidos. Cueto ha publicado una decena de obras de alto valor científico y artístico.

Este año los miembros residentes en Cuba no pudieron votar en las elecciones para el Comité Ejecutivo. Se nos informó que ello se debía al cumplimiento de sanciones impuestas a la Isla por el Gobierno de Estados Unidos a través de la Oficina de Control de los Bienes Extranjeros (OFAC) del Departamento del Tesoro. Sin embargo, el Comité Ejecutivo decidió que, para resolver este problema, se solicitaría una licencia a la OFAC.

DEFENSE, PUBLIC SECURITY & DEMOCRACY

Por Lillian Bobea

La reunión se inició a la hora indicada, a continuación del panel organizado por la propia sección, bajo el título "New Threats and their Consequences for Security and Defense Institutions". En la reunión participaron unas 15 personas. Esta reunión estuvo dirigida solo por mí, dado que ni Carolina Sancho, ni Maiah Jaskoski pudieron asistir a LASA. Rafael Martínez tampoco pudo estar presente por compromisos previos. Hay que tomar en cuenta además que esta reunión fue el último evento del día, finalizando a las 9:00 de la noche, con un público cansado por las actividades del día.

Presentación de reconocimientos y premiaciones

Se hizo entrega del premio a la mejor investigación publicada durante el 2017, a Enrique Desmond Arias y a Nicolás Barnes (ambos presentes). Es importante anotar que estos dos miembros de la sección pertenecen a un nuevo grupo de investigadores y amplían además el contenido de la sección. Como co-chair saliente, durante esta LASA promoví entre los miembros de esta cohorte que trabajan más los temas de seguridad pública, a inscribirse en la sección y contribuir a la misma como una forma de expandir su composición. Asimismo, se entregó el premio de viaje a la

estudiante Graduada Jennifer Pierce, nuevo miembro de la sección y también perteneciente a un nuevo corte de integrantes.

Para finalizar los reconocimientos, se hizo una presentación de la placa que reconoce póstumamente las contribuciones realizadas por el Profesor Emérito Alfred Stepan, quien falleció en septiembre del año pasado, luego de haber contribuido al área temática de la sección a lo largo de su vida. En esta presentación, leí las palabras traducidas enviadas por el Dr. San Fitch, quien fuera estudiante del Dr. Stepan. Como estaba acordado, traje conmigo la placa de vuelta para hacerla llegar a la familia del Dr. Stepan.

Finalmente hice mención del reconocimiento póstumo al Dr. David Scott Palmer, recién fallecido y participante activo de LASA en los temas relacionados a la sección.

Selección nuevo co-chair

Luego de los reconocimientos procedí a someter a votación la selección del nuevo co-chair, dado que mi tiempo como Chair se ha cumplido. Para el próximo año, Maiah Jaskoski será Chair de la Sección, el nombre de Rafael Martínez, quien estuvo ausente, pero fue previamente consultado. Esta propuesta fue sometida y secundada por Kristina Mani, votado a favor el grueso de los asistentes. De tal manera que para LASA 2018, la Chair de la sección será Maiah Jaskoski y el Co-chair, Rafael Martínez, primer europeo en ocupar la posición.

El Advisory Board continua con Carolina Sancho, sin embargo, no se sometió a votación el sustituto de Rafael Martínez, por lo que será necesario seleccionarlo y/o consultado a través de comunicación electrónica a los miembros de la sección.

De igual manera, por razones de la hora, los asistentes recomendaron no seleccionar el tópico del panel y el workshop para LASA 2018, por lo que este punto deberá ser propuesto y sometido a votación por vía electrónica.

Finanzas: Finalmente, se sometió un reporte financiero de la sección, informando los gastos incurridos, y el hecho de que para LASA 2018 contamos con US\$2,500.00 dólares.

La chair también paso la información presentada en la reunión de chairs de LASA, sobre la disponibilidad de LARR para someter artículos con calidad académica a la consideración de la revista. La forma y los criterios bajo los cuales estos artículos son seleccionados.

Sobre el pre-congreso: El pre-congreso de la sección se llevó a cabo el 22 de mayo, en las instalaciones de la facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Barcelona, gracias a los esfuerzos realizados por Rafael Martínez (nuestro próximo Co-chair) y miembro de dicha facultad. En este evento participaron entre 20 y 25 personas y fue considerado muy importante y exitoso por miembros de la sección participantes en la reunión de negocios. Varios colegas comentaron al respecto en la sección de negocios, agradeciendo la iniciativa desarrollada por Rafa.

Sobre el panel y el workshop: Asistí al panel de la sección (fotos abajo), el cual estuvo concurrido (para los estándares de LASA) y fue muy interesante. Más relevante aun fue el hecho de que este grupo pudiese continuar sintiéndose atraído a presente propuestas a futuro para nuestra sección. Se trata de un corte generacional nuevo y traen nuevos posicionamientos a nuestra sección, aunque la mayoría tiende a concentrarse en el ámbito de la seguridad y la democracia más que en el de Defensa. Sin embargo, el público estuvo mezclado en estos tres ámbitos.

No me fue posible asistir al workshop de la sección porque estuve participando en otra mesa al mismo tiempo. Tengo entendido que el mismo se dio bien, aunque no se pudo realizar la solicitud de Carolina Sancho de conectar por Skype, debido a razones técnicas.

Temas Panel y Workshop próximo LASA: Como explique anteriormente, los ánimos en la sección no estaban para iniciar una amplia discusión sobre los temas, amén de que no había mucha representación del grueso de los miembros más

constantes de la sección (de estos solo estaban siete personas: Marcelo Saín, Héctor L. Saint Pierre, Manuel Ugarte, Susana, David Pion Berlín, Kristina Mani, María Celina D'Araujo). No me pareció democrático tomar una decisión de este tipo solamente con este reducido grupo de miembros. En razón de esto, sugiero que en los próximos meses los chairs de la sección envíen un llamado a la lista de integrantes para proponer temas y participantes al workshop y al panel. Aunque no fue discutido en la sección, considero que es mejor tener dos paneles en lugar de un workshop y un panel, esto así porque el workshop al final termina siendo algo más informal que el panel.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

By Fabrício H. Chagas-Bastos, Chair; Joseph Marques, Secretary and Treasurer; Anthony Spanakos, Executive Committee (and Chair ex-officio)

After calling elections in June 2017, with a second call in August 2017, the Executive Committee decided to nominate the only two candidates who manifested interest in taking over the section leadership: Joseph Marques and Fabrício H. Chagas-Bastos. The following members served on the Executive Committee of the section until early 2018: Chair: Anthony Spanakos; Secretary and Treasurer: Steven Samford; Executive Committee: Susana Nudelsman, Alberto Gago, Antonio Botelho, Eduardo Silva, Gabriel Ondetti. We would like to thank these colleagues for their hard work over the past years. The new leadership took over in January 2018 for the 2018–2020 term and consists of the following members: Chair: Fabrício H. Chagas-Bastos; Secretary and Treasurer: Joseph Marques; Executive Committee: Sean Burges, Mahrukh Doctor, Anthony Spanakos, Leslie Armijo.

Membership and treasury: The section has approximately 116 members as of 28 June 2018; in December 2017, the section had 128 members (loss of 12 members). The treasurer reports that the section has US\$5,070.40 as of 28 June 2018.

Plans for the coming term (2018–2020): Despite continuing with the tradition of awarding two article prizes (Early Career Scholars and the Best

Article Award), the Executive Committee proposes to (1) set up a biannual book award, starting in 2019; (2) name each of the prizes in favor of recognized scholars, to honor those who inspired high-quality scholarship on economics and politics in and about Latin America.

Outreach: It is our aim to grow membership and secure more panels for the section at the 2019 LASA Congress as well as secure our financial standing. Equally important is our aim to reach out to researchers and professionals dealing with the economics and politics of Latin America and invite them to join LASA and our section. The increased interaction between academics and practitioners will benefit all. Later in the year we will call on membership to help with this outreach activity.

Pre-LASA events: To the extent possible we also look forward to meeting with local experts and practitioners in every location of future LASA meetings. Ideally, we will host a pre-LASA event before the official congress and promote the opportunity for fruitful cooperation and exchange between section members and recognized experts in each LASA location.

Sponsored panels: The section is eligible to sponsor two panels for the upcoming 2019 LASA conference in Boston. One prime topic is the future of Latin America after the post-commodity boom. The amount of scholarship on this topic has been impressive with work looking at the reasons for the Pink Tide and its impacts on politics and economics. The leadership will release a call of proposal by mid-July.

Publication: We have two proposals concerning publications from membership: (1) turn sponsored panels into edited collections (books or journal special issues); (2) clustering similar papers presented by section members to produce edited collections (books or journal special issues).

Panels sponsored: The section had two sponsored panels at the 2018 LASA Annual Congress in Barcelona: (1) "Towards a Better Understanding of Development in Latin America? Exploring Interactions between Productive and Social Policies," Organizer: Diego Sánchez-Ancochea,

University of Oxford; Kenneth C Shadlen, London School of Economics and Political Science, Pablo Roberto Andrade, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar; Eva A Paus, Mount Holyoke College; Diego Sánchez-Ancochea, University of Oxford; Nora Lustig, Tulane University; (2) "Brazil and Latin America Post-Commodity Collapse," Organizer: Anthony Spanakos, Montclair University; Discussant: Mahrukh Doctor, University of Hull.

Prizes and grants

Due to time constraints during the leadership transition, the Executive Committee decided that the section would not award any prizes or grants in 2018. The 2019 awards will consider scholarship published in 2017 and 2018. Also, the leadership will propose several changes regarding prizes and grants for the upcoming year.

ECUADORIAN STUDIES

By Erynn Casanova

The section meeting was relatively well-attended compared with previous years, with 20 people in attendance, 7 more than last year. The attendees were very enthusiastic about participating in the activities of the section, which was encouraging. There were also approximately 130 presentations in the LASA Congress program on Ecuadorian topics, including two panels sponsored by the section. This shows the amount of interest in Ecuadorian Studies and the potential for the growth of the section, which is coming back to life after a period of decline.

The following actions were taken in the meeting. (1) Solicited volunteers for three committees: Prize Selection Committee; Ad Hoc Social Media Committee; and Travel Scholarships Committee. These committees are currently being formed based on volunteers from the meeting and volunteers by e-mail. (2) Announced the new council: we have a new president and secretary-treasurer, as well as two new council members. We discussed how to encourage leadership and willingness to serve on the council among the membership. (3) Presented the inaugural grad student paper prize, called Nuevas Direcciones

en los Estudios Ecuatorianos, to Ana María Cerón Cáceres, with honorable mentions for Liliam Fiallo and Mónica Rivera. (4) Discussed ideas for topics for two section panels in Boston 2019; more ideas will be collected from members through e-mail. (5) Gave a report to the members on the section's finances.

Section elections

Because we want to have the maximum participation possible in our elections (both candidates and voters), we decided to hold electronic elections once again. This method worked well last year, and we expect more competitive elections and more voting this year given the renewed energy among section members. We completed our election cycle in April 2018, which resulted in the election of a new chair, new secretary-treasurer, and two new council members. Section Chair: Juan G. Ramos (College of the Holy Cross), 2018-2020; Secretary-Treasurer: Erynn Masi de Casanova (2018-2020, University of Cincinnati); Section Council: Carolina Bown (2017-2019, Salisbury University), Lizardo Herrera (2018-2020, Whittier College), Vanessa C. León (2017-2019, Florida International University), Liisa North (2018-2020, York University).

We are fortunate to have some stability on the council, with two continuing members in addition to the president (former secretary-treasurer of the section) and secretary-treasurer (former section chair). We are looking for ways to get more members involved in leadership positions of the section, and particularly getting members based out of Ecuador more involved.

Activities and plans

The section is still in a process of rebuilding and growth after a few years of low participation and lack of leadership. However, once we renewed communication with our members through the section listserv, people stepped up to contribute to the section. We created a new prize for grad student papers on Ecuadorian studies, with a committee of five scholars evaluating approximately 20 submissions from Ecuadorianists around the world. This was a success in getting people interested in the section and

its activities. We honored the winner with \$200 and a personalized plaque as well as a LASA and section membership, and the honorable mentions were awarded a certificate. This year our travel scholarship committee gave out We also started a travel scholarship that yielded 5 travel awards, disbursed in part from the Ecuadorian Studies Section funds, but also thanks to the very generous private contribution of one of our members.

The section reception was held in collaboration with the Colombian Studies and Venezuelan Studies sections at a venue away from the conference area. Holding the reception in one of the hotels was simply too costly. (We respectfully request that LASA investigate more economical options for receptions at future congresses). The reception was attended by approximately 70 people across all three sections. Each section had the same amount of limited available tickets for the reception. We hope that the reception will spur new memberships. Many current members expressed positive opinions about the reception and the activities of the section during the Barcelona Congress.

Our future plans include continuing travel scholarships, increasing our online presence, and continuing the awards committee. We also formed a committee to oversee our social media presence (as an ad hoc rather than standing committee for now) to take charge of updating our section website, www.ecuatorianistas.org, which is administered by Marc Becker. Last year, this committee worked with Paloma Díaz to create a section Twitter account. We expect to become more active on Twitter once LASA establishes clear guidelines on what type of content we can tweet and retweet. That committee will also look into creating a new Facebook page for the section. We will have a new prize committee that will decide which prize to award next year: the article award, grad student paper award, or a new book award.

The president will lead the efforts to plan the two section panels for Boston, with the input of council members (acting as program committee) and section members. Several possible topics

have been suggested already, one of which is the possibility of co-sponsoring a roundtable with the Colombian Studies section.

We are also investigating the possibility of continuing to hold a joint, off-site reception with one to two other small sections during the 2019 Congress in Boston.

Although this is not an immediate plan, we would eventually like to return to the section's previous tradition of having meetings in Ecuador every couple of years. Once member participation increases enough to manage the logistics of such an event, we will revisit this idea.

Section awards

Winners of section awards (committee: Taylor Nelms, Jean Muteba Rahier, Ma. Elena Rivera Heredia, Ma. Fernanda Acosta, Javier González Díez): Winner of the 2018 Premio Nuevas Direcciones en los Estudios Ecuatorianos (New Directions in Ecuadorian Studies Prize) for graduate students: Ana María Cerón Cáceres, FLACSO-Ecuador, "Geografías de la Cocaína: Trayectos de Mujeres Colombianas Encarceladas por Drogas en Ecuador." Honorable Mentions: Liliam Monedero Fiallo, Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar, "Pluralismo Jurídico y Derechos Humanos de las Mujeres Indígenas en Ecuador: Una Difícil Evaluación en el Campo de las Ciencias Sociales"; Mónica Rivera Muñoz, University of Leuven, "The Slow Construction of the Vernacular Landscape: Water + Practices of Reciprocity in San Joaquín, Cuenca." Winners of travel awards (committee: Juan C. Ramos, Liisa North, Kimberley Lewis): María Luisa Rendón Puertas, María Cristina Yépez Arroyo, Karen Roitman, Chris O'Connell, Vanessa León.

EDUCACIÓN Y POLÍTICAS EDUCATIVAS EN AMÉRICA LATINA

Por Jorge Enrique Delgado, Co-chair 2018-2019

La asamblea general de la Sección de Educación y Políticas Educativas de LASA tuvo lugar el 25 mayo del 2018 en la ciudad de Barcelona, España. La reunión contó con la participación de 35 miembros quienes eligieron al nuevo comité ejecutivo (2018-

2019) que está compuesto por: José David Alarid Diéguez (Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, México), codirector; Jorge Enrique Delgado (Universidad de Pittsburgh, EE. UU./Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Colombia), codirector; y Adriana Pineda Robayo (Universidad del Atlántico, Colombia), secretaria/tesorera; así como Fernanda Saforcada (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina), Javier Campos (Universidad de Massachusetts-Amherst, EE. UU.), Sérgio Roberto Kieling Franco (Universidad Federal del Río Grande del Sur, Brasil), Gabriel Asprella (Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero, Argentina) y Karina Nossar (Universidad de La República, Uruguay), consejeros.

En el 2018, acogiendo una sugerencia de Javier Campos, los premios de la sección se denominaron Premio/Ayuda de Viaje 2018 para Estudiantes de Posgrado (Maestría o Doctorado) y Doctores Recientemente Graduados, para el cual se estableció una bolsa de US\$2.000 que fue dividida equitativamente entre los nominados que cumplieron con los criterios de elegibilidad (ser estudiante actual de maestría o doctorado o graduado reciente entre enero del 2013 y febrero del 2018; tener una ponencia aceptada al congreso de LASA como primer o único autor; tratar una temática del campo educativo; ser miembro activo de LASA y de la Sección de Educación: y haberse inscrito en el congreso). Se presentaron siete candidaturas y finalmente se otorgaron seis premios/ayudas de viaje a Pamela Ayala Arancibia, Carmen Chávez Irigoyen, Ana María Clementino, Karina Nossar, Jorgelina Sasserá y Juan Molina Bolívar, quienes recibieron US\$285 cada uno. Durante el XXXVI Congreso de LASA, la Sección de Educación tuvo dos paneles invitados: "Educación pública en América Latina: Restauración conservadora, resistencias y alternativas" organizado por Dalila Andrade Olivera (Universidad Federal de Minas Gerais, Brasil) y "Universidad, política y poder: A 100 años de la reforma universitaria del 18" organizado por Pablo Gentili (CLACSO). Este año, Norberto Fernández Lamarra (Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero) y Lorenza Villa Lever (UNAM, México) fueron los coordinadores de la línea de Educación y Políticas Educativas del congreso, quienes se encargaron de evaluar las más de 300 propuestas de ponencias individuales y paneles recibidos. Los trabajos aceptados se organizaron en

56 paneles, algunos de ellos agrupados a manera de simposios o ejes temáticos. Para el Congreso del 2019 en Boston, Oresta López (El Colegio de San Luis Potosí, México) y Jorge Gorostiaga (Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina) representarán a la sección como coordinadoras de la línea Educación, Ciudadanía e Inclusión. Al final de la asamblea se ofreció una pequeña recepción social para los miembros de la sección. Algunos de los proyectos que el nuevo comité ejecutivo tendrá en el periodo 2018-2019 incluyen identificar los ejes y conformar los tres (3) paneles invitados para el congreso del 2019 mediante comunicación con los miembros de la sección, actualizar la página en internet de la sección, crear otros medios de comunicación en las redes sociales, revisar las características y criterios de los premios/ayudas de viaje, promover la creación de una red internacional para reunir a los investigadores de la educación iberoamericana, revisar el proceso de elección de las juntas directivas e identificar los posibles coordinadores de la línea de educación para el congreso del 2020, ahora que los organizadores de cada congreso deberán comunicarse con las secciones para elegir a los coordinadores de línea. Los tres temas generales que se propusieron para los paneles invitados del 2019 fueron: a) La disputa por el(los) sentido(s) de la educación pública en América Latina; b) Compromiso histórico, intereses generacionales y nueva hegemonía en la educación superior latinoamericana; y c) Discursos sobre la educación pública en América Latina: comunicación y la influencia de los medios. La nueva junta definirá los títulos y la orientación de estos paneles, designará los organizadores y abrirá una convocatoria para recibir propuestas de ponencias. El correo electrónico de la sección es: educacionlasa@gmail.com.

ENVIRONMENT

By Miriam Melton-Villanueva (Co-chair)

Old business

Section pre-LASA excursion discussed: A great success. Applause to organizer, Maria Alexandra. A rare opportunity to see firsthand how this Catalan provincial housing complex managed water and land use over time. While normally

donation would have been made already, it has not yet been made so the chairs brought the \$1,000 donation to a general vote of all present. [This amount includes the monies paid by members earmarked for this excursion and not spent in transportation costs (\$400), so the actual donation from the general fund is only \$700]. Passed unanimously.

Scholarships 2018 discussed. Voted last year at general meeting in Lima to give scholarships to support Latin American scholars to travel to Europe for the first time for LASA. Committee: co-chairs, Ana Estefanía Carballo (Melbourne) and Gregory Cushman (Kansas); general members, Handy Acosta (Tulane), Susanna Hecht (UC Los Angeles), Victoria Wolff (Western Ontario). Scholarships were awarded to Maria de Lourdes Beldi de Alcantara (University of São Paulo, Brazil); Marcela López-Vallejo Olvera (CIDE, Mexico); Ricardo Gutierrez (Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Argentina); Julieta Godfrid (Universidad de Buenos Aires); José Manuel Leal (Université de Ottawa).

New business

Proposal was put to the floor to have a volunteer organize the Boston pre-LASA excursion for our section to attend. Discussion. A Boston scholar offered to organize projects with grassroots organizations in the area. Proposal passed unanimously.

Proposal was put to the floor to continue the scholarship committee. Discussion to again earmark support for Latin American scholars to attend the meeting. In this case, to Boston. Passed unanimously.

Vote for new chair. Discussion. Sherrie Baver transitioning out of leadership after staying on two extra years after New York, at Miriam's suggestion, in order to train her and retain institutional memory. Pablo nominated Maria Alessandra to be co-chair with Miriam to learn the ropes for the next two years. Passed unanimously.

Vote to institute a *mesa directiva* for the section, a Board of Directors, in order to further increase the institutional memory, and to help distribute

the tasks of the chairs. Tasks discussed. A call for volunteers among junior faculty to help the section, for the next few years, elicited four names: Isabella Alcaniz (University of Maryland), José Manuel Leal (Université de Ottawa), Marcela López-Vallejo Olvera (CIDE), Pablo Toral (Beloit College), who were all nominated to board. Vote. Passed unanimously.

Adjourned meeting, and went together to dinner downtown.

2018 workshop participant list

Participants that signed Environmental Section sheet for research connections, Barcelona 2018 (courtesy Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, CIDE): Jenni Tiffit-Ochoa (ecology of Southern Plains of Texas); Joel Correia (human rights, Indigenous polities); Maka Suarez; Ricardo Gutiérrez; Carmen M. Concepción, Universidad de Puerto Rico (environmental justice); Alain Boufet (environmental education in Islandia); Karen Siegel (agricultural land use, Southern Cone, regimal environmental governance); Julieta Godfrid; Kate M. Centellas, Universidad de Mississippi (climate changes and health impacts in Bolivia); Liina-Maija Quist, Universidad de Helsinki (the politics of extraction, seafaring and space among fishers and the oil industry in Mexico); Marcela López-Vallejo, CIDE México (cambio climático, energía, integración ambiental, conflictos energía-crimen organizado); Tara Grillos, Universidad Purdue (water management in Honduras, forest conservation in Bolivia); Catherine Tucker, Universidad de Florida (coffee production and water management of markets in Honduras, Mexico and Central America); María Alessandra Woolson, Universidad de Vermont (ecological and environmental humanities, ecocriticism, critical framework of ecocriticism, water); Andrea Casals, Universidad Católica de Chile (postdoc. fellowship in environmental awareness in picture books, ecocriticism, green natural studies); Emma Young, PhD candidate, Universidad de Nueva York (environmental history, water in São Paulo, Brazil); Julia Naime, PhD candidate, Norwegian University of life sciences NMBU (economics drivers of deforestation, macroeconomic & microeconomic, Perú); Marie-Sophie Heinelt, postdoctoral researcher at La Fernuniversität in Hagen (environmental

governance regulations and indigenous self-determination, Perú, Chile, Colombia, Panamá); Gisela Zaremborg, FLACSO México (participación y conflictos en minería e hidrocarburos); Macarena Gómez Barris (social and cultural theory, *The Extractive Zone: Social Ecologist and Decolonial Perspectives*, 2017); LaDawn Haglund, Arizona State University (law, urban water governance, São Paulo, Brazil, human rights, markets/neoliberalism, environmentalism); Jack Spence (climate change); Karl Offen, Profesor de estudios ambientales, Oberlin College, OH (Environment and Space in Colonial Afro-Latin America); Valeria Meiller, PhD candidate and instructor at Georgetown University (animals studies and ecocriticism, environmental history, environmental humanities); Karina Yager, Assistant Professor in Sustainability Studies in the School of Marine and Atmospheric Sciences at Stony Brook University (impacts of climate change in mountain regions, research is focused on deciphering climate and societal drivers of land-cover land-use change in the Andes of South America, research combines remote sensing analysis with alpine studies and ethnographic fieldwork with Andean pastoralists); José Manuel Leal, PhD candidate, University of Ottawa (transnational climate change governance); Corinne Valdivia (impact of climate change and agency at the local level); María L. Cruz Torres, Arizona State University (feminist political ecology).

ETHNICITY, RACE AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

By Carmen Martínez Novo, former chair, and Lucas Savino, current chair

The membership of the ERIP Section fluctuated during the year as people registered for the meetings from 233 members in June 2017 to 455 members in November 2017. The section is one of the largest in LASA and typically sponsors four panels at the LASA meetings.

The section held its fifth conference at Universidad Michoacana San Nicolás de Hidalgo in Morelia, Michoacán, México, with 430 speakers attending. The keynote speakers were Marisol de la Cadena from University of California Davis, Jean Muteba Rahier from Florida International University, and Maya Lorena Pérez Ruiz from DEAS-INAH, Mexico.

The funds of the section were spent in nine travel grants for professors and graduate students from Latin America to travel to the ERIP conference in Morelia. The grantees gave excellent presentations at the conference and came from six different countries. The grants were intended to help cover part of the travel expenses. The section collaborated with the *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* and with Universidad Michoacana San Nicolás de Hidalgo in the organization of the conference. The grant recipients were chosen by the following committee: Nancy Postero, UCSD and LACES Journal; León Zamosc, UCSD and LACES Journal; Lorena Ojeda and Ana Cristina Barreto, Universidad Michoacana; Mara Viveros, Universidad Nacional de Colombia; and Carmen Martínez, University of Kentucky, ERIP. The grant recipients were: Juan Illicachi Guznay, Ecuador; Nancy Velasco Guasamalli, Colombia; Carlos Viáfara, Colombia; Isabel Misagia, Brazil; Virgilio Almeida Bomfin, Brazil; Pablo Mardones, Chile; Antonia Mardones, Chile; Fidel Rodríguez, Venezuela; Keilyn Rodríguez, Costa Rica.

The section sponsored four panels at LASA Barcelona organized by ERIP members as well as a business meeting: A double panel on Latin American anti-racism movements organized by Monica Moreno Figueroa from Cambridge University and Peter Wade from University of Manchester; a panel on Latin American understandings of race organized by Juan Carlos Callirgos from PUCP (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú); a panel on race, ethnicity and statistics organized by Emiko Saldivar from University of California, Santa Barbara.

The sixth ERIP conference will be held at Gonzaga University in September 11-15, 2019, in Spokane, Washington. The emphasis of the conference will be on an encounter between indigenous peoples of the Americas with participation of the Native American Studies department at Gonzaga as well as local Native American groups and on the Digital Humanities with the participation of Gonzaga's Center for Public Humanities. Pavel Shlossberg and Rebecca Stephanis lead the Gonzaga organizing committee.

The section held its 2018 elections and Lucas Savino (Huron University College, University of Western Ontario) was ratified as the new chair, Luciane Rocha (University of Manchester), Xochitl Flores-Marcial (California State Northridge), and Gabriela Valdivia (UNC Chapel Hill) were elected as councilors. Gisela Carlos Fregoso (Cambridge and Universidad de Guadalajara), Juan Carlos Callirgos (PUCP), and Julia Rodriguez (University of New Hampshire) continue in the ERIP Council from the previous period. The section thanks Olivia Gall and Marco Antonio Calderón for their service to the ERIP Council in the previous years.

The section held its business meeting during LASA Barcelona on Wednesday, 23 May 2018. Attendance was approximately 30 members. Discussed current structure of section. The consejo has agreed to look into other possible models to organize the consejo, such as co-chairs and staggered mandates. The chair will check with LASA to see what options may be appropriate. Explored possibilities for collaboration with other sections for LASA Boston 2019, especially Otros Saberes and Gender and Feminist Studies.

Exchanged views on best strategies to approach LASA so that the section can collaborate more effectively with the conference track chairs. In the upcoming months, ERIP will be focusing on the issues discussed during the business meeting in Barcelona, with an emphasis on two items: the organization of four panels for LASA Boston 2019; collaboration with Gonzaga University to organize the upcoming ERIP Congress in September 2019.

EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

Por Pedro Caldentey, Chair 2017-2018

Actividades LASA 2018. Hemos desarrollado dos paneles de la sección en Barcelona. Panel 1: "Regionalismo y Relaciones Europa-América Latina en tiempos de Trump", Moderador: Pedro Caldentey, Comentarista: Alan Fairlie; Panel 2: "La nueva etapa de las relaciones Unión Europa-América Latina: condicionantes y expectativas", Moderador/Comentarista: Susanne Gratius.

La tercera actividad de la sección fue la Business Meeting que se celebró el jueves 24 de mayo.

Además, varios miembros de la sección participaron en el Seminario La agenda UE-CELAC en tiempos del interregionalismo global: Una visión desde la academia celebrado el 23 de mayo bajo la coordinación de CIDOB y en su sede y con el apoyo de la Fundación EULAC, con el respaldo de las secciones Cuba y Europa-América latina de LASA. Más detalles en el enlace: https://www.cidob.org/es/actividades/regiones/america_latina/la_agenda_ue_celac_en_tiempos_del_interregionalismo_global_una_vision_desde_la_academia.

En el Congreso LASA 2018 hemos lanzado por segunda vez el Call for Grants for Young Researchers (beca joven investigador, con 500 dólares de beca para asistir al congreso). Hemos tenido 3 propuestas y aprobamos las 2 siguientes: Alexis Berg (Doctorando Universidad Complutense de Madrid), "Rol de la UE en la era de los muros: Oportunidades para la Unión Europea con Cuba en la etapa post Obama"; Diana Cecilia Santana Paisano (profesora de la Universidad Centroamericana de Nicaragua), "La estructura institucional como condicionante de la eficacia de la integración en América Latina: el caso del SICA y el referente europeo".

Miembros de la sección: A marzo de 2018, éramos 72 miembros, algo más que antes del anterior congreso en el que alcanzamos la cifra de 68 miembros. Afortunadamente ese número de miembros nos permitió recuperar el derecho a los dos paneles de la sección para el congreso 2019. En la última revisión de miembros del grupo en la web de la sección en la página de LASA superamos el centenar de miembros, pero esa cifra debe ser confirmada.

Redes sociales: Hemos crecido bastante en nuestra actividad y seguidores en las redes sociales. Les recordamos que la cuenta de Twitter responde a la UE-ALC Sección LASA (@LASA_ELAS) y la de Facebook a LASA-ELAS (@LasaElas) por si quieren localizar las cuentas y seguirlas.

Tenemos 317 followers en Twitter en julio de 2018 (eran 119 en mayo 2018 y 16 en junio de 2017). Tenemos 968 seguidores la cuenta de FB que lleva abierta algunos años (716 en mayo de 2018, o 453 seguidores en junio 2017). Invertir un cierto esfuerzo en esas redes podría ayudarnos a incrementar en número de miembros.

Elección de presidentes: la Business Meeting de la section en Barcelona eligió a Alain Fairlie como senior co-chair for the period (2018-2019) y a Susanne Gratius como Co-chair.

Elección de miembros del Consejo asesor: La composición actual era Pedro Caldentey (senior co-chair 2016-2018); Alan Fairlie (co-chair, 2017-2019), Roberto Domínguez (Treasurer, 2016-2018); Joaquin Roy (vocal, 2017-2019), Anna Ayuso (vocal, 2017-2019), Jean Marie Chenou (vocal, 2017-2019) y Detlef Nolte (vocal, 206-2018).

Tras las votaciones, el Advisory Council estará formado por: Alan Fairlie (senior co-chair 2017-2019); Susanne Gratius (co-chair, 2018-2020), Pedro Caldentey (Treasurer, 2018-2019); Joaquin Roy (vocal, 2017-2019), Anna Ayuso (vocal, 2017-2019), Jean Marie Chenou (vocal, 2017-2019) y Carlos Quenan (vocal, 2018-2020).

Propuesta de paneles LASA 2019.

Tenemos pendiente la propuesta de los dos paneles oficiales de la sección que podemos proponer para LASA 2019 en Boston. Agradeceremos a todos cualquier propuesta de panel para decidir la propuesta.

En la reunión de la sección se propusieron preliminarmente dos temas: la cooperación académica UE-LAC y el interregionalismo.

Por otra parte, LASA anunció que, con el objeto de promover la cooperación entre secciones, espera propuesta de paneles intersectoriales. Las condiciones que deben cumplir son las siguientes: (1) el tema del panel intersectorial debe estar ligado al tema general del congreso (Nuestra América: Justice and Inclusion); (2) cada panel intersectorial debe contar con la participación de, al menos, dos secciones; (3) cada sección podrá participar en uno

sólo panel intersectorial; (4) la propuesta debe ser remitida antes del 6 de septiembre, plazo general de remisión de todas las propuestas.

FILM STUDIES

Por Carolina Rocha, Chair

La Sección de Estudios de Cine continuó con dos proyectos importantes iniciados el año: anterior: un premio anual al mejor ensayo (más detalles abajo), y el Latin American Cinema and Media Annotated Bibliography (LACMAB), un proyecto de humanidades digitales para desarrollar colaborativamente una bibliografía en línea sobre cine latinoamericano.

En Barcelona se organizó un evento pre-conferencia: un panel sobre estudios de cine latinoamericano en Europa que contó con la presencia de: Dr. Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle del Instituto Iberoamericano de Berlín, Julia González de Canales (Universidad de Viena), Dr. Sarah Barrow (Universidad de East Anglia), y Dr. Daniel Verdú Schumann (Universidad Carlos III).

A la reunión de la sección que se realizó el día 23 de mayo asistieron 19 miembros. Anunciamos la nueva directiva: Chair, Carolina Rocha (2017-2019); Secretaria/Tesorera, Jo Pertkiewicz (2018-2020); Vocales, Zulema Moret (2018-2020), Charles St. Georges (2018-2020), Vania Barraza (2017-2019), Anita Simis (2017-2019).

Se estimuló a los miembros a enviar sus noticias profesionales y sobre publicaciones.

Se creó una newsletter con el objeto de disminuir los mensajes de email y se contactó a algunos nuevos miembros, dándoles la bienvenida a la sección.

Se entregaron certificados a los siguientes premios: Premio al Mejor Ensayo: Geoffrey Maguire por "Playing in Public: Domestic Politics and Prosthetic Memory in Paula Markovich's *El Premio/The Prize* (2011)," Certificado y US\$100; Premio al Mejor Ensayo de un/a Estudiante Graduado/a: Leandro González por "Cruzando el Atlántico: Cine argentino en España," Certificado y US\$50. Además, se

seleccionaron dos becas de viaje de US\$250 cada uno. Los seleccionados fueron: Dr. Jorge Sala (profesor), aceptada; Analía Castro Avelleyra (estudiante graduada), declinada.

Se realizó también un evento social el 23 de mayo del 2018 en Forum Alegria (Ramblas de Prim 25) el día 23 de Mayo, luego de la reunión formal al que concurren 25 colegas de la sección: Dr. Claudia Sandberg, Dr. Sarah Barrow, Dr. Niamh Thornton, Dr. Mercedes Vázquez Vázquez, Dr. Carolina Rueda, Dr. Mary Leonard, Dr. Zulema Moret, Dr. Eduardo Ledesma, Dr. Michelle Farrell, Dr. Constanza Burucúa, Dr. Carolina Sitnisky, Dr. Vania Barraza Toledo, Dr. Alvaro Baquero Pecino, Dr. Deborah Shaw, D. Anita Simis, Gayle Williams, Dr. Julia González de Canales, Dr. Gustavo Furtado, Dr. Anita Simis, Jo Pertkiewicz, Paola Lagos, Leandro González, Dr. Marcelo Riosecco, Dr. Scott Weintrub, Dr. Carolina Rocha.

FOOD, AGRICULTURE AND RURAL STUDIES

By Fina Carpena-Méndez, Chair

In line with the decisions taken at the congress in Lima in 2017, the agenda for the FARS section was to organize three section sessions that address the theme of LASA 2018 in Barcelona, "Latin American Studies in a Globalized World," and two field trips.

The section sponsored three sessions at the congress in Barcelona, the panels, "Youth Making and Unmaking Hope in Latin American New Ruralities and Beyond," "Los niveles de organización de los trabajadores rurales en América Latina en un mundo globalizado: Problemas y perspectivas," and "Connecting Traditional Populations, Ethnicity, Territory, and Data in Latin America."

Preceding the congress, on May 22, the section organized a field trip to the Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) Arròs Delta de l'Ebre and the Natural Park in the Ebre Delta. We had a reception and discussion with members of the Regulatory Council of the PDO and representatives of the Catalan autonomous administration at the Rice Chamber of Amposta. We learned about the history of rice cultivation in the delta and the process of establishing the PDO in relation to the autonomous

and national governments and the public rural development policies of Catalonia and the European Union. We then visited an organic rice farm that has been set up as ornithological reserve. In the afternoon we met with representatives of the protected area of the Natural Park to learn about their conservation programs and the coexistence between rice agriculture and the environmental dimensions of the PDO territory. We completed the field trip with a guided tour of l'Encanyissada and La Tancada lagoons in the Delta. Eighteen individuals participated in this field trip.

After the congress, on May 27, the section also organized a second fieldtrip to the agroecological projects for the recovery of the commons in the Can Masdeu Valley at the foot of the Collserola mountain range (Barcelona). We met with leaders of the social movement that occupied an abandoned leper colony and re-appropriated the land for the use and self-management of the community. We learned about their community gardens, and projects of metropolitan agriculture and promotion of the agroecological transition of the local food system. Thais Tartalha (FARS's secretary) contributed to dialogue and exchange of experiences with a presentation on two case studies of structuring food sovereignty in Brazil and a short video on Quilombola's cuisine. Fourteen individuals participated in the field trip.

The section awarded a Travel Grant in the amount of US\$800 to a young Latin American researcher, Laura Gutiérrez Escobar (Universidad Nacional de Colombia). The grantee agrees to join the section council and to collaborate in the organization of the section's activities for the LASA Congress in 2019.

Section membership stands at 125. Sixteen members participated in the business meeting. The meeting confirmed the Chair-elect Horacio Mackinlay (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa) for 2018–2020, and the continuing terms for 2018–2019 of council members Mercedes Ejarque (Universidad de Buenos Aires), José Sobreiro Filho (Federal University of Pará, Belém), Fina Carpena-Méndez (Oregon State University/ University of Gdansk), and Thais Tartalha (Universidade Estadual Paulista) who will also

continue to serve as webmaster. New officers were elected, Marcela Crovetto (Universidad de Buenos Aires), Secretary/Treasurer, and Steven Zanhizer (USDA), Councilor.

The section revised the criteria for selecting the section's travel grantee. The date of the call for applications will be advanced in late November or early December, one week after LASA communicates the acceptance of papers and panels, to avoid coinciding with the vacation period in the Southern Cone. The profile of the grantee will be limited to PhD candidates and postdoctoral researchers who have obtained their PhD degrees in the last five years, are currently permanent residents of a Latin American country and affiliated with a Latin American university or research center. Applicants who do not hold a permanent contract and have never attended a LASA Congress will be given priority. The selection committee will evaluate the quality and innovation of the abstract proposed to participate in the congress.

The section will organize two section activities for LASA 2019 that reflect the congress theme on justice and inclusion in Latin America. The field trip will be maintained as an important activity for socializing and enhancing membership.

GENDER AND FEMINIST STUDIES

Por Beatriz Padilla y Erika Márquez, Co-chairs

La reunión de negocios de la Sección de Género y Estudios Feministas se realizó el miércoles 23 de mayo, de 5:45 a 7:15 pm en la sala CCIB 114 del centro de convenciones principal donde tuvo lugar el Congreso LASA 2018. Estuvieron presentes aproximadamente unos 20 miembros de la sección. El encuentro fue coordinado por la co-chair Beatriz Padilla. También estuvieron presente vía skype, la co-chair Érika Marquez y la tesorera Roberta Villalon.

En esa oportunidad se trataron los siguientes temas:

Resumen de lo sucedido en la business meeting de todos/as los/as chairs de las secciones de LASA. Lo más destacado fue:

La presencia de LARR y los cambios de la revista que está concediendo más espacio a las humanidades vs las ciencias sociales, y la posibilidad de hacer dossiers temáticos (con un conjunto reducido de artículos). Asimismo, se destacó la importancia de comunicar a la revista las tendencias e intereses de las secciones, así como la bibliografía producida en América Latina.

La discusión sobre la poca transparencia de LASA en la selección de los Program Track chairs (que no consideran lo que sucede en las secciones)

La poca transparencia (tema que se reitera de reuniones previas) sobre la selección y concesión de becas de viaje a miembros de LASA.

Presentación de las actividades realizadas durante el año 2017. Entre ellas se mencionó: carta a la Casa Blanca (por la situación desencadenada con el Huracán María en Puerto Rico); patrocinio de lista alternativa a las elecciones de LASA (de la que dos de nuestras miembros fueron elegidas); movilización y debate sobre violencia política de género en la región tras el asesinato de Marielle Franco.

Discusión sobre la importancia de fortalecer la membresía de la sección (cómo reclutar más miembros y mantenerlas activas) y al mismo tiempo la importancia de tener un foro/espacio de encuentro social, ya sea organizando un almuerzo o realizando la recepción (a costo aceptable). La mayoría de las presentes está de acuerdo en no destinar demasiados fondos en las recepciones, pero defendió que es importante contar con un espacio para socializar. Se intentará en futuras ediciones organizar un almuerzo o evento social.

Discusión sobre la necesidad de que los Track Chairs dialoguen con las secciones de LASA (al menos con las co-chairs) para que en la selección de papers se tome en cuenta la realidad de la sección y el trabajo de sus integrantes.

Tesorería: Roberta Villalón informó sobre el superávit de la sección. Este año como no se realizó la recepción, los fondos son superiores a los

remanentes anteriores, incluso después del pago de los premios Chaney y Safa. El balance actual es de: \$5,988.25.

Patrocinio de paneles. La sección patrocinó un total de 4 paneles de la sección.

Preconferencia fue realizada el 22 de mayo, de 10 a 14 hs en el Laboratorio de Antropología de la Universidad de Barcelona. En la misma hubo 5 ponencias y luego una mesa redonda con activistas y representantes de organizaciones locales, siendo que el tema principal fue el del trabajo digno. Participaron unas 30 personas.

Nuevo premio. Dado que un tema central durante el año 2017/2018 fue el tema de violencia política de género, se discutió la posibilidad de generar un tercer premio de la sección en honor a Marielle Franco (activista asesinada en Brasil) y a otras activistas que fueron perseguidas y asesinadas. Para ello se creó un comité integrado por Linda Stevenson, Sarah Ohmer, Cristina Wolff, Isabela Cabral de Sousa, Laura Albaine, y con Beatriz Padilla (como co-chair), quienes realizarán una propuesta y verán la posible sustentabilidad del mismo.

Durante la reunión se hizo mención de quienes fueron premiadas en la sección. El jurado fue integrado por: Linda Stevenson, Thais França e Isabela Cabral de Sousa, gracias por su trabajo!. Cada premio consiste en 500 dólares, que son transferidos por LASA a las ganadoras. Resultaron elegidas: Elsa Chaney Award, Mounia El Kotni, "Between Cut and Consent: Navigating Indigenous Women's Experiences of Obstetric Violence in Mexican Maternity Wards". Helen Safa Award, Rachel Elfenbein, "Mobilized yet Contained within Chavista Populism: Popular Women's Organizing around Venezuela's 2012 Organic Labor Law". Felicitaciones a las ganadoras!

Actividades para el próximo año: las propuestas en general consistieron en pensar en estrategias de fortalecer la membresía, planificar el premio Marielle Franco, y establecer actividades específicas o eventos a lo largo del año.

Elecciones: realizamos también las elecciones de representantes. Muchas gracias a las miembros/ representantes que dejan sus funciones por su desempeño y tiempo dedicado! Muchas felicidades a las nuevas integrantes de la dirección de la sección! Co-chairs: Beatriz Padilla (segundo año), Laura Albaine (primer año); Secretarias: Mariana Prandini (se intentará reclutar una co-secretaria); Tesorera: Linda Stevenson.

HAITI / DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

By Elizabeth Manley and Karen Richman

Report of business meeting: Section co-chairs Elizabeth Manley and Karen Richman led the meeting. The meeting was held on May 23, and followed directly upon the section panel, Global Haiti and the Dominican Republic, which included five presenters. The discussion of the section panel and general state of the field continued off-site with eight section members. The awards ceremony was held separately on May 25 at the reception shared with Latino Studies to accommodate winners' schedules.

Elections: There were no new elections of officers. Co-chairs Elizabeth Manley and Karen Richman will continue serving in their positions for another year.

Activities this year included organization of the section panel, a roundtable, book prizes, and joint reception with Latino Studies. The section co-chairs were responsible for organization of three prize committees, nomination of three to four members for each committee, and recording and dissemination of the three committees' results to all submitting authors and to LASA. Plans for next year include continuation of the progress made this year.

Haiti-Dominican Republic Section 2018 prizes: Isis Duarte Book Prize winner: Elizabeth Manley, *The Paradox of Paternalism* (University Press of Florida, 2017); Honorable Mention: Toni Pressley-Sanon, *Istwa Across the Water* (University Press of Florida, 2017). Haiti-Dominican Republic Section Article Prize: Ana Rodríguez Navas, "Words as Weapons: Gossip in Junot Díaz's *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao*"; Honorable Mention: Christina

Cecelia Davidson, "Disruptive Silences: The AME Church and Dominican-Haitian Relations." Guy Alexandre Paper Prize Winner: Eve Hayes de Kalaf, "Making Foreign: Legal Identity, Social Policy and the Contours of Belonging in the Contemporary Dominican Republic."

HEALTH, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

By Mary Clark, Chair (Tulane University)

For the 2018 Barcelona Congress, the section awarded two \$500 travel grants: Dino Isaac Estrada Flores, Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (ultimately declined), and Maria de Lourdes Beldi de Alcantara, Universidade de São Paulo. Also at Barcelona, the HST section co-sponsored a workshop "Emerging Issues in Environmental Research Part II" in which the following colleagues participated: Sherrie L. Baver (City University of New York), Julieta O. Godfrid and Maria Alessandra Woolson (University of Vermont), Alain Boutet (Dalhousie University), Karen Siegel (University of Glasgow), Miriam L. Melton-Villanueva (University of Nevada Las Vegas), and Catherine M. Tucker (University of Florida).

Five colleagues participated in the section business meeting in Barcelona. They had a lively discussion of potential topics for the section-sponsored session (HST has 61 members and therefore rights to host one session) at the 2019 Congress in Boston. The ideas included research ethics, critical global health, and global mental health. Given that none of the section officers were able to attend the conference in Barcelona, we have opted to delay the competition and awarding of prizes for best article, dissertation, and book until 2019.

Three of the five section officers' terms are now expired including that of Mary Clark, the chair. The section is currently in the process of putting together nominations for the ballot to fill the three positions and add a fourth officer (four seats are currently open).

HISTORIA RECIENTE Y MEMORIA

Por Emilio Crenzel y Cath Collins (Co-presidentes)

En el pasado Congreso LASA 2018 en Barcelona, la Sección contó con dos paneles admitidos en función de su número de miembros y un tercero aceptado en el marco de la convocatoria general abierta.

El primero de los paneles: "Historias y memorias de la revolución, la represión, las resistencias y los derechos humanos" contó como Discussant con Mariana Joffily y como Chair a Cath Collins. Presentaron en él: Isabel Piper-Shafir ("Violencia revolucionaria en democracia: un gran silencio en las memorias chilenas"); Joan G Simalchik ("The Transnational Impact of Torture and its Treatment"); Aurelia Gómez Unamuno ("Las disputas por el pasado: la memoria del movimiento armado socialista en México, una mirada panorámica") y Pamela Resende ("Indigesto como o sequestro do embaixador": o 4 de setembro de 1969 nos papeis produzidos pela diplomacia norteamericana").

El segundo panel "Las políticas de la verdad, la justicia, la reparación y las garantías de no-repetición interrogadas: ¿Con qué claves se saldan las cuentas con los pasados de violencia?" contó con las presentaciones de Emilio Crenzel ("La calificación de los crímenes de la última dictadura militar en Argentina. Una historización de los usos y resignificaciones de la categoría de genocidio"); Caterina Preda ("El arte en las post-dictaduras suramericanas: entre memoria y justicia en el caso de 2054 de Francisco Papas Fritas") y Juan Hernández García ("Las imágenes nunca antes vistas": confrontaciones y reconceptualizaciones de la memoria reciente chilena durante el cuarenta aniversario del golpe"). Lamentablemente, tanto Katherine Hite (Discussant) como Mauricio Paredes (Chair) no pudieron asistir al congreso, por lo cual los propios ponentes realizaron dichas tareas custodiándose, recíprocamente, de respetar los tiempos asignados a cada presentación. Por último, el tercer panel "Narrativas y prácticas nacionales y transnacionales de la represión política y los derechos humanos en América latina" contó con Alejandro Cerda García como Discussant y con Gabriela Aguila como Chair. En él presentaron

ponencias: Adrianna Setemy, (“Vozes que negaram liberdade concedida”: o Centro de Informações do Exterior (CIEX) e a produção de informações para uma repressão além das fronteiras nacionais”) y Liliana Aragon Castro (“Activistas y defensoras de derechos humanos en Chihuahua, México desde la narrativa de Lucha Castro: Narcoguerra y género”). En todos los casos, se suscitaron interesantes intercambios entre los asistentes y los ponentes que continuaron en el café y los corredores de la sede del congreso.

Por otra parte, este año celebramos el Concurso Mejor Libro de Historia Reciente y Memoria 2018. El Jurado, compuesto por Eugenia Allier Montaño (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), Mariana Joffily (Universidad del Estado de Santa Catarina) y Juan R. Hernández García (Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras) escogió el libro *Ephemeral Histories. Public Art, Politics, and the Struggle for the Streets in Chile* de Camilo Trumper, publicado en 2016 por University of California como el ganador.

Se dio una mención especial al libro *Sexual Violence in the Argentinean Crimes against Humanity Trials: Rethinking Victimhood* de Cecilia Macón publicado en 2017 por Lexington Books. Felicitamos al ganador del premio y a la ganadora de la mención.

La última actividad de la Sección fue el Business Meeting, atendido por 15 miembros. Se discutieron el estatus actual de la sección, especialmente el crecimiento en los últimos años y formas de organizar las actividades para el próximo Congreso LASA 2019 en Boston. Para el 2019 tenemos ya asegurados dos paneles oficiales como sección, que estaremos organizando en los próximos meses. Se coincidió en:

Impulsar la difusión de la existencia de la sección en cada país y fomentar la membresía a la misma de modo de garantizar los dos paneles actuales o incrementar su número en los futuros congresos.

Promover dos actividades, una de carácter académico, otra de carácter vivencial-recorrido por sitios de memoria de la ciudad sede del próximo congreso LASA Boston 2019- al margen de las actividades oficiales que organice la sección.

Promover un intercambio virtual más estrecho para fomentar los lazos y abrir posibilidades de cooperación entre los miembros de la sección teniendo en cuenta que, debido a sus altos costos, la asistencia a los congresos LASA es mayoritariamente irregular.

Finalmente, fue elegida formalmente la nueva directiva de la sección. Como Co-Presidentas fueron electas Katherine Hite (Vassar College) y Eugenia Allier Montaño (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) mientras que el Consejo quedó compuesto por Juan R. Hernández García (Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras), Marie Cruz Soto (New York University), Alejandra Oberti (Universidad de Buenos Aires), Mariana Joffily (Universidad del Estado de Santa Catarina), Mariana Achugar (Universidad de la República, Uruguay) María Eugenia Ulfe (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú) y Mauricio Paredes (Syracuse University).

Felices por el éxito de las actividades de la sección en Barcelona quedamos a la espera de sus propuestas e iniciativas que estamos seguros la nueva directiva de la sección sabrá recibir e impulsar con beneplácito.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

By Sara Poggio, Daniela Celeri, and Maria Amelia Viteri

According to decisions made in our business meeting held during LASA's 2017 Congress in Lima, Peru, we worked on (1) the call for panels to be sponsored by the section at the Barcelona Congress and (2) the pre-conference “Ciudadanía, movilidades y sexualidades,” held at Barcelona on May 22, 2018.

Panels and workshops

According to the number of members of the International Migration Section we were able to organize three panels sponsored by our section for Barcelona in 2018. First, we distributed the call for panels among our members and other possible interested people to select three panels: (1) “Muros flexibles y mortales: Los efectos de las políticas de externalización de fronteras norteamericanas hacia América Latina y las prácticas de resistencia migrantes,” organizers: Amarela Varela Huerta (Universidad Autónoma de la Ciudad de México), Soledad Álvarez Velásquez (King’s College London); (2) “Movilidades sociales, relaciones familiares y estatus migratorios en espacios transnacionales y locales del Atlántico Norte,” organizer: Guillermo Yrizar Barbosa (CUNY Graduate Center), discussant/comentarista: Ludger Pries, chair/moderador: Daniel E. Martínez (University of Arizona); (3) “Immigrant Access to Social Protection after Brexit and Trump,” organizers: Alexandra Delano Alonso (The New School), Jean-Michel Lafleur (Université de Liège).

Pre-conference: “Citizenship, Mobilities, and Sexualities (Ciudadanía, movilidades y sexualidades),” Barcelona, Spain, May 22, 2018. The International Migration Section of LASA organized its pre-conference with the Working Group Queer/Cuir/Feminist of the Americas. The pre-conference was supported by Casa America y la Asociación Cultural de la Quinta Pata. The pre-conference was very well attended and the participants included section members. The local public received with enthusiasm the discussions of academics and migrants while facing, analyzing, and fighting the local and global issues of the migrants and their families. We are grateful for the local support given by the local organization of migrants in Barcelona and other places in Spain.

Business meeting: Attendees: Maria Amelia Viteri, Felipe Filomeno, Camelia Tigau, Daniela Celleri, Sara Poggio. During the business section, we reviewed the activities before and during the Barcelona Congress. It is a practice of the section executive committee to engage the members during the period between congresses. We use email, Facebook, and Twitter to be available and

to consult the members for any decision that we make related to the function of the section. We disseminate all the information about immigration facts in Latin America and the leading destination countries of Latin American immigrants. We share all type of academic information (seminars, congresses, publications) and we organize the activities for the next LASA meeting.

The primary activities between the Lima and Barcelona meetings were: sending the call for the section sponsored panels for the congress in Barcelona; call for papers for the pre-conference held in the same city one day before the congress. We reviewed our activities in the past year, and for the moment we have decided to continue with these activities for LASA 2019.

We discussed possible topics for the pre-conference in Boston 2019. However due to the small number of participants in the business meeting we proposed to start a discussion that will continue through email and social media including all members of the section that are willing to participate in these decisions.

Boston 2019: The next LASA Congress, “Nuestra America: Justice and Inclusion,” will take place in Boston, Massachusetts, on May 24–27, 2019. For the International Migration Section, Boston is an exciting place, home to a large number of Hispanic and Latinos, who accounted for 9.6% of the total state population (627,654 residents of Hispanic or Latino ethnic origin), with remarkable representation of Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Brazilians, and Salvadorian immigrants. This large presence of Latino immigrants in Boston made us consider contact with local organizations of immigrants, local institutions in touch with the immigration population, research institutes and universities working with the immigration population, as well as religious and workers’ organizations. These contacts will provide us with a better knowledge of the immigrant history and narrative of Boston and Massachusetts and could also help the section to decide where to hold the pre-conference.

In summary, we concluded: call for choosing the topic and name of the pre-conference (section members); select community organizations working with immigrants and immigrants' organizations to contact to know better the local situation and to participate in our event; invite members to participate actively in organization of pre-conference and organization of call for papers, and work at the time of the pre-conference as part of the logistics.

International Migration Section Award: As we did in 2017, we propose to select the best paper on immigration in LASA 2019. We need members to work in the organization and delivery of the project.

Governance: Section Co-chairs: Co-chair for North America, Sara Poggio (University of Maryland Baltimore County), Co-chair for Latin America, Daniela Celleri (University of Hanover, Germany); Secretary-Treasurer, Anahí Viladrich, (Queens College and Graduate Center, City University of New York); Section Council members: Maria Amelia Viteri, (University of San Francisco, Quito, Ecuador), Felipe Filomeno (University of Maryland Baltimore County), Thania Munos (University of Maryland Baltimore County), Camelia Tigau (Center for Research on North America, National Autonomous University of Mexico), Ximena Figueroa Póo (Institute of Communication and Image of the University of Chile).

LABOR STUDIES

By Mariela Quiñones

The LASA Labor Section business meeting had 14 members in attendance. Our leadership chair is Mariela Quiñones (Uruguay) (2017-2019). We are pleased to announce our new secretary-treasurer for 2018-2020, Chris Tilly (USA). Our new council members for 2018-2020 are Carlos Salas (México and Brazil) and María Bulloni (Argentina), who join Mauricio Padrón (México) and Rodolfo Elbert (Argentina), 2017-2019. Our graduate student co-chairs (2018-2020) are Anibal Nicolas Saldias (Uruguay/Canada) and Lucas Cifuentes (Chile), and our new Graduate Student Council members are

Julia Acosta (Uruguay), Carlos Mejía (Peru), Saulo Colon (US), and Nina Castro Mendez (Mexico), 2018-2020.

The Labor Studies Section Paper Prize for the best published article and the best paper written by a grad student in 2017 were each awarded \$300 (grad student) and \$500 (best paper). The winners were: Paul W. Posner, for the article published in *New Political Economy*: "Labour Market Flexibility, Employment and Inequality: Lessons from Chile"; Rodrigo Medel y Domingo Pérez (Observatorio de Huelgas Laborales del Centro de Estudios de Conflicto y Cohesión Social, Santiago de Chile) with the paper "Tres modelos de conflicto laboral en Chile: el peso de la economía, la organización sindical y el régimen de trabajo en las tendencias de la huelga extralegal."

For the coming year, the Labor Studies Section will aim to have meetings at other conferences such as ALAST (Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios del Trabajo) in Colombia. In addition, we are planning to continue to maintain social networks and the newsletter, as a policy of dissemination of publications, strengthening ties with LASA.

LATINO STUDIES

By Julie Minich

Agenda items for the 2018 business meeting were as follows: introduction of new section leadership; solicitation of section-sponsored panels for 2018; and presentation of awards. Ideas for 2019 panels included sessions on immigration, DACA, and Latinx populations in New England.

Election results: The LSS has a two-tiered leadership system wherein the leadership team consists of current leadership and incoming leadership (who shadows the current leadership for a year before assuming duties). The elected leaders are as follows. Current co-chairs (2018-2019): Jennifer Harford Vargas (Associate Professor of English and Co-Director of the Latin American, Latina/o, and Iberian Studies Program; Bryn Mawr College), Johana Londoño (Assistant Professor of Latin American, Caribbean, and U.S. Latino Studies; University at Albany, SUNY). Current secretary/treasurer

(2018–2019): Rebeca Hey-Colón (Assistant Professor of Spanish and Portuguese, Temple University). Current graduate representative (2018–2019): No graduate students agreed to stand for election by the election deadline in 2017. Incoming co-chairs (2019–2020): Veronica Montes (Assistant Professor of Sociology and Co-Director of the Latin American, Latina/o, and Iberian Studies Program; Bryn Mawr College), Sarah Quesada (Assistant Professor of English and Faculty Affiliate, Institute for Latino Studies; University of Notre Dame). Incoming secretary/treasurer (2019–2020): Sharina Maillio Pozo (Assistant Professor of Romance Languages; University of Georgia). Graduate representative (2019–2020): Wilfredo Burgos Matos (PhD Candidate in Spanish and Portuguese, University of Texas at Austin).

Plans for the coming year: In consultation with section membership, current co-chairs will plan session panels for LASA 2019. Incoming co-chairs will determine award recipients for the following biennial awards: Frank Bonilla Public Intellectual Award and Outstanding Book Award.

Grantees and awardees

Below is a list of biennial prizes and scholarships distributed at the LSS business meeting at LASA 2018 and the recipients. Prizes were determined by three-member committees (listed below, at the end of the award list); since the section received only two scholarship award requests, we were able to honor both.

LSS Outstanding Article Award: Leisy J. Abrego, Associate Professor of Chicana/o Studies, University of California-Los Angeles. “On Silences: Refugees Then and Now.”

LSS Outstanding Dissertation Award: Cristina Pérez-Jiménez, Assistant Professor of English, Manhattan College: “‘Here to Stay:’ New York Puerto Ricans and the Consolidation of Latino New York, 1931–1951.”

LSS Outstanding Article Honorable Mention: Sara Awartani, PhD candidate, American Studies, George Washington University. “In Solidarity: Palestine in the Puerto Rican Political Imaginary.”

LSS Outstanding Dissertation Award Honorable Mention: Omaris Z. Zamora, Assistant Professor of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Kansas: “(Trance)formations of an AfroLatina: Embodied Archives of Blackness and Womanhood in Transnational Dominican Narratives.”

LSS Graduate Student Scholarships to attend LASA 2018: Andrea Gomez Cervantes, PhD candidate, Sociology, University of Kansas; Sara Awartani, PhD candidate, American Studies, George Washington University.

Outstanding Dissertation Award Committee: Gina Pérez, Professor, Comparative American Studies, Oberlin College; Lisa Marie Cacho, Associate Professor Latina/o Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Natalie Lira, Assistant Professor, Latina/o Studies, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Outstanding Article Award Committee: Sonia Hernandez, Associate Professor, History, Texas A&M University; Marisol LeBron, Assistant Professor, American Studies, Dickinson College; Simón Trujillo, Assistant Professor, English, New York University.

LIBRARIES, ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH (Formerly the Section on Scholarly Communication and Research)

By Jade Madrid

Attendees: 11.

Election Results: Section Chair: Jade Madrid, Georgetown University; Secretary-Treasurer: María Victoria Fernandez, Brown University; Council Members: Tracy North, Library of Congress; Albert A. Palacios, University of Texas; Gayle Williams, Florida International University; Phil Losch, University of Florida.

Agenda at business meeting: editing section description and website; panel planning and brainstorming for LASA 2019 section panel; identifying opportunities to collaborate with other sections (panel and otherwise); share information about the LASA project Biblioteca Esencial de

Estudios Latinoamericanos; brainstorm goals for using section funds going forward; discuss future section outreach efforts.

MASS MEDIA AND POPULAR CULTURE

Por Pablo Alabarces

Durante el Congreso de LASA 2018 en Barcelona, la Sección organizó dos paneles especiales. El primero se tituló “Música Popular y Política en América Latina: la “resistencia” en la cultura de masas”, fue organizado por Pablo Alabarces y contó con la participación de Alabarces (UBA/CONICET, Argentina), Marita Fornaro, de la Universidad de la República, Uruguay, y Manuela Borzone, de la University of Massachusetts Amherst. El segundo, titulado “Media Regulations and Reforms in Latin America: A Comparative Perspective of Changes and Challenges”, fue organizado por Mariana De Maio y participaron De Maio (Lehigh University), Heloiza Herscovitz, de California State University, y Manuel Chavez, de Michigan State University. Ambos paneles permitieron el despliegue de excelentes discusiones que cubrieron los grandes ejes que organizan la sección y las preocupaciones de investigación de sus miembros/as; ambos contaron con buena concurrencia y un exigente y productivo debate posterior.

La reunión de la Sección contó con la participación de 15 miembros/as y fue coordinada por uno de los co-chairs. En la misma apareció la preocupación por la reiterada coincidencia temporal de los congresos de LASA con los de la ICA, organización en la que revistan varios/as de los/as miembros/as de la Sección. De la misma manera, el debate atendió a la falta de participación más activa por parte de los/as miembros/as, tanto en la organización de los paneles (la convocatoria abierta para el panel sobre música popular y política arrojó sólo una propuesta) como en otros debates que deberían ser organizados por la Sección. Por ello, se propuso trabajar sobre la organización de una discusión más estable a partir de la construcción de un Grupo de direcciones electrónicas, sobre el modelo posible de un Google Group, y la creación de un Facebook de la Sección. Se

sostuvo que ambas instancias deberían posibilitar una comunicación más dinámica entre los/as miembros/as.

La discusión propuso definir un eje de organización de dos nuevos paneles de Sección para el Congreso de LASA 2019, el que girará en torno de las transformaciones producidas por las nuevas tecnologías de comunicación e información sobre dos de nuestros campos de trabajo: el periodismo y la cultura popular.

Debido a la ausencia de información específica por parte de los co-chairs, se postergó el debate sobre la renovación del Board de la Sección, que deberá completarse en los próximos meses.

MEXICO

By David Dalton

Board: Co-chairs: Andrae Marak and Gabriel Martínez Serna (2016–2017); Andrae Marak y Gabriel Martínez-Serna (2017–2018). Secretario-tesorero: David Dalton (2016–2018). Miembros que terminan su periodo: Diego Zavala, Ana Sabau, Jorge Téllez. Miembros que continúan: Amanda Petersen, Paul Fallon, Miguel García. Nuevos miembros: Emily Hind, Carolyn Fornoff, David Ramírez Plascencia. Comité 2017–2019: Amanda Petersen (University of San Diego), Paul Fallon (East Carolina University), Miguel García (University of California, Davis). Comité 2018–2020: Emily Hind (University of Florida); Carolyn Fornoff (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign); David Ramírez Plascencia (Universidad de Guadalajara).

Becas: Se otorgaron 10 becas a los siguientes estudiantes: Marco A. Macias, Sara Daniela Hidalgo Garza, Andrés Lajous, Joshua Wassink, Abigail Vanessa Rojas Huerta, Karma Frierson, Eloy Caloca Lafont, Ana Cañedo, Anastasia Baginski, Claudio Alberto.

Premios: Best Thesis: Iván Eusebio Darancou, “Consuming Bodies: Countercultural Citizens of Mexican Capitalism in the 20th Century.” Mención honorífica: Rafael Lemus, “La nación está en otra parte: cultura y neoliberalismo en México (1977–1996).” Best Social Science Article:

Kevin J. Middlebrook, "Economic Stabilization, Electoral Democratization of Labor Strikes in Mexico," *Trabajo* 9, no. 13 (2017): 99-132. Mención honorífica: Marie Sarita Gaytán, "The Transformation of Tequila: From Hangover to Highbrow," *Journal of Consumer Culture* 17, no. 1 (2017): 62-84. Jurado: David Dalton, Justin Castro, Ramón I. Centeno. Best Humanities Article: Nichole Sanders, "Gender and Consumption in Porfirian Mexico: Images of Women in Advertising, El Imparcial, 1897-1910," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 38, no. 1 (2017): 1-30. Mención honorífica, "Triangulating Blackness: Mexico City, 1612," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 33, no. 3, (2017): 344-366. Best Social Science Book: Timo H. Schaefer, *Liberalism as Utopia: The Rise and Fall of Legal Rule in Post-Colonial Mexico, 1820-1900*. Mención honorífica: Mariana Mora, *Kuxlejal Politics: Indigenous Autonomy, Race, and Decolonizing Research in Zapatista Communities*. Best Humanities Book: Daniel Nemser, *Infrastructures of Race: Concentration and Biopolitics in Colonial Mexico*. Mención honorífica: Amy Sara Carroll, *Remex: Toward an Art History of the NAFTA Era*; John Lear, *Picturing the Proletariat: Artists and Labor in Revolutionary Mexico, 1908-1940*.

NINETEENTH CENTURY

By Ana Peluffo and Mayra Bottaro, Co-chairs

The Nineteenth Century Section held its business meeting at this year's congress with 37 members in attendance. The business meeting was conducted in English by co-chairs Ana Peluffo and Mayra Bottaro. Three members of the Advisory Board were also present: Laura Demaría (U Maryland), Marcel Velázquez Castro (Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos/CONCYTEC), and Sarah Moody (U Alabama). Secretary of Treasury, Ty West (Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame), did not attend LASA 2018 in Barcelona, but compiled and sent the financial report through email to be presented during the meeting.

Order of business

Acknowledgments: to former chairs Adriana Pacheco and Ronald Briggs; to LASA personnel Ghisselle Blanco, Paloma Díaz, and Milagros

Pereyra-Rojas; to members of the Advisory Board (Marcel Velázquez Castro, Laura Cucchi, Laura Demaría, Sarah Moody, Ana Sabau); to members of the three juries (see names below); to members of the section for their continued support.

Discussion of board members for 2018-2019:

Laura Cucchi, Universidad de Buenos Aires (2017-2019); Laura Demaría, University of Maryland, College Park (2017-2019); Sara Moody, University of Alabama (2017-2019); Ana Sabau, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (2017-2019). In March 2019, we will call elections to renew the five-member board, secretary of treasury, and section chair(s).

Discussion of increase in section membership:

from 102 in June 2017 to 122 in May 2018.

Discussion about section-sponsored sessions,

attendance, and procedure to select topics and presenters: one panel, "Cuerpos enfermos y narrativas escrito-visuales: marginalidad, (auto) construcción ético-estética y mercancía en el entre-siglos latinoamericano," and one roundtable, "Visual Technologies."

Discussions about social media outreach: (1)

Increase in Facebook membership (in spite of selective approach to member acceptance) from 300 members in 2017 to 460 in 2018; (2) plan to update LASA Section webpage and Twitter account.

Awards presentations

Introduction of members of the jury: Best

Dissertation in the Nineteenth Century-2018: Andrea Pagni, Adriana Pacheco, Natalia Sobrevilla Perea, Claudia Darrigrandi, Rocío Ferreira. Best Article in the Nineteenth Century-2018: Adela Pineda Franco, Ronald Briggs, María Aguilar Dornelles, Lee Skinner - Beatriz González-Stephan. Best Book in the Nineteenth Century-2018: Nancy LaGreca, Nancy Applebaum, Francesca Denegri, Gwen Kirkpatrick, William Acree.

Certificate of awards and presentation of excerpts

by the jury: New Award. Best Dissertation in the Nineteenth Century-2018: Corinna Zeltsman. "Ink under the Fingernails: Making Print in Nineteenth-Century Mexico City," PhD diss., Duke University.

Honorable Mention: Alexander Sotelo Eastman. "Binding Freedom: Cuba's Black Public Sphere, 1868-1912," PhD diss., Washington University in St. Louis. Prize: \$100.

Best Article in the Nineteenth Century-2018: Ana María Otero-Cleves, "Foreign Machetes and Cheap Cotton Cloth: Popular Consumers and Imported Commodities in Nineteenth-Century Colombia," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 97 (3): 423-456. Honorable Mention: Rodrigo Javier Caresani. "Hieratismo en movimiento: Rubén Darío, Stéphane Mallarmé y 'La página blanca,'" *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 51 (1): 127-147, 2017. Prize: \$100.

Best Book in the Nineteenth Century-2018: Ronald Briggs, *The Moral Electricity of Print. Transatlantic Education and the Lima Women's Circuit, 1876-1910* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2017). Honorable Mentions: Timo H. Schaeffer, *Liberalism as Utopia: The Rise and Fall of Legal Rule in Post-Colonial Mexico, 1820-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); and Claudia Román, *Prensa, política y cultura visual: El mosquito (Buenos Aires, 1863-1893)* (Buenos Aires: Ampersand, 2017). Prize: \$100.

Presentation of financial report 2017-2018: prepared by Secretary of Treasury, Ty West. Balance for 2018-2019: \$305.65.

Presentation of proposals for 2018-2019 by section co-chairs, Ana Peluffo and Mayra Bottaro: proposal to gather funds for the institution of a travel fellowship for a section member; introduction of a new section newsletter (conferences, publications by section members; access to archival repositories; digital collections); introduction of internship for a graduate student; name change for the section prizes and call for suggestions and votes; plan for a section calendar of events for LASA 2019-Boston.

Brief presentation of MaestroMeetings for the organization of future conferences in our field (based on the information received in the section chairs general meeting).

Open discussion about the following topics: selection of track chairs and quantity of panels accepted for LASA 2018; other conferences to expand section outreach: ACLA; INCS; NCS; LASA CONO SUR; regional and national symposia and conferences; organization of Nineteenth Century working groups in different institutions; challenges faced by the section in the form of disciplinary constraints, geographies represented, place of enunciation, and false dichotomies (e.g., theory vs. disciplinary banality, etc.).

Open discussion and questions. Invitation to continue conversation at the section's reception.

OTROS SABERES

By Alejandro Cerda

Agenda

Evaluación del Pre-Congreso, que se llevó a cabo el martes 22 de mayo de 2018. Algunas de las valoraciones expresadas por los participantes se han incluido en el punto III de este informe.

Informe de las actividades realizadas durante el período mayo 2017 a mayo 2018 (se detallan a continuación).

Actividades previstas para el Congreso 2019. Se incluyen más adelante en este mismo informe.

Información financiera: apoyos otorgados, mismos que se detallan más adelante.

En la reunión participaron 20 personas.

Resultados de la elección de miembros de la sección

A partir de la convocatoria para la renovación del Consejo Ejecutivo de Otros Saberes, fueron elegidos* Roque U. Hernández (Feie Universität Berlin), quien ha colaborado desde hace más de diez años con organizaciones indígenas en Oaxaca, México; Vasundhara Jairath (Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati), que se ha vinculado a procesos de resistencia indígena contra megaproyectos en México e India; y Angela Stuesse (University of

North Carolina-Chapel Hill), quien se ha contribuido con distintas luchas sociales en América Latina y en el sur de Estados Unidos.

La coordinación de la Sección quedará integrada de la siguiente manera. Consejeros: Roque Urbieta Hernández, Freie Universität Berlin, (2018-2020); Vasundhara Jairath, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati, (2018-2020); Mariana Mora Bayo, CIESAS, México (2017-2019); Adam Coon, University of Minnesota, Morris (2017-2019). Co-presidencia: Angela Stuesse, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (2018-2020); Alejandro Cerda, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México (2017-2019). (*Los nominados fueron elegidos automáticamente según el Manual de las Secciones, ya que solo hubo un candidato para cada posición convocada).

Actividades realizadas y planeadas

Para el Congreso en Barcelona se organizaron las tres mesas que correspondía según el número de integrantes de la Sección: (1) "Confrontando y sanando múltiples violencias: Otros Saberes y resistencias descoloniales desde las mujeres"; (2) "Diálogo de saberes e investigación activista/militante: entre los pensamientos críticos europeo y latinoamericano", e (3) "Investigación colaborativa en el campo de las problemáticas migratorias en Europa y América Latina".

Asimismo, se realizó el primer Pre-Congreso de Otros Saberes, "Alianzas y activismos hacia la descolonización del presente", llevado a cabo el 22 de mayo con la Asociación Cultural del Raval, "EL LOKAL", que rebasó nuestras expectativas. Con la participación de grupos de movimientos sociales locales y latinoamericanos sobre temas de despojo, feminismo, migración, racismo, música, y arte, en dialogo con académicos comprometidos a la investigación colaborativa hacia la justicia social, el evento se realizó en un espacio comunitario anarquista, el Centro Comunitario Ágora Juan Andrés Benítez en el barrio del Raval e involucró a más de 150 personas. Muchos participantes nos compartieron después, que fue lo mejor de todo el congreso en Barcelona. Se puede ver el programa y las fotos en nuestra página de Facebook, y

próximamente tendremos una pequeña reseña del contenido del pre-congreso en uno de los números de LASA Forum.

Para el Congreso de 2019 se organizarán las dos mesas que corresponde a la Sección con base en el número de sus miembros.

Asimismo, se organizará el Pre-Congreso Boston el 23 de mayo de 2019.

Nombres de las personas que recibieron apoyo económico

Para la organización de las mesas en el congreso y el programa del pre-congreso en Barcelona, los miembros del Consejo de la Sección decidieron apoyar con una beca a las siguientes personas. El proceso de selección se llevó a cabo tomando en cuenta el antecedente de cada una de las participantes en actividades académicas y de militancia, tal como se perfila en el propósito de la sección. Para otorgar el apoyo se pidió que las participantes garantizaran su participación tanto en el pre-congreso como en alguna de las mesas organizadas por esta Sección durante el Congreso. Persona: Monto en dólares estadounidenses: Pilar Salazar Argueta, Independiente, Guatemala, US\$250; Remei Sipi, Independiente, Guinea Ecuatorial/España, US\$250; Ana Camargo, Organización de Trabajadoras Domésticas, España, US\$120; Alejandra Navarro Smith (apoyo para dos participantes en el Pre-Congreso), US\$240.

PERU

Por Angelina Cotler, Carmen Ilizarbe (Co-presidentas)

Comité Directivo: Angelina Cotler, Carmen Ilizarbe (Co-presidentas), Alejandra Ballón (Secretaria-Tesorera), Rocío Silva-Santisteban (Comunicaciones). *Comité Consultivo:* Iris Jave, Erika Busse, Giovanna Pollarolo, Iván Ramírez y Paolo Sosa.

Actividades

Brevemente queremos resaltar algunas actividades desarrolladas en este año por la actual gestión, y luego hacer un informe más detallado de los resultados de las actividades. El año inició el 1ero

de Junio del 2017, con la transferencia de gestión del Comité anterior conformado por María Eugenia Ulfe y Olga Gonzáles. Su experiencia y trabajo previo ha sido fundamental para el buen desarrollo de las actividades que hemos desarrollado este año, y queremos agradecerles por ello.

Luego de la transferencia entre gestiones y el mensaje inicial de saludo depuramos y organizamos la base de datos de miembros de la Sección.

En los siguientes meses hemos cumplidos con organizar las convocatorias y concursos para la elección de paneles y eventos auspiciados por la Sección Perú en LASA, de premios de la Sección, y de las becas de apoyo para la participación en el Congreso.

Asimismo, hemos seleccionado a los miembros de los diversos jurados con los que hemos trabajado. Queremos agradecer el apoyo de los miembros de la Sección Perú y del Comité Consultivo que nos han apoyado en esta tarea: Erika Busse, Peter Elmore, Giovanna Polarollo y Alberto Vergara.

También hemos intentado mantener un ritmo fluido de comunicación, a través del email y la cuenta que tenemos en Facebook. En el campo de las comunicaciones se creó además una cuenta en Twitter y se actualizó información de la Sección en su página web. Una vez definido el programa de LASA hemos también hecho una búsqueda de todos los paneles y mesas en las que el tema es el Perú o hay miembros de la Sección Perú y la hemos difundido por email entre nuestros miembros.

Organizamos el proceso electoral para elegir miembros de Comité Directivo y Consultivo.

Desarrollamos una campaña interna para buscar donaciones para la Sección Perú.

Se prepararon, consultaron y finalmente difundieron dos comunicados que cuestionaron el indulto otorgado a Alberto Fujimori: el primero de ellos en Julio del 2017 y el otro el inicio del 2018.

Paneles

La Sección Perú ha auspiciado cuatro sesiones para el XXXVI Congreso de LASA en Barcelona, dado que el número de miembros al momento de la convocatoria era de 420 personas. Siguiendo los procedimientos señalados por LASA se abrió la convocatoria para dos paneles y para dos sesiones no tradicionales (mesas redondas, talleres, presentaciones de libros). Recibimos un total de 12 propuestas, las que fueron revisadas por el comité ejecutivo y el comité consultivo de la Sección Perú. Las sesiones seleccionadas fueron las siguientes: "Andean Community Response to Socio-Environmental Disequilibrium: Lessons for Us All in the Era of Global Climate Change," Patricia Hammer (Center for Social Well-Being), Karsten Paerregaard (University of Gothenburg), Marjorie M. Snipes (University of West Georgia), Doris Walter, Samuel K. Hulse (Center for Social Well-Being). "Políticas públicas urbanas y vida cotidiana; impacto y percepciones desde la experiencia ciudadana," Alexandra Arca Zimmermann; Viktor Bensús y Fernando A. Calderón Figueroa (Toronto University), Ana María Fernández Maldonado, Neli Loayza (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú). "Modernity and Intermediality: Crossing Boundaries in 20th Century Peruvian Poetry, Plastic and Performative Arts," Peter Elmore (University of Colorado, Boulder), Javier Muñoz (University of Colorado, Boulder), Ana Lucía Martínez (University of Colorado, Boulder), Giovanni Pizardi (University of Pittsburgh). "Afroperuanas en la historia, la lucha y el hogar." John Thomas (University of Chicago), Eshe Lewis (University of Toronto/University of Florida), Roxana Escobar Ñañez (University of Toronto), Mariela Noles Cotito (University of South Florida).

Becas

La Sección Perú abrió la convocatoria al concurso de becas de apoyo para la participación en el XXXVI Congreso de LASA en Barcelona. Se presentaron 26 postulaciones, las mismas que fueron evaluadas por las Co-Presidentas y la secretaria-Tesorerera del Comité Directivo en función de los siguientes criterios: calidad de la propuesta académica y necesidad financiera. Se dio prioridad a quienes no contaran con fondos adicionales y tuvieran que realizar viajes desde el Perú y Sudamérica. Se entregaron cuatro becas de \$500 (quinientos

dólares estadounidenses) a las siguientes personas: Ana Lucía Martínez Molina, University of Colorado, Boulder; Andrea Mariana Román Alfaro, University of Toronto; Vladimir Roberto Gil Ramón, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Manuel César Dammert Guardia, El Colegio de México.

Membresía

De menos de 180 (aprox.) miembros en 2014, a 211 en 2014-2015, a 235 en 2015-2016, a 401 en 2016-2017, a 305 en 2017-2018. En 2016-2017 la sección tiene 401 miembros lo cual da derecho a 8 sesiones en LASA 2018 ya que cada 50 miembros da a la sección derecho a una sesión.

Reporte financiero

Presupuesto lasa seccion peru 2017-2018: Monto inicial Sección Perú 2016-2017, US\$1,860; Becas US\$2,000; Impresión de diplomas, 0; Monto al 6 de mayo 2018, US\$4,610.69; Monto final Sección Perú 2017-2018, US\$750.69.

Elecciones y nuevos cargos

Este año dos miembros del Comité Consultivo y un miembro del Comité Directivo terminaron sus funciones luego de dos años consecutivos apoyando el trabajo de la Sección Perú. Queremos dar las gracias a Paolo Sosa e Iván Ramírez, los miembros salientes del Comité Consultivo, y de manera muy especial a Alejandra Ballón quien deja su cargo como secretaria-Tesorera en el Comité Directivo. Alejandra ha sido fundamental para nosotras en la transición hacia una nueva gestión y en las diversas actividades desarrolladas durante el año.

Las co-presidentas de la Sección Perú convocamos a elecciones para cubrir los tres cargos. Se presentaron cinco postulaciones para los dos cargos en el Comité Consultivo y solo una para el cargo en el Comité Directivo. Al ser el único candidato Mario Cépeda fue designado nuevo Secretario-Tesorero, en reemplazo de Alejandra Ballón. En el caso de los miembros del Comité Consultivo votaron un total de 52 personas y resultaron elegidos Alejandra Ballón con 28 votos y David Sulmont con 27. Felicitamos a los nuevos miembros de los Comités de la Sección Perú.

Premios

Premio José María Arguedas: La convocatoria para el Premio José María Arguedas al mejor artículo académico sobre el Perú, publicado en español o en inglés en el 2017, recibió 11 postulaciones. El jurado estuvo compuesto por la Dra. Giovanna Pollarolo, Profesora Asociada de Lingüística y Literatura de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, y por el Dr. Alberto Vergara, Profesor del Departamento Académico de Ciencias Sociales y Políticas de la Universidad del Pacífico, quienes decidieron entregar el premio al Dr. José Carlos de la Puente por "Incas pecheros y caballeros hidalgos: la desintegración del orden incaico y la génesis de la nobleza incaica colonial en el Cuzco del siglo XVI", publicado en *Revista Andina* 54 (9-95) en el 2017. El Dr. De la Puente es profesor asociado del Departamento de Historia de Texas State University.

Premio Flora Tristán: Este año la convocatoria para el Premio Flora Tristán al mejor libro sobre el Perú publicado en inglés o español recibió siete (7) postulaciones. El jurado estuvo compuesto por la Dra. Erika Busse, Profesora Asociada de Sociología en Macalester College, y por el Dr. Peter Elmore, Profesor y Director de Español y Portugués en University of Colorado, Boulder, quienes decidieron de común acuerdo entregar el premio al Dr. Isaías Rojas Pérez por *Mourning Remains: State Atrocity, Exhumations, and Governing the Disappeared in Peru's Postwar Andes*, publicado por Stanford University Press en el 2017. El Dr. Rojas es Profesor Asociado de Antropología en la Universidad de Rutgers en Newark.

Premio al Legado y la Trayectoria (Life Achievement Award): Reconocimiento público de la Sección Perú de LASA a la trayectoria académica y profesional, y a la significativa contribución a la comprensión de la realidad peruana. Tenemos el agrado de anunciar que la Dra. Narda Henríquez Ayín recibirá este año el Premio al Legado y la Trayectoria (Life Achievement Award) de la Sección Perú de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA). Narda Henríquez es Doctora en Sociología por la École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales de París y Licenciada en Sociología por la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos de Lima. Actualmente es

Profesora Principal del Departamento de Ciencias Sociales y Directora del Doctorado en Sociología de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Anteriormente ha sido Coordinadora de la Maestría en Sociología y fundadora del Programa de Estudios de Género de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Decana del Colegio Nacional de Sociólogos del Perú, e investigadora de la Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación.

Es autora de numerosas publicaciones académicas en diversos idiomas entre las que podemos citar los siguientes libros: *Otras pieles. Género, cultura e historia* (1995), *Encrucijadas del saber. Los estudios de género en las ciencias sociales* (1996), *Construyendo una agenda social* (1999), *Imaginarios nacionales. Algunas proposiciones desde el centro y la periferia* (2001), *El hechizo de las imágenes. Estatus social, género y etnicidad en la historia peruana* (2001), *Ciudadanía y derechos en una nueva era: Los derechos económicos y sociales de las mujeres como desafío* (2003), *Red de redes para la concertación. La experiencia de la Mesa de Concertación para la Lucha contra la Pobreza* (2005), *Cuestiones de género y poder en el conflicto armado en el Perú* (2006), y *Desigualdades en un mundo globalizado* (2015, editado con Damonte, Braig y Goring).

El Premio al Legado y la Trayectoria 2018 de la Sección Perú de LASA es un reconocimiento a su trayectoria académica y profesional, y a su importante contribución a la comprensión de la realidad nacional, particularmente en lo que respecta al estudio de las formas en que desigualdades sociales, económicas y políticas afectan de manera específica a las mujeres vulnerando sus derechos humanos; así como al estudio de la organización y participación activa de las mujeres en contextos de precariedad económica y violencia política. Desde la Sección Perú de LASA queremos dar reconocimiento público a esta notable trayectoria académica y profesional de renombre nacional e internacional evidenciada en el desarrollo y publicación de importantes trabajos de investigación, en su rol de liderazgo en el desarrollo de los estudios de género en el Perú –una vertiente de análisis social

imprescindible–, y en su compromiso con la formación de varias generaciones de científicas y científicos sociales en el país.

SEXUALITIES STUDIES

Por Erika Almenara y Oscar Emilio Laguna Maqueda

Los presidentes adjuntos recibieron y revisaron diversas propuestas para presentarse el XXXVI Congreso de LASA en Barcelona. A partir de ellas, se conformaron tres paneles acordes a la temática del congreso. Paralelamente, se coordinó la recepción y evaluación de artículos para los premios Sylvia Molloy y Carlos Monsiváis.

Asimismo, se revisaron y seleccionaron las propuestas para la realización de la Pre-conferencia, Migraciones y refugiados LGBTTTI en un mundo globalizado. Ella se llevó a cabo el día 22 de mayo de 2018 y se organizó en conjunto con el Grupo de Investigación de Género, Identidad y Diversidad de la Universidad de Barcelona, ampliando los vínculos entre los miembros de nuestra sección y los de esta organización.

En esta pre-conferencia se presentaron un panel de discusión, una conferencia magistral impartida por José María Valcuende, catedrático de la Universidad de Sevilla y una exposición por Guillermo de los Reyes sobre Testigo experto (Expert witness) para asilos políticos para personas LGBTQ en los Estados Unidos. Al término de la pre-conferencia se organizó una cena en la que participaron alrededor de 25 miembros de la sección en la que se discutieron futuros proyectos y alianzas.

Ambos Presidentes Adjuntos asistieron a la “Section Chairs business meeting”. Finalmente, se llevó a cabo la reunión de la sección en la que se acordó por unanimidad elegir a Sara Ohmer y re-elegir a Oscar Laguna como Presidentes Adjuntos para el periodo 2018–2019. Asimismo, se anunció al ganador del premio Sylvia Molloy, Fernando Blanco, por su artículo, “La Frida no envejeció, Yo soy la Frida envejecida. La última performance de Pedro Lemebel.”

SOUTHERN CONE STUDIES

Por Fernando Blanco, Chair, y Cristián Opazo, Tesorero

Termina el congreso LASA2018 Barcelona y la Sección de Estudios del Cono Sur publica su balance de los últimos 12 meses (mayo 2017-mayo 2018).

Simposios regionales: En 2017, la sección consolidó sus ya tradicionales simposios regionales: en Montevideo, celebró su II simposio, “(Neo)colonialismos, (In)dependencias, (Pos)modernidades.” Con el apoyo de la Universidad de la República, el Instituto de Profesores Artigas y la Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay, el encuentro convocó a más de 500 investigadores provenientes de las Américas, Asia y Europa. Con este antecedente, ya se proyecta un III simposio, “Cuerpos en Peligro: Minorías y Migrantes” (Universidad Nacional Tres de Febrero, Buenos Aires, 10-13 jul. 2019).

Encuentro con escritores: El congreso LASA2018 Barcelona fue sede un hito clave para la sección: un diálogo abierto de escritoras y críticas que contó con la participación de Alia Trabucco, Luisa Futoransky y Marcy Schwartz —el encuentro concluyó con una lectura de textos narrativos y literarios.

Paneles destacados: Durante LASA2018 Barcelona, la sección contó con cuatro paneles destacados previamente seleccionados a través de una convocatoria pública: “La revolución tecnológica y el futuro de las políticas culturales en el Cono Sur”, con Hugo Achugar, Alejandro Gortazar, Victoria Lembo, Luis Alberto Quevedo, Federico Sequeira; “Narrativas de amor y amistad en la producción cultural reciente”, con Ana María Fernández Caraballo, Ana Laura Ros, Ofelia Ros; “Between Resistance and Complicity: Media, Aesthetics, Market and Politics in the Southern Cone”, con Fernando Blanco, Michael Lazzara, Lauris McQuoid-Greason, Marcy E. Schwartz; “Archivos queer: cuerpos, textos e historias en el Cono Sur”, con María Laura Bocaz, Claudia Cabello Hutt, Carl P. Fischer, Germán Garrido, Mariano G. López Seoane.

Premio mejor libro de humanidades: Sarah Wells, *Media Laboratories: Late Modernist Authorship in South America* (Northwestern University Press, 2017); Mención honrosa para Fernando Rosenberg, *After Human Rights: Literature, Visual Arts, and Film in Latin America, 1990-2010* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016).

Premio mejor libro de ciencias sociales: Leith Passmore, *The Wars inside Chile's Barracks: Remembering Military Service under Pinochet* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2017).

Excelencia en tesis doctoral: Miguel Pérez, “Becoming Political Subjects in the City's Peripheries: Pobladores and Housing Struggles in Santiago, Chile”, PhD Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

Publicaciones: Revista *Conversaciones del Cono Sur*; Volumen *Actores, Demandas, Intersecciones: Debates Críticos en el Cono Sur*, editado por Fernando Blanco y Cristián Opazo (Cuarto Propio, 2018).

Becas: En el contexto del congreso LASA2018 Barcelona, y gracias al apoyo de sus miembros y los excedentes generados por el simposio de Montevideo, la sección otorgó 5 becas de movilidad (500USD) a investigadores del Cono Sur que no contaban con fondos para cubrir los elevados costos de viaje que implica el traslado desde las Américas a Barcelona.

Renovación de mesa directiva: Tras completar su periodo como jefe de sección el profesor Fernando Blanco, asume una nueva mesa directiva conformada por los profesores Cristián Opazo (jefe de sección), María Rosa Olivera Williams (co-jefe de sección) y Katherine Karr-Cornejo (tesorera).

STUDENT SECTION OF LASA

By Marcus Vinicius Rossi da Rocha

Two years after its creation, LASA's students section has 139 members. We elected our first executive council members in 2017. In the last congress, we organized one panel, entitled “Case Studies on Brazil and Their Contributions to

Theory Development.” Unfortunately, no executive members were able to attend to the congress and we held no business meeting.

To reach an active participation of the members is the major challenge for the consolidation of the section. Students face more financial constraints and other issues that make their participation in congresses and associations more uncertain. For the next year, we should try more ways to engage more people in the section business and panels.

SUBNATIONAL POLITICS AND SOCIETY

By Jorge Alves and Sara Niedzwiecki

LASA 2018 panels: Our section sponsored two panels: “New Directions in Studying Subnational Politics” and “The Subnational Resource Curse: Effects of Oil and Mineral Wealth on Development.” Both panels were well attended, and had fruitful presentations.

Section prizes 2018: Best Paper: “Democracy at Work: Moving beyond Elections to Improve Well-Being,” by Natasha Borges-Sugiyama (University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee), Brian Wampler (Boise State University), and Michael Touchton (University of Miami), \$500; Committee: Laura Flamand (El Colegio de México, México) and Eduardo Moncada (Barnard College, Columbia University). Travel Award: Antonella Bandiera (New York University), \$500; Committee: Lucas González (Universidad de San Martín, Argentina) and Lorena Moscovich (Universidad de San Andrés, Argentina).

Business meeting / new chairs: The section held a business meeting attended by seven members in Barcelona. During this meeting, we initiated the transition to the newly elected co-chairs: Angelica Duran-Martinez (University of Massachusetts, Lowell) and Juan Cruz Olmeda (El Colegio de México). We took advantage of this transition to take members’ suggestions as to how to better engage with membership and maintain interest in the section, agreeing to focus on (1) co-sponsoring events in other sections that have a subnational approach; (2) reengaging senior members of the section to participate as discussants in our section-sponsored panels; (3) membership drive.

The outgoing co-chairs, Jorge Antonio Alves (Queens College, CUNY) and Sara Niedzwiecki (University of California, Santa Cruz), would like to thank the section for the opportunity to serve and wish the excellent new co-chairs success in their tenure.

VENEZUELAN STUDIES

By Raul Sanchez Uribarri, Secretary

I am pleased to report on the activities of the Section on Venezuelan Studies, as well as on our regular business meeting held during the LASA 2018 Congress in Barcelona, Spain (following minutes prepared by our Secretary and Treasurer, Iria Puyosa).

Section business meeting

The Section of Venezuelan Studies (SVS) business meeting was held on Wednesday, May 23 from 5:45 to 7:15 pm, at the Centro Internacional de Convenciones de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain. Thirty members attended (including four members based in Venezuela). Section Chair Vicente Lecuna presided over the session. The following items were discussed in the meeting:

Membership: Lecuna reported that SVS has currently 130 registered members (20 members less than last year). This will allow the section to sponsor three panels for LASA 2018, the same number as in 2017. The section chair and other members commented that this has been the number of panels in the last three meetings, and that it is imperative to preserve this number.

Composition of the committee: Vicente Lecuna officially informed the new composition of the Section Executive Committee, recently elected, and bid farewell to the former members. After voting, the members elected are the following: the new section chair is Iria Puyosa (who will hold the position until May 2019). Iria Puyosa completed her term as secretary. Six members of the Executive Committee also completed their terms: Ronald Briggs, Victor Carreño, Iraida Casique, Ana Rodríguez-Navas, Magaly Sánchez, and José Delpino (post-graduate student). The

following members will remain: Verónica Zubillaga, Alicia Ríos, Nathalie Bouzaglo, Andrés Cañizález, Armando Chaguaceda, and Raul Sanchez Urribarri. The new council members are: Daniel Levine, Margarita López Maya, Magaly Sánchez, Víctor Mijares, Juan Manuel Trak, and Alejandro Martínez as post-graduate student (until 2020). Thus, the new committee includes: Verónica Zubillaga, Alicia Ríos, Nathalie Bouzaglo, Andrés Cañizález, Armando Chaguaceda, and Raul Sanchez Urribarri (until 2019); and Daniel Levine, Margarita López Maya, Magaly Sánchez, Víctor Mijares, Juan Manuel Trak, and Alejandro Martínez (until 2020).

The former president thanked Ronald Briggs, Victor Carreño, Iraida Casique, Ana Rodríguez-Navas, Magaly Sánchez, José Delpino; Verónica Zubillaga, Alicia Ríos, Nathalie Bouzaglo, Andrés Cañizález, Armando Chaguaceda, Raul Sanchez Urribarri, and especially Iria Puyosa.

Two weeks after the meeting, the committee agreed to elect Raul Sanchez Urribarri as secretary and Víctor Mijares as treasurer (until 2019).

SVS grants and the urgent problem of funds for section members based in Venezuela. This year the section was not able to award a grant for the assistance of researchers residing in Venezuela to the LASA Congress. Following a substantial effort, last year four grants were awarded with funding obtained through the section's crowdfunding and generous donations provided by LASA members at the time of registration for the conference. However, this year the funds available were not enough to give a full award that would allow a scholar resident in Venezuela to afford an airline ticket to Barcelona, hotel and meals.

Several members mentioned that this is a pressing problem that needs LASA's attention, given the ongoing economic and humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, and the significant difficulties that scholars resident in Venezuela face in order to attend the LASA meeting (and even more the case when the meeting is held in a city located far away from South America).

We had mentioned this problem in 2017: "It is considered necessary to find general solutions to the problem of financing Venezuelan researchers, with the active collaboration of the LASA Executive Council." (SVS May 2017 report). The situation in Venezuela has worsened and a solution to this problem is now more urgent than ever.

SVS panels: The section chair reminded members of the three panels sponsored by the section, and a special workshop (*taller*) about the crisis in Venezuela. These panels were the following: (a) "Ilustración, fragilidad y ruptura: elementos para una relectura de la modernidad desde el espacio narrativo y político," Chair: Juan Rosales; Discussant: Jacques Lezra; Session Organizers: Miguel Vásquez and Vicente Lecuna. (b) "Espacios (trans)nacionales y modernidades instantáneas," Chair: María Colmenares, Session Organizers: María Colmenares and Vicente Lecuna. (c) "Revolutionary diplomacy y control político de información bajo la 'ola rosa' en Latinoamérica," Session Organizer and Chair: Iria Puyosa. Workshop (*taller*) "Venezuela después del colapso: Escenarios posibles," Session Organizer: Jose Manuel Puente, IESA/BSG-University of Oxford, Presenters: Magaly Sanchez-R., Princeton University; Iria Puyosa, Universidad Central de Venezuela; Manuel Hidalgo Trenado, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid; Discussant: Maryhen G. Jimenez Morales, University of Oxford.

SVS Award - Fernando Coronil Prize for Best Book

The 2018 Fernando Coronil Prize for Best Book about Venezuela was awarded – the third time the award is given since 2014. The Award Committee, formed by Fernando Degiovanni (chair), Nathalie Bouzaglo, and Alejandro Velasco, unanimously declared *Spectacular Modernity: Dictatorship, Space and Visuality in Venezuela, 1928-1958* by Lisa Blackmore the sole winner. The book "is a rigorous study of the relation between dictatorship and modernity in Venezuela. The book advances an original and thoroughly documented hypothesis about a decisive period in the modern history of the country. Working with a remarkable wealth of archival material that has rarely been studied before, Blackmore reaches deeply into the logic and the maneuvers of the dictatorship to show how

ensorship and repression played an unexpected role in the process of national modernization. Anchored in cultural studies, this book also presents a notable contribution to the growing field of visual studies. *Spectacular Modernity* is without a doubt an indispensable book for understanding the process of modernization in Latin America.”

Other relevant matters

SVS's actions regarding Venezuela's crisis 2017-2018. The section has actively denounced the current social, political and economic crisis in Venezuela, striving to represent its members in these difficult times, especially those who reside in Venezuela. In the meeting, attendees discussed the proposal for a formal LASA resolution on Venezuela and how it was only 2 percent away from being officially approved, lamenting that this was not the case. It was also pointed out that there were notorious difficulties dealing with the Executive Council for the discussion and voting process of the proposed resolution. In response, a letter was sent to the Executive Council by section member Daniel Levine (and endorsed by several section members) denouncing these challenges.

LASA annual meeting host cities: New section chair Iria Puyosa proposed and discussed the need to express the section's disagreement with Barcelona and Boston as venues for the LASA annual meetings. The meeting should take place in cities that are affordable and accessible for academics who reside in Latin America, such as Lima, Bogotá, Medellín, Cartagena, Quito, Buenos Aires, México DF, Cuzco, Santiago de Chile. The list of cities should include Caracas, Venezuela.

The Social Media Subcommittee, headed by Cecilia Rodríguez and Manuel Silva Ferrer, shared with the section members a report of the subcommittee's activities.

The SVS Executive Council promoted the candidature of fellow section member Javier Guerrero to LASA's Executive Council. Ninety (90) members signed the proposal. However, the Executive Council declined to include Javier Guerrero in the list of candidates without further explanation.

New section chair and executive council's key aims for the 2018-2019 term

Enhancing the role of the section as a hub to create and consolidate academic networks, in order to foster collaboration between residents in Venezuela and members based overseas, especially those who have been forced to leave Venezuela in the past five years; promote academic exchanges with Colombia, Ecuador, and other neighboring countries; promoting the organization of interdisciplinary meetings, including LASA Caracas; promoting research collaborations among the section members, based on the joint papers presented at the LASA Congress; using LASA to disseminate research about the Venezuelan case, describing the transition to autocratic rule, the collapse of the formal economy and a cultural transformation that should receive regional and global attention; the need to search for additional financial sponsorship, including private entities, embassies, and other actors, to fund different initiatives regarding the section and its members (this could include sponsored panels, sponsored reports or academic work, and grants for early career researchers and post-graduate students); discussing and adopting an official name for the best paper award (given biannually).

VISUAL CULTURE STUDIES

By Co-chair Jessica Stites Mor

Summary of business meeting, May 24, 2018, Barcelona: 10 members of the section present, secretary-treasurer only executive in absence; section doing well financially and in terms of membership (210 as of November, last updated balance \$4,283.07 in January); last year spent money on open bar and bus to a museum in Lima; this year, \$500 travel scholarship awarded for pre-conference workshop, “Liquid Ecologies”; discussion of future plans, particularly regarding adding book prize.

Election results: New Co-chair Liliana Gomez-Popescu (2018-2020), Swiss National Science Foundation professor, University of Zurich; new executive board members: Tamara J. Walker (2018-2020), University of Toronto; Ernesto Capello (2018-

2020), Associate Professor of Latin American History at Macalester College; Talía Dajes (2018–2020), Assistant Professor of Spanish in the Department of World Languages and Cultures at the University of Utah. Continuing board members: Co-chair Jessica Stites Mor (2017–2019), Associate Professor, University of British Columbia; Secretary-Treasurer Megan Tierney (2017–2019), Postdoctoral Fellow, Carleton University; Executive Board member Elena Rosauero (2017–2019), independent researcher.

Activities and plans: Three sponsored sessions and social event planned for LASA Boston 2019; continuing presence on Facebook, Twitter; call for pre-conference workshop and sponsored session proposals; call for book and essay prizes.

Grants and prizes: Workshop travel grant (\$500): Pedro J. Rolón Machado, PhD candidate, Department of Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley (Committee Chair Liliana Gomez-Popescu). Essay Prize, Best Essay in Latin American Visual Culture Studies, 2016–2017 (\$150): Irene Depetris Chauvin, “Memorias en el presente: Afecto y espectralidad en imaginarios acuáticos contemporáneos,” *Aniki* vol. 4, no. 1 (2017): 170–190 (Chair of Committee Ernesto Capello, members Jessica Stites Mor and Lisa Blackmore). //

LARR-Pitt Best Article Award

About the Article Award

The LARR-Pitt Best Article Award will be presented at each LASA International Congress to the best research article published by the Latin American Research Review (LARR) during the previous calendar year (i.e., in the volume of the journal preceding the year of the congress).

The award covers articles published by LARR in all disciplines and in any language.

The winners are expected to be present at the LASA Congress to receive the award in person and participate in a special panel. The winners may also be invited to present their research at the University of Pittsburgh (Pitt).

The award is supported by the University of Pittsburgh to honor its long-standing relationship with the Latin American Studies Association. It carries a symbolic monetary prize of US\$500.

Call for Nominations

Deadline: January 21, 2019

The LARR-Pitt Award is offered to the best article published by the Latin American Research Review in its last volume (i.e., the year prior to the award). Research articles published by LARR in all disciplines and any language are eligible for the award; book and documentary film reviews are not eligible.

Nominations from LARR readers and self-nominations from authors are encouraged. Nominators are not required to be LASA members. To nominate an article, complete this nomination form (<https://lasaweb.org/en/larr-pitt-best-article-award>), providing the title of the article, the LARR issue, the link to the article page in LARR, a brief paragraph indicating the contribution of this paper to the field of Latin American Studies, and the name and e-mail address of the nominator.

The award committee for papers published in LARR volume 53 is formed by Flavia Freidenberg (UNAM-Mexico), Philip Oxhorn (chair, McGill University), and Michele Reid-Vazquez (University of Pittsburgh).

Award History

The inaugural prize will consider all articles published in volume 53 (2018), and it will be awarded at the LASA Congress in Boston in May 2019.

For any question regarding this award contact lasaawds@pitt.edu. //

LARR-Pitt Premio al Mejor Artículo

Acerca del Premio

El premio al mejor artículo LARR-Pitt se presenta durante el Congreso de LASA al mejor artículo de investigación publicado en Latin American Research Review (LARR) durante el año anterior (es decir, en el volumen de la revista que precede al año del congreso).

El premio considera artículos publicados por LARR en cualquier disciplina e idioma.

Se espera que las o los ganadores asistan al Congreso de LASA para recibir el premio en persona y participar en un panel especial. Las o los ganadores del premio podrían ser invitados a la Universidad de Pittsburgh para presentar su trabajo.

El premio es financiado por la Universidad de Pittsburgh como reconocimiento a la larga relación que existe con Latin American Studies Association. El premio simbólico es de US\$500 por artículo.

Llamado a Nominaciones

Fecha límite: 21 de enero del 2019

El Premio LARR-Pitt se otorga al mejor artículo publicado por Latin American Research Review en su último volumen (es decir, el año antes del premio). Los artículos de investigación publicados por LARR en todas las disciplinas e idiomas son elegibles para el premio; no se pueden nominar las reseñas de libros y documentales de cine.

Invitamos a los lectores de LARR a nominar artículos, así como a los autores a auto nominarse.

No se necesita ser miembro de LASA para nominar artículos. Para nominar artículos, llene esta forma proporcionado (<https://lasaweb.org/en/larr-pitt-best-article-award>): el título del artículo, el número de la revista LARR, el enlace electrónico al artículo, un breve párrafo explicando la contribución de este trabajo a los estudios latinoamericanos, y el e-mail y nombre de la persona que lo nomina.

El comité del premio para los artículos publicados en el volumen 53 de LARR está conformado por Flavia Freidenberg (UNAM-México), Philip Oxhorn (Presidente del comité, McGill University) y Michele Reid-Vasquez (University of Pittsburgh).

Historia del Premio

El primer premio considerará todos los artículos publicados en el volumen 53 (2018) y el premio se entregará en el Congreso de LASA en Boston en Mayo del 2019.

Para cualquier duda o consulta escribir a lasaawds@pitt.edu. //

LASA2018 Congress Report

LASA2018 in Barcelona, the first Congress in Europe, was an exciting opportunity to attend a variety of panels, stimulating debates, and wonderful networking opportunities. From our perspective, it was a great success.

We were honored to welcome 7,125 registered participants, 6,099 presenters with some role during the Congress (86%), and 1,026 people who attended without presenting. Out of the 7,125 registered participants, 26% were students and 3,610 (74%) were nonstudents. It is significant to note that 66% of participants were non-US residents.

Regardless of all the enthusiasm around the Congress we wanted to make sure that our most important constituents, our members, agree on the success of LASA2018, and thus our yearly online survey was sent to collect demographic information, respondents' feedback, and to measure the overall experience during our time in Barcelona. We thank the 779 attendees who participated in this year's survey, who represent 10.9% of all of the LASA2018 registered participants. We encourage all of you to answer our survey to have a better sense how to improve.

Forty percent of the respondents to this year's survey were United States residents, 37% were residents from Latin America, and 21% from Europe. Similar to previous years, the majority of respondents work primarily on research activities (60%), while 29% focus on education (see figure 1). More than one-third of respondents were attending a LASA Congress for the first-time (35%), while 26% of respondents were seasoned attendees, having participate to five or more LASA Congresses. Both groups are important to us, as they evaluate the Congress with new lenses as well as with experienced ones.

As was the case in Lima at LASA2017, 43% of respondents in Barcelona 2018 attended four to seven sessions during the Congress.

Overall, 76% of the survey respondents were extremely satisfied with LASA2018, which represents a jump of 11% compared with satisfaction rates from Lima 2017. Only 9% were neutral, and 15% were dissatisfied. Compared with Lima2017, dissatisfaction rates decreased by 5%. Our goal is that all participants have a great experience. Barcelona 2018 offered 1,714 sessions, and given the size of the event it is inevitable that sessions with similar topics overlap. Due to the high volume of sessions accepted in order to honor LASA's spirit of inclusiveness, multidisciplinary, and diversity, this overlap is bound to happen. We hope that the multiple simultaneous sessions permit a wide range of session options in which you can participate and grow.

This overall satisfaction approval was measured by three aspects: 60% of respondents learned a lot about recent work in Latin American studies; 43% of respondents learned a lot about current work in other fields, and 60% of respondents of the survey considered the LASA Congress in Barcelona a good opportunity to network and make contact with colleagues (see figure 2).

Regarding the use of technology, 75% of respondents downloaded the program app and 97% of them used it.

As in every Congress, LASA is very grateful to our faithful sponsors/foundations and to the Endowment Fund, which continue year after year to provide partial travel grants to our participants. This year we were able offer 314 travel grants to participants to come to LASA2018 and share their research.

Finally, around 35% of the survey respondents are planning to attend LASA2019 in Boston. We are looking forward seeing you in Boston on May 24-27, 2019, for our Congress with the theme “Nuestra América: Justice and Inclusion.”

We thank all those who took the time to complete the survey. Your feedback helps us improve by acknowledging situations that we may have not been aware of, and thus allows us to focus on our members and their needs. As always, please feel free to reach out to us with any questions or further suggestions. //

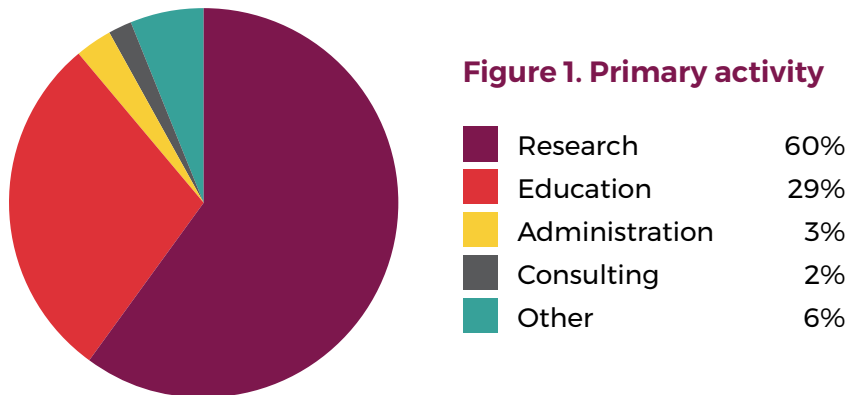
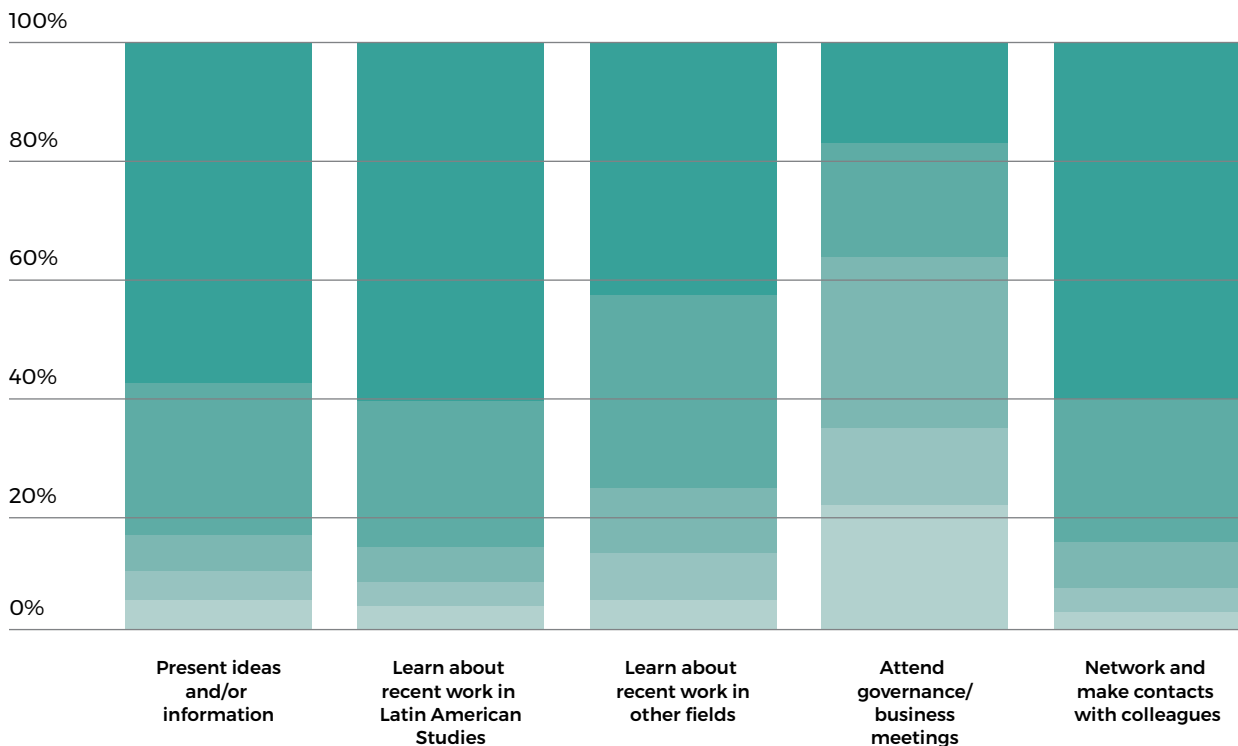


Figure 2. LASA2018 provided an opportunity to:



Richard Newbold Adams

By **Virginia Garrard**, Director, LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections and Professor of History, University of Texas, Austin

and **Charles R. Hale**, SAGE Sara Miller McCune Dean of Social Sciences, University of California, Santa Barbara

Richard N. Adams, anthropologist, scholar, and university professor, passed away in his sleep on September 11, 2018. He was 94.

A native of Ann Arbor, Michigan, Adams served in the US military during World War II. He earned his BA from the University of Michigan in 1947, his MA (1949) and PhD (1951) from Yale. He worked briefly in Muquiyauyo, Peru, and then in Guatemala, where he met his future wife, Betty (an Anglo-German-Guatemalan and Guatemala's first woman pilot) in 1951. The two were married for 67 years.

After working in Guatemala for several years for the Pan American Health Organization, Rick returned to the States to teach at Michigan State University (1956–1961) and then joined the faculty at the University of Texas, Austin. There he earned the rank of Professor of Anthropology and Rapoport Centennial Professor of Liberal Arts. Throughout his career he played an active role in the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS), and served as its director from 1986 until his retirement in the early 1990s. He also worked for the Ford Foundation in Buenos Aires in the late 1960s and was named a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation in 1973. During his career, Adams served as president of the American Anthropological Association and was one of the founders and president of the Society for Applied Anthropology.

Rick was a fierce believer in the value of interdisciplinarity and helped to elevate Latin American studies across the United States, building collaborations with scholars and institutions in Latin America before such horizontal relationships were fashionable. Along with a small group of

other social scientists, Rick pushed to develop an academic conference where scholars of a variety of disciplines, activists, policy-makers, and filmmakers could come together for collaboration and debate. This was the beginning of the Latin American Studies Association, which held its first Congress in 1966. Rick was selected as LASA's first vice president in 1966 and then served as LASA's second president from 1968 to 1969. He was active in the organization throughout his career and well into his retirement. In 1998, LASA presented Adams with the Kalman Silvert Lifetime Achievement award.

The Dean of Liberal Arts at University of Texas at Austin recruited Rick in the early 1960s to the Anthropology Department as an institution builder, with a mandate for transformation. Over the next three decades, Rick fulfilled these aspirations with gusto, both as department chair and senior faculty member, playing a major role in transforming a parochial Texas-focused unit into a highly ranked and nationally respected department. Already a towering figure in the discipline, Adams published a series of works during the 1960s and 1970s that sealed his standing as a leading analyst of culture, power, and political economy in Latin America and beyond. He authored some 75 scholarly books and articles. (Rick's first book, *The Home Made Poems*



[London: Caxton Head], was published in 1934, when the author was only ten years old). *Crucifixion by Power* (1970), Rick's magnum opus, achieved widespread acclaim as marking anthropology's transition away from the bounded community study toward full engagement with national and global structures and processes. Both the title and the central message of this collaboratively produced volume would prove to be a sober portent of the genocidal state violence that began before the decade's end.

Rick's relationship to Guatemala became complex and entangled in that period, as political polarization, conflict, and violence accelerated and engulfed all facets of the society. One faction of the leftist Guatemalan intellectual community denounced "*adamicismo*" as exemplifying an era of "anthropology of occupation," which the rising tide of revolutionary change and national liberation would put to an end. Although Rick did step back from Guatemala-focused research as the political violence deepened, his intellectual and ethical-political positioning during this period, and throughout his career, defied this facile categorization. Two of his closest Guatemalan intellectual interlocutors, for example, were Jorge Skinner-Klee (associated with the center-right) and Joaquin Noval, the brilliant anthropologist who had joined the Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo (Guatemalan Communist Party) by the early 1970s. Rick also served as PhD mentor to Ricardo Falla, SJ, another pillar in Guatemalan anthropology and an exemplar of politically engaged anthropological research. Rick aligned himself with analysis that had integrity, independence, and rigor, and let the chips fall where they may.

After the worst of the state violence had subsided in the late 1980s, Rick returned to Guatemalan research with enormous energy, now focused primarily on Maya culture and politics. His writings on contemporary Maya rights mobilization combined his signature historical and structural approach with great attentiveness to cultural-political discourse and representation. With characteristic self-critical reflexivity, Rick decided that he was too "positioned" to conduct interviews directly with Maya protagonists, but provided prescient and original analysis based on

demographic, archival, and documentary sources. One of Rick's most admirable qualities as a scholar was his inclination to subject his own prior work to his own highest standards of critical scrutiny. His concept of "ladinization"—developed in the late 1960s and the subject of much subsequent critique—became the centerpiece in his own thorough rethinking of assimilation, racism, and identity formation at the turn of the century.

After his retirement from the University of Texas in 1990, Adams and his wife, Betty Hannstein Adams, lived mainly in Austin and Panajachel, Guatemala, where they served as friends and mentors to veterans and young scholars alike. Although university bureaucracy nudged him into retirement soon than he would have preferred, he wryly referred the first 20 years after his retirement the "most productive of my academic life." Rick continued for many years to write prolifically, to avidly engage with new ideas and other bright minds, and to regularly participate in academic conferences throughout the United States and Latin America.

In addition to his considerable gifts as a scholar, teacher, and intellectual, Rick Adams was a tireless and fearless student of Guatemala, a man who suffered no fools. He was a lifelong learner; a devoted husband, father, and grandfather; a valued teacher and friend; a great wit and bon vivant; and in the words of one of his UT colleagues, "a fun person to have around." Adams is survived by his wife, Betty, their children Walter and Gina, and their grandchildren Ariel, Lia, and Nico Adams. Adams was predeceased by the couple's eldest daughter, Tani Marilena Adams, who died in 2017 and was herself a well-known scholar and activist. Both Gina and Walter also follow in their father's footsteps, using research to help shine a light on social and political challenges in an interdisciplinary way.

Those who wish to honor Richard N. Adams's work and memory are invited to donate to the Maya Educational Foundation (MEF) in support of scholarships for Maya students in Guatemala. Rick was a supporter of education and mentored multiple generations of scholars in and from Guatemala. He would certainly appreciate such a gesture in his memory. While the bulk of his field

notes and professional papers are housed at the University of Texas, his library will be donated to the Universidad del Valle in Sololá, Guatemala, where it can be used by the Guatemalan interlocutors who made his work and career possible. The extensive Adams library of some three thousand books will also be digitized and eventually available through open access online.

To make a tax-deductible donation to MEF in Rick's memory: (1) Donate securely online at www.mayaedufound.org via the yellow Donate Now button; or (2) Send a check to MEF at Maya Educational Foundation, P.O. Box 1483, Wellfleet, MA 02667, USA, or (3) Call MEF at (001) 508-349-1330 to make a credit card donation. Be sure to convey that this is a special memorial gift in honor of Richard N. Adams. //

Morris Morley

By **Christopher McGillion**, Charles Sturt University, Bathurst, Australia

Longtime LASA member Morris Morley died in July 2018 at the age of 76. A senior research fellow at the Council on Hemispheric Affairs, Washington, DC, Morris had recently retired as Associate Professor of Politics at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. Soon after graduating with a PhD from the State University of New York, Binghamton, Morris published his first of 11 books on US-Latin American affairs, *The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Overthrow of the Allende Government*, which he co-authored. More than 40 years later, this book is still regarded by many scholars as a classic study of the coup. Similarly, his 1987 book *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952-1986* remains arguably the most definitive work on the subject. His most recent co-authored book, *Reagan and Pinochet: The Struggle over US policy towards Chile* (2015) has been hailed by many reviewers as a definitive and enlightening analysis of Washington's shifting approach to the military regime in the 1980s. Morris had been working on a companion study of US policy toward Chile from 1972 to 1980 at the time of his death. An Australian citizen, he frequently returned to the United States on research trips and last presented at LASA in Las Vegas in 2004.

Morley's books include: *Reagan and Pinochet: The Struggle over US Policy towards Chile* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), co-authored with Chris McGillion; *Cuba, the United States, and the Post-Cold War World: The International Dimensions of the Washington-Havana Relationship* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), coedited with Chris McGillion; *Unfinished Business: America and Cuba after the Cold War, 1989-2001* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), coauthored with Chris McGillion; *Empire or Republic? American Global Power and Domestic Decay* (New York: Routledge, 1995; Spanish ed. 1997), coauthored with James Petras; *Washington,*

Somoza and the Sandinistas: State and Regime in U.S. Policy toward Nicaragua, 1969-1981 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); *Latin America in the Time of Cholera: Electoral Politics, Market Economics, and Permanent Crisis* (New York: Routledge 1992), co-authored with James Petras; *U.S. Hegemony under Siege: Essays on Class, Politics and Development in Latin America* (London: Verso, 1990), coauthored with James Petras; *Crisis and Confrontation: Ronald Reagan's Foreign Policy* (New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield, 1988), editor; *Imperial State and Revolution: The United States and Cuba, 1952-1986* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), nominated for American Sociological Association's 1988 C. Wright Mills Award and the Latin American Studies Association's 1988 Bryce Wood Book Award; *The Nationalization of Venezuelan Oil* (New York: Praeger, 1977), coauthored with James Petras and Steven Smith; *The United States and Chile: Imperialism and the Overthrow of the Allende Government* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975; Spanish ed. 1976), coauthored with James Petras. //



2019 CALL FOR PAPERS

National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies

**27th Annual
NAAAS & Affiliates
National Conference**

**February 11-16, 2019
Dallas, Texas**

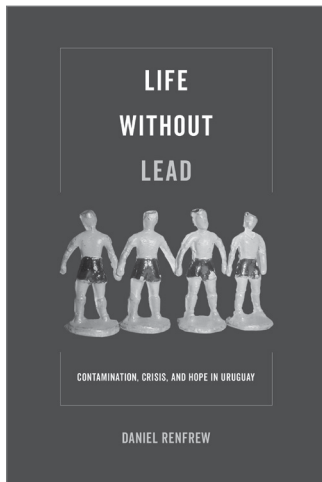
Abstracts, not to exceed two (2) pages, should be submitted that relate to any aspect of the Hispanic, Latino or Chicano experience. Subjects may include, but are not limited to: literature, demographics, history, politics, economics, education, health care, fine arts, religion, social sciences, business and many other subjects. Please indicate the time required for presentation of your paper (25 minutes **OR** 45 minutes).

**ABSTRACTS WITH TITLE OF PAPER, PRESENTER'S NAME,
HOME AND COLLEGE/AGENCY ADDRESS AND
E-MAIL SHOULD BE POSTMARKED BY: Saturday,
November 10, 2018.**

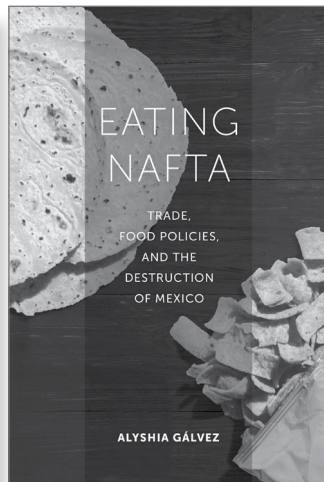
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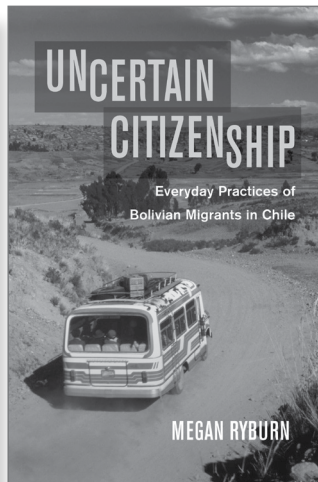
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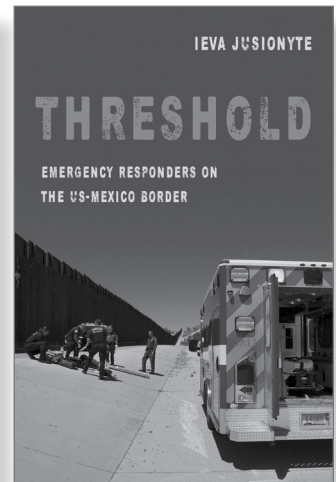
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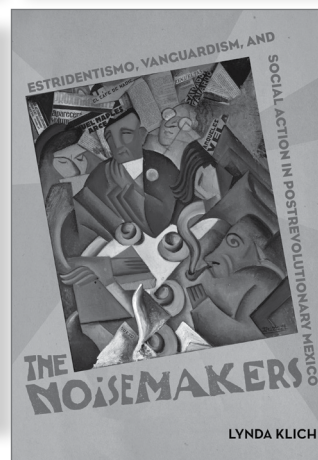
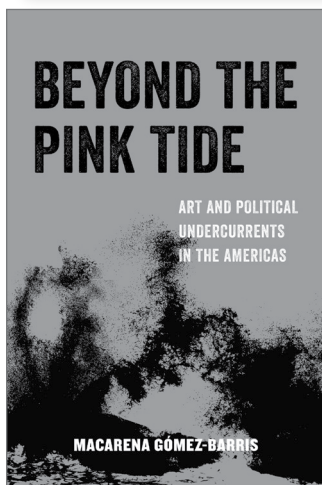
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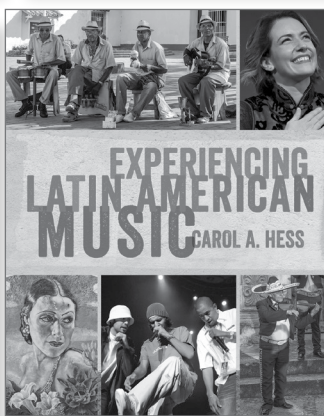
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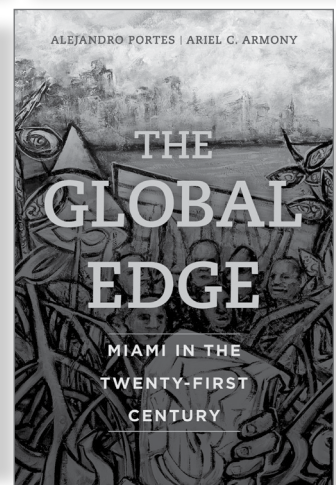
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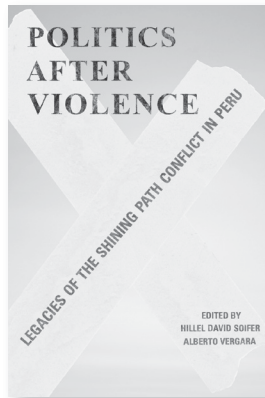


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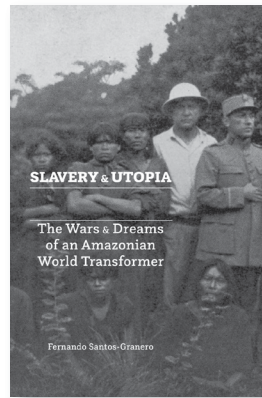


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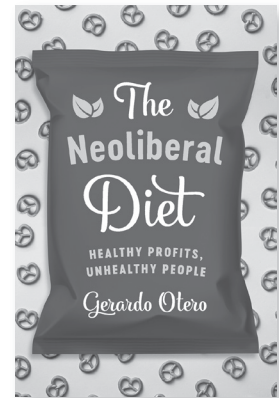


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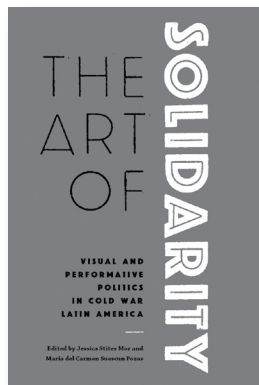


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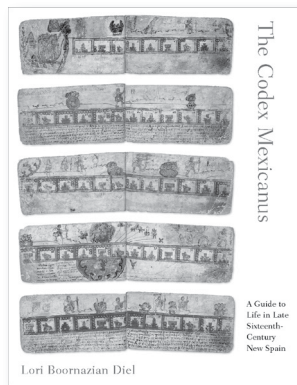


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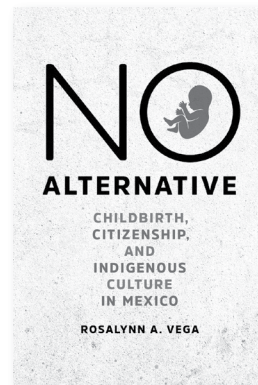


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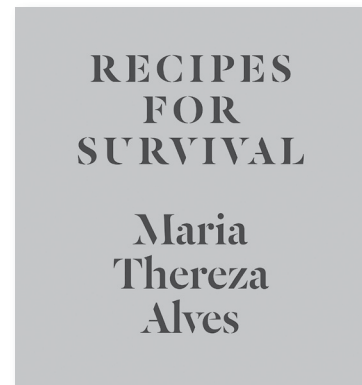


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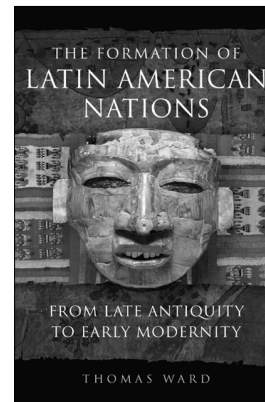
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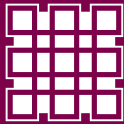
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