Intellectual Migrations: Transcultural Contributions of European and Latin American Emigrés

SEMINAR ON THE ACQUISITION OF LATIN AMERICAN LIBRARY MATERIALS

XXXI
Intellectual Migrations:
Transcultural Contributions of European
and Latin American Emigrés

SALALM Secretariat
Memorial Library
University of Wisconsin--Madison
INTELLECTUAL MIGRATIONS:
TRANSCULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS
OF EUROPEAN AND LATIN
AMERICAN EMIGRES

Papers of the Thirty-First Annual Meeting of the
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LATIN AMERICAN LIBRARY MATERIALS

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Iliana L. Sonntag
Editor

SALALM Secretariat
Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin—Madison
Nos perdemos por el mundo,
Nos volvemos a encontrar.
Y así nos reconocemos,
Por el lejano mirar . . .

Atahualpa Yupanqui
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PREFACE

The site of SALALM XXXI suggested the theme. When we were invited by the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut to meet in Berlin, the idea of "Intellectual Migrations: Transcultural Contributions of European and Latin American Emigrés" naturally came to mind. The connection between Europe and Latin America is a very strong one albeit one many times misunderstood. Historically, since Bartolomé de las Casas made his relentless indictment of Spain's conquest in regard to the treatment of the Indians, thus giving birth to the "Leyenda negra," Europeans have been accused of invading America, decimating its aborigines, and destroying its original cultures to impose their own as the standard of all that was good and pleasing to their own God. This anti-European sentiment was revived in recent years as a consequence of conjunction with movements to vindicate native Americans, both North and South. There is truth in these charges; the natives were in fact vanquished, their power outstripped, their cults outlawed and obliterated, their monuments destroyed, their values derided. At this time, however, we need to make allowances for the Zeitgeist and put aside useless recriminations. Europeans have since been the most conscientious students and preservers of the remnants of those cultures.

A new race emerged in Latin America that Vasconcelos called "la raza cósmica." This race was formed by intermarriage of the settlers, the native inhabitants, and imported Africans. Our special interest in this conference was the great European influx into Latin America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The theme of this Seminar seeks to acknowledge the contribution of Europeans who left their homes to settle in faraway lands, courageously facing all kinds of hardships and, many times, dangers. Many of these immigrants were fleeing from deprivation, others from political persecution. They were received with open arms as they helped build new cities, cultivate the land. In their pursuit of new horizons they learned new ways and new languages, adapted to different climates, and became productive and loyal members of their adopted countries, without ever forgetting their old ones. Witness of this dual allegiance are the European communities existing in every Latin American country. Their members built schools, churches, and cultural centers; they wrote and they published. They became "acriollados" while retaining their own customs and language as much as possible.

In the second part of this century, large numbers of Latin Americans have in turn migrated from their lands, many toward Europe where they have been received generously and understandably. Too many have fled persecution, or could not live
under regimes that curtailed their freedoms and basic rights. Others tired of systems where inflation and economic stagnation impede advancement, where the lack of technological development frustrates researchers and scientists, and where censorship silences writers and artists.

The theme inspired many interesting contributions. In panels and workshops we examined the impact of Europeans in Latin America and of Latin Americans in Europe. We inquired into the reasons for their migration, how they adapted, and most particularly in what way did their lives and work influence the culture of the receiving countries. Many left their collective mark, others stood out individually. We discussed the phenomenon of intellectual migration, the return of exiles and their reaction to changed circumstances. We discussed immigrants' culture as reflected in literature; the testimony left behind in writings; tales of upward mobility; the plight of émigré scientists; cinematographers in exile; Spaniards in Mexico, Germans in Brazil, British in Argentina. We examined the view of European newspapers regarding Latin America; the matter of how opinion is made.

A panel on preservation and sharing of Latin American materials in microformats took advantage of the unique opportunity that offered itself for librarians from Europe and the United States to personally discuss common interests and widespread concerns.

In order to facilitate the attendance and participation of our Latin American members SALALM offered two travel fellowships to be awarded for the best papers submitted by Latin Americans residing in Latin America. The two award-winning papers are included and so identified. We have also included here four additional submissions. For that reason, and also because some of the presenters never sent us their completed papers, we have had to rearrange their order. The conference program is appended.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut for the excellent local arrangements and successful social functions planned in conjunction with the conference. All members enjoyed the visit to the IAI Library and the traditional "Berliner" hospitality.

Iliana L. Sonntag
Exile and Transculture
Decidimos abordar el tema propuesto desde la realidad argentina, en un enfoque diacrónico que no pretende ser exhaustivo pero sí, al menos, esclarecedor de un fenómeno que nos atañe muy directamente.

En un país como es el nuestro, es un poco difícil marcar los límites de una transculturación. Argentina se integra al concierto del mundo occidental como parte de la Corona Española. Si bien existían, en gran parte de nuestro territorio, tribus en distinto grado de evolución que iban desde el simple nómade predador (Córdoba, Buenos Aires y hacia el Sur del país), al asentamiento de verdaderas culturas regionales totalmente sedentarias (Zona del Oeste, de la frontera con Bolivia hasta Mendoza) de neta influencia incaica, estos grupos no constituían una nación o imperio tal como se dio en Perú o México. Cabrá al colonizador dejarnos una unidad de lengua, religión e instituciones.

El punto de partida de este trabajo ha sido fijado en 1810, fecha de nuestra Revolución. Tampoco en ese momento se puede hablar todavía de la existencia de una cultura o un ser auténticamente nacional pero, por lo menos, ya tenemos una existencia jurídica e institucional como país.

Es importante señalar que la Argentina es en sí un fenómeno de transculturación. Nuestro país no sería tal cual es hoy de no haber mediado la gran masa inmigratoria que llega entre 1850 y 1900. Estos inmigrantes contribuyen a poblar nuestro territorio y a darle su perfil actual.

Hemos tomado las influencias más marcantes en el plano de las letras y las ideas políticas. Son muchos los casos de políticos que descollaron como ensayistas y novelistas y viceversa. En algunos casos es imposible separar los límites de uno y de otro: tal el caso de Sarmiento.

Hasta 1810 el pensamiento predominante es la escolástica, difundida por los jesuitas. Esta línea filosófica permanece vigente aún después de la expulsión de la orden hacia finales del Siglo XVIII. Las ideas modernas son difundidas a partir del gobierno del Virrey Vértiz (1778-1784). Representante del Despotismo Ilustrado, permitió la introducción de libros de pensadores franceses e ingleses. A comienzo del Siglo XIX las ideas liberales
y libertarias ya tienen difusión entre los hombres cultos de la colonia. Hipólito Vieytes propugnará el liberalismo económico desde el Seminario de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio; Mariano Moreno publica una traducción del Contrato Social. Además, los viajes al extranjero de los jóvenes pertenecientes a las clases acomodadas eran usuales y constituían parte de su formación profesional y mundana. Entre 1810 y 1820 se concretan la Revolución, la Independencia y los primeros intentos de organización nacional. En los hombres de Mayo están representadas dos corrientes: una, el pensamiento escolástico, otra, las ideas más radicalizadas de la Revolución Francesa. Entre estos dos polos, que llamaremos de un modo amplio "conservador" y "liberal," se moverán los conflictos internos de la Argentina hasta el día de la fecha. Uno será localista, conservador, dogmático y escolástico. Otro, cosmopolita, liberal, científico y racionalista. Durante este período no es destacable la presencia de inmigrantes que dejen una huella visible. Cabe destacar la actuación del General San Martín que, partiendo de territorio argentino, lleva la lucha emancipadora que culmina con la independencia de Chile y Perú.

Hemos marcado un período entre 1820 y 1835, coincidente con el regreso de Bernardino Rivadavia de Europa y el advenimiento del gobierno de Rosas. El personaje más conspicuo de este momento es Bernardino Rivadavia (1780-1845). Hombre de clara orientación liberal, es el primer gobernante argentino que intenta un plan de organización nacional y logra desarrollarlo en parte. Comisionado, desde 1814 a 1820, permanece en Europa buscando apoyo para la causa nacional. Allí se familiariza con las corrientes filosóficas predominantes. A su regreso, encara una prolífica labor educativa, administrativa y cultural. Es consciente de la necesidad de poner a tono la joven nación con los países más avanzados. Funda la Universidad de Buenos Aires en 1821 y se propone difundir las ideas utilitarias y liberales. De ahí el énfasis en el estudio de las ciencias exactas y naturales. Es reprochable en él, al igual que en muchos liberales que lo suceden hasta el día de hoy, su postura cosmopolítica a ultranza. Esto conlleva la necesidad casi imperiosa de imponer un modelo evolucionado, sin tener en cuenta el sustrato cultural vigente. Se puede decir que en este momento se cimienta la dicotomía liberalismo-antiliberalismo que marca nuestra historia hasta el presente.

Rivadavia, necesitado de educadores, invita a varias personalidades extranjeras, entre otros Mora, Senillosa y Pedro de Angelis. Este último (Nápoles 1784 - Buenos Aires 1859), es el extranjero de mayor relevancia en el ámbito nacional de ese período. Educador y diplomático, su aporte más valioso es la organización de los archivos historiográficos, siendo el primer recopilador serio y metódico de documentos y material publicado en el país. Fue un personaje muy controvertido y atacado porque sistemáticamente cambió de color político, a favor del gobernante de turno.
Entre 1835 y 1852 el Brigadier General Don Juan Manuel de Rosas detenta la suma del poder público. Consolidó la unión nacional apaciguando, o por lo menos neutralizando, a los más fuertes caudillos del interior. En otro plano Rosas representa el triunfo de la causa conservadora y nacionalista. Esto repercute de inmediato en la Universidad fundada por Rivadavia, que es prácticamente desmantelada. Sólo quedan Leyes y Medicina. Hay una vuelta a la escolástica en filosofía. La vuelta al pasado está sintetizada en el título que el se autoimpone: "El Restaurador de las leyes." En su proyecto de país no hay lugar para los letrados. No se incentiva la educación primaria. En las escuelas para señoritas, se da especial énfasis a la religión, la moral y las buenas costumbres, y eventualmente, a la música. Como consecuencia de esta política, los argentinos de alrededor de 30 años, formados en el liberalismo y admiradores de las nuevas corrientes europeas, encontrarán un ambiente adverso a sus ideas y deberán exilarse. Esta es la primera ola emigratoria argentina de trascendencia, por el gran número de intelectuales que se ven obligados a emigrar. Es importante destacar que previo a ese exilio masivo hubo un periodo de relativa tolerancia. Es entonces cuando estos jóvenes se agruparon en instituciones y desarrollaron una línea de pensamiento que alcanzó a germinar plenamente a la caída de Rosas.

Por paradigmáticos, nos detendremos en la trayectoria de tres personalidades: Esteban Echeverría, el primer narrador romántico y el introductor de esta corriente en la Argentina; Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, político y prolífico escritor que usó del ensayo como un recurso proselitista; y Juan Bautista Alberdi, primer gran teorizador en jurisprudencia e inspirador de nuestra Constitución. Esteban Echeverría (Buenos Aires 1805 - Montevideo 1849), viaja a París en 1825, permaneciendo 5 años. El romanticismo marca sus años de estudio en Europa. Regresa en 1830 totalmente imbuido de la prédica romántica de nacionalidad, espiritualismo y amor a la utopía. Es una de las figuras más importantes del "Salón literario" creado en 1837 por iniciativa de un grupo de jóvenes intelectuales, y el inspirador de la "Asociación de la joven generación argentina." Estas dos agrupaciones están inspiradas en las organizaciones de los jóvenes románticos europeos y, como aquéllos, identifican su actividad cultural con un proyecto y una praxis política ligada al futuro de la nación. Echeverría, al igual que la gran mayoría de sus cofrades, debe dejar el país. Esta generación, al participar en forma relevante en la vida pública de los países donde se refugiaron, dejó su impronta de manera visible. Echeverría redacta, a pedido del gobierno uruguayo, un manual de enseñanza moral y es miembro fundador del Instituto Historiográfico de Montevideo.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (San Juan 1811 - Paraguay 1888), el más apasionado de los tres (amigos y detractores lo
llaman "el loco"), el más encarnizado enemigo de Rosas y el de mayor lucidez y habilidad política, llega a ser presidente y concretar su proyecto de país. Desde Chile, donde permanece desde 1828 a 1850 con un breve regreso a San Juan de 1836 a 1840, desarrolla su actividad de escritor y su militancia política en contra de Rosas. En su Facundo, la vida de un caudillo del interior, ya manifiesta lo que será su programa de gobierno. Es sugestivo el subtítulo del ensayo: Civilización y barbarie. Durante su exilio chileno escribe y publica la parte más representativa de su obra. Su aporte como inmigrante se puede resumir en las siguientes actividades significativas: su famosa polémica con Andrés Bello, donde se confrontaron las ideas románticas que aportaba Sarmiento y las posturas clasicistas defendidas por el venezolano. Por encargo del presidente chileno Manuel Montt viaja a Europa en misión oficial de estudios (1845-1848). Uno de los libros resultantes de este viaje se llama De la educación popular. A la impresión europea hay que sumar su viaje a los Estados Unidos en 1864; de allí trae el modelo educativo que aplicará en su presidencia (1868-1874). A pesar de ser obvias, es bueno remarcar las posteriores consecuencias de su deslumbramiento por la civilización que le ocasionaron estos dos viajes.

Durante su actividad como presidente y funcionario público, llegará fácilmente al autoritarismo y a la violencia de la "barbarie"—que él identifica con Facundo y Rosas en 1845—en su afán de imponer su modelo de "civilización." Quizá sea en Sarmiento, primer liberal que lleva adelante en forma exitosa un programa de gobierno, donde se ve de manera más resaltada el fenómeno de transculturación. Planeó y llevó adelante un modelo educativo realmente revolucionario para la época. Lo malogró en parte al ser incapaz de comprender la realidad nacional donde debería aplicarlo. Sarmiento vio los errores, no los aciertos, enfatizó en los vicios y no en las virtudes. Hizo tabla rasa y aplicó un modelo político-cultural encima del sustrato existente. Estos errores se repitieron en los gobiernos sucesivos y las consecuencias políticas se arrastran hasta el día de hoy.

Juan Bautista Alberdi (Tucumán 1810 - París 1884), es el caso más patético de los emigrados de este ciclo. De los casi 64 años de su vida, pasa 46 en el extranjero, parte exiliado, parte en misión oficial. Integrante del Salón literario, a través de Echeverría entra en contacto con las ideas románticas. En su pensamiento también está presente el utilitarismo inglés. En 1838 deja el país y nunca más regresará; su exilio transcurre entre Montevideo, donde ejerce el periodismo, y Chile, donde trabajó como abogado. Después de la batalla de Caseros en 1852, derrocado Rosas, el nuevo gobierno lo envía en misión diplomática a Europa, donde permanece hasta su muerte. A pesar de su ausencia física del país su libro Bases y puntos de partida para la organización política de la República Argentina de 1852 influyó
decisivamente en los legisladores que elaboraron la Constitución de 1853. Su autodefinción, "el ausente que nunca dejó el país," resume de manera vivida el drama del exiliado por motivos políticos. En Alberdi se manifiesta claramente, al igual que en Sarmiento, el deslumbramiento por el modo europeo de vida, la "civilización." Este centrista europeo es característico de esta generación liberal y las que la sucedieron. España y su legado natural, lo nativo, simbolizan el quietismo y el absolutismo monárquico, lo despótico, lo irracional y la ignorancia—encarnados en la figura de Rosas. Europa significará el progreso, la educación, y el triunfo de la razón y de la democracia.

Con la caída de Rosas en 1852 se abre una etapa transcendental en la historia del país. Se concreta la unidad nacional y se plasma el proyecto liberal que prefigura la Argentina moderna, hacia 1915. Con la generación de 1837 el modelo de país queda definido: la educación, las leyes, su perfil e idiosincrasia. El mecanismo implementado es el de sustitución: la barbarie por la civilización, lo hispano por lo europeo. Los hombres que los suceden no innovarán esta línea. Serán más sofisticados y cosmopolitas, más mundanos y frívolos. No deberán sufrir exilios ni persecuciones y sus viajes al exterior serán en misiones diplomáticas e incluso placer. Son los hombres nacidos hacia 1850, la llamada "generación del 80."

La identificación hace prescindible la copia del modelo. Además la inmigración masiva ya es un hecho, la transculturación opera cambios que son visibles en menos de una generación. Las olas migratorias se suceden. Un censo de 1887 arroja cifras por demás elocuentes: más de la mitad de la población de Buenos Aires está constituida por extranjeros. Sobre un total de casi medio millón de habitantes, 209,224 son nativos y 228,651 son extranjeros; de éstos sólo 39,652 son españoles y la gran mayoría italianos. Durante este período se escribe nuestro poema épico: el Martín Fierro de José Hernández. Dicha obra consta de dos partes: La Ida, escrita en 1872, y La Vuelta, 7 años más tarde. En La Ida se detallan las desventuras de un gaucho forzado a integrar los regimientos de frontera para combatir al indio. Esto lo obliga a abandonar a su esposa e hijos. Harto de las injusticias, resuelve desertar y hacerse bandido. Con el paso del tiempo se le une otro desertor, Cruz, y deciden irse a vivir con los indios. Aquí hay un claro alegato del nativo acosado por las fuerzas de la "civilización" que se le impone cohercitivamente, resultando con ello la pérdida de su grupo familiar. Hechas las cuentas Cruz y Fierro no dudan, optan por la barbarie y se adentran al territorio indio en busca de asilo. Ya en La Vuelta, escrita hacia 1870, el protagonista nos narra las peripecias vividas en una toledría india. Sobreviene una peste y Cruz muere. Fierro decide volver a la civilización. En su regreso rescata a una mujer cautiva y juntos emprenden la huida. Este paso implica, de parte de Fierro, la aceptación de las reglas de la
civilización. Tiene un encuentro con sus hijos y luego de darles una serie de consejos, termina enunciando sus habilidades laborales. Estas son las de un labrador sedentario, totalmente diferentes a las del vaquero nómade de la primera parte. El progreso ha entrado al interior del país, hay una revaloración por parte de una víctima de la "civilización" del proceso histórico vivido.

Es necesario destacar que Hernández forma parte del grupo llamado "Hombres del Paraná," un conjunto de intelectuales nucleados alrededor de Urquiza, el caudillo del interior. De este grupo formaban parte, entre otros, el hermano de Hernández, Rafael, y los poetas Carlos Guido Spano y Rafael Obligado. Se opusieron a la política europeísta a ultranza del gobierno de Buenos Aires y a la guerra con el Paraguay (1865-1870). Hernández fue un político de activa labor periodística. Su Martín Fierro está lleno de alusiones y connotaciones políticas a la época en que fue escrito. La importancia de su obra recién será estudiada y analizada en profundidad 50 años más tarde, pasada la euforia europeísta.

Dos franceses dejarán su huella en este período: Amadeo Jacques y Paul Groussac. Amadeo Jacques (París 1813 - Buenos Aires 1865), Doctor en Letras y Profesor de Química; hacia 1843 participa en la elaboración de un manual de filosofía destinado a la enseñanza media que alcanzará gran difusión durante su magisterio en el Río de la Plata. En 1848 crea una revista llamada La liberté de pensar. Con el contragolpe de la derecha monárquica, pierde todas sus cátedras y debe exiliarse. Desembarca en Montevideo en 1852 con un exiguo equipaje compuesto por sus libros y útiles de enseñanza. Un año después, caído Rosas, pasa a Buenos Aires. Una carta de presentación de Humboldt le fue de suma utilidad. Es comisionado en dos expediciones geológicas e hidrográficas al interior. En 1857 es nombrado director del Colegio San Miguel, en la Provincia de Tucumán. Permanece cinco años y renuncia debido a discrepancias filosóficas. Amadeo Jacques intenta ordenar el sistema educativo basándose en nuevas doctrinas pedagógicas; esto lo hace chocar con los docentes de la provincia (las doctrinas escolásticas todavía permanecían activas en el interior). En 1862 Bartolomé Mitre lo designa director del Primer Colegio Nacional, que acaba de fundarse. Al frente de este cargo muere. Quizá el testimonio más vivo de Amadeo Jacques sea el retrato que el escritor Miguel Cané, su alumno en el Colegio Nacional, traza en las páginas de su libro Juvenilia: "... el hombre más sabio que hasta el día de hoy haya pisado tierra argentina..." Fue sin lugar a dudas el extranjero que más profundamente contribuyó para sentar las bases de nuestro sistema educativo al nivel medio. Es notable que, durante su breve gestión en el Colegio Nacional de Buenos Aires, su magisterio contribuyó a la formación de las mayores figuras de la generación del 80.
Paul Groussac (Toulouse 1848 - Buenos Aires 1929), llega a la Argentina a los 18 años y pronto se impone entre los hombres del 80, quienes, amantes del espíritu francés y del mundanismo, le brindarán un generoso espacio en el ambiente intelectual de la época. Nicolás Avellaneda, Ministro de Instrucción Pública de Sarmiento, le asigna tareas docentes en Tucumán y Santiago del Estero. Más tarde, Eduardo Wilde, desde el mismo ministerio, lo nombra Inspector de Enseñanza Secundaria. Su carrera de funcionario público alcanza su cenit con la designación de Director de la Biblioteca Nacional, puesto al que arriba a los veinte años de haber llegado al país y que ejerce hasta su muerte. Si pensamos que personalidades como José Mármol y Jorge Luis Borges han ejercido ese cargo, comprenderemos el grado de integración y de liderazgo cultural alcanzado por Groussac. Como periodista colabora en la redacción de la revista Sud América, que difunde las propuestas del matrimonio civil y la enseñanza laica, bastiones de la política anticlerical del presidente Julio A. Roca (1880-1886). También desde esta actividad cultiva el género biográfico y es introductor de biografías breves de sus contemporáneos en sus célebres "Medallones." Su rigor intelectual, seriedad de investigación y exigencia de estilo depurado y conciso lo convierten en figura señera de sus contemporáneos, dejando una impronta en la historia de la crítica literaria argentina.

Sobre el nacimiento del siglo se empieza a notar la influencia de varios pensadores que es prolongada por cultores del positivismo científico hasta 1925. Creyeron en el determinismo de raza, ambiente y herencia social. Confundieron la herencia colonial con defectos raciales, admiraron lo ajeno y rechazaron de plano lo hispano-indígena. Mientras tanto, el aluvión inmigratorio de los cuatro últimos lustros ya ha dejado su descendencia en nuestro país; en las actividades rurales se mezclan argentinos de tez acriblicada con pelirrojos pecosos. Todos hablan el mismo idioma, tienen los mismos gustos y sus ropas difieren muy poco de las que llevaría el gaucho Martín Fierro y de las que trajo un inmigrante polaco. Si el extranjero debió aprender a domar un caballo y a tirar un lazo, el nativo debió adaptarse a llevar, como parte de su atuendo, además del famoso fajón, la llave california, mucho más práctica cuando se trataba de tensar un alambre o de cortar un alambre de púas. En las reuniones camperas el inmigrante agregará a la clásica guitarra la "verdulera" (una variedad de acordeón). De la mezcla de lenguajes nacerá nuestro lunfardo, y con él, la guitarra y la verdulera, una de nuestras máximas expresiones musicales: el tango.

La literatura no podía permanecer ajena a este sincretismo. Como muestra basten dos ejemplos: La Gringa de Florencio Sánchez, y Los Gauchos judíos de Alberto Gerchunoff. En la obra de teatro La Gringa (1905), de gran suceso en su época, asistimos al conflicto de una pareja de enamorados: Próspero, hijo de un nativo poco amigo del trabajo, y Victoria, hija de italianos.
Pese a la oposición de los padres los hijos logran casarse. Los progenitores no tardan en comprender que no todos los recién llegados son ladrones ni todos los nativos son vagos. En uno de los capítulos de Los Gauchos judíos (1910) de Alberto Gerchunoff (Rusia 1893 – Buenos Aires 1949), asistimos a la historia de Myriam, la hija de inmigrantes que se fuga con Rogelio, su amor nativo, desobedeciendo la autoridad de sus padres. Al optar por su verdadero amor, rechazando el pretendiente de su raza que le habían designado sus mayores, viola un código atávico. El título de la obra es sugestivo. Los judíos, o "rusos" en el habla local, pueden ser tan gauchos como el que más; tan gauchos que resultan ser gauchos-judíos. El autor recoge en esta novela sus experiencias y recuerdos de niñez en la colonia judía de Moisés Ville en la provincia de Santa Fé. El hecho de que Gerchunoff haya nacido en Rusia y sea uno de nuestros más reconocidos escritores y ensayistas–miembro y fundador de la Sociedad Argentina de Escritores–habla en forma por demás elocuente de los cambios culturales que aportó la inmigración.

Los Gauchos Judíos aparece por primera vez en 1910, año del centenario de la revolución. Alrededor de esta fecha aparece un grupo de ensayistas de la llamada "generación de 1910." Rechazan el positivismo y el determinismo histórico, revaloran lo nacional y desdenan el cosmopolitismo y lo europeo. Ya lo nativo, lo indígena, y lo hispánico no son motivos de menosprecio, sino más bien de orgullo. En esta generación tenemos el comienzo de los nacionalismos que se desarrollarán en la década del 30, en un espectro que va desde el fascismo hasta el marxismo. También será el punto de partida de todo el pensamiento revisionista en historia y el origen de la llamada "izquierda nacional." El poeta Leopoldo Lugones es uno de los abanderados de esta nueva causa. En El Payador toma como paradigma de nacionalidad al Martín Fierro; en él se dan la unidad de lengua y raza. En la opinión de Lugones, éste es nuestro poema épico y piedra fundamental de nuestra formación nacional.

En esta época se plantea la reformulación de la educación, para que ésta transmita las esencias de nuestro ser nacional. Punto final de este período es la famosa ley Sáenz Peña, que promulga el voto secreto y obligatorio. En virtud de esta ley Hipólito Yrigoyen llegará al poder en 1916 y con él la primera generación de hijos de inmigrantes, muchos de ellos universitarios y profesionales, accede a la vida pública y a los centros de decisión. Entre 1915 y 1930 se suceden dos gobiernos en períodos completos y uno trunco por un golpe militar. Es una época de optimismo y euforia nacional; nuestro país era el granero del mundo y el peso argentino una moneda fuerte.

Una generación de jóvenes estetas, volcados fundamentalmente a la literatura, irrumpe violentamente en la vida cultural del país. Son llamados los "martínfierristas" por que se nuclearon, en su mayoría, en torno a la revista Martin Fierro
(1924-1927). Adhieren a los movimientos de vanguardia europeos e interactúan con éstos llegando a contribuir, en algunos casos, a la gestación de éstos en el viejo continente. Estos jóvenes viajan a Europa y entran en contacto con las nuevas corrientes artísticas que fusionarán con el nacionalismo incipiente. Ahora no se copiarán fielmente los modelos ultramarinos sino que se recrearán y elaborarán de acuerdo a una idiosincracia auténticamente nacional. Un claro ejemplo de esta nueva actitud es la encuesta que incluye Martín Fierro en su número cuatro, indagando sobre la existencia y características de la sensibilidad y mentalidad argentina. Unen lo criollo y lo cosmopolita, el lunfardo con las más audaces metáforas y caligramas de innegable afiliación con Apollinaire. Promoverán el intercambio (visitan el país figuras como Gómez de la Serna y Marinetti), y la permeabilidad de las culturas, pero con plena conciencia de un perfil argentino. Cuando la Gaceta Literaria de Madrid postula la tesis: "Madrid, meridiano cultural de Hispanoamérica," la reacción de los martinfierristas será firme y polémica. En las respuestas hay algo de hispanofobia heredada (Borges), conciencia de la independencia cultural y repudio al tutelaje intelectual (Ganduglia), y nacionalismo: ". . . nuestro meridiano--magnético al menos--pasa por la esquina de Esmeralda y Corrientes, si es que pasa por algún lado . . ." (Scalabrini Ortiz).

Europa no es el modelo, pero es el lugar de encuentro. Oliverio Girondo, uno de los más representativos martinfierristas, viaja todos los años a Europa entre 1910 y 1920. Jorge Luis Borges cursa en Ginebra los estudios secundarios; aquí entra en contacto con el expresionismo alemán que luego difunde en el ambiente intelectual español. Integra el movimiento ultraísta, y al volver a Buenos Aires, introduce esta corriente en nuestro país. De este período son sus orígenes, sus guapos, su Fervor de Buenos Aires. A pesar de su formación europea busca su inspiración en los distintos ambientes y personajes de nuestra capital. Es importante destacar durante este período la actuación del escritor y ensayista Ricardo Rojas (1882-1957), quien compondría la primera historia de la literatura argentina en cuatro volúmenes: Literatura argentina: ensayo filosófico sobre la evolución de la cultura en el Plata. Rojas es una figura clave en la gestación de la moderna universidad argentina. En 1923 crea el Instituto de Filología de la Facultad de Letras en la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Llama a colaborar con él a los españoles Manuel de Montoliú, Américo Castro y Amado Alonso y al dominicano Pedro Henríquez Ureña. Este grupo de eminentes intelectuales serán los introductores de la lingüística moderna y de la estilística. Si Jacques reformuló la enseñanza secundaria y Groussac arbitró a la intelectualidad de su época, estos humanistas hispanos serán los formadores de una generación de profesores y críticos de relevante actuación en universidades argentinas y extranjeras hasta el día de la fecha.
Con la marcha sobre Roma de Mussolini y sus camisas negras el fascismo arriba al poder en 1922. Esta nueva ideología no tardará en encontrar adeptos en nuestro país. La crisis del año 1929 trae lógicas repercusiones en la Argentina. El 6 de septiembre de 1930 un golpe militar corta con las expectativas del segundo mandato de Hipólito Yrigoyen. La vida constitucional queda alterada por 15 años, y se acaba una época de tolerancia ideológica. Los militares aparecen como un partido político por primera vez en la historia argentina. Muchos intelectuales les darán el apoyo ideológico; algunos defensores del nacionalismo van en busca de ideas extranjeras para reforzar sus posiciones. Las posturas con respecto a la cultura nacional se polarizan. El polémico Leopoldo Lugones será uno de los portaestandartes de este nacionalismo golpista (militarista), que no tardó en encontrar adeptos en otros países. En 1924 se celebra en Lima el centenario de la Batalla de Ayacucho (la batalla definitiva por la independencia de América). Lugones forma parte de la comitiva del General Justo, Ministro de Guerra del Presidente Alvear. Ya en esta oportunidad el poeta manifiesta en forma pública los tiempos que se avecinan: "... Ha sonado otra vez para el bien del mundo, la hora de la espada," dijo Lugones. "... Pacifismo, colectivismo, democracia, son sinónimos de la misma vacante que el destino ofrece al jefe predestinado, es decir al hombre que manda por su derecho de mejor, con o sin la ley, porque ésta, como expresión de potencia, confundése con su voluntad. ..." "La hora de la espada" llegó un 6 de septiembre de 1930.

Un francés nacido en Toulouse--como Groussac--pero nacionalizado uruguayo, difunde por el mundo nuestro tango, y populariza un nuevo modelo de "macho argentino." Es Carlos Gardel.

De 1930 a 1955 nuestro país permanece en un cierto aislamiento, en parte motivado por la Guerra Civil Española y la Segunda Guerra Mundial (1936-1945), en parte por la política del gobierno peronista que no granjeó muchas simpatías en el exterior ni favoreció los intercambios culturales. Este período se caracteriza por la proliferación de pensadores que reflexionan sobre el ser nacional. El revisionismo histórico se encargará de dar vuelta la historia como un guante, mostrando el revés de la trama de la versión liberal. Se revaloriza la imagen de Rosas y de los caudillos federales (prorosistas); nuestra raigambre hispana deja de ser motivo de escarnio.

La crisis económica mundial y el fracaso del modelo liberal de una argentina agro-exportadora sumergen al país en una depresión generalizada que se expresa en el acertado rótulo para la época: "la década infame" (el período entre 1930 y 1945). Un profundo pesimismo impregna desde el pensamiento de ensayistas como Martínez Estrada, Eduardo Mallea, y Rodolfo Kush, hasta la música popular, como son las letras de tango de Discépolo.
Un grupo de pensadores radicales crea FORJA (Fuerza de Orientación Radical de la Joven Argentina), donde se congrega un semillero de ideólogos de la talla de Jauretche y Scalabrini Ortiz. El nacionalismo de FORJA se basa en el revisionismo. De acuerdo a esta visión, la influencia europeizante y "civilizada" de Buenos Aires fue el mayor obstáculo para una independencia política y cultural de Europa. Con su libro Política Británica en el Río de la Plata, una denuncia de nuestro status de semi-colonia, Raúl Scalabrini Ortiz fija los lineamientos generales de esta agrupación. También denuncian otro hecho: si bien los militares que toman el poder en 1930 se dicen nacionalistas, su política económica no difiere en nada del modelo agro-exportador de la "generación del 80," a la que tanto denostaban. Los postulados de FORJA son tomados por el peronismo que, inicialmente, hizo de ellos su bandera.

En el otro polo de la actividad intelectual tenemos a la gente nucleada en torno a la revista Sur, fundada en 1931 por Victoria Ocampo. Permanecen al margen de la actividad política y se encargarán de difundir el trabajo de ciertos escritores y ensayistas nacionales y popularizar la obra de artistas y pensadores extranjeros. Al permanecer apartados de las discusiones sobre lo nacional, este grupo tiene una visión diferente de la cultura europea y no la rechaza. Si bien no se ausentan del país, hay una especie de emigración mental en su apago a la cultura extranjera. Esta actitud del grupo Sur ayuda a que la Argentina se vaya perfilando como país rector en Latinoamérica de una modalidad cultural y estética. Como bien ha hecho notar Emir Rodríguez Monegal en El boom de la novela latinoamericana, varios de estos intelectuales serán los maestros que leerán los escritores del famoso boom en la década del 60. Las elecciones de 1946 los hacen tomar una opción política. Sin excepción se embanderan en contra del peronismo.

La Guerra Civil Española aportó su cuota de refugiados. Influyen fundamentalmente en la vida editorial argentina, y por extensión, en la del mundo hispanohablante. Basten dos ejemplos: Editorial EMECE, fundada en 1939 por españoles emigrados y capital argentino. A partir de 1953 comienza a publicar las Obras Completas de Jorge Luis Borges—hasta ese momento un escritor conocido por una minoría de intelectuales—y lo transforma en un best-seller dentro y fuera del país. Editorial Losada, fundada por Gonzalo Losada, un refugiado de la guerra civil, en 1938, difunde, entre otras, la obra de Saussure (traducida por Amado Alonso); los poetas españoles Rafael Alberti, Vicente Aleixandre, y Federico García Lorca; los franceses Jean Paul Sartre y Albert Camus; y el chileno Pablo Neruda. Gracias a estos editores, la influencia de los intelectuales del grupo Sur se hace sentir fuera de la Argentina "... ademas había un amigo librero, a quien ayudábamos a hacer los pedidos. Cada vez que llegaba una caja de libros de
Buenos Aires, hacíamos una fiesta. Eran los libros de Losada, de Sudamericana, de Sur, aquellas cosas magníficas que traducían los amigos de Borges...." Así recuerda Gabriel García Márquez su juventud de bohemia en Barranquilla, en El olor de la guayaba.

A la caída del gobierno peronista los intelectuales que fueron opositores al régimen son reivindicados (el peronismo los hostilizó de manera bastante grosera, aunque no necesitaron emigrar); tal el caso de Borges, que es designado Director de la Biblioteca Nacional después de la Revolución Libertadora.

De 1955 a 1976 la vida política del país es regida por un exiliado, Juan Domingo Perón. Los gobiernos militares que se suceden de 1955 a 1973--con un lapso de 8 años de gobiernos civiles de mandato incompleto--proscribirán expresamente el peronismo de la vida política constitucional. Este ciclo acaba cuando Lanusse abandona el mandato en 1973 vencido por las circunstancias. En resumen, el eje de los golpes militares que se van sucediendo, derrocaree indistintamente a un civil o a un militar, tiene un solo objetivo: mantener al peronismo proscripto. Así en 1955 la tolerancia del General Lonardi hacia el régimen depuesto motiva su cambio por Aramburu; los tibios intentos de Frondizi por legalizar al movimiento peronista provocan un golpe militar que lo obligará a renunciar. Como resultado de esta política se da un caso insólito en la historia del país: el centro de decisión está en Madrid a casi 20.000 km. de distancia de nuestra capital. Hasta esa Meca deberán viajar todos los políticos que deseen hacer sus alianzas o negociaciones.

En 1956 Fidel Castro invade Cuba y al cabo de dos años logra derrocar a Fulgencio Batista, a los ojos de la intelectualidad latinoamericana de la época el paradigma del dictador. Junto a él, desde los primeros días, cobra notoriedad la figura de un argentino desgarrado e irreverente: Ernesto "Che" Guevara. Sus fotos, junto con su Manual de guerrillas, serán adoptados por grupos dispersos en el continente, hasta el punto tal que la subversión será identificada como "guevarismo." Su muerte trágica, sin darle tiempo de mostrar el fracaso total de su concepción de guerrilla aislada, lo catapultó al Olimpo de la inmortalidad. Como Aquiles, tuvo una vida breve pero gloriosa. Esto ayudó a crear y aumentó su mito de héroe romántico ante los ojos de una generación harta de atropellos y abusos de dictadores militares y huérfana de héroes.

Como ha hecho notar Rodríguez Monegal en el libro ya citado: "... la Revolución Cubana proyecta en sus primeros años una política cultural a escala latinoamericana. Para romper el bloqueo, que no es sólo militar y económico, de los Estados Unidos, Cuba crea una institución: Casa de las Américas, que por algunos años se convertirá en el centro revolucionario de la cultura latinoamericana...." Así la Habana de los 60 pasa a ser el equivalente del París de los 30 para los intelectuales.
latinoamericanos y argentinos. La adhesión casi incondicional de un argentino emigrado, Julio Cortázar, contribuye a prestigiar la Casa de las Américas.


Así como en el período de 1930 a 1955 la tónica dominante fue el nacionalismo, la tónica de la década del 60 al 70 será la de un hispanoamericanismo o latinoamericanismo. Son los años del "boom" de la literatura latinoamericana. Las editoriales argentinas participan de este fenómeno activamente, entre otras Sudamericana, que publica por primera vez Cien años de soledad, de Gabriel García Márquez.

Mientras tanto, en nuestro país ha habido un recrudecimiento del nacionalismo de derecha. Con la llegada al poder del General Onganía en 1966, el partido militar, que inició su actividad con el golpe de Uriburu en 1930, ha llegado a una madurez política: "... El proyecto del onganiato se resume en la pretensión de estructurar un estado de tipo autoritario-tecnoburocrático-represivo. ... El régimen del onganiato busca eliminar todo lo que sea disrupción, corrupción, convocación, enfrentamiento, debate ... suprime el Parlamento y los partidos legales, restringe al mínimo la actividad política, somete al poder judicial y lo relega a un papel instrumental. Censura y acosa los medios de información y los centros de creación cultural y científica. Desata en julio de 1966 un ataque innecesariamente brutal contra las universidades. ..."*

Onganía manda a la fuerza de choque de la Policía desalojar la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Este incidente es recordado como "la noche de los bastones largos" en una clara alusión a la famosa purga de Hitler, "la noche de los cuchillos largos." Esto habla a las claras de la imagen que ha dejado el gobierno de Onganía. La consecuencia inmediata es la renuncia en masa de profesores de la Universidad de Buenos Aires y con ello se inicia el éxodo más importante y masivo de intelectuales en la historia de la Argentina. La secuela de este salvaje episodio es un vacío en el campo de la investigación y la educación que se ha hecho sentir hasta la fecha. Recién en 1985 se está proyectando una política

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de investigación tan ambiciosa como aquélla que quedó trunca en julio de 1966. Este hecho, sumado al deterioro económico de los últimos años, provocó la llamada fuga de cerebros. Muchos intelectuales y científicos desarrollarán la parte más creativa de sus proyectos e investigaciones en los Estados Unidos y Europa, tal el caso de César Milstein, Premio Nobel de Química 1984, actualmente radicado en Inglaterra. Milstein fue uno de los echados por la política de Onganía.

La subversión armada, instigada por Perón, contribuye a acelerar la caída del gobierno militar de Lanusse. A la muerte de su líder, se volverá contra el gobierno constitucional de Isabel Perón. Esta escalada de violencia culmina con el golpe militar de 1976.

Los años que van de 1976 a 1983 serán recordados como los más sanguinarios y crueles de nuestra historia. Los militares que toman el gobierno para acabar con el terrorismo no tardarán en ejercer un terrorismo de estado que superará ampliamente al de aquellos que decía combatir. Una cifra que habla de 8,000 a 12,000 muertos y desaparecidos será el resultado de esta trágica gestión. La emigración de estos años asume un carácter más masivo y abarca un espectro mayor. Intelectuales en general, artistas, periodistas, escritores, psicólogos, dejarán el país para quedarse definitivamente en el extranjero. El peligro esta vez será la desaparición física.

Como punto final de este trabajo podríamos sintetizar las migraciones y sus influencias en nuestro país y en el extranjero en dos niveles: macro y micro.

Macro-inmigración: está dada por la gran masa inmigratoria que desde mediados del Siglo XIX contribuye a poblar y a formar la idiosincracia del argentino actual. En este aspecto se nota la presencia masiva de dos nacionalidades--italiana y española.

Micro-inmigración: está dada por la presencia de intelectuales cuyo paso está marcado en este trabajo y que contribuyeron a crear instituciones, o a desarrollar líneas de pensamiento y metodologías de trabajo.

Macro-emigración: está dada por la fuga en masa de intelectuales por problemas políticos que amenazan tanto al grupo como a su proyecto. Este sería el caso de la generación de 1837, que huye de Rosas, y la de 1966, que deja el país por la política de Onganía.

Micro-emigración: es el caso de las salidas hechas por personalidades relevantes a título individual. Tal el caso de Cortázar o Ernesto "Che" Guevara.

Con respecto a la emigración de 1976 a 1983, consideramos que tiene características mixtas. Emigran grupos políticos, que temen por su seguridad y sobrevivencia, e invididuos decepcionados por la falta de horizontes de trabajo y de la opresión generalizada resultante de un sistema represivo. Hemos marcado a lo largo de este trabajo la "dependencia intelectual," que no
se manifestó con salidas del país, pero sí contribuyó a la transculturación.

A partir de 1983 se ha notado la tendencia de muchos emigrados a regresar, esperanzados con la vuelta del sistema democrático. Otros permanecen por ahora en el extranjero, contribuyendo, en los países que los alojan, al desarrollo de sus actividades específicas. Sólo el tiempo dará la perspectiva histórica para evaluar las influencias que dejarán unos y otros.

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2. DE REGRESO: EL VIEJO Y EL NUEVO PAÍS

Osvaldo Bayer

No besamos la tierra al regresar. El aeropuerto parecía una estación aséptica que recibía a enfermos, o a familiares que venían a visitar enfermos. Los uniformes, los sellos. Una infinita soledad. Desandar después de más de siete años ese último camino de la angustia de aquellos años, de aquel año.

Pregunto al chofer del taxi si se hizo algo nuevo en estos últimos años. Un mercado, me responde lacónicamente. Faltan siete días para las elecciones que tuvo que dar la dictadura. El camino que nos lleva del aeropuerto a la ciudad es sombrío. Era el lugar preferido de las "Tres A" para ultimar a sus víctimas. Pero la primavera no recuerda el horror en su verde. Pero sí la mente, y el paisaje se ensombrece.

Desde el balcón del viejo hotel de la Avenida de Mayo miro con curiosidad a la gente. A mi gente. ¿Cómo será mi gente después de siete años? Por lo menos tienen la misma prisa. ¿Tendrán en su memoria a los desaparecidos, a los torturados? ¿Se preguntarán por los exiliados? Nadie mira al balcón del hotel de la Avenida de Mayo.

Buenos Aires ha perdido su inocencia. No se la puede volver a mirar con los ojos de la infancia. Sus calles han quedado con las marcas de sangre. Para siempre. Sus árboles han sido testigos de la violación; el canto del gallo tiene el grito de la víctima al ser buscada al amanecer.

No es ya ni "mi Buenos Aires querido," ni "Volver." Es el oprobio de su silencio cuando el terror se paseaba libre por las calles. Se había tapado los oídos cuando el llamado de la adolescente y el llanto del niño. Buenos Aires, cueva y guarida abierta de verdugos. Antonio De Benedetto escribirá: "Las calles y las aceras rotas de Buenos Aires muestran el florecimiento de la vergüenza y de la miseria que sembraron estos años de dictadura. Es una ciudad que muestra en sus aceras los impactos del deshonro, de las canalladas, de las persecuciones y de la muerte que albergó en sus calles. Ese es el gran espejo en el que Buenos Aires debe mirarse cada día. En esos baches y en esas heridas que son la manifestación de que algo de orden moral se ha derrumbado. He encontrado mucha doblez moral. Para algunos argentinos ya no existe la palabra dada, ni el pacto, ni la promesa por realizar. Se han maleado en el espejo militar de sus últimos gobernantes, y todo ello puede verse en sus aceras."
Por debajo del balcón del viejo hotel desfilan los triunfadores. Pasan en automóviles tocando bocinas, con toda estridencia. Señores bien vestidos y chicas eufóricas van gritando: ¡Alfonsín! ¡Alfonsín! Tengo un escalofrío. ¿No son los mismos que en marzo del 76 gritaban ¡Videla! ¡Videla! en la Plaza de Mayo y hacían sonar acompasadamente las bocinas de sus autos? Reprimió el mal recuerdo. Hay que empezar a creer en algo. ¿Hay que empezar a alegrarse de algo?

Primera sorpresa del exiliado: desde el presidente al último secretario de estado del flamante gobierno, nadie ha sufrido ni una hora de cárcel ni un minuto de exilio. No hay premios para los luchadores en esta Argentina repentinamente democrática. Pero sí hay chances y posibilidades para quienes saben olvidar, superar el pasado. Comienzan las frases para tapar la boca a los exigentes: "la democracia es una débil planta a la que hay que cuidar mucho y no exigirle demasiado en poco tiempo."

Lo que más sorprende es la falta de autocritica. La incapacidad de llevar luto. Los soberbios príncipes de la iglesia no se equivocaron. Los políticos no se equivocaron. Los militares no se equivocaron. Los beneficiarios del régimen no se equivocaron. Es un país donde nadie se equivocó y hoy festejan todos el triunfo de la democracia. Las víctimas ya no lloran y las locas de Plaza de Mayo acabarán con su molesto oficio.

El 12 de diciembre de 1983 comienza una curiosa simbiosis. Una convivencia de víctimas y victimarios. Y una explicación científica fácil del pasado inmediato: la teoría de los dos demonios. El terrorismo militar fue posible debido al terrorismo de la guerrilla. Teoría justificante lanzada por el Ministro del Interior, Dr. Tróccoli--al lado de Ernesto Sábat--cuando se emitió el "Nunca más." La fórmula es tan simplificadora y perversa como aquella que explicaba el advenimiento del nazismo por culpa del comunismo.

Las locas no se van. Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo seguirán firmes, impertérritas en su marcha de resistencia. Cita eterna: jueves a las 15:30. Son las únicas que no hacen compromisos. Terminarán su andar infinito cuando se les explique qué pasó con sus hijos y se condene hasta el último de sus torturadores y asesinos. Quieren llegar a la verdad, buscan la verdad, no se rinden ni reniegan de la memoria de sus hijos. ¿Es necesario un movimiento así para la República? Sí, es necesario. Representan en su extremismo cauterizante la conciencia alerta contra la Realpolitik, contra esa política de alianzas y compromisos para que todo cambie y no se modifique nada. Primero fueron los aplausos de la democracia para ellas, por su lucha; después comenzó la política de ignorarlas, de evitarlas. Por último, ante su inveterada intransigencia, se comienza ya a insinuar nuevamente el calificativo de locas, el mote usado por la dictadura.
Los exiliados que regresan se van integrando al país, igual que inmigrantes: se pierden en la gran ciudad mostrando sus méritos profesionales logrados en el extranjero. Nada de méritos en la resistencia, eso no interesa a nadie. Lo que vale es tal o cual título, tal o cual experiencia en el comercio, en la técnica, en la cátedra, en el periodismo. El más apreciado es aquel que viene con un proyecto de una fundación partidaria o empresarial, o de una universidad extranjera. Son posibles repartidores de becas, de estudios en el extranjero, panaceas de estudiantes, de futuros doctores, de futuros perfeccionamientos. Esos ex-exiliados con contactos en el exterior son la envidia de los que se quedaron. Los más afortunados producen publicaciones financiadas en el extranjero u organizan seminarios con pasajes y honorarios pagados por organizaciones europeas o norteamericanas, y son bien recibidos, como tios ricos, por sindicatos, partidos políticos, comités estudiantiles o feministas.

Las diferencias antiguas de ideologías se van olvidando. Ahora la competencia es otra. Las ideologías de los países industriales entran a través de los exiliados, antiguos revolucionarios, hoy ya reposados, social-democratizados la mayoría de ellos. La retórica se hace otra. Prudencia es la palabra con mayúscula del discurso. Recuerdo las reuniones de intelectuales exiliados en París, en Alemania Federal, en Barcelona, en Caracas, en Méjico, en los años de la persecución. La esperanza eran las Madres de Plaza de Mayo y el apoyo era total y con voz emocionada, en 1978, 79, 80, 81, 82. Hoy jueves a las 15:30 las Madres marchan como antes. Sólo veo a un intelectual ex-exiliado, tal vez dos. Nadie quiere perderse en el pasado. Las madres vuelven a estar solas, como en 1977. No es "actual" marchar con ellas, es hasta algo de mal gusto entre los intelectuales de moda. En general no se las nombra entre ellos. Alguno que otro se atreve a criticar a Hebe de Bonafini para ganar unos escalones en el consenso.

Desde diciembre de 1983, en la Argentina ha comenzado un proceso de reacomodación más que de democratización, entendiéndolo por esta última palabra no sólo la democracia política sino también la distributiva.

La dictadura de los generales dejó una secuela de heridas profundas en la sociedad. A esas heridas, el rápido y demasiado fácil regreso al orden constitucional las pudo tapar superficialmente, pero supuran por dentro. Como ha sido ejemplo constante en totalitarismos derrotados donde no cambiaron para nada las relaciones de poder ni de propiedad y dependencia, se produce el fenómeno de la sociedad oportunista. Los usufructuarios de las ventajas que daba el poder pasaron alegremente de paniaguados de la dictadura a eufóricos demócratas. Con la llegada de los exiliados y la presentación de los damnificados y las víctimas, se produce entonces una colisión. El gobierno constitucional llegado al poder no por una revolución sino por la propia convocatoria de
los militares, comienza la búsqueda del equilibrio entre esa sociedad oportunista que no se ha movido un ápice de sus posiciones, y las víctimas, a las cuales--impostergablemente--tiene que dar satisfacción, no sólo por el derecho ético sino también por el prestigio propio y la repercusión internacional.

Para llevar a cabo este equilibrio se eligió a gente ambigua. Que había colaborado pero no tanto o que había colaborado al principio y luego se había distanciado, o por lo menos que habían pasado la dictadura sin menoscabos de su libertad y fortuna.

El resultado fueron graves pecados contra la democracia, entre ellos, la ratificación del noventa por ciento de los jueces de la dictadura; el ascenso de oficiales de las fuerzas armadas implicados en la represión y en la quema de libros; mantenimiento de presos políticos condenados por jueces de la dictadura militar; en los medios de comunicación estatales se dejó a la casi totalidad de quienes tuvieron en sus manos la propaganda del régimen militar. Si bien es cierto que el de Alfonsín es el primer gobierno que condena a prisión perpetua a dos militares no es menos cierto que es el gobierno que ha dejado sueltos a más represores y asesinos.
3. INTELLECTUAL-CULTURAL MIGRATIONS: AN ARGENTINE PERSPECTIVE

Lyman Chaffee

An Introductory Statement: The Problem

Argentina, it is said, is the Latin American country that most prides itself on its Europeanness. That may be true for the proponents of this identity, but it is only a partial truth and a misinterpretation of historical traits. It is true that Argentina's European roots run deep and provide a persistent cultural pattern that pulls and renews Argentina's links to the Old World which were particularly strong from 1880 to 1930 when unrestricted European immigration prevailed and Europeanness seemed unchallengeable. The carriers of this heritage are strongest today within the middle class represented by one of the two dominant political parties, the Radicals. However, Europeanism (or Internationalism) is only one intellectual-cultural (hereafter referred to as I-C) heritage that burns in the Argentine soul. There is a second heritage, an antithesis to Europeanism, a reactive trait that seeks to establish as dominant a unique criollo identity. It is the nationalistic view. Criollo-nationalism is a blend of the fascist-monarchical tradition of Europe and of the caudillo-Rosas-Church authoritarianism of Argentina's immediate postindependence period. Often associated with the less sophisticated, inferior gaucho mentality, it has strong roots today within the working class, and is represented by the second of the main political parties, the Peronists. The nationalistic view equates Europeanism with internationalism and liberalism, which it perceives as perversions of national identity and consciousness, obstructions to the development of the indigenous culture. At times this nationalistic trait creates a xenophobic and isolationistic mentality.¹

Author's Note. Much of the general information pertaining to the discussion of the brain and artistic drain, and the particulars of recent cultural achievements come from the columns of the major newspapers of Buenos Aires. The major papers, especially Clarín, give extensive coverage to Argentine cultural accomplishments, and the topic of the brain drain has been a major concern that surfaces during periods of democratic rule.

The political framework for the essay comes from my general study of the Argentine political system during the last fifteen years.
Thus there are two heritages or identities struggling for Argentina's soul which express themselves in a nationalistic versus international or populist versus liberal debate on the nature of what society should be. Argentina has not yet resolved this identity crisis; there has not been an accommodation or blending of the two, nor has one heritage surrendered to the other. Argentina has become a country exemplified by contradictions and dichotomies, the latter expressed in the nation's inability to come to terms with its own value system. The dichotomy becomes politically evident in the struggle of competing core value systems, democracy versus authoritarianism, with its concomitant side effects, tolerance (liberalism) and intolerance, rationalism and irrationalism, nationalism and internationalism. The tremendous consequences for the I-C life of the nation are the central focus of this paper.

The Argentine dichotomy manifests itself culturally in cycles of I-C renaissance (under political liberalism) and I-C decay (the result of political repression). The nationalistic-internationalistic dichotomy does not necessarily have to be mutually hostile, but in Argentina it has been. Although both the internationalist and nationalist sectors take pride in the international recognition of Argentine accomplishments, the nationalist sector tends to be restrictive and tolerate only those I-C developments which fit into its ideological scheme. Accomplishments that do not promote the State ideal are considered expendable and expunged; they are deemed subversive and therefore detrimental to Argentina's sociocultural identity. The position is typical of those regimes structured around a strong national ideology; the fascist states of Spain and of Italy would fit this category as would communist Soviet Union. In Spain the result was severe I-C decay, whereas Soviet society, because of its long tradition of encouraging I-C activities, has been able even with the restrictions and purges to continue to turn out quality representatives of I-C development. Argentine society is more analogous to the Soviets in this respect as it is a magnet for I-C development. But Argentine society is bedeviled by political leaders attuned to the nationalist sector who at times pursue unsophisticated policies designed in the name of cultural imperialism to stamp out what is seen as foreign dependency. These policies have detrimental consequences in general and for the internationalists in particular. The nationalist sector at times is so anxious about foreign dependency that it has combated internationalism through political repression, state terrorism, and censorship. The consistent urge to purify comes from both the nationalistic right and the nationalistic left and manifests itself most stridently during authoritarian periods.

The authoritarian right has been the most responsible in Argentina for attacking and repressing on a massive scale the I-C developments that it connects with foreign models. The right is responsible for this purification because it has held the reins of
power, not the left. But the nationalistic left has the same proclivities; each has its posture on what is correct for Argentine society, and each has its own view of what influences and what I-C developments are foreign and therefore improper. For example, in the '60s the left attacked the development of the Di Tella Cultural Center in Buenos Aires which sought to promote cultural and intellectual development by its sponsorship of a forum and center for these activities. Because monies came from international foundations, the center was judged by the left as imperialist. In the universities the same social pressure by the left prevailed, and many outstanding professionals, exhausted by the constant conflict and intolerance, sought positions abroad. In the early '70s the left developed a popular base around an antimilitary theme and used its power to attack socially those individuals who promoted "imperialistic" ideas. Some leftist factions even selectively used terror as a form of intimidation. So social intolerance is deeply rooted in the policies of both the left and right in Argentina. It is demonstrated in this paper that such irrationalism has had traumatic consequences for Argentina, limiting the full development of her cultural and intellectual creativity.

An Elaborated Sociopolitical Perspective

Argentina in general, and its city of Buenos Aires in particular, has for several generations considered itself to be the cultural, so-called enlightened center of Latin America and the most sophisticated nation on the continent, a claim made manifest by its progressive ideas and cultural sophistication. It had its cultivated roots in the governing generation of the 1860s, when in a reaction to the harsh and parochial authoritarianism of the General Rosas era, Argentina looked abroad for new ideas and sophistication in order to give the nation a more tolerant and progressive environmental setting. Internationalism was to be a European inundation designed to overwhelm what they viewed as the barbarism of criollo culture manifest in the postindependence Rosas period and to set Argentina on the road to a new and more sophisticated identity. A transplanted Europe on Southern Hemisphere soils was the goal. The proponents of internationalism extracted from France and Italy their idolatry of high culture, and from Great Britain came new ideas on economics, education, and democracy. To pursue their economic developmental ideas and to subdue the "nativist barbarism," this generation came to the conclusion that Argentina needed manpower to populate the nation, so European immigration was encouraged. The nation turned to two main sources, Italy and Spain. Thus, four European countries directly influenced Argentina in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: France, Great Britain, Italy, and Spain. German influence was added later, especially Prussian scientific and militaristic traditions.
Culturally, the city of Buenos Aires and its elites emulated European currents of style and thought. Buenos Aires was titled "the Paris of South America" because of its rich, cultured night life and its sophisticated architectural style. The Colon Theater was constructed to indulge the Italian taste for opera, and theaters, movie houses, and cabarets proliferated. International figures such as writer José Ortega y Gasset and Waldo Frank visited Buenos Aires. Journals were founded to bring the latest tastes and fashions from the Old World. In the I–C dimension Victoria Ocampo spearheaded the international literary tradition for fifty years in her journal Sur. Beginning in the '20s she became one of the cultural giants of Argentine society, an important intellectual facilitator who provided the bridge for cross-fertilization of European and Latin American ideas and influences. Through her Argentine salon in the Buenos Aires suburb of San Isidro and her literary journal Sur, a dominant force in Argentina for more than thirty years, she introduced European writers and cultural trends to the Latin world, and made it possible for young Latin writers to find an audience on the Continent. These developments were but several examples of the ideas and influences that promoted internationalism in Argentina.\(^3\)

Politically, the international heritage adopted ideas that blossomed around a commitment to democratic ideals and public education. Taking its cue from European influences from France and Great Britain, Argentina, along with Chile and Uruguay, developed a political tradition that was progressively liberal and democratic. Up to 1930 Argentina was on the development track that political scientist Samuel Huntington would characterize as a lineal progression of democratic development. For seventy years liberal ideas were nurtured, but the liberal roots were not able to withstand the pressures of the great economic depression and the new authoritarian ideas and currents of twentieth-century central Europe. Challenged by a resurgence of nativism, Argentina succumbed in 1930 to a modernized version of its Manuel de Rosas roots, inaugurating an era of militarism, antiliberalism, nationalism, and criolloism.

First, an antiliberal conservative elite dominated the political system. In 1943 conservatism began to give way to a mass-oriented, antiliberal reform movement which had its origins within the military. Popularism breathed new life into antiliberal authoritarianism and gave criollo nationalism a recognized political base. Juan Perón provided the crucial leadership for this development, and his movement became one of the politically dominant sectors for the next forty years. By no means did the liberal traditions die; they were repressed by the ravages of authoritarianism, first by a conservative elite, then by a mass-based movement, and finally by the vicious neofascist military elite of the '60s and '70s. Liberalism had to struggle to survive
through these twists and turns and sundry manifestations of anti-liberalism. It surfaced for brief periods to regenerate between authoritarian governments.

Juan Perón was a military careerist; he observed and cultivated his ideas while in Italy on diplomatic assignment and training during the '30s. He saw the effects of extending political participation to the masses, understood its relevance as a vehicle for creating greater political leverage, and was fortunate and shrewd enough to seize the opportunity when the moment presented itself. He made the experiment a political success in Argentina. The Peronist movement then came to represent one of the core value systems, a modern, updated version of authoritarian criolloism. The value system of authoritarianism and criolloism had two strains: an old, upper class, landed, elite-based conservatism linked to the military, and a new mass version resting upon working class elements. A post-Perón military elite version, linked to the landed elite, and reactive to the populism of Perón, became the most repressive practitioner of authoritarianism. The liberal, Europeanist tradition and its core value system lived on, revolving around the Radical party.

The inability to evolve a citizen consensus on the core value system has resulted in a state of permanent crisis in the political system since 1930. The nation has oscillated between its two contradictory views. This has had tremendous consequences upon the I-C development of the nation which was so nurtured from 1860 to 1930 and so frightened by the nation's political proclivities since. As the nation swung back and forth between liberalism (democracy) and authoritarianism, the victims have been the intellectual and cultural elites who do not fit into the scheme of authoritarian regimes. They have been purged, repressed, and forced into exile.

Consequently, Argentina has become characterized as a country of emigrants, refugees, and exiles. A curious proposition could be made that this phenomenon has (1) acted as a stimulus for I-C development and enrichment and (2) contributed to the spread of Argentina's I-C contributions for these people are carriers of a transplanted culture. With an elevated number of "nationals," Argentine ghettos have formed in the adopted countries. Each ghetto has become a microcosm with universal values as the people's ties have become stretched among various cultures. But it may be hypothesized that each community is particular in itself for it absorbs the cultural experience and drama of each adopted nation. It's the same phenomenon that occurred in the multiple Jewish communities throughout the world; there was a universal Jewishness and heritage, but over the centuries a particularity evolved in each community which gave differing traditions within the universal. This phenomenon may be occurring on a lesser scale with Argentines who view
themselves as Argentine-French, Argentine-Spanish, Argentine-Italians, Argentine-Mexicans, Argentine-Brazilians, and so on. Two consequences result from this evolution. First, these communities maintain an interest in Argentine I-C development and try to introduce and promote its currents on the soils of their adopted countries. They create demands for the consumption of Argentine culture and it slowly gets absorbed into the local culture. Absorption acts as an agent for further development as popularity brings international status to Argentina's I-C contributions, very much like the popularity of Italian opera which followed in the footsteps of the Italian emigrant communities. The second consequence, which acts in a reverse way for the added enrichment of the development of Argentine I-C life, is that the emigré community absorbs new ideas and influences, experiences new emotions and ways of viewing the universal world. The emigrés through continued links with their culture act as the conduit back to Argentina for new trends and enrichment and this further stimulates Argentine I-C development. Furthermore these communities are outlets for development because the repressiveness at home hampers the full flowering of creative energies on Argentina's native soil. The Argentine diaspora provides the psychological refuge and environment for the continued evolution of I-C development. A third consequence is the enrichment for the host country itself, for the process is a two-way conduit. Through forced and voluntary exile the Western democracies of Europe, the United States, and Latin America have received the talents from the Argentine brain and artistic drain. For example, where would modern-day French artistic tradition be without Picasso? Spain's loss was France's gain. 4

One phenomenon that needs research and explanation is the reason for the tremendous resiliency and resourcefulness of Argentina's I-C life despite the purges, harassments, and censorship. "Cultural decay" may not be the correct term to use to convey the forces at work; the political repressions, it seems, have only visually pushed these developments from public view and channeled them underground. The diaspora, the underground, and the political openings that allow for the periodic cultural renaissance have kept alive the process, making the nation's I-C life resilient. The entrenchment of the I-C heritage in Argentine society has made it difficult for political leaders to eradicate them. In Chile and El Salvador, for example, the right has nearly eliminated I-C life either through violence or forced exile. There the I-C life, forced underground, is relatively inactive out of fear that participation would bring political consequences. While this irrationalism of the Latin American right is a persistent trend in the rest of the continent, it has been only partly successful in Argentina because a strong middle-class presence keeps it alive despite obstacles and adversity. An interesting question to speculate upon is what Argentine I-C
development would have been if it had been properly nurtured politically and allowed to evolve to its fullest extent. One might hypothesize, however, that adversity in its own right is a stimulus to I-C development. In Argentina political repression has certainly provided themes and material for film, theater, and literature, but I contend the costs have been too high, more negative than positive. An example is Spain under Franco; her best minds and cultural practitioners were lost, either killed, repressed, or driven out and nurtured on foreign soils. The Spanish right was more effective than the Argentine right in that repression was so long and persistent that in Spain rebirth will be a lengthy evolutionary process. Spain, a country that should have provided the cultural inspiration for Argentina because of the heritage links, proved impotent; the Argentines turned more to France for I-C inspiration.

The historical periods most regressive for I-C development in Argentina were the "Infamous Decade" of the '30s; the first Peronist period, 1945-1955; and the periods of military rule, 1955-1958, 1967-1973, and 1976-1983, each becoming progressively more brutal. The "Infamous Decade," while restrictive politically, still professed a certain I-C richness. High culture thrived, as did the popularity of the tango under the king of its golden era, Carlos Gardel. Other art forms such as films and writing suffered from the censorship and restriction of the era. And a certain psychopolitical turn occurred: for the first time in modern Argentine history, immigration, the carrier of universal ideas, was legally restricted. It signaled a turn inward for Argentina. Thus began the struggle between two points of view over the country's identity and links: universalism or isolationist nationalism.

The Peronist period had some negative and positive consequences for I-C development. The political era was based upon integrating the masses into the system by extending political participation to the working class. The regime promoted the political ideas of nationalism and the glorification of the state-nationalism was viewed as a dysfunctional force. Argentina turned inward and found inspiration in her folklore tradition, especially in her music and literature. The roots for this trend came from the country's interior regions, from old traditions that had earlier lost popularity to the power of Europeanism. Today Argentine folkloric musical tradition has broad recognition and acceptance both domestically and internationally as does the literary epic poem Martin Fierro.

But the Peronist era carried with it strong irrational and anti-intellectual trends. A shutdown of intellectual life occurred and Argentina was cut off from the intellectual currents of the world. High culture suffered dramatically; artists who had international ties or those who were not enthusiastic supporters of the Peronist movement were branded antinational social subversives.
Stalwart figures such as Victoria Ocampo and those associated with her spent time in the Peronist jails. But most devastating was the anti-intellectualism and its most important manifestation, the purge of the educational system, especially the university faculties. A trend had started which played havoc with the intellectual development of the nation for years to come. Each change of government brought with it the stated political right to replace personnel, and individuals within the educational system who were considered not ideologically sound suffered the consequences with each succeeding government. It was estimated that two-thirds of the university personnel were purged by the Peronist regime, driving into exile many of the best minds in the humanities and sciences. It was the first brain-drain wave to besiege Argentina. The result was that the intellectual class and the students became anti-Peronist. Thus began the cycle of purges within the educational system each time governments changed. In 1955 Peronists were purged when Perón fell and at the beginning of military rule in 1967 a serious "cleansing" took place. In 1973, at the beginning of the second Peronist period, 1973-1976, the Peronists claimed they had a right to place Peronist faculty in educational positions because they had suffered purges for the past twenty years. In 1976, with the resurgence of the ultraright and the military, Argentina began her darkest hour as the intellectual and cultural elites were direct targets of the extermination policies of the "dirty war" which claimed 30,000 lives.

The "dirty war" was the end result of the military's evolutionary development of its national security doctrine, a doctrine that had definite views on how society should be organized. There were two recent periods of military rule, 1967-1973, and 1976-1983. The first, headed by Carlos Onganía, tried to model his regime after Franco of Spain. This brand of nationalistic authoritarianism attempted to purify the country of certain cultural and intellectual trends. The universities suffered first as many individuals were immediately purged within the first months of assuming power; the rationale was to rid the educational institutions of Marxist and left-wing intellectuals. And censorship was enforced, seriously affecting the film and literary industries. Most manifestations of popular culture such as the street craft fairs and street entertainment were repressed. Other artistic and intellectual manifestations were severely controlled, and many went into exile.

The Onganía junta was only the prelude to the devastating purification policies by the ultraright regime of 1976-1983. The ultraright's onslaught actually began during the preceding regime of Isabel Perón, who replaced her husband as president when he died in 1974. The ultraright captured Isabel's imagination, and under the direction of José López-Rega, Minister of Social Welfare, paramilitary ultraright groups started a campaign of
terror aimed at the I-C left which included many the ultraright considered subversive and dangerous. Artists and intellectuals fled the country. The campaign by the ultraright had its greatest ferocity under the 1976 military regime that replaced Isabel. Terming the period "el Proceso," the military and security forces carried out the "dirty war" against the citizenry, a war of extermination that haunted the nation; torture and assassination became common. Intellectuals, students, artists, Jews, writers, leftists, and professionals became special targets; the universities suffered as curriculum was revised and such disciplines as psychology and sociology were eliminated. The popular culture of sports was emphasized.

The analysis painted of the political obstacles that Argentine I-C development has faced is fairly bleak, and it is therefore remarkable that Argentina has been able to maintain the level of accomplishments she has. But it has been costly. Those who have been enriched are Europe and the United States. Although Europe sent many immigrants to Argentina in the early part of the twentieth century who contributed to the richness of her development, now the movement has reversed itself. Europe and the United States have received many of the most talented artists and best Argentine minds, the result of a hemorrhage caused by the country's intolerance and repression.

There are two reasons, then, for European recognition of the richness of Argentina's I-C development. First, the political reason. Her political problems draw world attention to Argentina and bring to Europe many of Argentina's best artists and intellectuals who emigrate to survive. These emigrés form a mini I-C world of Argentine expatriates which generates interest in her I-C developments in the host country. Second, the heritage reason. Argentina shares a common heritage with Europe, and there is a natural cultural and intellectual link between Europe and Argentina which creates an underlying interest regardless of political developments. Recognition of Argentine culture runs deepest in four European countries: Italy, France, Germany, and Spain. Ancestral ties with Spain and Italy are greatest, but Spain in the contemporary era was not the country in Europe most receptive to Argentine I-C developments because of Spain's sordid history of political abuse and censorship. It has changed in the past decade as an interesting historical juxtaposition occurred which placed Spain back into the forefront of I-C links with Argentina. The demise of the Franco era and the resultant democratic opening in Spain which inaugurated an era of tolerance and a blossoming of intellectual life occurred just at the time the brutal "Proceso" era began in Argentina. For the first time in decades it enabled political refugees to find solace in Spain. Spain then became an important receptacle for the I-C drain occurring in Argentina and these links were reinforced with the reestablishment of democracy in Argentina in 1983. For the first
time in fifty years a normal exchange and tolerance now became possible between Argentina and Spain.

Argentina: Cultural and Intellectual Exports

The discussion thus far has dwelt on some of the general systemic problems that have affected Argentine I-C developments. In this section I discuss the specifics of international recognition won by some Argentines, individuals who are either acclaimed abroad for their outstanding contributions or who have gained recognition while living abroad. It is beyond the scope of this paper to cover all the individuals or the total panorama of Argentina's I-C achievements. The aim is only to point out through the exposition of certain individuals that Argentina has an impressive international reputation, especially in Europe.

One of the persistent themes discussed in Argentina, confined mostly to periods of liberalism, is the brain drain. Several causes for this drain have been given: the economic crisis of the past twenty-five years has not provided adequate research support and technological training, higher salaries paid abroad for professionals, and political causes. My central focus here is the political dimension of this drain. The repression and antiliberal tendencies in Argentina in recent decades have culminated in an emigration estimated to range from 800,000 up to 2.5 million, although any figure cited is without a scientific basis. No one knows the full extent of this emigration. It is known, though, that the expatriates include many of the most capable and productive individuals, persons who have won recognition for their work. A recent public opinion poll revealed that seven million more Argentines, 25 percent of the population, would emigrate to another country if the opportunity presented itself, an astounding reversal for a country blessed with millions of immigrants who came uneducated and unskilled to a country that offered opportunities. Now their sons and daughters, well educated and technically prepared, are emigrating. Their exodus is for many reasons. A good example would be the policies started in 1966 by the Onganía military government which prohibited any individual from obtaining a scientific post without clearance by the national security forces. It meant that the military determined the ideological context for scientists working in Argentina and forced many to seek employment abroad.6

The newspaper Clarín published a list of the countries of destination where some of the most prominent minds have emigrated along with numerical estimates. The percentages are incomplete because the Spanish and Italian figures are under-represented for the reason that these two countries consider the sons and daughters of their immigrants to have legal status as citizens if they return. Therefore they are not considered foreign residents. The United States heads the list with 25 percent, Spain, Venezuela, and Israel each has 11 percent,
France 10 percent, and Brazil 8 percent. The list is broken down into fields such as mathematics, biology and medicine, physics and chemistry, and social sciences. Some of the prominent names are: César Milstein, Nobel Prize winner in chemistry who left Argentina in 1966 at the beginning of the Onganía military regime for political reasons; Francisco A. Grumbach, professor of applied mathematics at the University of California, Berkeley; Luis Angel Cafarelli, professor of mathematics at the University of Chicago; Carlos Kening, professor of mathematics at the University of Chicago; David Sabatini, director of molecular biology at New York University and member of the National Academy of Sciences; Gregorio Poljak, director of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, head of Inmunología Estructural del Institut Pasteur de Paris, the first researcher to resolve the tridimensional structure of an enzyme; Gregory Weber, specialist in the physics-chemistry of proteins at the University of Illinois, member of the National Academy of Sciences; Hirsch M. Gerschenfeld, professor of neurobiology at l’Ecole Normale de Paris, president of the Academia de Neurociencias de Europa; Fernando Noteboom, professor of neurobiology at Rockefeller University; Osías Stutman, director of immunobiology of the Sloan Kettering Cancer Institute and professor at Cornell University; Leo M. Falicov, chair of the department of physics at the University of California, Berkeley; Daniel Amati, director of Centro Europeo de Investigaciones Nucleares in Geneva; Mario Bunge, physicist at McGill University, Canada, specialist in the philosophy of the sciences, author of more than 300 scientific works; Víctor Alessandrini, professor of atomic physics at the Université d’Orsay, France; Tulio Halperín Donghi, professor of Latin American history at the University of California, Berkeley and considered the preeminent Argentine historian today; Sergio Bagú, researcher on industrialization and economic development at the Universidad Autónoma de México, author of many works; Miguel Murmis, specialist on agrarian sociology at the University of Toronto; and José Luis Corradi, sociologist at the University of New York.7

Gino Germani, deceased, professor of sociology at Harvard University and father of Argentine empirical sociology, is an apt example of the result of the intolerant social and political pressures endemic to Argentine society which causes the I-C drain. He went into self-imposed exile at Harvard after being hounded by the Catholic right because sociology questioned traditional values and by the left because of his links with "imperialism" and his lack of a Marxian perspective.8

Many other names could be added to this list for it contains the names of only some of the most prominent professionals. The inability of Argentina to retain its best and brightest is one of the developmental bottlenecks for a nation rich in natural and
human resources, a country having all the potential requisites of a developed nation.

Despite all the political and economic problems facing the professional and the intellectual, several independent research institutes and think tanks have established themselves in Argentina, attracting outstanding scholars and winning international recognition. Two of the most important research centers are the Instituto Di Tella and Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES). Torcuato Di Tella, leader of the institute, is an internationally recognized scholar on the Argentine political system and on labor. At CEDES, Guillermo O'Donnell, through his theoretical works, has established himself as one of the most eminent political theorists on Latin American politics; he is credited with developing the concept of the bureaucratic-authoritarian state, one of the most important theoretical developments to come out of the Latin American social sciences in the last two decades.

One Argentine commitment to education is reflected in its highly literate population and tradition of reading as pointed up in its publishing industry. This industry is an important societal structure that enhances the reputation of Argentina's intellectual and cultural exports. But it is an industry now mortally wounded by the legacy of the political and cultural policies of past dictatorships and by the economic crises. For decades, Buenos Aires was the publishing center of the Spanish world, envied because of the magnitude of its production and the quality of its published works. The Spanish civil war and the coming to power of Francisco Franco devastated the hegemony Spain had in the Spanish world; Buenos Aires filled the void as other Latin American countries did not have the technological and the financial resources to challenge Argentina. And Argentina exported many of her books to Spain. The peak of Argentina's reputation was reached in 1953 with the publication of fifty million books, a sum that declined in 1984 to thirteen million. And yet, even today with all the past adversity there are more than thirty-five publishing houses. The historical importance of this industry is that it has served as a conduit for recognition abroad for Argentine writers, artists, ideas, and other manifestations of culture. It meant that one could be published in Argentina. This helped to stimulate local talent, to introduce them to the public and the international community, as well as to bring the international community to the Argentine citizenry.

As significant as the book publishing industry has been, equally if not more important in terms of stimulating and enhancing Argentina's impact in the international intellectual world is her historical development of literary journalism. The early establishment in Argentina of a literary journal served as a forum and outlet for writers and critics. It stimulated interest in literature and writing and facilitated an exchange of literary ideas
and forms by recording trends in intellectual history and by providing a forum for the debate on the role of the artist in contemporary society. Literary journalism, moreover, enhanced the development of the writers' estate in Argentina, put the estate into contact with the international literary community, and provided a record for scholars and interested parties who wished to study the literary figures of the time, a valuable national treasury for revisionist perspectives. This history is especially important for authors not given their due recognition in their era.

Victoria Ocampo was an early influential figure in literary journalism as director of the literary journal Sur which played a dominant role for forty years after its founding in 1931. Sur set the foundation for quality literary journalism in Argentina; its prestige derived from international modernist expression. Furthermore, in the literary field a number of Argentine writers have won various degrees of international recognition. Ernesto Sábato, political activist and writer, is well known on his native soil and in Spain where he was awarded the Cervantes Literature prize for his outstanding literary accomplishments. Two of the most internationally renowned men of Argentine letters are Jorge Luis Borges and Julio Cortázar. Cortázar chose the Paris expatriate community for his residence and became famous for his novels. Borges, the dean of Argentine letters, who is often mentioned as a possible Nobel Prize winner for literature, tolerated the negative Argentine sociopolitical environment and wrote in his native land. Less influenced by international trends, his genius rested in developing one of the literary styles unique to Latin America which has won international acclaim. Antonio Di Benedetto, outstanding journalist and figure of the Argentine narrative, is winner of some twenty international awards for his novels and short stories which have been translated into twelve languages. He was detained in his native land by the military, then sought exile in Spain. Manuel Puig, member of a new generation of Argentine writers, is author of The Kiss of the Spider Woman which has won international attention as a film. His books were banned by the military and he wrote in exile. Owing to the military's repression, Griselda Gámbaro, outstanding playwright, had to choose exile in Spain in the '70s where she was able to write and produce as the nation began its democratic process.

Artistic creation is a complex testimony of its times and nowhere more applicable than in the film industry. Whereas literary journalism provided an updating for the formation of the sociocultural process in the literary arts, the Argentine film industry could not. Early on Argentina established a strong film industry but its full creative potential never developed as it could have owing to the sociopolitical climate. Probably no field of
artistic endeavor is more susceptible to authoritarian restrictions than is the film industry. In Argentina it was eviscerated by censorship and repression, some of the most creative talents in the industry forced into flight. The industry, though, has shown flashes of brilliance. What the industry could have been historically if allowed a degree of nurturing can be seen in the talent that has evolved within the expatriate community and at home during the few periods of artistic freedom. Some Argentine directors made names for themselves outside the country while others waited for opportunities to reopen and reaped their rewards quickly in the periods of unrestricted artistic expression.

 Probably owing to the adverse sociopolitical environment, national themes and social introspection have provided the material for the films today which have won domestic and international acclaim. These films have probed some important historical questions and present a strong political message combined with an examination of Argentine society. The phenomenon is much like the new Australian films which have won international recognition through national themes. Given the different political traditions of Australia and Argentina, the Argentine themes have a much stronger political orientation than do the Australian national theme films. For example, in the present cycle of artistic freedom, the theme of state terrorism and authoritarian rule have provided material which has served as a catharsis for the Argentine citizenry as they reexamine their society. These issues have universal appeal as they are germane to today's world.

 One Argentine director who has gained international fame is expatriate Hector Babenco who has established himself within the Brazilian film industry. His dramatic depiction of the social life of poor youngsters from favela society in Brazil in the film Pixote earned him international honors. His film The Kiss of the Spider Woman, based upon a novel by Argentine writer Manuel Puig, has won several international awards and was one of the five best pictures nominated for an Academy award. It won an Oscar for best actor. The Official Story, one of the most popular films in Argentina during the 1985 season, won many European film festival awards including best actress award at the prestigious Cannes film festival. It was nominated for an Academy award as one of the five best foreign language films and won. In 1984 the internationally acclaimed Argentine film Camila was one of the five nominees for an Academy award in the category of best foreign film. Other Argentine films that have given the film industry international prestige are Los chicos de la guerra, Cuarteles de invierno, Darse Cuenta, En retirada, El juguete rabioso, La Patagonia Rebelde, No habrá más penas ni olvido, which won an award at the Berlin film festival in 1983, and El rigor del destino, which was awarded a prize at the International Moscow Festival. Since the democratic opening in December 1983, Argentine films have won more than forty international awards.
Other individuals to note: Edgardo Cozarinsky, film producer, who left Argentina a decade ago and established a reputation in France; Rodolfo Kuhn, another expatriate, who left a decade ago and was able to find a home in Spain as a film producer; Adolfo Aristarain, who is involved in both television and film production in Spain; Octavio Getino, scriptwriter for the film La hora de los hornos and today a film producer, who was exiled a decade ago and today resides in Mexico; and Hugo Santiago, Argentine director who works in France. These are but some of the individuals and films that may be considered part of the Argentine intellectual and cultural migration.

One important Argentine international cultural contribution falls into a special category: the realm of myth creations surrounding legendary heroes and heroines. What Latin American country has created so varied a triumvirate as Carlos Gardel, Evita Duarte Perón, and Ché Guevara? All three died at the height of their popularity. The myths are especially important in Argentina concerning Carlos Gardel and Evita Perón, less important for Ché Guevara because his reputation, impact, and legend evolved and developed outside Argentina as an international hero of the revolutionary left. What would the tango be without the presence of Carlos Gardel? His looks, his voice, his creative artistic styles gave life and respectability to the tango and enabled him to become the sensual patron of tango, creating a living myth. Without Gardel the tango would not have the stature it has today. He gave it a respectability that cut across all class levels and brought this musical form international acceptance; he helped make the tango the national and international music of Argentina. Lo Gardel was part of the international fashion scene of the '20s and '30s. The political magic and myths of Evita, one of the first and more politically influential and fascinating women of the twentieth century, has grown over the years. She is most celebrated in the musical extravaganza Evita; her antagonist is Ché, an interesting juxtaposition of Argentine myths because Ché did not have that role in real life. Ché was an unknown personality until the late '50s and Evita died in 1952. Certainly these three symbolic giants of Argentine mythology have dominated the popular international panorama and contributed to the recognition of Argentina's I-C migrations.

Another notable international contribution that Argentina has made to the cultural world is in the field of music. Topping the list of music recognized and appreciated throughout Europe and the world is the tango. The relationship between the development of the tango and its metamorphosis in Europe is important. Originally the music of the working class of Argentina, it was accepted by the elites of France and became chic in the European capitals. Once the tango found acceptance in Europe, the
Argentine elites and middle class adopted it and claimed it as the genuine music of Argentina. Through this evolutionary process of the tango, a very strong cultural link was established between Argentina and France; France became the second capital for the tango. Annual tango festivals are held in France and there is a constant stream of Argentine tango artists to France. Some of the internationally recognized Argentine tango performers today are: Astor Piazzolla and his Quinteto, the most recognized creator and interpreter of the modern-day tango, who is attempting to fuse tango and classical themes and is popular in France, Germany, and Italy; the famous Sexteto Mayor, which is the most popular tango group in Germany, Israel, Japan, France, Italy, and Spain; el Cuarteto Cedrón which has played in the opera houses of Frankfurt and Venice, has ten LPs on the market, composed music for films, and was forced to make France its residence in 1975 because of political threats in Argentina; Osvaldo Pugliese and his orchestra, one of the older generation of performers; Edmundo Rivero, interpreter of the tango; and Susana Rinaldi, queen of the modern tango singers.

Argentine folk music, a development of the past thirty years, is not as internationally renowned as the tango, but has nevertheless made an important impact on the European cultural scene. It was stimulated by and was a direct result of the political emphasis on nationalism and national identity by the Peronist regime of the '50s. While folk music and its artists played a special role during the Perón period, this musical movement has suffered tremendously from the repression, censorship, and state terrorism of the military and of the political right because of its links to and potential for acting as an interpreter of popular protest currents. Today, the grande dame of Argentine folk music is Mercedes Sosa, who has established a solid international following and reputation. She was forced into exile by the military and prohibited from performing in Argentina. A second very popular figure is Jaime Torres, who performs extensively in Europe with his group interpreting Argentine Andean music using the native musical instrument, the charango. Others who have won international recognition as folklore interpreters are Eduardo Falú, the group Los Fronterizos, Horacio Guarany, Zupay, Quinteto Tiempo, Ariel Ramírez, and los Chalchaleros.

Several others have attained international recognition and popularity in Europe in the musical field. Nacha Guevara, forced into exile by state terrorism, has had tremendous success in Europe and Mexico as a modern singer and interpreter of the Argentine mood. A dynamic figure, the Barbra Streisand of Argentina, she puts on a pulsating one-person show. Another name to mention is the musical-humor group Les Luthiers. A fixture on the Argentine cultural circuit since the early '70s, this group of six has created a unique blend of music, humor, and
dialogue that appeals to all ages and groups. The group has won honors in Europe and is especially popular in Spain. A politically neutral group with its nonthreatening music, it did not suffer during the military period. In the ballet world, Jorge Donn, the premier danseur of Argentina, has left his native country to find stardom as a dancer in Paris. Again the Paris-French connection is solid and well developed between the two countries.

I have focused on the political dimension in explaining the tremendous intellectual and cultural drain of many of Argentina's most talented individuals. The tension between the value systems of nationalism and internationalism has not been eased. These value systems are the root cause of the social conflict that has created an environment in which societal criticism has a low tolerance. Despite this conflictual climate, the intellectual and cultural development of Argentina has been incredibly resilient. Argentina continues to project its image as the cultural center of the Latin American world.

NOTES


3Ibid.


6Clarín (Buenos Aires), June 30, 1985.

7Ibid., July 28, 1985.


4. EXILES AND EMIGRES: CROSSCURRENTS IN CINEMA FROM THE 1890s TO THE 1980s

Julianne Burton

In every country on the planet, film as a form of expression is inextricably bound up with concepts of nationalism. For many countries—Germany, Italy, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, Mexico, Cuba, Brazil—the medium has been a primary agent of national cohesion, forger of a sense of shared identity, history, destiny.

As the third industrial (electronic) revolution transforms culture and everyday life before our very eyes, questions of cultural nationalism become highly relativized. Anticipating the technologically augmented denationalization of culture, film production and distribution have long been sites of transnational-ization. In the aftermath of World War II, U.S. film distributors active in Western European countries circumvented legislation designed to protect national film production from their unequal competition by establishing production companies in those countries, thus successfully frustrating efforts to counter Hollywood dominance. From the 1920s onward, the ascendant Hollywood "nationalized" nonnational talent—from directors like von Stroheim, Sternberg, and Sirk to stars like Marlene Dietrich, Dolores del Rio, Carmen Miranda, Ingrid Bergman, et al. The concept and the project of national cinema came to the forefront in the aftermaths of World War I and especially World War II in response to the international hegemony of Hollywood norms and practices which diminished cultural specificity or denied it altogether.

The concept of "national cinemas" continues to play an important role—in theoretical terms in the field of film history and scholarship, and in practical terms in the formulation and implementation of cultural policy in numerous countries throughout the world. Yet the "national cinema" concept also seems somehow quaint and nostalgic to the degree that filmmakers, even in the developing world, are appropriating an ever-broader geocultural sphere of representationality. What is the nationality of The Kiss of the Spider Woman, for example—made in Brazil by an Argentine director with American and Puerto Rican costars?

It is false to think of films as inherently a form of nationalist expression, since in its origins the film medium was not national but international or multinational. The component technologies were being developed simultaneously in France, the United States, Germany, and elsewhere. In the early years of the medium, as the British historian Michael Chanan points out in
his recent history of film in Cuba, "Nowhere was supply equal to demand without importing films from abroad--so nowhere in the world was film immune from the most diverse range of influences."*

Between Europe and Latin America, the "traffic in filmmakers" spans the nearly century-long history of the medium. From the first introduction of the wondrous invention in Latin American capitals by European visitors (many of whom became permanent residents) at the turn of the century, through the diaspora of politically engaged Latin American filmmakers exiled to Europe in recent years, to the current reintegration of many of these exiled filmmakers into the cultural and political life of their native countries with the return to democratic government in Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, there has been a constant if highly erratic movement of filmmakers in both directions. These crosscurrents which began in 1896 and continue through 1986 have on occasion altered the course of film history, returning forgotten geniuses to prominence in some cases, abruptly extinguishing careers of great promise in others, and in still other instances, clouding over both the trajectories of important individuals and key areas of film industry.

My intent in this brief paper is to highlight a number of important filmmakers whose careers crossed the Atlantic, in some cases more than once, and to speculate on the motivations and effects of that choice--voluntary or otherwise--on individual careers, on the development of national film cultures, and on the shape of international film history.

The First Decade

The historical record on film's first decades in Latin America is thin indeed. Few of the early films have survived and not a great deal is known about the pioneers who produced them, except that the vast majority of these entrepreneurs were transplanted Europeans. Argentina's situation is emblematic of others throughout the continent. In that country, of the five men who established the bases of film production and use, only one was a national. The prime mover was the Belgian Henri Lepage, the principal importer of films and equipment from France. One of his technicians, the Frenchman Eugenio Py, shot what is considered the first Argentine film--La bandera argentina--in 1897, following that effort with a string of other short vistas and actualidades (documentaries in today's vocabulary). Another of Lepage's employees, the Austrian Max Glucksman, took over the business in 1909, developing a distribution network for Py's material which ranged into Chile and

Uruguay. It fell to a Spaniard, Julián de Ajuria, to impose the exhibition system which would become dominant everywhere until the current age of video—film rental rather than sale. The role of the sole Argentine, the industrialist Julio Raúl Alsina, was to construct the first shooting studio and film laboratory. Though virtually 100 percent of the equipment and 80 percent of the personnel during this initial stage was European, a number of historians take pains to note that the finance capital was 100 percent Argentine. A certain cultural schizophrenia persists to this day on the Argentine film scene (as elsewhere in Latin America), manifest in the debates over whether Argentina has yet achieved a genuinely national cinema.

Alberto Cavalcanti: The 1920s through the 1940s

Alberto Cavalcanti was born in Brazil in 1897; his lifespan parallels that of the medium to which he would dedicate himself. He entered the commercial film industry in Paris in 1922 as a set designer for Marcel L'Herbier, with whom he developed a new style of set construction which was to be rapidly adopted worldwide. To the conventional four walls, Cavalcanti added ceilings, thus freeing the camera to operate on a vertical as well as horizontal axis. Four years later, in 1926, Cavalcanti made a film of his own, Rien que les heures, the first of the "city symphony" films which would have such an impact on the European avant-garde. Before the end of the decade, he had directed four other feature films in which descriptions of everyday life were allied to elements of melancholy fantasy, making him, in the estimation of leading French film historian Georges Sadoul, "an obvious forerunner" of French poetic realism of the 1930s.

Surely such contributions during the decade of the 1920s would be sufficient to secure Cavalcanti a place of merit in world film history, yet the initiatives he would take during the following two decades would, if anything, be even more central to the subsequent development of the film medium worldwide. In 1933, Cavalcanti left France for England to work with John Grierson at the GPO (General Post Office) Unit where, as producer-in-chief, Cavalcanti was responsible for many of the most important British documentaries of the thirties and forties, encouraging if not discovering filmmakers like Len Lye, Basil Wright, Chick Fowles, and Humphrey Jennings. During the war, he moved over to Ealing Studios where he brought the documentary approach and a sense of national and social realities to fiction films.

Throughout his career as a producer in Britain, he continued directing both fictional and documentary films of major importance. He achieved wide recognition for bringing about major innovations in the use of film sound. In 1942 he compiled Film and Reality, believed to be the first film anthology, for the British Film Institute. Cavalcanti also coined the term
"Neorealism" to describe the work being done at the time in British documentaries. The term did not come into wide use in that particular context, but came instead to denote the first of the postwar oppositional national cinema movements which would inspire similar attempts in developing countries around the world in the 1960s and 1970s: Italian Neorealism as practiced by Rossellini, De Sica, Zavattini, and others.

Italian Neorealism was the inspiration for the New Latin American cinema. Argentina's Fernando Birri, founder of the Documentary Film School at Santa Fe, New Mexico, studied in Italy in the early 1950s, as did two Cubans who would play key roles in the development of postrevolutionary Cuban cinema, Julio García Espinosa and Tomás Gutiérrez Alea. Though he never studied in Italy, Nelson Pereira dos Santos, the most prolific of the contemporary Brazilian filmmakers who is warmly regarded as the dean of Cinema Novo, has stated repeatedly that Brazilian Cinema Novo was the direct heir of Italian Neorealism. Cavalcanti's brand of Neorealism goes unmentioned by these filmmakers, but it may be a kind of missing link, long overdue for proper recognition. Sadoul's account of Cavalcanti in his Dictionary of Filmmakers (1965/1972) begins: "Though largely unsung, he is one of the most important filmmakers in the history of the cinema...." If Cavalcanti is unsung in Brazil, it is perhaps not because he never went home again but because he did.

In 1949, after thirty-six years in Europe, Cavalcanti was invited to give a series of lectures at São Paulo's Museum of Modern Art. During that visit, he was approached to direct a film for the Vera Cruz studios, soon to be constructed on the Hollywood model by a group of São Paulo industrialists. When Cavalcanti declined, reluctant to give up a stable situation in England for a precarious one in Brazil, he was invited to come to Brazil for four years as general producer of the Vera Cruz enterprise. The story of the failure of the Vera Cruz experiment is too intricate to recount here. For Cavalcanti, the experience was frustrating and embittering—a labyrinthine tangle of broken commitments, false accusations, underutilized talents, and overvalued mediocrity. It is a consummate irony that the major Latin American talent of film's formative period, a man whose wide-ranging practice anticipated so many of the key concerns of the most politically and artistically committed filmmaking as they would be articulated in Latin America and elsewhere during the 1950s and 1960s, should be damned into obscurity in his own land by his (reluctant and always tumultuous) association with the most infamous attempt to transplant the Hollywood model to the undeveloped world.
The 1950s and 1960s: Luis Buñuel

Rather than being seen as one of the highest examples of cinematic accomplishments in exile, the story of Luis Buñuel is an anomaly, a case unto itself. It must be remembered, first of all, that Buñuel was a multiple exile—not only from Franco's Spain, to which he would decline to return for twenty years, but, in his youth, from monarchist Spain as well, having emigrated to Paris as a young man. Buñuel was also forced to exile himself from the United States, a victim of McCarthy "witch hunts." Mexico was a last resort. The Mexican film industry is perhaps the most blatantly and unscrupulously commercial anywhere. Buñuel realized that his survival depended on conforming to the demands and limitations imposed upon him by his commercial backers; his genius became concentrated on subverting the very conventions to which he was compelled to adhere. Buñuel's versatility and artistic self-sufficiency are double-edged: on one hand, they enabled him to survive as a creative artist after a succession of setbacks which would have done in any lesser spirit; on the other hand, his incorporation into commercial Mexican production precluded other aspects of his social commitment and creative genius.

From his first film to his last, Buñuel could not resist using the medium to affront, to outrage, to unsettle his spectators. This was no less true under politically sympathetic conditions as under politically hostile ones. Of his three early European films, the least known is the most important in this regard. Las Hurdes (Land without Bread, 1932) was the only film Buñuel directed in republican Spain. In its focus on one of the most deprived and forgotten corners of the nation, in its commitment to capturing actual human problems in their authentic setting, in its limited financing and equipment and consequently artisan-like mode of production, in its relentless emphasis on objective detail which forces its viewers to search for the root causes of misery rather than losing themselves in contemplating the poetry of wretchedness and despair, Las Hurdes stands as a precursor to the Latin American social documentary movement of the 1960s and early 1970s. This experience in one of Europe's most underdeveloped corners was a kind of early and indirect preparation for the underdevelopment Buñuel would confront in Mexico. It is a supreme irony that Buñuel was compelled to abandon this kind of "third cinema" precisely because he ended up making films in the Third World.

From 1949 to 1961, Buñuel sustained himself making more than a dozen Mexican melodramas. By the time he returned to Spain in 1961 to film Viridiana, he had created so much inner space and flexibility for himself that he had no need to revert to an experimental, anticommercial mode. He had solved the tension between freedom of expression and access to the public by creating a kind of encoded free space within the conventions of
commercial cinema. Films made during his years in Mexico thus cast light on the artistic choices present in the European productions that signaled his international comeback, and vice versa. His creative output can only be understood in light of this dialectic, though too many historians still relegate the Mexican films to an irrelevant parenthesis in the European career of a European filmmaker. By choosing to remain in Mexico until his death, rather than to relocate in Europe after the triumph of films like Belle de Jour (1965) and The Discrete Charm of the Bourgeoisie (1972), Buñuel helped give the lie to such selective interpretations of his career.

The 1970s and the 1980s: Glauber Rocha and Fernando Solanas

Glauber Rocha (1938-1981) was the enfant terrible of the Brazilian Cinema Novo movement, not only its most vociferous and flamboyant promoter and polemicist but also its most brilliant and original practitioner. After making Barravento (1962), Black God, White Devil (1963), Land in Anguish (1966), and Antonio das Mortes (1969), Rocha left Brazil for Europe. Rocha was exiled from Brazil to the degree that the 1968 "coup within the coup" eliminated not only creative freedom but all civil rights, forcing those filmmakers who remained behind either to cease making films altogether or to develop a much more oblique, allegorical style. (Rocha had anticipated this allegorical style, which would become known as Tropicalism, in Land in Anguish.) Rocha emigrated to Europe to the degree that he was lured by the lionization accorded him at European film festivals, where his films had taken numerous prizes, by the admiration of filmmakers of the stature of Jean-Luc Godard, and by the promise of more generous production funding than would be available to him in Brazil. Yet Rocha is an exemplary case of a filmmaker who lost his compass when he left his country. The films he made in exile—Der Leone Hapt Sept Cabecas in the Congo, Claro! in Spain—are salvaged remnants of more than a half dozen projects which he never succeeded in realizing. Rocha returned to Brazil in 1977, at the first, tentative signs of apertura, but he would make only two more films there before his early death after a brief illness at the age of forty-three: Di (1977), a short eulogy to the painter Di Cavalcanti, and A Edade da Terra (The Age of Earth, 1980), his final, delirious compendium work. It is as fascinating as it is futile to conjecture where Rocha and the Cinema Novo movement as a whole might have gone had both not been so violently sidetracked. Though much still needs to be written before the career of this brilliant innovator is satisfactorily assessed, Rocha is one filmmaker whose trans-Atlantic displacement resulted in tragedy rather than triumph.

Fernando Solanas enters into this account as a counterpoint to Rocha. An Argentine documentarist responsible, with Octavio Getino and Gerardo Vallejo, for the most important Latin American
documentary of the 1960s, the three-part epic history, called The Hour of the Furnaces (1968), Solanas was closely aligned to Perón and instrumental in bringing the former ruler back to Argentina where he would once again, briefly, hold the presidency. Yet this association did not save him from persecution as Peronist rule moved steadily to the right. In 1975, threats against his life forced Solanas into exile—first in Spain, later in France. Until 1986, his European career seemed a modest and relatively undistinguished one. Apart from his The Sons of Martín Fierro, shot in Argentina but only completed in Europe, he had only made Le regard des autres (1980) on the physically handicapped in France. But in 1985 Solanas completed and released what is being hailed as the most original and significant film on the experience of exile, Tangos, El exilio de Gardel. This visually and aurally stunning fiction of a group of Argentine exiles in Paris trying to put on a show also called Tangos, stands as a remarkable synthesis of Argentine and French cultural expression which enriches both while it enriches world film culture as well.

Conclusion

This is only a very partial account of a complex and underexplored topic. Most glaring in their absence are the Chileans. Perhaps much more than Fernando Solanas, Raúl Ruiz would be the most appropriate example of successful cultural synthesis in exile, but paradoxically, the sheer quantity and variety of his work prevented me from including him here. Valentina Sarmiento's experience as a female cineaste would also be of special pertinence. And there are numerous others equally worthy of consideration. What also remains to be looked at is the reincorporation into the Latin American cultural context of filmmakers who have worked for a decade or more on the European film scene, for Europe will inevitably be the major site of renovation in the 1990s as the medium, marking a century of existence, continues to enrich itself through the trans-Atlantic crosscurrents of exiles and émigrés.
5. THE Wild OATS THEY SOWED: LATIN AMERICAN EXILES
IN EUROPE AND SOME OF THEIR PUBLICATIONS

Andrew Graham-Yool

The personal tragedy and historic irony of Ibero-American expatriation is that it has been a flowing and ebbing tide. The personal tragedy lies in the removal, the separation, the uncertainty. The historical irony is that each generation could have almost taken out a return ticket from one shore and used the outbound half in the confidence that the next generation would use the return half. The pattern can be traced, sometimes only tenuously it is true, through more than a century and a half since the end of direct colonial domination. In more recent times it can be seen in the exodus of Europeans to Latin America--from Spain during and after the Civil War, from Germany during the 1930s, from Italy during the 1940s and 1950s--and the return to Spain, Germany, Italy, and so on, of that generation's children, persecuted by the military tyrants of the 1970s in Latin America.

The coming and going has affected cultural evolution in some countries. Argentina, for example, is a country which lacks a cultural heritage; Venezuela, with a strong German community, could be said to have only found the need for a cultural conscience with the advent of substantial income from oil. I have tried before to offer fundament for such a sweeping and negative view of what might be called Latin American rootlessness, and it is only tangentially relevant here. What is relevant is the remark that the coming and going has affected the cultural evolution. While it can be said that some groups have benefitted from the exchange and in cross-cultural experiences, it must also be seen that such proximity perpetuated does assure the sustenance of cultural colonialism.

The most recent experience of a Latin American "diaspora" took place in the 1970s. Military regimes in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina provoked the largest exodus of their citizens to Europe. Of course, there had been forced departures from other countries before that: from Paraguay in the 1950s and 1960s, from Brazil in 1964, from Peru in 1968. But at that time there were still doors open in Latin America. These were steadily closed as military mania spread. Hence, as the military takeovers became more vicious, Europe became a natural option. It was further away, but family links could be found. Although there are many stories of hardship and there is a continuing debate as to whether the exile is, within all the bitterness of expatriation, a more fortunate survivor than he or she who stayed behind in silence, Europe did come up to expectations. It would require
considerable study of Europe to say exactly why it did, but there are some pointers which can be offered in a superficial manner. The brutality of the Chilean military in September 1973 caused unprecedented revulsion in Europe; the pictures of people hounded into sports stadiums converted into concentration camps captured the imagination of people who had been brought up in the previous thirty years to believe that governments had to change by constitutional succession rather than by uniformed cut-throats. Also, unemployment was not as severe a decade ago as it is now, and a few thousand Latin Americans could be accommodated either in employment or on Social Security. Britain had then only one million unemployed, which even so caused the Labour government considerable embarrassment. Britain, for only the second time since 1945 (the previous occasion being in 1956, when Hungarians fled their country after the failure of Imre Nagy's revolution), opened its immigration barriers to the refugees from Chile. Most of Europe did the same for the Chileans, and later were asked to do the same yet again for the Uruguayans, and finally for Argentina's fugitives.

In spite of the often near destitute nature of the Latin American arrivals, many of them were members of their countries' middle classes. Education, training, private resources were all factors pertaining to their class which gave them a start in life in exile. However, this is not the same as evolving into integration. A majority did not integrate, as must be accepted. Those who have not returned as their countries take the road back to democracy will see their children integrate and suffer the bitterness of a cultural chasm between them and their off-spring, in addition to the distance from their countries of origin. After all, the children too are middle class and inherit the adaptability of their class.

As stated, the United Kingdom opened its doors to many Latin Americans. So did the Federal Republic of Germany--especially to the many who could claim a German family connection--and so did the German Democratic Republic--especially to those with whom it could find an ideological kinship. And true to the their meticulous adherence to the declaration of human rights, so did the Scandinavian countries, and the Netherlands. But exiles found that Paris, Rome, Madrid, and Barcelona were the most obvious choices, if they could be admitted, for reasons of language and historical cultural links. All four cities became centres of reunion, political meeting places for activists, and launching pads for their campaigns against the regimes in power in their countries. And in those cities, the servants of the military tyrants organised their sometimes deadly counter-intelligence operations.

Within the exile groups, factions sought to express their views. Their most immediate meeting points were the Solidarity committees set up with the help of sympathetic Europeans. Within
the committees political lines were soon drawn. The public expression of such factionalism was often by way of mimeographed or cyclo-styled newsletters, some no more than a sheet, of erratic appearance, and of not very long existence. But that cascade of partisan paper did produce a substantial number of publications, books as well as periodicals, which must be seen as essential as much to the study of exile as to the more demanding study of national and international circumstances that led to the forcible exile of many.

Although the main intention of this brief essay is to look at some of the publications of exiles in Europe, it would be as well to record some of the leading publications produced outside of Europe because of the fluid exchange between expatriates in the Americas and Europe. There is, of course, an element of personal preference, as well as of availability in notes such as these. But with that caution it can be said that among the best of the batch was Controversia, a tabloid-sized magazine, at times monthly, at times quarterly, founded in 1979 in Mexico and which lasted a little over three years.\(^3\) Denuncia, published by what might be called a Latin American exile "consortium" in New York, was a more "popular" paper, also in tabloid size, which ran for several years, according to the availability of funds. Unlike Controversia, which had a very high ideological and analytical standard, Denuncia went for the heart strings. It carried poetry, stories, articles, exposés, and interviews in line with a hard-hitting presentation. Funds decided the frequency and survival of these publications. In Mexico, the Argentine politician Héctor Sandler published Democracia para la nueva Argentina during 1982 and 1983 on a shoestring budget. In contrast, the Argentine Solidarity Committee (CAS) in Mexico City formed in October 1975, produced a catalogue of publications of high quality and vehement politics. Their language can be compared with that of the Brechtians writing about Nazi Germany.\(^4\) In 1977 a rather poorly translated version of the CAS's Spanish-language bulletin was published in English for a time.\(^5\)

Argentines in Mexico also formed a Union of Argentine Journalists for Liberation (UPAL) in 1976 which produced its newsletter as from January 1977, but which lasted no more than half a dozen issues.\(^6\) Mexico saw the rise of groups such as Writers in Exile, Poets in Exile, Scientists in Exile. But the one publication the exiles produced there, which had a history and a continuity, was the Uruguayan Cuadernos de Marcha. This was produced by the publishers and editors of the magazine Marcha, of Montevideo, who had been imprisoned, murdered, banished, and disbanded by the dictatorship that seized government in Uruguay in 1973.\(^7\) Marcha was produced as a weekly in Montevideo and during its decade or so in print in Uruguay was left-wing intellectual, a popular standard-bearer for the whole continent.
What exile did encourage and which has a clear continuity—unlike the erratic and passing periodicals, many of which are lost—are the writers who developed their talents and careers while out of their countries. New writers and established authors found that in exile they enjoyed a certain peace because their politics were no longer on a collision course with those of the host country. So they were left to work. It was a case of "Distance makes the hand work harder." Thus Oscar "Mempo" Giardinelli, a little-known poet and journalist in Argentina, became a successful, prize-winning writer in Mexico. Pedro Orgambide, an established writer in Argentina, found new horizons in Mexico. Humberto Costantini, a poet, writer, and active member of the Argentine Writers Society (SADE), found translation into English and minor success. The Chilean Ariel Dorfmann, living in Europe, also found publishers outside of the Spanish language and a certain international renown, and the same goes for the Chilean writer José Cayuela, the Chilean novelist and film script writer Antonio Skármeta, the Argentine novelist Daniel Moyano, the Uruguayan journalist and author Eduardo Galeano, and others. It would be offensive to even hint that exile was a cause of success. This is not the case at all, but exile brought new outlooks and new pressures which forced the search for new outlets.

It would be remiss to close this section without briefly discussing the funding of exile publications. If the military criminals who hijacked government in Latin America were to be consulted, they would point to guerrilla organisations or to an international conspiracy. No doubt they might find a right-wing audience who would believe this: bank holdups, holding wealthy businessmen to ransom, forcible fund-raising can raise substantial sums and can pay for many magazines. But a little analysis and the reality of political expediency in guerrilla organisations would support the argument that only a small fraction of funds could have come from guerrillas. It is in the nature of such groups, which constantly face political uncertainty in a strange country, to prefer the spontaneous one-off booklet rather than the journal of periodical appearance, whose operation is open to scrutiny by security agents.

For those authors who came from a continent not known for its generous advances to writers, it is safe to say they lived on their wits, on some teaching, and on any other job they could find. For the magazines, including the Solidarity committee publications, support came from subscriptions, fund-raising parties, raffles, concerts, and other such activities, and the very rare wealthy sponsor.

The Argentine exiles arrived in Spain, in 1976, with substantially more money and in many cases far better connections than other exile communities. After all, the late President Juan Domingo Perón had made the Puerta de Hierro district, in Madrid,
his place of residence in exile from 1960 to 1974. Humour sometimes is best used to illustrate a situation, and in this case it illustrates the number of Argentines who went to Spain. It was said at the time that many psychoanalysts—persecuted in Argentina on suspicion of having had guerrillas among their patients—moved their practices to Spain, with patients and all.

How many Latin Americans there were in Spain is not easy to estimate. The Latin American P.E.N. Centre in Madrid reported in 1979 that there were 120,000 Latin Americans resident in Spain. About 55,000 were Argentines, 25,000 were Chileans, and the remainder was taken up by Cubans, Venezuelans, and Uruguayans. Officially there were 11,118 Latin Americans who in 1977 held Spanish work permits (compared with 53,618 Europeans, including North Americans). Many in this group of 120,000 people were avid readers, and subscribers, to the exile literature. As soon as one publication went under, another would be launched, with new found injections of cash; or two would be started, as the publishers of the one closed down split along political lines and went different ways. One anecdote that shows the continuity of exile publications in spite of their short existence in print is given by the correspondence between Rodolfo Terragno, a lawyer and journalist, a founder of the daily newspaper El Diario de Caracas in Venezuela, and the well-known Argentine journalist and novelist Osvaldo Bayer. The correspondence started early in 1980. It was the result of an article, The Privilege of Exile by Terragno in the newspaper El Diario de Caracas, reproduced by the exile paper Sin Censura, then published in Paris by an exile group among whom was the former Argentine Senator Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen, before he relaunched the magazine La República. The article said that exiles should stop moaning about their lot and look back on those who stayed behind as the real heroes of the Latin American tragedy. Bayer strongly refuted the idea that the exiles were privileged and called on those resident in Europe to make a mass return to Argentina. This was published in La República, and replied to by Terragno—who rejected the idea of a mass return as a useless self-immolation—in a letter published in Controversia, in Mexico, where another letter from Bayer found space later. The Malvinas Islands conflict in April–June 1982 prompted Bayer to return to the subject of a mass return in an article in Testimonio Latino-americano in Barcelona.

There were numerous publications by the Latin American exiles in Europe, but again concentrated in France and Spain. And again, the choice of the best will be, inevitably, made on personal observation. For the present purpose one of the best was the already mentioned La República, which represented the exiled members of the Civil Radical Union (UCR), whose candidate, Dr. Raúl Alfonsín, is now President of Argentina. The magazine ran for twenty-four issues and was published and edited
by the afore-mentioned Dr. Solari Yrigoyen, first in Mexico and then in Paris. The advantage of this publication for later researchers, is (a) its continuity, as the twenty-fifth issue was published in Buenos Aires in October 1985, and (b) that the editor was an avid collector of the ephemera of exile, carefully recording every book, pamphlet, or magazine that was published by Latin American exiles in general.  

The other favourite--chosen by personal preference, it must be emphasised--was Testimonio Latinoamericano, registered in Amsterdam, published in Barcelona, founded in 1980 by two men who served several years in Argentina's prisons. This publication, of fairly regular appearance printed in a slightly smaller size than that of the standard magazine, must be placed, ideologically and in presentation, in a class similar to Controversia in Mexico. It reflected a tendency that was nationalist left wing, vehemently anti-military, and strongly critical of Washington's policies in the Southern Hemisphere. The standard of its book reviews, short essays, occasional short stories and poems was without a doubt among the highest. In its pages the reader would find several writers of renown in Latin American politics debating the historical cause and outcome of the Malvinas conflict, or Chile's military monetarism, or the message contained in a popular cartoon strip.

La República, and Testimonio Latinoamericano are not just material attractive to librarians or hoarders of ephemera. They must be seen as very useful research sources for study of Latin American politics. This high-sounding statement is supported by the fact that writers in exile recovered a certain liveliness, became controversial, and shed inhibitions which had been imposed on writing in Latin America under military dictatorship. Censorship, and, more important, self-censorship, reduced the press in much of Latin America to the reproduction of military decrees. The exiles, liberated from fear, regained a freedom to write which made entertaining debate. One reason why some exile publications were lively and realistic, while others were bitter laments, is that the good ones were written as short-term ventures, not as long-term whines. The liveliest were the exiles who were going home as soon as they could. The forgettable essays on exile are the catalogue of regrets by those with no intention of returning and for whom their countries froze at the time of departure.

Active publishers of exile material in Spain were the Madrid-based Committee for Human Rights in Argentina, an organisation sometimes suspected of having strong guerrilla connections. However, their first expatriate broadside against the military government in Buenos Aires was Argentina: Inquiry into Genocide, a full-length book which reported the early cases of repression, torture, and a catalogue of excesses by the military. The committee went on to publish numerous books,
apart from frequent pamphlets. With the approach of the world soccer championship in June 1978 in Argentina, the exile propaganda machine went into top gear—as did the efforts to counter it. At the time, the military junta sought to overcome the image of torturers and criminals which they had acquired. The Montoneros guerrillas published a 40-page bi-lingual (English and Spanish) brochure entitled Argentina 78 which under a football-shaped flap on the cover—the symbol of the World Cup—invited the reader to look into an Argentina of repression, terror, and torture. The brochure was a professional job, of high quality print on glossy paper. It did not record any printing address as some publications did. The Argentine government hit back, from its propaganda office in Madrid, with a semi-anonymous 100-page booklet, illustrated with the pictures of victims of attacks by the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany, the Red Brigade in Italy, and the ERP in Argentina, as being all part of a coordinated international campaign. There were other government, or intelligence agency publications printed in Buenos Aires in Spanish, English, and French, and distributed to the governments and the editors of Europe. These publications provided the livelier, and more aggressive, aspect of exile literature and government propaganda.

This article can only offer a superficial view of the rich variety of the Latin American exile literature in Europe. But it is hoped that this sampling will be enough to launch others in search of what is an area with a wealth of information and opportunities for academic discovery.

NOTES


2 Eduardo Goligorsky, Carta abierta de un expatriado a sus compatriotas (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana) 1983.

3 Most of the magazines mentioned in this article and at one time collected by the author have been deposited in the Department of Printed Books (Hispanic Section), British Library, London.

4 Argentina 1979, contra el terror, por la democracia (Mexico City: Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad, n.d.).


7 The custodians of Marcha and Cuadernos de Marcha are the present editors and publishers of Brecha, a weekly tabloid
newspaper, which started publication in Montevideo after the return of constitutional rule to Uruguay in 1985.

8Informe sobre Latinoamericanos en España (Barcelona: P.E.N. Club Latinoamericano en España, 1979).

9Testimonio Latinoamericano (Barcelona), 3:15/16 (Oct. 1982).


13See, for example, the exposé of an Argentine torturer formerly employed by the military government, who turned against the authorities: Ex-ayudante del General Harguindeguy acusa (Madrid: Comisión Argentina Derechos Humanos, 1983).

14For example, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, the political leadership of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP), published a 94-page booklet explaining in 1977 why its losses had forced withdrawal from battle.

La contribution scientifique des latino-américains hors frontière est importante et particulièrement la France et sa capitale ont accueilli un grand nombre d'entre eux. "Paris a toujours été le centre d'attraction du monde des Lettres, des Arts et des Sciences." Vivre à Paris et y travailler est pour certains émigrés équivalent à "voir Naples et mourir." Toutefois, avec cette différence, que l'exil n'est pas un chemin de roses quand il faut gagner sa vie "à la force des poignets dans des pays qui ont une autre histoire, une autre manière de parler et de vivre." L'exil, de ce fait, n'est pas le privilège tragique de quelques intellectuels et militants politiques, comme le cas de émigrés uruguayens que la crise économique a jetés à l'étranger pendant les dix dernières années alors que leur pays, paradoxalement, est fertile et peu peuplé. Des questions resteront probablement sans réponse: Pourquoi ne pas reconnaître un certain mérite de sincérité dans les dictatures qui oppriment au jour le jour, dans la majorité de nos pays? La liberté d'échanges implique, en temps de crises, la prison physique. Les laboratoires et les universités n'ont pas de crédit. Le "know-how" industriel est toujours étranger et il est payé très cher. Pourquoi ne pas reconnaître un certain mérite de créativité dans le développement d'une technique de la terreur? De ce fait, dans la meilleure des solutions, si certains latino-américains échappaient à la torture, la prison ou le cimetière, quelle serait l'alternative à l'exil dans la conjoncture actuelle?

Dans le cas des scientifiques latino-américains étudiés,* il semble que leurs compétences et leurs consciences professionnelles sont des atouts dans le marché des valeurs. Pour eux, l'exil ne comporterait pas le risque de l'oubli. Il pourrait être fructueux: des spécialistes de toutes sortes, médecins, ingénieurs, physiciens, chimistes, biologistes, enzymologistes ... trouvent des conditions d'accueil et de travail dans la plupart des centres de recherches tels que le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C.N.R.S.), Paris et sa banlieue ou dans les principales villes comme Bordeaux, Toulouse, Marseille ...) et divers instituts: l'Institut Pasteur, l'Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique (I.N.R.A.), l'Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer (ORSTOM), l'Institut National de la Santé et

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*Notre enquête concerne surtout le groupe des "Sciences de la Vie."
Contribution des Scientifiques Latino-américains en France

de la Recherche Médicale (INSERM), l'Université de Paris-Sud, Centre d'Orsay . . .4 et dans l'industrie de pointe.

Exode des compétences latino-américaines

Il semble que la France a bénéficié du continent latino-américain par la contribution de travailleurs hautement qualifiés (sans pour autant avoir contribué financièrement à leur formation technique et scientifique) au cours des dernières décennies. Cet apport de "matière grise" au développement scientifique et technique français est au détriment de leurs propres pays. La publication de données sur l'exode des compétences s'est amplifiée, mais des statistiques suffisamment générales font encore défaut pour apprécier à sa juste valeur l'ampleur du phénomène. En ce qui concerne les scientifiques argentins, par exemple, la France est placée en cinquième position comme pays d'accueil, selon le tableau proposé par Daniel Ulanovski.5

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La concentration des "cerveaux" dans les pays industrialisés tels que la France6 ne peut que porter préjudice aux pays (en particulier ceux de Tiers Monde) qui luttent désespérément pour leur développement scientifique et technique. A ce sujet, Nguyen Dinh Thi dans son editorial "A propos de la matière grise du Tiers Monde" souligne: "force est de constater qu'une partie est récupérée de différentes façons par certains pays qui ont les moyens financiers nécessaires et une politique de recherche
scientifique, médicale, technologique adaptée. Parmi ces chercheurs expatriés, quelques uns sont tenus de rester anonymes car leurs compétences touchent à l'intérêt voire à la sécurité internationale. De plus cette "fuite des compétences ne peut qu'approfondir encore davantage le fossé qui sépare les pays riches des pays pauvres, avec toutes les conséquences probablement dramatiques que cet écartement peut impliquer.

Le problème d'exode des compétences se situe à un niveau national et même mondial. "Cet événement revêt une dimension particulière dans la mesure où il soulève un problème délicat relatif à l'utilisation potentielle de la matière grise des hommes du Tiers Monde, dans les pays industrialisés et dans les pays en voie de développement ainsi que dans le cadre éventuel d'une instance internationale spécifique au Tiers Monde. De plus en plus, les hommes issus de cette zone contribuent au progrès de l'humanité, mais, comme la plupart du temps ils restent dans l'ombre, on pourrait croire que les découvertes essentielles restent l'apanage de l'Occident." C'est donc au stade international que le phénomène "fuite des cerveaux" devrait être analysé d'une manière plus complète et plus précise. Les remèdes devraient être recherchés, proposés et organisés.

Toutefois, notons que la recherche scientifique et les échanges inter-régionaux latino-américains semblent être à l'étude si l'on juge les travaux entrepris récemment ainsi que la "politique des priorités" engagée par les différents gouvernements en Amérique Latine.

Le rôle joué par le pays d'accueil

Il est déterminant. La France a toujours privilégié les relations bilatérales, et l'Amérique Latine y occupe une place prépondérante. La présence de plusieurs invités latino-américains le jour des cérémonies d'investiture du gouvernement socialiste français témoigne de cet intérêt. En première place figure l'Amérique Centrale. La France a aussi manifesté sa solidarité avec les peuples de la Jamaïque, du Salvador et du Guatemala, à l'occasion de l'adoption du programme défini lors de sa Conférence régionale pour l'Amérique Latine et les Caraïbes, qui s'est tenue à Saint-Domingue en mars 1980. Pour ces raisons et d'autres, les latino-américains sont séduits et se "sentent chez eux" en France. Certains d'entre eux sont devenus français par naturalisation ou par mariage.

Dans le monde des Arts et des Lettres, citons quelques cas célèbres à Paris, tels que: Julio Cortázar, qui publie une littérature très argentine; Pedro Figari, qui peint les tableaux les plus uruguayens de tous les temps; César Vallejo, qui y passa le quart de sa vie ne cessa jamais d'être un poète péruvien. Pour d'autres, Paris a toujours représenté une ville et un type de vie nouveaux pour les latino-américains du sud et du centre, et venir y vivre quelques années dans ce qu'on appelle la Ville Lumière.
représente dès lors un havre de délices, dont "tous nous en rêvons pour nos pays."

Facteurs expliquant l'ampleur de l'exode

Il semble que la raison la plus importante* qui pourrait expliquer la fuite des cerveaux à partir des pays latino-américains vers les pays industrialisés est politique: fuir les régimes dictatoriaux de leur pays. Le cas le plus célèbre est celui de l'argentin César Milstein (prix Nobel de Médecine 1984, pour ses recherches en immunologie), qui a démissionné de la tête du département de biologie moléculaire de Buenos Aires en 1963, pour protester contre le renvoi par les autorités de plusieurs de ses collaborateurs en raison de leur appartenance au Syndicat des chercheurs qu'il présidait. César Milstein émigra en Grande Bretagne, où il fut nommé chef du département de chimie des protéines à l'Université de Cambridge. La deuxième raison est le fait que les émigrants trouvent dans leur nouveau milieu professionnel non seulement les moyens et l'ambiance aptes à exercer au mieux leurs talents et appliquer au mieux leurs connaissances, mais encore la possibilité d'une plus grande promotion sociale que dans leurs pays d'origine. Ainsi, par exemple, une proportion élevée de scientifiques brésiliens de haut niveau, émigrés en France, ont déclaré comme motif principal de leur expatriation le désir d'une plus grande considération dans leur travail technique et scientifique.

Mais le facteur le plus intéressant est celui des rémunérations, qui sont presque toujours beaucoup plus élevées dans les pays d'immigration que dans les pays d'origine. Par ailleurs, en Amérique Latine, le manque de stimulants pour la recherche scientifique, les difficultés de faire une carrière universitaire dans certaines spécialités16 et, dans certains cas, la situation politique. Ce dernier facteur est fourni en particulier par le Brésil et l'Argentine. Au Brésil, au moment de la chute du Gouvernement Goulard, de nombreux spécialistes et chercheurs ainsi que des professeurs d'universités ont quitté le pays. En Argentine, vers les années 1965, entre 750 et 1,000 membres du personnel universitaire ont protesté contre certaines mesures prises par le Gouvernement du Général Onganía. Parmi eux, nombreux sont ceux qui se proposent de quitter le pays. Il est intéressant de signaler que "surtout du point de vue politique, bon nombre de ces candidats à l'émigration ont été approchés par un groupe de jeunes officiers pour essayer de les persuader de rester en Argentine, en leur offrant de les payer jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1966, au moyen d'un fonds militaire spécial, et en leur

*Selon D. Ulanovsky la première raison est économique: "Muy a menudo se acusa a las cuestiones económicas como factor principal de la emigración."
promettant un changement prochain de la situation politique.¹⁷ A chaque fois que l'on change de gouvernement, surtout pour les équipes de recherche reliées aux structures gouvernementales, les priorités scientifiques sont modifiées, les préférences institutionnelles changent. L'hémorragie intellectuelle due aux régimes dictatoriaux est une des causes de la fragilité de la recherche, par exemple, au Chili. Poursuivis pour leurs idées politiques, empêchés de travailler parce que leurs recherches sont jugées subversives, une grande partie des meilleurs chercheurs chiliens sont partis provisoirement ou définitivement.¹⁸ Toutefois, concernant ces derniers, il semblerait qu'une amélioration des conditions de travail et le retour au pays des "senior scientists" ouvrent des perspectives plus optimistes surtout dans le domaine de la biologie.¹⁹ Le cas des argentin s'est aggravé en septembre 1984, depuis que l'armée "s'affadit sur la science" en accomplissant des actes de terreur.²⁰ Cette hémorragie est d'autant plus grave qu'elle atteint non seulement la recherche mais encore la formation des générations futures.²¹

Responsabilité scientifique et engagement du chercheur en tant que "scientifique"

Les facteurs énumérés nous conduisent à nous poser le problème de la responsabilité scientifique et l'engagement du chercheur: la découverte est neutre, mais son application ne l'est pas; le mondialisme de la recherche s'accentue mais l'isolement du chercheur aussi. Ces constatations obligent à distinguer science et progrès. La découverte est un fait. Le progrès suppose un jugement. Le problème majeur est celui de l'application des découvertes: elle implique une réflexion et une décision qui soient l'émanation des composantes de la société. Dans cette analyse des répercussions psychologiques du progrès des sciences, quelle est l'attitude des scientifiques latino-américains, ayant intégré un système de pensées françaises? Se sentent-ils concernés en tant que "citoyens français"? Leur intégration sociale a-t-elle des limites? Dans les cas des chercheurs que nous avons interrogés, la réponse demeure nuancée. Certains soulignent que la société française est "jacobine"; d'autres signalent l'importance de l'impact scientifique sur le reste; d'autres encore relèvent les difficultés de la "femme-chercheur" en tant que "femme en minorité au sein d'un cercle scientifique fermé."²² Toutefois, il est à noter que tous ceux qui ont pris le risque et le désir de mener des équipes de recherches vers des buts définis pour le bien "humanitaire," l'ont fait selon les critères de la responsabilité morale énoncés par Philip Siekevitz, en dénonçant la finalité de la science et ses applications dans le domaine des armes conventionnelles.²³ Ces scientifiques rejoignent ainsi les idéologues, les responsables politiques progressistes comme Jean Perrin et les Joliot-Curie ...²⁴
Intégration ou vie marginale?

Le problème est complexe. A notre avis, c'est un problème de sociétés.

A ce stade de l'analyse, il convient de ne pas tenir compte du fait que la grande majorité des sociétés du système international sont des sociétés pluriculturelles et pluriethniques et d'envisager chacune de ces sociétés comme une entité relativement homogène. Néanmoins, soulignons que le plus grand nombre de sociétés du système international contemporain ont subi à un moment ou à un autre de leur histoire la domination directe d'une autre société. Il serait prudent de ne pas engager le dilemme des cas individuels. Néanmoins, nous pouvons dégager de notre étude quelques remarques:

Du point de vue législatif: (a) Les scientifiques latino-américains naturalisés sont intégrés dans la société française. Comme ce sont, dans la majorité des cas, de hauts responsables dans divers domaines scientifiques, leur vie est réglée comme celle des cadres supérieurs, dans l'acceptation la plus large du terme. La notion de culture ici est appréhendée par chacun à sa manière, au gré de l'optique dans laquelle il se place et des objectifs qu'il se propose.

(b) Quant aux émigrés politiques, leur sort est le même pour toutes les nationalités ayant trouvé refuge en France. Il est utile de signaler que "l'entrée et le séjour des étrangers en France" (ordonnance du 2 novembre 1945) a été l'une des toutes premières œuvres du gouvernement socialiste, qui s'est fait un point d'honneur à s'y atteler en priorité. Elle a été votée dès le mois d'octobre 1981. A la veille du changement de législature, une innovation dans les textes qui régissent l'exécution des expulsions a été observée. Elle concerne les étrangers qui ont la qualité de "réfugiés politiques" et qui en vertu de la loi du 25 juillet 1952 ont la possibilité de saisir la Commission des recours dont l'avis est suspensif. Cette innovation engage désormais la responsabilité directe du ministre de l'intérieur dans l'exécution même des expulsions alors que jusqu'en février 1986, il n'était responsable que de la seule décision d'expulser. Face aux difficultés de vivre dans une société de crise conjoncturelle, il est évident que l'émigré politique est plus sensible à tout problème de cultures. Son système culturel mis en contact avec un autre système se transforme donc. Mais de quelle manière et dans quel sens? Les processus d'acculturation sont complexes et multiples. Les rencontres de cultures ne se passent jamais de la même façon. Les cas particuliers abondent. Les nombreuses études des anthropologues, de sociologues ou politologues permettent de dégager certaines tendances et d'esquisser une typologie. Dès lors, toute rencontre culturelle débouche sur en "échange culturel," processus qui permet le transfert de certains traits culturels vers l'autre entité culturelle. En d'autres termes, il y a un apport de la culture latino-américaine vers la culture française.
et vice versa. Il se pourrait aussi que les latino-américains vont progressivement de l'assimilation à l'intégration dans la société française. Cependant, il faudra du temps et du recul pour savoir si la mentalité locale a aussi assimilé les apports latino-américains (surtout en matière de langage, musique et cuisine).


Le refugié est un exilé politique non volontaire. Il vient de subir pendant des années une pression si forte qu'il s'est vu brisé dans son identité... C'est quelqu'un qui s'est senti isolé dans son pays même, accusé, signalé comme ennemi de la société, agressé dans son identité, coupé de l'espace normal auquel il pouvait se référer en tant que personne, agressé dans sa liberté, privé de sa famille, de ses amis, de ses compagnons, de son travail, de sa ville, de son militantisme. Nous sommes des êtres qui avons beaucoup souffert. Mais nous ne sommes pas des déchets en tant qu'individus. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous sommes sans passé.

L'apport "transculturel" ne devient-il pas une démonstration nécessaire de la tolérance, de l'acceptation de l'autre, pour la compréhension des conditions de "minorités face à celles de majorités"? Des lors, "l'espace vert" énoncé par Laurent Fabius ne serait-il pas le bonheur extraordinaire d'habiter l'une des plus belles contrées ou se marient le plus étroitement l'identité nationale et l'universel? Si ce langage chargé de messages est destiné à faire oublier des violences, le racisme, le chomage, les soucis quotidiens, la plupart des latino-américains émigrés sont-ils prêts à accepter la mosaïque actuelle? La liberté de conscience n'est-elle pas un tribut lourdement payé? Sont-ils convaincus, comme l'a affirmé l'ex Premier Ministre français, que la grande mutation viendra surtout de l'Europe, et non des pays riches industrialisés?

Il semble que nous sommes reduits à un domaine purement speculatif* et intellectuel. Le congrès international organisé à Paris, en mars 1986, sur les "identités culturelles latino-américaines aux Etats-Unis" confirmerait cette dernière constata tion qui n'engage que l'auteur de cette contribution. Cette approche des problèmes ne prétend aucunement se substituer aux

*La crise collective d'identité dans la mesure où elle est due à des rencontres de cultures n'affecte pas forcément tous les membres d'une société de la même façon.
études portant sur la conjoncture économique ou les facteurs sociaux, mais conjuguée aux précédentes elle permet de mettre l'accent sur un phénomène particulier de notre temps et qui concerne surtout les conséquences de ces "rencontres de cultures et les relations internationales."

**NOTES**


3Ibid, Voces de nuestro tiempo, p. 10: "¿Por qué no reconocer un cierto mérito de sinceridad en las dictaturas que oprimen, hoy por hoy, a la mayoría de nuestros países? La libertad de los negocios implica, en tiempos de crisis, la prisión de las personas. Los científicos latinoamericanos emigran, los laboratorios y las universidades no tienen recursos, el "knowhow" industrial es siempre extranjero y se paga carísimó, pero ¿por qué no reconocer un cierto mérito de creatividad en el desarrollo de una tecnología del terror?"

4La recherche en biologie, Université de Paris-sud, Centre d'Orsay, 1975-1980.

5Clarín (Buenos Aires), 29 julio al 4 agosto 1985: La fuga de cerebros, un fenómeno de nuestro tiempo que se agudiza con las crisis y la falta de posibilidades reales.

6S'il est difficile d'avancer de chiffres en ce qui concerne les scientifiques latino-américains en France, néanmoins nous pouvons nous référer au "Recensement général de la population étrangère en France en 1982" de l'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques, série "boulier" RP 82/5, Migration et sociétés n. 6, où les étrangers recensés sont ceux qui vivent de façon habituelle en France métropolitaine: travailleurs permanents et membres de leur famille, étudiants, stagiaires etc. . . . Tout étranger de 16 ans ou plus est tenu de posséder un titre de séjour dès la durée de celui-ci est de trois mois ou plus. Ne sont pas recensés les touristes, les travailleurs saisonniers ou tout autre personne faisant en France un séjour de courte durée. Sont recensés les mexicains, argentins, chiliens, colombiens et venezueliens sans précision de profession (voir en annexe).
Simone A. Nguyen-Dac


12. A. Ruellan, directeur de l'ORTSTOM, dans son article publié dans le Monde Diplomatique de décembre 1984, souligne les points importants de la politique des priorités engagée par les différents gouvernements latino-américains dans le domaine de la "Recherche scientifique et developpement."


14. Cf. dossier Le Monde, 14 mars 1986; "les voies d'accès à la nationalité française."

Les Nouveaux Français

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1979</th>
<th>1984</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Par naturalisation</td>
<td>23,317</td>
<td>29,420</td>
<td>18,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par réintégration</td>
<td>1,083</td>
<td>2,784</td>
<td>2,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suite à un mariage</td>
<td>5,984</td>
<td>10,044</td>
<td>10,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineurs nés au France (par déclaration)</td>
<td>5,136</td>
<td>4,170</td>
<td>4,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divers (enfants adoptés, etc.)</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>35,978</td>
<td>46,777</td>
<td>35,571</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Source: ministère des affaires sociales.
Ces chiffres n'incluent pas les jeunes nés en France qui acquièrent automatiquement la nationalité française à leur majorité (et que l'Office national d'immigration estimait à 17,000 en 1983). Et il faut évidemment compter à part les enfants d'étrangers qui sont français à la naissance parce qu'un de leurs parents est lui-même né en France (un peu plus de 20,000 selon l'ONI, en 1983).


16 Par exemple, dans le domaine médical, la parasitologie au Brésil.


18 P. Cordero, M. A. Garreton, H. Giannini, A. Coic, L. Izquierdo, R. LaTorre, J. Minquell, T. Ureta, F. F. Varela, et E. A. Vivaldi, tous professeurs de l'Université de Chili (Casilla 653, Santiago de Chile), Scientists in Pinochet's Chile ont écrit dans Nature, 308 (22 March, 1984): "Repression in our country and its universities has lately increased, as clearly stated in the 1983 United Report on Human Rights. The Catholic Church, through its Vicaría de la Solidaridad and the widely respected and politically pluralist Chilean Committee for Human Rights, concur with this appraisal."

19 S. Litvak, "Survival and Revival: Chilean Universities under Pinochet." Nature, 306 (11, 12 Nov., 1983), souligne: "The quality of Chile's young scientists is still very high and many of those going abroad for their postdoctoral training are often attracted to and easily integrated in laboratories abroad. This dangerous 'brain drain' has been reversed of late with the return of some senior scientists who, if given the chance, may help to revitalize research in the biological sciences."

20 "Army Pall Over Argentine Science," Nature, 311 (20 Sept., 1984), 201-202. L'article dénonce: "the destruction of science in Argentina will probably never be more than a footnote to the history of the recent military government, whose major accomplishment was the kidnapping, torture and murder of 30,000 of its citizens in the name of Christian and Western civilization. Official neglect of Argentina's dogged potential for scientific excellence is nothing new; inevitably, there is a tendency to see even the most deliberate and calculating destructive acts of the military as a mere extension of what passed before."


22 Cf. Travaux du colloque "University Women of Europe," Cologne, 12-15 Sept., 1985, où les thèmes discutés ont été: The Distribution of Women in the Universities According to Rank and
Discipline; The Effects of Affirmative Action Policies of Recruitment and Promotion; The Activities of Women's Committees within the Universities; et Evaluation of Research and Teaching in Women's Studies Programmes. Par ailleurs, il semble que les femmes ont acquis dans le monde et en particulier en Asie même droits que les hommes (par exemple en matière de salaire au Japon, mars 1986). Cependant, dans le domaine scientifique et en particulier dans les "sciences de la vie," les latino-américaines y ont pris une place active, en France.

23 P. Siekevitz, "Moral responsibility," Nature, 312 (22 Nov., 1984), 302, écrit:

Sir - In the leading article (Nature 25 October, p.692) on the expulsion of the ex-Nazi scientist, Rudolph, from the United States, the statement is made that "scientific research is a neutral, amoral enterprise only in a free society, one with a democracy capable of exercising social judgement over the propriety of end uses". I would contend that you let us scientists off too easy, that we all have a moral responsibility, maybe even a duty, not to work on obviously immoral projects, such as, for example, those involving the murder of innocent people by chemical, biological, atomic-nuclear and even "conventional" weapons. Indeed, in the present international situation where warfare is not likely to be between individual soldiers but between peoples of contending states, it is the moral responsibility of scientists everywhere not to work on any project connected with waging war. I know the answer to this: that we in the democratic societies leave ourselves open to "nuclear blackmail". But are you so sure of that, as much as you seem to be unsure of the great possibility that the ludicrous, to say the least, build-up of weaponry will not lead to a nuclear-driven mass destruction?

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Susana Buconic propose dans son rapport la "formation d'une équipe qui puisse prendre en charge le suivi d'un projet et qui aura comme tâche principale la coordination et la systématisation des grandes lignes de l'accueil des réfugiés politiques de l'Amérique Latine. Cette tâche de systématisation est primordiale. Deux moyens pour la réaliser: l'un d'ordre institutionnel, à travers des enquêtes, des questionnaires, des rapports de travailleurs sociaux, de statistiques. L'autre non institutionnel, volontaire et spontané serait l'œuvre (soit ponctuelle soit permanente) des réfugiés eux-mêmes et pourrait se concretiser à partir d'un bulletin, d'une revue, de réunions et d'assemblées."

S. Plattner and D. Maybury-Lewis, eds., "Cultural minorities," *The Prospects for Plural Societies* [Washington, DC: American Ethnological Society, 1984], from a meeting in Lexington, KY) have suggested that "History and the spread of ideas, particularly religious ideas of tolerance and exclusion, are more important than geography for understanding the conditions of minorities in the plural societies."

L. Fabius, (Le coeur du futur [Paris: 1985], Calman Levy écrit: "Des que vous parcourrez le monde vous vous apercevrez, quelles que soient les difficultés du bonheur extraordinaire d'être français. Vous êtes nés sur une terre de libertés, dans une nation qui invente, au cœur d'une communauté d'histoire et de futur, de technologie et de culture, vous habitez l'une des plus belles contrées qui soient l'une de celles ou se marient le plus étroitement l'identité nationale et l'universel. La grande mutation viendra surtout de l'Europe, affirmation qui sera appuyée par les signes extérieurs, un hymne, un drapeau, un passeport, un permis de conduire, une assurance, un service européen, un jumelage informatique des écoles et des villes . . . ."

Cf. enquête: "Latinoamericanos residentes en Francia," dont les questions releveraient de la quatrième dimension des
profondeurs de l'histoire (?), histoire des mentalités ... ou psycho-culturelle? ¿Piensa que cuando se vive en otro país se deben adoptar sus valores y sus costumbres? ¿Conservar las costumbres y los valores propios? ¿Combinar unos y otros?
European Immigrants in Latin America: Adapting to a New World
Bismarck once remarked that he had no use for a man who would discard his country like an old coat. There were others in Germany who were less adamant on this issue, as evidenced by the societies that were created for the purpose of promoting immigration, and by the stream of hopefuls who crossed the Atlantic in search of opportunities. Over a century ago, German settlers arrived in southern Brazil "to populate and cultivate the land" and, as implied by the articles of the 1824 imperial decree, to help defend Brazilian borders against Spanish territorial ambitions. The record of German colonization attests to the success of this enterprise; by any standards, the German colonists' contribution to the region's economic growth exceeded initial expectations. Their presence in Rio Grande do Sul has been discussed by Jean Roche and others in illuminating detail. This essay focuses on a somewhat neglected aspect of German-Brazilian culture, of relevance to the study of the immigrant's assimilation process. I refer to the immigrant literature produced roughly between 1850 and 1930, which is here defined in broad terms to include as wide a spectrum of written expression as can be found in the German-Brazilian newspapers and almanacs of the period.

The first three decades of German colonization were years of toil, when the struggle for survival left little time for leisure activities. The men who came to work the land originated mostly from peasant stock possessing a minimum of formal education. In the last century, the lack of communications between the settlements north and northwest of the Jacui River and the Luso-Brazilian centers reflected the inadequacies of a primitive transportation network system. To the physical isolation of the German communities must be added an enforced cultural isolation arising from the indifference and antagonism of the indigenous population, the absence of an integrating educational system, and the language barrier. It is understandable that in the face of these obstacles German-Brazilians tended to re-create the social and cultural patterns that were most familiar to them. It is also evident that even under these unfavorable conditions a subtle alteration in the immigrant's self-image and identity occurred—a focusing of attention of the world around him—a change that was easily detected, from the 1850s on, in German-Brazilian tales and
stories. These literary productions are endowed with a characteristic flavor distinctive from the creation of contemporary German authors. Emilio Willems notes that

the novel, short story, poetry, and theater created by the German immigrants and their descendants were almost unanimously rejected, on aesthetic grounds, by those German critics who analyzed this American branch of German literature. It is a literature of almanac and newspaper, written by amateurs for an uneducated public, undemanding of the more refined product.⁴

What emerges as a significant factor in the study of immigrant literature is the absence of any publication worthy of mention in the period before the midnineteenth century. The rare exceptions confirm this assertion: a schoolbook in German published by Durbreil & Cia. in 1832, the first in a series of primers produced for classroom use; a German language newspaper, Der Deutsche Auswanderer, circulating in Rio Grande do Sul in 1856, which was very likely printed in Germany and mailed to readers in Brazil.⁵ The explanation for the scarcity of local publications lies in the fact that before the second half of the century there was little incentive, and no cultural or economic structures in the colonies, to justify or support an interest in publishing.

The colonial reports to provincial authorities disclose a grim picture of deprivation and hardship in the early settlements. Antonio Vieira de Soledade, a colonial inspector for São Leopoldo, wrote in 1829:

The first colonists who arrived there were treated in the manner prescribed by Your Imperial Majesty's promises and good will. Consequently, they are now well established and contribute to the supply of local goods. The status of those who have arrived more recently, and who are yet to enjoy the fruits of their labor is deplorable and such as to soften the most hardened of hearts. They were forced to live off the subsidies which were promised to them and managed to live frugally for as long as these subsidies were forthcoming. But how have they been able to subsist in the last eight months, when this support has been lacking? In misery, horror, and desperation.⁶

São Leopoldo flourished in spite of neglect on the part of the provincial government. Its progress was the result of the immigrants' industry and a geographical accident which gave the villagers access by river to a market for colonial products in the provincial capital. By 1856, the state of Rio Grande do Sul was exporting leather and pelts to the Hanseatic city-states, a trade undoubtedly fostered by the immigrants' interest in tanneries and
by their ties with the Old Country. Roche indicates that the tanneries employed 160 individuals in São Leopoldo in 1858. Other light industry included sugar and textile mills and furniture factories, in addition to foundries and brick factories. The economic development of the colony and the prosperity of its inhabitants brought predictable changes in the community's way of life. Children were more frequently spared from work in the fields and sent to school; printing presses were established in response to a demand for books or other printed materials which could satisfy the increasing informational and recreational needs of the local inhabitants. At the turn of the century, a printing press supplied the German-Brazilian schools with textbooks and published a popular almanac, the Rotermund-Kalender.

The arrival in 1851 of 1,850 German mercenaries, engaged by the imperial government to fight in the war against Rosas, marked a new phase in the economic and intellectual life of German-Brazilians. A war veteran later remembered in his diary: "We did not obtain many military victories in Brazil, but we need not concern ourselves overmuch on this account; we won the battles in the civilian front. It is true that a long time had to elapse before the less desirable elements among us were gotten rid of and before we could proclaim with pride that we were Brummers." At the war's end a number of soldiers opted to remain in the province, settling for the most part in the urban centers. The officers' training and education granted them a certain status in the community and access to jobs as teachers, merchants, journalists, and civil servants. The lower ranks were soon employed in hotel management, cigar manufacturing, carpentry, and printing.

The first generation of immigrants had made few attempts at organizing associations or groups which would effectively represent their interests before the Luso-Brazilian society. As Protestants in a Catholic country, they were deprived of the rights of citizenship; not many of them took advantage of the naturalization law proclaimed in 1832. A modus vivendi was soon established between the colonists and the local authorities by which the settlements were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in internal affairs.

The situation was considered intolerable by those elements of the 1851 regiment who, as members of the German lesser nobility and refugees from the 1848 revolution, took pride in German traditions and advocated liberal ideas. Under their influence, German recreational and commercial societies sprang up, German national holidays became occasion for celebration, and a revival of interest in German culture occurred. The newcomers saw that the way to secure the immigrants' gains was not through acquiescence but by means of political involvement. However, the conflicts arising from two opposing inclinations, the sentimental attachment to Germany and the desire to be fully accepted as
individuals of equal standing in the Brazilian society, was not easily resolved. Egon Schaden has noted that,

for the most part, the colonists in the rural areas reached—and preserved for a long time—a phase of cultural integration which justifies the label of marginal culture. . . . [The process] in the urban areas was characterized not by the existence of a third [intermediary] culture but by rapid acculturation into the Luso-Brazilian society, even while preserving numerous elements of German tradition.\(^1\)

Ethnic values emphasized in the German-Brazilian schools and churches were reinforced by visitors from Germany and enthusiasts of Pan-Germanism. Deutschtum gained a greater acceptance among a group of settlers, who viewed the adoption of local customs by the younger generation as betrayal and corruption. The links with Germany remained strong until after World War II, not abating even during the difficult years of World War I when Brazil ruptured relations with Germany and German-Brazilians suffered persecution. There seems to have been a correlation between economic well-being and degree of assimilation, since prosperity often facilitated entry into the Brazilian society and tended to increase the costs of noninvolvement. Intermarriages were also a significant factor in the process. It is interesting to note that religious preferences had a bearing in the preservation of German ethnicity. In Ijuí, Rio Grande do Sul, Willems recorded, "50 percent of the German Catholic marriages were contracted with persons of a different ethnic background."\(^2\) Neither should one forget the connection between Deutschtum and Protestantism in all its historical dimensions.

German-Brazilian literary works can be used as a means of measuring the impact of the Brazilian culture and environment on the marginal group. A content analysis of immigrant literature reveals that the favored themes correspond to stages in the adaptive process. One popular story tells of the adventures of an immigrant who, having to leave Germany as a fugitive of the law, returns to his native village as a redeemed man. He no longer feels "at home" there, since "everything has changed," and goes back to his adopted country. The conflict between newly arrived immigrants and old settlers, the Deutschlander and the Deutschen, is also depicted in popular narrative. The unflattering portrayal of newcomers, who are often perceived as lazy and unscrupulous, may well have signified the writer's gradual psychological detachment from his original ethnic community.\(^3\) A number of these tales were published in the Rotermund-Kalender (1901-1918) under the editorship of one of the most notable figures of the German-Brazilian community, a man of varied talents, Wilhelm Rotermund. Stories such as Die beiden Nachbarn, Brilhantine, Meines Kindes Begraebnis, and
Schwabenstriche in Brasilien portray with pathos, humor, and a good deal of empathy the small tragedies and joys of everyday life in the colonies. 14

Anuários, in the tradition of the Koseritz' deutscher Volkskalender, Der hinkende Teufel, and the Deutscher ColonieKalender, served as substitutes, in the immigrant's home, for the books that were too expensive to purchase, too time-consuming to read, and not fit for an industrious family's leisure hours. They contained useful information on planting, the care of animals, hygiene, and education, as well as digestible amounts of art, history, and local politics. Firsthand reports of travels, memoirs of the early settlers, and biographies of local personalities were often included as a matter of particular interest to the German-Brazilian subscribers. 15

Wolfgang Ammon, a frequent contributor to the RotermundKalender, offered a perspective of the Luso-Brazilian society from a German-Brazilian viewpoint: in Gesuehnt (1893), Mercedes (1897), In heulender Wildnis (1898), and Ida (1899), he introduced the reader to new characters, the caboclo and the slave, and described the routine of life in the fazenda. The epic of the Brummers, legendary figures in Riograndense history, was celebrated in Christoph Lenz's Erinnerungen und Erlebnisse eines alten Brummers (1911). Arno Phillip transcribed folktales and local humor in his Drei Bagatellen. The Musterreiter's adventures gave origin to a unique kind of poetic expression, the Musterreiterdichtung, reminiscent of the old Meistersinger stories. As poetry or drama, folktale or short story, the literary products of the German-Brazilian culture possessed a superficial resemblance to the Brazilian literature with which they shared the landscape, and only a remote connection to the German literature from which they borrowed the language. 16

From a linguistic perspective, a textual analysis of the literary works published in the almanacs shows that a great deal of the material accepted for publication was written in one of the local dialects, Hunsrück or Hunsbuckle, predominantly spoken by immigrants in the São Leopoldo settlement. 17 Willems has commented on the poverty of the vocabulary and the frequent inclusion of Portuguese words in the text. 18 In contrast, High German was the language employed by the better educated group of immigrants, who had settled in the urban areas and who emerged as the founders and principal contributors to the German-Brazilian newspapers. Undoubtedly, the most illustrious representative of this group was Karl von Koseritz, a journalist-writer and politician, who advocated with the same degree of enthusiasm German immigration to Brazil and German-Brazilian participation in the political life of the nation.

In 1864, Koseritz assumed the editorship of the Deutsche Zeitung in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, a position he held until 1881, when a dispute with one of the publishers over the
organization of the German-Brazilian Exhibition led to his resignation. At home in both cultures, fluent in both languages, Koseritz endeavored, albeit not always successfully, to persuade the immigrant community of the advantages of political involvement while attempting to convince the provincial government of the benefits of a subsidized immigration program. His anticlericalism, atheism, and abolitionist views could not fail to antagonize certain factions in both communities. To combat Koseritz's ideas, strongly influenced by the Kulturkampf movement, two newspapers expressing the confessional viewpoint, Der Bote (1867-1875) and the Deutsche Post (1881-1928), were published by Rotermund. Das deutsche Volksblatt, founded by Jesuits in 1871 in defense of the Catholic position, continued publication into the next century.19

The importance of the dialogue initiated by Koseritz becomes clear when one considers the statement that "before Koseritz Brazilians of German descent had paid little attention to current political issues." Jean Roche adds: "Regardless of the differences of opinion existing in the German community, the fact remains that the journalists helped create a collective consciousness of the German-Brazilian problems, as well as offering solutions of practical nature and guiding principles for action."20

Karl Jansen claimed to have published the first almanac for the provincial capital in 1857. This publication contained a wide range of census information, including a list of lawyers and doctors, industrialists, artisans, and merchants in Porto Alegre. Jansen distinguished himself in other intellectual activities: he was the editor of O Cuaiba, the first literary magazine in the province, and of Der deutsche Einwanderer, a German periodical concerned with the arts, sciences, and politics.21

Reasonable assumptions on the true extent of the press's influence on the assimilation process can only be made by considering its audience. It is reasonable to assume, for example, that the impact of the new ideas aired in the press was most strongly felt by precisely that class of readers which spearheaded the economic integration of the immigrant: the urban dwellers, the prosperous merchants, and the well educated, who had a stake in advancing their own interests. Willems has noted that the press had only a marginal effect on the life patterns of the rural community. During the nineteenth century, only 10 percent of the families residing in these communities subscribed to German-Brazilian periodicals. The average man in the colonies held fast to his dialect and remained on the whole indifferent to events beyond his parish. There existed between the journalist and the peasant the same cultural gap, in terms of language and interests, as prevailed between the isolated German settlers and the Luso-Brazilian society. "What good is culture when one has no money?" was the sentiment sometimes expressed by those German-Brazilians engaged in tilling the land. And,
yet, the circulation of German-Brazilian newspapers showed a steady increase from 1852 to 1910, which seems to confirm the support of at least some of the community for a public arena of communal expression. 22

From 1910 to 1929, however, the number of newspapers published in German declined (though there was not a correspondent decline in readership), 23 a factor of some significance in the light of Carl Wittke's general observations on the functions of the immigrant press:

The foreign language press, whatever nationality group it may happen to represent, has a double role to perform. As a matter of self-interest, as well as for deep emotional reasons, it is concerned with preserving the cultural ties of the immigrant with the land of his origin, promoting the activities of the group in its new home, and keeping the mother tongue alive as long as possible. The language of the immigrant is inextricably interwoven with the vitality of his particular group, as well as being its most important cultural medium. When interest in the language begins to die out in the second generation, the foreign language press begins to die also. It is the function of the immigrant press to initiate the immigrant into his new environment and to interpret for him, in words which he can understand, the political, economic, and social pattern. . . . 24

There is no question that newspapers of the Protestant denomination sought to preserve ethnic values, as there is little doubt that newspapers such as the Koseritz' deutsche Zeitung were instrumental in kindling the interest for German culture among the immigrants. On the whole, the Catholic press carried more news having to do with "Brazilian" events. 25 In the first fifty years of its existence the German-Brazilian press did in effect, as suggested by Wittke, provide a forum for self-expression and a medium for the interpretation of the Brazilian reality. The press was quite clearly the reflection of a culture in transition. The later decline in publication can be explained both as the result of restrictions imposed on German literature during World War I and as a sign that acculturation was inevitably taking place. As for the increase in readership, can this not be attributed to the population factor and to the growing affluence of the German community?

Determining the extent to which newspaper reading contributed to the exchange of cultural values is rather more difficult and would require a detailed analysis of contents. Willems has concluded that the proportion between traditional values being preserved and new values being introduced varied greatly among the German-Brazilian newspapers. The first publication of this kind, the Kolonist (1852), addressed agricultural matters and
translated imperial laws affecting the immigrant. The Deutsche Zeitung, under Koseritz's editorship, encouraged immigrant naturalization and the acquisition of the Portuguese language; it also sought to preserve the German culture and language as part of the unique contribution which the immigrant could bring to his adopted land. The evangelical papers, as previously indicated, tended to promote Deutschtum. In summary, though these publications undeniably shaped the perceptions and views of German-Brazilians and provided a vehicle for self-expression, the final assessment of their actual impact remains to be made.26

The assimilation of German immigrants into the Brazilian culture took longer than a century. As a vocal and influential group in the German-Brazilian community, the almanac and newspaper writers served as a link between the two cultures. They made a difficult transition easier and helped lay the foundations for the immigrant's home in the New World.

NOTES


3Immigrant literature is of particular interest in cultural studies as a tool for analyzing linguistic evolution and changing conceptions of reality. Literary texts, aside from any aesthetic value that they may possess, have an intrinsic value as interpretations of the world. In the creative process, the writer, too, "constructs, maintains, and modifies a consistent reality." The adjustment to a given reality is reflected in the cultural products of a group, and works of literature are therefore reliable indicators of the environment's impact on language and customs (Peter L. Berger and Hansfried Kellner, "Marriage and the Construction of Reality," Diogenes, 46 [1964], 2).

4Willems, A Aculturação, p. 545.


8Roche, A Colonização, p. 462.


10Roche, A Colonização, p. 664.


12Willems, Assimilação, p. 214.

13Willems, A Aculturação, pp. 546-547.


15Ibid., pp. 227-235.

16Ibid., pp. 233, 237.


18Willems, A Aculturação, pp. 547-548. The use of Portuguese words was frequent when referring to gaucho clothing and working tools, food and drink, plants, local traditions, architecture, cattle breeding, weights and measures, and toponymy; see Willems, Assimilação, p. 190.


20Becker, "Imprensa," p. 274; Roche, A Colonização, II, 661.


22Willems, A Aculturação, pp. 549-553; almanacs are often included in these newspaper statistics.
the number of subscribers to German-Brazilian newspapers was 3,750 in 1882, 6,000 in 1891, 11,000 in 1903, 17,000 in 1910, and 20,000 in 1915; see Roche, A Colonização, p. 663.


25 Willems, A Aculturação, pp. 554-555.

APPENDIX

Selected List of German-Brazilian Publications, 1850-1930

Almanacs
Deutscher Colonie-Kalender. São Leopoldo. 1868--.
Deutscher Kalender. Porto Alegre. 1885--.
Deutscher Volkskalender fuer die Provinz São Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul. Porto Alegre. 1861--.
Der Familienfreund. Porto Alegre. 1912--.
Der hinkende Teufel, deutscher Volkskalender fuer das Schaltjahr 1856.
Kalender fuer die Deutschen in Brasilien. São Leopoldo. 1881--. (Rotermund-Kalender)
Kolonie Kalender. Santa Cruz. 1901--.
Koseritz deutscher Volkskalender fuer Brasilien. Porto Alegre. 1874--.
Lehrerkalender. São Leopoldo. 1925--.
Luther-Kalender fuer Suedamerika. Porto Alegre. 1925--.
Musterreiters neuer historischer Kalender. Porto Allegre. 1887--.
Riograndense Marien Kalender. Porto Alegre. 1917--.
Das Schulbuch. São Leopoldo. 1929--. (Supplement, Lehrerkalender)
Serra-Post Kalender. Ijuí. 1919--.

Newspapers and Other Publications
Allgemeine Lehrerzeitung fuer Rio Grande do Sul. São Leopoldo. 1904--.
Das Band. Porto Alegre. 1929--.
Der Bauenfreund. Porto Alegre. 1900-1914.
Der Bote von São Leopoldo. São Leopoldo. 1867-1877.
Deutsche Beilage zu A Nação. Porto Alegre.
Deutscher Einwanderer. Porto Alegre. 1853--.
Deutsch-evangelische Blaetter fuer Brasilien. São Leopoldo. 1919--.
Deutsche landwirtschaftliche Presse fuer Brasilien. São Leopoldo. 1929--.
Deutsche Post. São Leopoldo. 1880--.
Newspapers and Other Publications (cont'd.)
Deutsches Volksblatt. São Leopoldo. 1871--.
Der Einwanderer. Porto Alegre. 1854-1861.
Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt fuer Neu Württemberg.
Neu Württemberg. 1926--.
Evangelische-lutherisches Kirchenblatt fuer Suedamerika. Porto
Alegre. 1906--.
Der Gemeindebote. Porto Alegre. 1919--.
Heimatklaenge. Porto Alegre. 1927--.
Der Kampf. Novo Hamburgo. 1836--.
Kolonie. Santa Cruz. 1906--.
Der Kolonist. Porto Alegre. 1852-1853. (Der Colonist)
Koseritz deutsche Zeitung. Porto Alegre. 1881-1918. (Neue
deutsche Zeitung. 1919-1941)
Lehrezeitung. Porto Alegre. 1902--.
Nachrichtenblatt der Liga das Uniões Coloniais. Porto Alegre.
1929--.
St. Paulusblatt. Porto Alegre. 1912--.
Sonntagsblatt fuer die evangelischen Gemeinde in Brasilien. Novo
Hamburgo. 1887--.

A preliminary search of standard bibliographic sources indicates that very few of these periodicals are available in the United States. Copies of some of these items can be found in the Museu do Imigrante Alemão in São Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul, and in the municipal library in Porto Alegre. I am indebted to the authors cited in this paper for information concerning the content of the almanacs and newspapers.
8. SELECTED EUROPEAN-BORN CITIZENS AND RESIDENTS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRAZIL AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO BRAZIL

Mary Ellis Kahler

In recent decades great emphasis has been placed on quantitative methods and statistics. At the same time, many of the findings have been based upon records reflecting the everyday lives and affairs of people; data about births, marriages, deaths, and wills have formed the basis of many studies. This essay surveys and comments upon European contributions to Brazil in terms of specific persons rather than in terms of mass immigration. Merchants, teachers, artists, naturalists and other scientists, explorers, military men, mining engineers, doctors, and entrepreneurs can be found among the scores of Europeans who came to Brazil during the nineteenth century and left their mark upon Brazilian society.

Curiously, the entry of Napoleon's armies into the city of Lisbon proved to be a boon to Brazil. With the arrival late in 1807 of D. João VI, then Prince Regent, first in Salvador and a short time later in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil became the seat of the Portuguese Empire. With D. João's opening of the ports of Brazil to the ships of friendly nations and the end of tight control upon the movement of foreigners within Brazilian territory, Brazil became more subject to the influence of European thought and culture.

British merchants, aided by favorable customs duties and by a special Juiz Conservador Britânico, who took care of their affairs outside of regular judicial channels, were among the first to respond. They brought with them their ways of doing business as well as products, which had to go through a process of natural selection as heavy woolens and other items unsuitable to the tropics were dropped in favor of more appropriate items. Some traders established offices in Rio, Recife, and Salvador, where the Court had decreed that a small number of merchant houses could be opened. When Maria Graham visited Bahia (Salvador) in 1824, she found eight English, two French, and two German mercantile houses. At first the British concentrated on wholesale trade, preferring to be free of the demands of conventional shopkeeping. The Barão, later Visconde de Mauá, probably Brazil's greatest nineteenth-century entrepreneur, learned not only the language but also the financial and mercantile practices of his British merchant employer Richard Carruthers; this type of apprenticeship was repeated in the lives of many others. British banks became important in Brazilian financial affairs, and the House of Rothschild eventually became the broker for the loans to
the Brazilian Empire. In time, British firms would become predominant not only in imports but also in Brazilian exports.

The British merchants tended to remain in Brazil for a few years, with occasional trips back to England. Auction sales, which appear to have been conducted largely by Englishmen like J. J. Dodsworth and Guilherme or William Young, disposed not only of merchandise but also of the household goods of the British, much coveted by Brazilians. A few members of the mercantile persuasion married Brazilians and settled in Brazil, although such marriages were much more common with the French.

The French came as merchants, but their goods were more elegant and their tastes copied more widely in the decorative arts and life-styles. The fine silks and other goods that they sold on the Rua do Ouvidor were much sought. At midcentury, a traveler wrote that "the best street, Rua d'Ouvidor, is nearly all French, so that one may fancy oneself in the Palais Royal, and nearly everything that is found in London or Paris may be bought here."1

There were probably more teachers of French than of English. Father Tilbury, a priest tutoring D. Pedro, heir to the throne, in English was reportedly less successful than the Prince's English groom who managed to teach him to speak English in a remarkably rough manner, later copied by his second wife, Dona Amelia. Her language startled the English sailors on the ship in which the royal pair sailed for Europe after D. Pedro's abdication as Emperor in 1831.

Most of the music, fencing, and dancing teachers were French. Following the Napoleonic Wars, there were many displaced men and families, some of them of high social station or military rank. Among them were the Lacombes, who offered dancing lessons, and the family of the Comte de Escragnolle, who led Brazilian Imperial troops against the northern separatist confederation in 1824. After similar military service, Guede Thomas Marlière was named Director General of Indians, a post he filled in a humane manner. Père Poiret (or Boiret) tutored the Infantas in French.

As long as Napoleon was alive the Portuguese and, later, the Brazilian, Emperor feared that French forces would gather around the former ruler and make new attempts against their thrones. A small nucleus of French expatriates lived together high up in the forest of Tijuca, where their homes became a frequent stopping place for foreign visitors. The Taunay family lived near a small waterfall and most of the little colony planted coffee; knowledge of its culture was said to have been brought by former French colonists in Santo Domingo. Mme. de Roquefeuil, aunt of the French ambassador, the Comte de Cestas, Prince Montbéliard, François Armand, who dealt in French artillery, and others lived in the neighborhood. Napoleon's former aide-de-camp, the Dutch General Theodore van Hodendorp, grew coffee and experimented
with other tropical plants on his estate on the fringes of Corcovado mountain and drew frequent visitors. Upon his death, it was discovered that his entire body was covered with tattoos, relics of his early service in the Dutch East Indies.

D. João made many contributions to Brazilian society. His own library, reportedly open to the public five hours daily, formed the nucleus of the Biblioteca Nacional. He was a strong patron of the arts, particularly music, established escolas militares in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, formed the beginning collections of the Museu Nacional, and established the Imprensa Regia that later became the Imprensa Nacional.

One of his best-known cultural ventures was the French mission of artists who came to Brazil in 1816 to establish an academy of fine arts in the French tradition. There is evidence that D. João also intended the academy to foster training in the useful arts and mechanics' trades, a goal it did not attain. Several people were active in forming the mission, made up largely of people who had supported Napoleon. With the strong backing of the Francophile Conde da Barca, Ministro da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos, and the Marquês de Marialva, Portuguese ambassador to France, a group was formed. The chief of the mission was Joaquim Lebreton, permanent secretary of one of the classes of the Institut de France. Pierre Dillon served as secretary.

The artists included Nicolas and Auguste Taunay, painter and sculptor, respectively, Jean Baptiste Debret, painter, Auguste Henri Victor Grandjean de Montigny, architect, and Simon Pradier, engraver. François Ovide, teacher of mechanics, and C. H. Levasseur, L. Simp. Meunier, and F. Bonrepos, described as aides to Grandjean de Montigny and Auguste Taunay, were also among the group. Although not officially of the mission, Sigismund Neukomm, a composer, organist, and pianist, also came, along with skilled blacksmiths, leather workers, and carriage makers, on the same American ship, the Calpe.

A cordial official welcome heartened the émigrés, some of whom, namely, Debret and Montigny, may have soon regretted that they had not accepted the offer of appointment that had come to them from the Czar of Russia. Initial hospitality and living quarters in a city of scarce housing was too soon followed by bureaucratic delays and the ill will engendered by the French consul general Maler, who looked upon the artists as Jacobins and did all he could to discredit the mission at court and in the press. A short time later Marc and Zeferino Ferrez, one a sculptor and the other an engraver of metals, joined the group. The painters busied themselves with painting the people and setting of Rio, and Montigny and Debret prepared elaborate decorations celebrating D. Pedro's birthday and the arrival of his bride, D. Leopoldina. The other mission members managed to
busy themselves with private commissions. It was not until 1826 that the Academia de Belas Artes was formally opened in its own building, designed by Montigny. In the years that had intervened since their arrival, Lebreton had died after a virtual retreat to his home in Flamengo, a victim of the attacks of consul Maler, only to be replaced by a mediocre and small-minded Portuguese artist, Henrique José da Silva. He in turn supplanted Pierre Dillon with Padre Luis Rafael Soyé and helped his friend Pedro Alexandrino Cavroé to usurp Montigny's place as architect to the crown.

Silva carried on a series of ugly accusations in the Rio newspapers and even resorted to locking Debret out of the rooms in which he worked and taught. A John Johnston, a former master stoneworker who came to Brazil with the set of ornamental royal palace gates given to D. João by the Duke of Northumberland, and not Montigny, was assigned the task of enlarging the palace. This was a direct blow to Montigny.

Nicolas Antoine Taunay, probably the finest artist in the group, went back to France in 1821 after Silva had been made chief of the group. His brother Auguste, the sculptor, died in 1824, and his adventurous young son Amadé Adrien Taunay drowned in 1827 while on a scientific expedition led by Count Langsdorff. The only happy event was the appointment of his son Félix Emile as professor of landscape painting at the Academia. He became its director in 1834 but was replaced in 1851 by Manuel de Araujo Porto Alegre, a former pupil at the Academia.

The Academy fostered painting but emphasized historical scenes and established techniques. It never truly became the Escola Real das Ciências, Artes e Ofícios contemplated by D. João, who shared the Enlightenment's high esteem of useful knowledge and discouraged the creation of a national university as premature in his time. Ovide, the professor of mechanics, moved into private employment and directed the hydraulic engineering for a project in the Quinta da Boa Vista. The other skilled workers were active in their own work and in training local workers.

Montigny was an excellent teacher. After losing his French wife, he married a Brazilian and stayed in Rio, as did the Ferrez brothers, whose name was carried on, in the field of photography, by descendants. There are few traces of the work of Montigny in Rio today, the principal one being his house in Gavea, which he at one time tried, unsuccessfully, to sell by raffle. It is on the campus of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica and houses the Projeto Portinari. Other buildings which he designed and which reached construction, such as the bourse and the Academia, are no longer standing, although the façade of the latter was moved to the grounds of the Jardim Botânico. His
concept of urban planning, with its emphasis on classical forms and open spaces, has survived to some extent.

Jean Baptiste Debret, like Nicolas Taunay, finally returned in 1831 to France, where he worked with Pradier, who had also left the Academia, in the execution of the plates which illustrated his Voyage pittoresque and which have since served to enliven so many historical works. Both the humor and the pathos of his drawings of Brazil's three races have left a great legacy. The more than fifty paintings that Joaquim Lebreton had collected and brought to Brazil for a pinacoteca were bought by the government and, supplemented by paintings of members of the artistic mission, formed the beginnings of a national art collection.

Upon the occasion of the coming of the Austrian princess Leopoldina, wife of D. Pedro I, in 1817, two scientific expeditions were formed and mingled under the sponsorship of the Austrian throne and the Bavarian crown. Numerous trips were taken to different parts of the interior and coastal regions; they resulted in contributions to knowledge about the geography, ethnography, mineralogy, flora, and fauna of Brazil.

Among the members of these expeditions were the Austrians Johann van Natterer and Johann Emmanuel Pohl and the Bavarians Karl Friedrich Philipp von Martius and Johann Baptist von Spix, botanist and zoologist, respectively. Pohl was a botanist and geologist who went into Minas Gerais, Goias, Mato Grosso, and Para; Natterer traveled to the southern provinces as well as up into Amazonia. Both made observations and gathered artifacts relating to Indian tribes and also collected plant and animal specimens. Pohl took with him to Austria two Botocudo Indians who lived in Vienna for several years, echoing the experience of the Brazilian Indians taken to Rouen in the 1550s. Thomas Ender was the accompanying artist in 1817 and 1818. One member of the group, Rochus Schuch, so-called librarian, acquired a property at Capanema, the name of which he took as his own.

Von Martius and von Spix wrote their famous Reise in Brasilien together. Following the early death of von Spix, von Martius continued to work on volumes of his study of Brazilian plants, supported at least in part by a pension from the Emperor D. Pedro II. Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, accompanied by the naturalists Friedrich Sellow and Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss, traveled along the coast from Rio to Bahia and into the forests on the boundary of Minas Gerais. Their special interest lay in the Indian tribes and the study of their languages and living habits. Freyreiss later settled down at the Colônia Leopoldina in Bahia.

Among the many other explorers and naturalists was Henry Walter Bates, who spent the years from 1848 to 1859 in the Amazon studying birds and other wildlife and developing several evolutionary theories that have stood the tests of time. His friend Alfred Russell Wallace traveled farther north. Yet another
Englishman, Richard Spruce, moved even farther west in his search for plant life.

Two French expeditions, led by Jules Nicolas Crevaux and Henri Anatole Coudreau, explored tributaries of the Amazon and the boundaries of Brazil and French Guiana, studying the Indians at the same time. Unfortunately, on a later trip, Coudreau was killed by Indians, along with his companions.

Another interesting figure was Count Georg Heinrich von Langsdorff, the German-born Russian consul in Rio. His earlier adventures had included travel to Portugal, where he used his medical training to practice vaccination; an expedition under Russian sponsorship which had reached Kamchatka and returned by way of Santa Catarina, Brazil, where he spent two or three months; service as Russian consul to Portugal from 1813 to 1820; exploration with Auguste de Saint-Hilaire; and a stay in Europe that lasted until 1825, when he planned to go into the interior and the farther reaches of the Amazon. His Rio home in Laranjeiras and his farm, named "Mandioca" and located near Nova Friburgo close to the Oragão Mountains, were known to many travelers. The expedition included the botanist Ludwig Riedel, the astronomer Rubzoff (who was to sicken and die during the venture), Johann Mauritz Rugendas (who left the group before it set out but was later to return to Brazil), and Amadrien Taunay, who took the place of Rugendas. Hercules Florence, recently arrived from France and recommended by former employers Pierre Dillon and Pierre Plancher, accompanied the group as an illustrator. After many delays the group set out for Mato Grosso, along with the necessary guide, mules, provisions, and supplies, making certain that there would be a way to send back the notes, sketches, and specimens that they accumulated. Young Taunay proceeded on an alternate route, only to drown in a risky crossing of the Gauporé River. Langsdorff's eccentricities moved into madness and it was necessary to end the expedition in 1829, when Langsdorff was sent back to Germany, where he lived on in a demented state until about 1850, perhaps unaware that von Martius had named a tropical plant in his honor. The records and collections were sent to St. Petersburg. From those records, an account that Hercules Florence gave to the Taunay family, and notes that Florence retained that have come down in his family, several versions of his Viagem fluvial do Tietê ao Amazonas pelas províncias brasileiras do São Paulo, Mato Grosso e Grão Pará (1825–1829) have been edited and published.

Ludwig Riedel, the botanist, stayed in Brazil, taking a public office as Director of the Passeio Público, the principal park and garden in Rio. He died in Rio in 1861, aged seventy-one. The Biblioteca Nacional has in its collections a manuscript on the trees and plants of Brazil, written by Riedel.

An unexpected figure was Hercules Florence, mentioned above as an artist with Langsdorff's ill-fated expedition of
1825-1829. He was born in France in 1804 and signed on as crew of the ship Marie Therèse as soon as he was permitted to do so. After taking part in the blockade of Barcelona, the ship made the forty-five-day journey to Rio. There Captain de Rosamel, of the ship, helped him to find employment with Pierre Dillon (probably the Pierre Dillon of the artistic mission), who had a clothing store; after a time he went to work for Pierre Plancher, a French bookseller. He heard of Langsdorff's expedition and applied for and was given the job of artist, second to young Taunay. Preparations for the expedition took him to São Paulo, where he married and settled after the expedition ended.

In São Carlos (now Campinas) he seems to have supported himself by operating a store that sold fabrics. He also had a printing press at one time that was used to print four issues of O Paulista, the newspaper of the brief liberal revolution of 1842 in which the former regent Diogo Antônio Feijó was involved. Earlier, he had become interested in the sounds made by animals and made a study of what he termed zoophonie. A desire to publish his findings led to the printing press. Becoming interested in printing processes, he developed a method of printing that he called polygraphie. He also invented a process for producing paper money that could not be copied and tried to bring it to the attention of the French government through the French Chargé in Rio. His efforts went for naught.

Still seeking a way to copy images, he developed a photographic process in 1833, several years before Daguerre secured a patent for his process. Like Joseph Niepce and Henry Fox Talbot in contemporary France and England, he was seeking a means of making multiple copies of the same image. The use of a camera obscura was another shared aspect of their experiments.

It was a neighbor, pharmacist Joaquim Correa de Mello, who suggested that he use silver nitrate to fix the images that he captured with the camera obscura and an exposure to a lighted scene or object. Further experiments enabled him to transfer the negative image to another surface in positive form. A few years ago, Borris Kossoy, a historian of Brazilian photography, arranged to have the experiments that Florence had made and meticulously recorded repeated at the Rochester Institute of Technology, with results identical to those noted by Florence. After he read about Daguerre's work Florence continued his work with polygraphie but did not continue with photographie (a term he used before the word was used elsewhere).

He prospered enough to be able to make a journey back to Europe in 1855 and to purchase the Fazenda Soledade, where he received many visiting travelers, in 1856. He left a collection of sketches of Campinas and other towns of São Paulo and of Indians and their artifacts. Regrettably, only some labels and certificates that he reproduced photographically have survived as evidence of his simultaneous but isolated discovery of photography in 1833.
Because of his sketches and artistic works he was called "patriarca da iconografia paulista" by the Brazilian historian Alfredo de Escragnolle Taunay, who first published Florence's journal of the Langsdorff expedition. Some of his drawings are also preserved in Leningrad at the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

The man who has been called the father of Brazilian paleontology was born a Dane. Peter Wilhelm Lund, born in 1801, first went to Brazil in 1825 and stayed four years, collecting material for the Danish Museum of Natural History. He returned to Europe in 1829, only to go back to Brazil in 1833 and spend the rest of his life in Minas Gerais until his death in 1880. From zoology and botany he moved into the study of fossils, rocks, caves, and other geological formations, making interesting discoveries of animal and human remains and exploring underground sites.

The published results of these expeditions include scientific works such as Flora Brasiliensis, by von Martius, and the drawings of hummingbirds of Theodore Descourtiz. European museums were greatly enriched by notes and specimens. Apart from their importance to the natural and social sciences and the standards that they set for scientific studies, these expeditions left a body of accounts that are among the prime sources for Brazilian history. Beginning with the accounts of cosmographer André Thevet, published in 1557, and of Calvinist Jean de Léry, published in 1578, of the French incursion and occupation under Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, a long series of foreigners' accounts make up much of the bibliography of Brasiliana.

The mining in Brazil during the height of its gold rush, when readily accessible gold was skimmed off, was alluvial and did not rely on complicated machinery and methods. With the exhaustion of resources of this kind, more sophisticated methods were sought. For this, the Crown looked abroad. The German mining engineer and geologist, Wilhelm Ludwig von Eschwege, a graduate of the Freyburg school of mines who had been working for the Portuguese government, was invited to come to Brazil in 1811. Endowed with the military rank of tenente-general in the royal corps of engineers, he conducted mining explorations and recorded his observations of now extinct Indian tribes. He was also in charge of several mines and foundries in Minas Gerais. His Pluto Brasiliensis, in which he writes about Brazilian mines and mining, is still a respected work. Unfortunately for him and for Brazil, he did not receive full support from the Crown and left for Europe in 1821.

Franz Ludwig Wilhelm von Varnhagen, father of Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, the historian, was another German granted military rank to serve as an expert. His fields were iron foundries and forests. He was drawn back to the court in Rio, supposedly in part because D. João wished to learn more about
processes used by a Swedish engineer named Hedberg, who was then in Minas.

With the opening of the country to foreign enterprise, the British did not delay in entering mining. Although the rate of success was very low, there were at least fourteen British companies, one French, and seven Brazilian companies by midcentury. In the long run, only about two or three could be considered anything but failures, and these were British. They were the São João d'El Rei Mining Company, the Morro Velho, and the Ouro Preto Golden Mines of Brazil. Another firm that functioned well was the iron mill and foundry owned and operated by the industrious João Antônio Félix Dessandes de Monlevade, a Frenchman married to a Brazilian. When Monlevade was in his eighties, the writer Richard Burton, then British consul at Santos, praised his enterprise highly. Using largely slave labor, he trained an elite corps of ironworkers who operated as a guild in which masters or fathers trained their apprentices or sons. His example illustrates the way in which the British and French could, by a willingness to participate in menial or physical tasks, counteract an Iberian distaste for such pursuits. This could indeed be considered a positive contribution to the Brazilian environment.

Those familiar with the Diary of Helena Morley, translated by Elizabeth Bishop, which tells the story of a young girl growing up in a mining town, should find it interesting to learn that the grandfather of Helena Morley (not her real name) was an English doctor named John Dayrell, who went to Brazil as a doctor for a mining company. He stayed on after the company failed and moved to Diamantina where he practiced medicine and mined for diamonds.

When D. Pedro II decided to carry out a measure that was already several decades old by establishing a school of mines, he turned to France. After a long search for a qualified person willing to go to Minas Gerais, Brazil, the comparatively young Henri Gorceix was selected. He accepted and went to Brazil, where he decided that Ouro Preto would be the best location for the school. He was a graduate of the Ecole Normale Superieur and took on some of the teaching duties. Through a process of trial and error a curriculum that emphasized practical rather than theoretical considerations and provided some of the frequently lacking prerequisites along with the main courses was adopted. Resentment against foreigners, difficulties in finding good teachers, and political problems dogged Gorceix, but he persisted until 1891, when he asked to be permitted to resign, leaving behind an established institution that has prepared many leaders in Brazilian mining. He readily acknowledged that only the support of the Emperor made his task possible or tenable. In a belated tribute, his ashes were brought back to the school in 1970. The School of Mines remains a useful institution and has
recently become part of the Universidade Federal, made up of the existing faculdades and schools in Ouro Preto.

The French, like the British, brought engineering and other technical arts and sciences. The twin brothers, Edward and Alfred de Mornay, who could hardly be told apart, were English, but of French lineage, and settled in Pernambuco. Edward went to England in the 1850s about a patent for an improved sugarmill, and they are mentioned in travelers' accounts because of their invention as well as for the work that they did in maintaining engenhos on properties around Recife, Pernambuco. They were reported as surveying and proposing a route for the future Recife and São Francisco Railway several years before it was incorporated and financed in London with the help of customary incentives offered by the Brazilian government.

The years that Louis Léger Vauthier spent in Recife as an engineer in the service of the Province of Pernambuco present an interesting case study documented by his published diary and Gilberto Freyre's supplemental work. Vauthier went to Recife in 1840, staying until the end of 1846. He succeeded Johann Bloehm, a German, in the post of Director of Public Works. His principal assignments were to prepare a map of the city of Recife, to direct the construction of the Teatro Santa Isabel (still standing in a remodeled state) and the bridge of Santo Amaro, to continue the building of the Convento do Carmo and the Liceu Nacional, to study and draw up a plan for roads leading out from Recife, and to attend to other needed projects. Several other young French engineers were brought in with him, among them Pierre Victor Boulitreau and Auguste Millet, both of whom stayed in Brazil and left distinguished descendants. He also employed one of the de Mornay brothers for a time. Vauthier had available to him the manpower of a company of German mechanics and craftsmen, headed by one Augusto Koersting. His diary shows that Vauthier was not always pleased with his crew of workers but he was a good and responsible employer. The records of goods sold at his departure includes slaves, but they could have worked in his home.

Vauthier was public spirited and he drew up plans for water supplies, a regional network of roads to open up the interior of the province, low-cost housing, and a training school for engineers. A general resentment of foreigners in authority and a change in provincial government spelled the end of his employment. He had become involved in conflicts within the French community and had to endure bureaucratic delays, so that his departure was not entirely sad. Concerned with general problems of society, he had contributed articles to O Progresso, a journal edited by Antônio Pedro de Figueiredo, a radical socialist. It has been suggested that Vauthier was his link with the teachings of Fourier and Saint-Simon. In recognition of his contributions, Vauthier was awarded the Imperial Order of the Rose in 1847.
Among the many public works that required attention were the ports. Charles Neate, an Englishman, was brought in to direct the port works in Rio de Janeiro in 1851, but after a portion of the works collapsed, he was replaced by André Rebouças, a Brazilian engineer. Neate remained, however, to help his successor and later participated in developing a plan, never used, for the port of Recife. John Hawkshaw, another British engineer, drew up plans for several ports, only one of which, for Fortaleza, Ceará, was put into action. Railroad planning and engineering figures included Thomas Cochrane (a cousin of Admiral Lord Cochrane), Edward Price, and others.

The initiative for street railways, water and sewage plants, and public utilities was largely in the hands of the British, who could furnish the capital and take advantage of the favorable contracts and guarantees offered by the Imperial Government. Their factories and commercial ventures were in need of the improvements in communication, such as the telegraph, and in transportation, by ship and railroad. The question of the benefits or penalties brought by development in foreign hands is open, but it could surely be said that such endeavors provided useful examples for future national initiatives. They were an early form of the transference of technology.

Foreign doctors were notable for their presence and activities. Pierre or Pedro Théberge, who later became a botanist and historian of Ceará, was probably the Dr. Théberge mentioned in Louis Vauthier's diary. He was trained in medicine at the University of Paris, went to Brazil in 1837, and settled in Ceará in 1845. Vauthier did not find him very simpatico and wrote sarcastic comments about him and his plump and talkative wife.

One of the outstanding foreign doctors was Joseph Francis Xavier Sigaud, born in Marseilles in 1796, he died in Rio in 1856. Trained at the University of Strasbourg, he was a founder of the Institute for the Blind and the Brazilian Academy of Medicine. A Frenchwoman and midwife, Josephine Mathilde Durocher, trained at the Faculdade de Medicina in Rio, was the first woman member of the Academia Imperial de Medicina. Among her patients were the Empress and the Princess Leopoldina.

A British doctor who is mentioned by several writers was Jonatas Abbott, of Bahia. Born in London, he came to Bahia at an early age and graduated from the Colégio Médico-Cirúrgico of Bahia. Reportedly, he also earned a degree at the University of Palermo. By 1828 he had become a lecturer in general and descriptive anatomy at the Faculdade de Medicina of Bahia and became its vice-director in 1837. The Orders of the Rose and of Christ were awarded to him, along with other honors. He belonged to medical (and a few religious) societies in Rio, Paris, Stockholm, Genoa, Lisbon, and Palermo and wrote on such wide-ranging subjects as anatomy and English grammar and translated several foreign classics.
A tributo to Abbott, written and published by his students of anatomy, contains expressions of both pride and gratitude. His own brief opening statement congratulates those students who have reached the point where the eight-o'clock bell will no longer be a summons to anatomy class. The students refer to "vossa fama na Europa" and to Brazil, "pátria que adoptaste."

Foreign military advisers, leaders, and foot soldiers and sailors were essential to Brazil during the nineteenth century, especially before there was a large, free, male population. Attempts to bring in settler-soldiers met with little success, as resentment against foreigners produced violence and mutiny. This was particularly true in the case of 2,400 Irishmen brought to Brazil at a time when slaves and newly freed blacks were being forced into military service. Although former officers of Napoleon's armies were not entirely trusted, several joined Admiral Cochrane in service to the Brazilian Emperor. Auguste Marie Charles Taunay, son of the artist Nicolas Taunay, and General Pierre Labatut were among such soldiers. The latter was successful but unpopular in campaigns fought to keep Bahia in the Empire but less successful in action during the Guerra dos Farroupilhas of the 1830s. Daniel Hildebrand, a veteran of Waterloo, also fought in the latter engagement, but on the other side. Admiral John Pascoe Grenfell had a long career of intermittent military service whenever it was needed and in the war with Rosas. He lost an arm and gained a wife in Uruguay at this time. When he retired to England, he was named Brazilian consul and was called away from this post at least once for army service. Fighting on the other side was John Grigg, whose horrible death was recorded by Garibaldi. Military schools and the Escola Superior da Guerra were established during the Empire; it is safe to assume that some of the professors were European.

A woman writer, Mary Graham or Lady Callcott, is perhaps the most quoted and best known of the early nineteenth-century witnesses of Brazil. A relative of Admiral Cochrane, her first visit to Brazil took place when she accompanied her husband, Captain Graham, on a ship under the orders of Lord Cochrane. During the course of their voyages on both coasts of South America the captain died. Maria Graham was later engaged to teach the children of D. Pedro I and D. Leopoldina and made a trip to England to collect materials. She reported for this assignment in September 1824, but her tenure was short-lived, for court officials and hangers-on combined forces to discredit her with the impulsive Pedro and she was dismissed. She stayed in Rio for another year, however, as a guest of friends, writing, painting, corresponding with D. Leopoldina, and calling upon her considerable number of friends. She is said to have had some influence over Maria de Glória, future queen of Portugal.
One of the most historically dramatic episodes in her life occurred when she visited Manuel de Carvalho Paes de Andrade, leader of the separatist Confederation of the Equator, in a fruitless effort to arrange a conciliatory meeting between him and Lord Cochrane, then leading the Imperial naval forces blockading the port.

Many other visitors passed through Brazil and left both interesting or dull, accurate or exaggerated accounts. John Mawe, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, Charles Waterton, ornithologist and explorer of French Guiana, and Henry Koster are but a few. Henry Koster's narrative makes one wish that he had not died so young of tuberculosis. Their legacy includes descriptions of physical and social environments, tabulations of demographic and economic statistics showing exports, imports, and other indicators of economic activity that permit a reconstruction of the past and give some insight into the minds of foreigners and Brazilians alike.

The history of ideas in Brazil is not a well-documented field and is not here treated in any detail, partly because, in the words of Mário de Andrade, the Brazilian art of philosophizing could be called "uma exposição sedentária de ideias alheias" (a sedentary exposition of ideas that are alien). European influences have been felt both in creative and other forms of literature, but little evidence was found that resident European foreigners served as particularly strong proponents of ideas and change, except by example.

Positivism has been considered a powerful influence in Brazilian intellectual life; its strength is still evident today in the motto "Ordem e Progresso" that appears on the Brazilian national flag. As it developed in Brazil, positivism has had its own autochthonous forms and some of its tenets have not been in keeping with the precepts of the French M. Littré and others who considered themselves the true followers of Auguste Comte. Benjamin Constant, perhaps its best-known protagonist in Brazil, was not a charismatic and evangelical figure; two other positivists, Miguel Lemos and Teixeira Mendes, were eclectic in their application of positivist principles.

With respect to two important issues or movements, the Enlightenment and the antislavery movement, the presence or accumulation of available writings has been important, but the transmitters have frequently been first Portuguese and then Brazilians who absorbed ideas abroad in the course of a university education. The so-called traitors of the Inconfidência Mineira of 1789 also had access to the writings of the French philosophes and were undoubtedly influenced by their ideas, known to have been available in personal libraries, which contained works in French, Latin, and English as well as Portuguese. Until the great "Religious Question," in which regalist and ultramontane theories of sovereignty in spiritual matters clashed in the later
years of the Empire, Freemasonry flourished without much interference in a nation that was supposedly officially Roman Catholic. Freemasonry had functioned as a receptacle and carrier of the arguments for independence and entered into most of the separatist and Independence movements, notably the Pernambucan Revolution of 1817.

The Brazilian antislavery movement was subjected to political influences rather than rational arguments from foreigners. Great Britain's strong pressures were political and backed by naval power; they were cast in the forms of treaties and agreements that were meant first, to end the slave trade and, later, to put an end to slavery. Some of the midcentury poets dramatized the sorrows and horrors of slavery, but Uncle Tom's Cabin or its translation was probably more effective in forming attitudes than European writings.

Both the fact that Brazil served as a giant laboratory for many scientists and the ideas expressed in the known writings of Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, and the positivists encouraged a faith in science. Utilitarian and pragmatic currents, insofar as they were consciously embraced, were stronger than the more esoteric and idealistic philosophies.

The people covered here may not all have been intellectuals and their influence not wholly intellectual, but there can be no question that even now, when nations are striving to be non-aligned, no nation is an island that can remain untouched by other peoples. This cursory and selective review is meant to show how ideas, attitudes, and, to some extent, customs and living patterns could be transported and transmitted by the foreigners who came to the Brazil of D. João VI and his son and grandson, D. Pedro I and D. Pedro II. In addition to the more subtle forms of influence, European products, methods and technical advice came with these individuals. Those who traveled to Brazil on their own initiative as well as those who were invited to come as experts were important diffusers of European ideas and culture.

NOTES

1 William Hadfield, Brazil, the River Plate, and the Falkland Islands (London: Longmans, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), p. 139.

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The editions cited are not necessarily the best editions; they merely represent those that were available when needed. Original editions exist for the translations and are preferable when available. Certain variations in spelling are the result of successive reforms in Portuguese and Brazilian orthography.


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We finally ended up thinking when we were young that the Malvinas belonged to Britain in the morning and to Argentina in the afternoon.\(^1\)

The April 2, 1982, invasion by Argentine soldiers of the Falkland Islands (or the Islas Malvinas, as they are known in Argentina) and the ensuing conflict, which lasted seventy-four days, seemed to most of the world like a caricature of a war. A group of tiny islands located in the far South Atlantic, largely forgotten by man and by time, best fit for sheep raising, the Falklands had people reaching for the atlas after headlines declared that Britain was at war there.\(^2\) The feud over this bleak geographical entity, however, goes back to the early nineteenth century and, though the battles may have seemed hardly worth waging, the 1982 war had profound consequences for the Anglo-Argentine community.\(^3\) According to one member, this war signaled "the beginning of the end of an era"\(^4\) as Anglo-Argentines, realizing that they could no longer have it both ways, faced the question: "Are we Anglos or are we Argentines?"

Before explaining this reaction in more detail, a brief synthesis of the history of the British in Buenos Aires and the development of the Anglo-Argentine community is in order. This group, though at their peak accounting for only 4 percent of the total immigrant stream to Argentina, had an influence disproportionate to their numbers. It is possible to speak of several periods of British involvement in Argentina. From Independence in 1810 to 1825, the first merchants were putting down the roots from which the modern Anglo-Argentine community would grow. From 1825, and the promulgation of the Anglo-Argentine Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce, to the midnineteenth century, the merchants extended their involvement. During this period many Irish arrived in Argentina, settling especially in rural areas. By the late nineteenth century, the British had become active in the construction of Argentina's technical and financial infrastructure, building railroads, establishing banks and companies. This required manpower, and by the 1870s the group had established in Buenos Aires an extensive network for the exchange of goods and services and as near a replica of the society they had known at home. It proved to be a convenient arrangement; the British residents and their Anglo-Argentine
descendants could participate selectively in two cultures, and enjoyed a position of favor by virtue of the traditions they represented.

What was this community like? Ernest William White claimed in 1881 that Buenos Aires had three classes of Englishmen: "All belonged to either an educated middle class, a lower order of mechanics, or a sad collection of waifs and strays." White's view, though not entirely true, was more accurate than those of other writers in that he captured the variety in the occupations among this group. Many more of the British in Buenos Aires during the second half of the nineteenth century were employed at lower levels than is generally believed. For example, in 1869, the year of the first national census, fully 37 percent of the British residents were working at unskilled and semiskilled jobs; in 1895, at the time of the second census, this group represented a significant 25.5 percent. The British were employed in fact at all levels, and tended to have high occupational mobility. British women were numerous in Buenos Aires too, and tended to work at lower levels.

To condense still further the findings of a larger study, the British residence patterns did not differ significantly from those of other immigrant groups; they tended to live throughout the city and to congregate only in two sections, near the railroad yards (where the companies subsidized their housing) and in Belgrano, an area of relatively high concentration of foreign merchants. The most significant feature of the British community during this period is that they tended to intermarry among themselves to a high degree. This served to perpetuate and reinforce British traditions through generations, down to the present day and the current conflict.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the reaction of the Anglo-Argentine community to the war, which provoked an acute crisis of cultural identity. The actions taken by the British government and the rejection by British residents of the Falklands of Anglo-Argentine assistance would result in the final assimilation of individual members of the community. For it is true that, since the war, life for the Anglo-Argentines will never be the same.

The Anglo-Argentines believed themselves to be living proof of the compatibility of cultures. Their loyalty had never been put to the test. They had long enjoyed, as we have seen, the best of both worlds. Cultural ties with Great Britain were actively maintained as, over the years, their communities thrived and became firmly established in Buenos Aires and other parts of the country. Many Anglo-Argentine schools from their inception had offered curricula in both English and Spanish. Individuals of British heritage had managed to perpetuate a strong identification with the mother culture in Great Britain while their familiarity and fondness for Argentina fueled the community's growth and
development into a particularly Argentine institution. Thus, for a century and a half they had resided comfortably in a cultural halfway house, straddling the fence between identification with Britain and assimilation into Argentina. This lasted until 1982, when they were forced to make a choice. "We have kept our British identity but equally we feel we are Argentinian," lamented one member of the Buenos Aires British Club. The opening quotation, from a community member reminiscing about his school days, is a small indication of their attitude: why did the rivalry exist and why did it have to be resolved on the battlefield?

The 1982 war split the Anglo-Argentine community basically into two unequal camps. At issue was the British handling of the crisis. One side, by far the larger group, felt that Britain had failed to read the warning signs (which many Anglo-Argentines thought were "patently obvious" several months prior to the Argentine invasion of the islands) and that the British counter-invasion was a very bad idea. "The British government is behaving extremely foolishly," said Archibald Norman, editor of an English-language magazine. Another small group agreed with Britain's strategy. According to the Times, "For the most part those supporting Britain's action were elderly Britons and Anglo-Argentines, while their Argentine-born children felt closer to Argentina than to the distant island their parents still call home." What the Times neglected to say, however, is how few the supporters were. Much more typical of the Anglo-Argentine response, documented in various sources, was the viewpoint of Norman Anthelme. "I grew up worshipping everything British," said Anthelme, an advertising executive, whose Argentine-born grandfather volunteered for the British Flying Corps in World War I and whose great-grandfather was knighted by Queen Victoria. "But I am an Argentine, and also grew up believing that the Malvinas belonged to us. Something in me died when the British attacked the islands."

The British government strongly urged British citizens resident in Argentina to leave "if at all possible" during the first few weeks of the conflict. Only a handful did. In Buenos Aires, the overwhelming response of the Anglo-Argentines was to remain in the country they called their home, for most the country of their birth. In fact, the number of naturalizations increased notably among those of British descent. Just as their ancestors had kept alive the idea of going "home," many Anglo-Argentines, though born in Argentina, had continued to hold British passports, postponing becoming full-fledged Argentine citizens. Instructions on making the switch appeared in the newspapers, "suggesting that the authorities are making it known to the British community, loved and respected as it undoubtedly still is, that it is time to stop playing." It has been said that individuals took this measure out of self-defense, fearing reprisals against their community unless they demonstrated overtly
their loyalty to the Argentine cause. While fear may have been the motive of some, I believe this to be a misrepresentation of the reaction of the majority of the Anglo-Argentines. The war over the Falklands/Malvinas forced a sudden redefinition of the Anglo-Argentine identity. One Times article claimed that "the only thing that has changed about the Anglo-Argentines is that they are perhaps more Argentine than they were."\textsuperscript{13} The use of the word "only" in this statement underestimates the seriousness and minimizes the effects of that change. It may seem on the surface of things that little has changed, for example, people will continue to take tea at the Hurlingham Club and the Richmond and to lunch downtown at the English Club, and will not significantly alter their patterns of socializing, but beneath the surface they are different. They have undergone a definitive shift in self-image. The traditions they have continued for years to observe became, in April of 1982, no longer British but fully Anglo-Argentine.

The Anglo-Argentine community made no secret of their opinions about the conflict. The belief that Great Britain should relinquish control over the islands and the frustration of years of apparently fruitless deliberations around a conference table over the issue of sovereignty\textsuperscript{14} drove countless individuals from throughout the country to write letters and Anglo-Argentine groups in Buenos Aires to send cables to Mrs. Thatcher, urging a peace resolution. The Association of British and British-Descended Farmers, for example, put forth their views in a telegram:

> For years, and in some cases generations, we have lived and worked happily under Argentinian governments of differing political persuasions. We have lived our traditional British way of life without hindrance and our experience has led us to believe that the inhabitants of the Falkland Islands have nothing to lose and much to gain by coming under Argentinean sovereignty.\textsuperscript{15}

Similarly Dr. Richard Cutts, the Anglican Bishop in Buenos Aires, requested of Mrs. Thatcher that Britain negotiate a settlement so the islanders could work in peace, as do 17,000 British-passport holders who live in Argentina.\textsuperscript{16} One of the largest and most active Anglo-Argentine groups, the British Community Council (BCC), urged a similar solution, warning above all against the use of force. The BCC echoed the words of the British farmers, testifying that the islanders would, under Argentine rule, have the freedom to maintain their customs without interference, just as the Anglo-Argentines had done for centuries. According to one resident, "There are thousands of Anglo-Argentines living here in perfect peace, and they're living very well." The blatant disinterest shown by the Thatcher
government in the pleas and testimony of Anglo-Argentine residents and its failure to listen to the opinions of people whose families had lived in the Argentine Republic for generations was a key factor in the identity crisis that peaked in mid-1982.

Another significant factor in the Anglo-Argentine change of heart is that the Falkland Islanders (or "Kelpers," as they are known) did not appreciate the community's efforts on their behalf. The Kelpers were, for example, distrustful of the group's motives when they proposed a truce to allow a neutral ship to take children from the islands to stay with British families in Argentina. The response was entirely negative. "If the British community in Argentina wants to help at all they should persuade the Argentines to remove themselves from the islands," said John Cheek, an "island councillor" whose two nieces also live in the Falklands. In fact, the islanders seemed to be "at least as suspicious" of the Anglo-Argentines as they were of the Argentines themselves. "Even if it is a British community it is still Argentina," cautioned one Kelper.17

This animosity on the part of the Kelpers combined with Mrs. Thatcher's dismissal of the Anglo-Argentine viewpoint had a profound effect on the Anglo-Argentines. Most felt ignored and abandoned by that "home" culture to which they had long been faithful in their minds, hearts, and actions, and sadly misunderstood by the Kelpers in their intentions. They thought they were the natural group for Britain to consult, had the government been truly concerned with the welfare and cultural freedom of the British residents of the islands. For many, the tension of generations was broken as, disillusioned, they finally acknowledged "somos argentinos" (we are Argentines) when faced with the question of loyalty. In a letter written in July 1982, Nell Shakesppear, an Anglo-Argentine who was born in Rosario and resides in Buenos Aires, captured the mood:

[The] poor Anglo-Argentines have taken a bad beating over the Malvinas events. For most of us it meant—probably for the first time in our lives—almost total identification with Argentina. Especially when the British started acting high and mighty. While all that fuss was made (what hypocrisy!) about the Kelpers, no one paid any attention to the letters, etc., sent by the British Community Council and other [Anglo-Argentine] bodies to Thatcher, the Queen, etc. to explain that life here was decent and good for the 100,000 members of the Community, and that Argentine sovereignty over the Malvinas would not harm the Kelpers, on the contrary! But the idiots wouldn't even entrust their children to the care of Anglo-Argentine families who offered to take them while the fighting went on. All in all some Anglo-Argentines I know became rabid
supporters of the Argentine stand. Others, afraid of a possible mayhem against anyone or anything British, went to Montevideo and sat it out there.

Thus, a relatively insignificant episode in military history has brought to a close the chapter of British involvement in Argentina that began two centuries ago. From the first small group of merchants, the British gradually became more immersed in the economy and society of the country. Their community expanded, and truly Anglo-Argentine institutions were solidly founded. This community, largely serving as a buffer to individual cultural absorption, ultimately became a vehicle for group assimilation as it was gradually transformed into an Argentine institution itself. Now, in the wake of the 1982 war during which Anglo-Argentine individuals found their loyalties unequivocally divided, assimilation for most is complete.

NOTES


2In addition to good grazing, the Falkland Islands also offer a strategic outpost in the South Atlantic and access to oil and other offshore resources.

3Other issues were at stake, namely British principles and national honor and the popularity of the Argentine military regime, which used the war as a rallying point during an especially stormy period for Argentina's economy. It backfired on them, as things turned out, and led to the democratic election of a civilian president, Raul Alfonsin.


James Neilson, editor of the Buenos Aires Herald, was one who left following threats to himself and his family. See: "A Bit of Britain in Argentina," San Francisco Chronicle, April 26, 1982, p. 13.


One rumor claims that the issue was so uninteresting and unimportant to the British representatives to the talks that they sometimes fell asleep at the conference table.

"Dispute on Views of Islanders," Times (London), April 14, 1982, p. 4.

"Truce Call to Take Children Away," Times (London), May 19, 1982, p. 19.
In discussing the sources for his work, A Colonização italiana no Rio Grande do Sul, Olivio Manfroi expressed surprise at the fragmentary nature of the information he was able to collect from the direct descendants of the first Italians to settle in Rio Grande do Sul, their lack of knowledge about their ancestral roots, and the system of colonization which brought their forefathers to Brazil. "O que mais subsiste na memória," he continued, "é lembrança, mais afetiva do que precisa, das dificuldades materiais dos imigrantes, tanto na Itália, como no Brasil, narradas pelos velhos (vechi) nas reuniões familiares ou celebradas nos cantos populares."  

The paucity of information is not surprising, given the circumstances surrounding the first period of Italian immigration to Rio Grande do Sul (1875-1914), since the chief preoccupation of immigrants during the first years of emigrating is survival. Following the initial psychological shock, survival takes on the practical dimensions of earning a living, leaving little or no time for following pursuits that do not further this immediate goal. "O saber não alimenta," succinctly stated a descendant of Italian immigrants of that first period.  

The problem is exacerbated, if pioneering conditions exist, forested virgin territory to be cleared, the immigrants have a low level of literacy, are economically poor, speak different languages or dialects, and live in isolation, far from urban centres with schools and other cultural institutions. Such were the conditions when the first immigrants, poor and illiterate, for the most part, came from northern Italy, from Veneto, from Lombardy, from Tyrol, Piedmont, to Brazil "em busca de pão."  

Forced by the social and economic crisis in Italy following the wars of unification, lured by the attractive promises of the recruiting agents of the Imperial government of Brazil, the landless poor of Italy, many of whom had never gone beyond the confines of their villages, willingly sold the little they possessed and placed themselves in the hands of unscrupulous agents of shipping companies to undertake the long voyage to Brazil, dreaming of "riquezas, felicidades, e bem-estar."  

This paper explores the Italian immigrant experience in Rio Grande do Sul as it is reflected in Vita e stória de Nanetto Pipetta nassuo in Italia e vegnudo in Mérica par catare la cucagna by Aquiles Bernardi,  

Memorias de um imigrante italiano by Julio Lorenzoni, and two poems, "Caminhos Coloniais" and
"Cemitério dos Imigrantes" in Terra Convalescente by Mansueto Bernardi. Other sources are referred to whenever necessary.

The systematic policy of encouraging European immigration initiated by D. João VI, and continued under Pedro I, after the Independence of Brazil in 1822, was fully realized with the arrival of the first Italians at Campo dos Bugres, later known as Caxias, in 1875, fifty years after the first settlement at São Leopoldo by German immigrants. German immigration having come to an untimely end, the Imperial government directed its recruiting campaign almost exclusively to Italians. As a result, between 1875 and 1914, 50 percent to 75 percent of the Italian immigrants to Brazil came from northern Italy and settled in "colonies" in Rio Grande do Sul, a frontier province with a colonial history of struggle for supremacy between the Spanish and the Portuguese. By adding to the widely scattered gaucho population, it was hoped that the immigrants would supply welcome manpower as protection against possible attack from the Plate area, while establishing the base for a broad new socioeconomic order founded on small landownership and mixed farming. Within twenty-five years, it was estimated that a million Italians had settled in Brazil.

After World War I, the immigrants came mostly from southern Italy, and settled in São Paulo and other urban areas, losing, as a result, their identifiable culture in the melting pot of the cities. In Rio Grande do Sul, however, the immigrants and their descendants maintained their cultural identity even after a hundred years, and still spoke the dialect of the region from which they originated, notwithstanding the modifications and accretions brought about by linguistic interference and contact with other language groups—Portuguese, German, Polish, and the gaucho dialect, to name a few.

Itálico Marcon credited this cultural retention to hard work, strong family life, and strict adherence to the Catholic religion. Thanks to the surety and sustenance given them by clinging to their Catholic religion, he said, they succeeded in conquering all the trauma of emigration, filling with religion the emptiness found in their new and adopted country; and in structuring a congenial time and space, they became the progenitors of a unique Italo-Sul-Riograndense civilization. The high standard of living they enjoyed, and the general prosperity surpassing that of the other neighboring immigrant settlements, earned them the reputation of being an example of successful colonization.

Vita e storia de Nanetto Pipetta nassuo in Italia e vegnudo in Mérica par catare la cucagna (The Life and Story of Nanetto Pipetta, Who Was Born in Italy and Came to America to Find his Fortune) is a fictionalized account in the picaresque genre which mirrors the life of the first immigrants in Brazil, and portrays the situation in Italy during the period of the immigration. Written in the dialect of Veneto, not as spoken in Italy, but the
variant used by most of the Italians of Rio Grande do Sul, Nanetto Pipetta is a literary manifestation of the survival of the regional dialect. Standard Italian was never spoken by those early immigrants for whom the idea of a unified Italy speaking one language was still too new to grasp, and to whom Portuguese was still unknown. Its author, Aquiles Bernardi, son of Italian immigrants and priest of the Capuchin Order, was born in Caxias do Sul in 1891. He received his early education at the Seminario Capuchino de Alfredo Chaves, entered his novitiate at the Capuchin convent at Nova Trento in 1909, and was ordained priest in 1917. He died in 1973, two years before the publication of the fourth edition of Nanetto Pipetta, for the centennial of the Italian immigration to Brazil.

The work first appeared in serial form in the newspaper Staffeta Riograndense between 1924 and 1925. The first book edition was published in 1937 with illustrations by the priest Gentil de Caravaggio. The second edition, published in 1956 by Editora São Miguel, had four interpolated chapters: XXIV ("La gá passá via gratanda sulla testa"); XXV ("Verze anca diman"); LI ("La gá dá on pí bruto agagion"); and LV ("Non son pí bon andar so"), written by Virgilio Bortolotto and other Capuchin priests who ran the editorial.

All subsequent editions are based on the second edition, with the tendency, however, to adapt each edition to new circumstances in order to reflect changes in vocabulary, and to give each episode greater verisimilitude. Consequently, as Nanetto encounters new experiences in the new land, the language sometimes becomes brazilianized, but as often as not it may simply be descriptive, because he does not have the right vocabulary. To cite an example: While Nanetto is wandering through the American "mato" (a Brazilian word), he is frightened by wild "béstie"; tigers, he knows; but "el vede dó béstie in sima ai rami che le se tien con la cóa" (he sees a beast hanging from the branches of a tree by its tail) and not having the right word for this unknown beast, it remains unnamed. And when he sees a flight of "papagai" (parrots) "no gaveva gnancora práctica de sté béstie, el pensava che le fusse águile mericane" (not having ever seen such a beast, he believed it to be an American eagle). Hungry and tired, he stumbles across a house in a clearing and begs the owner, "on bel negro" for a piece of "copa" (sausage). The owner does not have any sausage, "Non toma simaron?" (Would you like some maté?), he asks. To which Nanetto replies, "O que ze? (What's that?). Next he is offered "pignon" (pine seed) and he exclaims, in surprise, "Par magnar?" (To eat?) (Nanetto Pipetta, pp. 52-57).

Other sources confirm that many immigrants survived on a diet of pine seeds during the first year, as the food promised by the government was often never supplied.
And in the conversation which continues, Nanetto discloses that he understands Brazilian, but not too well: "Intendo; ma no capisso mia claro" (Nanetto Pipetta, p. 9).

Such linguistic eclecticism gave greater authenticity to the work. And to increase its accessibility to a wider audience, a Gramática e vocabulário do dialeto italiano Rio-Grandense, by Alberto Víctor Stawinski, was added to the fifth edition. Besides, the original illustrations, with additional ones by Father Oswaldo, greatly facilitated the understanding of the text.

Nanetto Pipetta was written to entertain as well as to educate. The first schools of higher education for the Italian communities were organized by the French Capuchin Mission, established in Garibaldi in 1896, with French and Italian as the languages of instruction, and Portuguese, as the Capuchin priests mastered it. But the spirit of pragmatism which enabled the Italian immigrants to survive through work made them hold learning in little esteem, since, as they perceived, it presented no immediate solution to the problems of daily living. "Eu vivi e comprei terras sem saber ler, nem escrever e meus filhos podem fazer o mesmo," was often the reason the immigrants gave for not sending their children to school.

To redress this problem, Aquiles Bernardi, assistant editor of Staffeta Riograndense, undertook the task of encouraging the habit of reading among the Italians by increasing the circulation of the newspaper. What better way than to write the story of Nanetto Pipetta, a lovable urchin who turns out to be an antihero but with whose adventures the readers could identify? In this way, he hoped to counteract the romances being circulated in Italy about America.

Nanetto Pipetta thus becomes the prototype of the Italian immigrant. Believing that he could change his life of penury for one of abundance, he sets out with great expectations for America which is synonymous with Brazil, synonymous with Rio Grande do Sul. Like everyone else, he had been subjected to the tales about the wonders of America, each person having his personal vision, which corresponded, in large measure, to what was missing in his life in Italy: "Me digo che la ze na gran sitá, che mena i poaretti in l'automóile in serca de la fortuna! . . . [che] na gran fiera andove chi crompa barato paga poco. . . . Che bela roba la Mérica!" (They say that in that great place, even the poorest go about in automobiles to seek their fortune! . . . that in the great marketplace you can buy cheap, pay little. . . . What a fantastic place America is!)

Even his grandfather indulged in dreams about America. In America you can stroll around the piazzas, and when you are tired, you can drink sweet water and an anise liqueur, and a good wine. The effect of such talk on an impressionable child was inevitable. One day while drawing water from the fountain, he saw his vision of America reflected in the water, and at once
he began to sing: "Eviva la Mérica / Ze grande cucagna, / Se beve se manga. / E lìegri se stá" (Viva America, land of great fortune. There you can drink and eat, and happy you will be) (Nanetto Pipetta, pp. 17-18).

Nanetto Pipetta was thirteen when he ran away from home, fondly believing that he could walk to America. His limited vision was not significantly different from that of the adults, for whom America was nothing more than their own piece of land--twenty to forty hectares in size, to be paid for in five years, free food and shelter until they were established, free seeds and agricultural implements, "Queremos emigrar. Basta de miseria!" they said, to a man. 17 His ignorance about the necessary preparations to be made for the voyage mirrors that of the adults, simple rural people, whose lack of knowledge about city ways and consequent gullibility made them easy victims of exploitation. 18

Poorly clad, without a coat, with torn shirt, socks of different colours, mended and remended, a pair of old shoes, one white, the other covered with flour, Nanetto, the image of the rustic, stands in front of the harbour in Venice and politely asks the first person he sees: "A riverderlo, sior. Zelo questa el bapore che mena in Mérica?" (Good day, sir. Is this the ship that goes to America?) "Sicuro, il mio ragazzo." (Sure, my lad.) "E párteli suito par la Mérica?" (Is it leaving soon for America?) "Solo dopo mezzogiorno." (After midday.)

While waiting for the ship to depart, Nanetto spends the few coins he had stolen from his grandfather. Days afterward, only after speaking to another "sior" to whom he confesses that he is going to America "par mantegner me pora mare, poareta, parché la ze zorda" (to support my poor mother who is deaf) does he learn that he ought to go to the Immigration Agency to secure his passage, that the voyage would take thirty days, and that the embarkation point was Genoa. When asked if he had "Il passaporto" (his passport), his ingenuous rejoinder is "Il passa porta?" clearly a pun arising from his ignorance (Nanetto Pipetta, pp. 19-36).

Vividly, the author recounts Nanetto's journey by train to Genoa; the hunger he experiences, his only sustenance a biscuit given him by a fellow passenger, and his spontaneous exclamation of wonder and delight, "Che belessa!" on seeing Genoa and the ships of all sizes, shapes, and colours in the harbour. Dramatically, he depicts the emotional scene, as relatives and friends bid farewell to their beloved, striking a sober note, however, with: "E Nanetto . . .? Nanetto no saluda ninsuni!" (Nanetto said farewell to no one), presaging, as it were, the loneliness he would experience in the new land. Sensitively, he captures Nanetto's psychological ambivalence: his joy and excitement on boarding the ship, followed by copious tears, once the ship is under way, as he realizes that he has taken an irreversible step,
and in all likelihood would never see his father, his mother, and his grandfather again.

Nanetto's life on board is no less fraught with difficulties and mishaps. He is attacked by a dog, threatened to be thrown overboard, imprisoned in the guardhouse, narrowly escapes being lost at sea in a storm. Hunger is his constant companion. When they finally sight land, he looks in vain for houses. He sees only "mato . . . tutto bosco . . . ." They continue "camina, camina costelando," skirting the shore, until the cry of "Río Grande" brings him scrambling on deck to catch his first glimpse of Mérica. But no spontaneous outburst of excitement escapes his lips as had occurred when first he saw Genoa. Instead, he gives a prosaic enumeration: a few houses scattered about, almost all small; a horse, some oxen, and a cart drawn by a donkey. Nanetto says to himself: "E le cucagne . . . (And the fortune.) "Questa no ze la Mérica, eh!" (That can't be America.)

With that observation of disbelief, Nanetto begins his new life in the new land. But he is suddenly faced with new problems—language and the urgent need for shelter. Making himself understood had not come easily to Nanetto, owing to his ingenuousness and his rusticity. Now he finds that his language is inadequate for communication. "O que tá dizendo?" asks a twenty-year-old to whom Nanetto had addressed a question. As for shelter, there was none: "dove andar mi passar la notte? In del mato?" he asks himself (Nanetto Pipetta, pp. 38-39).

How Nanetto resolves his problems makes up the rest of the story. True to the picaresque style, episodic in structure but unlike it in tone, we see the society through the adventures he encounters. Without knowledge of the dialect, even with the aid of a grammar and dictionary, the details of the story are lost. Nevertheless, by studying the illustrations, we can grasp that the tone is humourous and comical, not complaining or moralizing (although it is a moral tale), the style racy, suggesting the spontaneous improvisation of oral literature. Priest that he was, the author knew how to awaken response and sentiment, by his use of repetition, his use of diminutives and augmentatives, running words together, his use of the rhetorical question, the exclamation, the meditative mood. One illustration, for example, shows Nanetto Pipetta, alone in the forest, sitting under a banana tree, smoking his pipe to distract himself from thinking about his broken leg.

So, too, when he finds himself in difficulties, he calls upon the "Madonna Santa," the "Maria Vergine," "Il Segnore," "Santantonì benedetto" for help. He remembers to say his prayers at night as his mother had taught him. These details are incorporated in the story, not because the author was a priest reminding his flock of their religious duties but because they gave an accurate picture of life in the Italian communities. God, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints were the support and the refuge
of the Italian immigrants, during the voyage and in the first years of their establishment in Rio Grande do Sul. The individual prayer in moments of difficulties, the family prayer in the face of work in the forest, the Sunday liturgy of the community along the settlement road were a constant characteristic of the Italian colonies.  

Not only in religious observances does Nanetto Pipetta reflect aspects of Italian life in the colonies. The name itself, Nanetto, the diminutive of Nani, the abbreviation of Giovanni, reveals the habit of using the shortened form of the saint's names given each child at his baptism; a habit so prevalent that people living in the same community were often ignorant of their neighbour's name. Carried to extremes, we find that Nanetto does not even know his parent's name: "Como si chiama tuo papa?" "Mi lo go sempre ciama popa," replies Nanetto (Nanetto Pipetta, p. 33). His surname he inherited from his grandfather, who was called Pipetta, because he was always smoking a pipe (Nanetto Pipetta, pp. 9, 33).

Nanetto was born at the height of the waning moon, considered to be an unlucky sign. Fearing that he was bewitched and would never walk properly, his mother takes him to the priest to ask his blessing. The priest gives his blessing and recommends a remedy, though he expresses doubts about their efficacy against the maleficent stars.

At this point, the author seems to be gently satirizing the superstitious beliefs of his unsophisticated community. Like most agricultural people, the Italian colonists planned their agricultural activities around the different phases of the moon, believing that there was a right time for each; to ask a blessing of the priest on the birth of a child likewise was accepted religious practice. And so with a deft touch the author points out the effect of the lack of spiritual guidance on the immigrants during the early years of colonization. Having only ill-educated lay priests to guide them, it was little wonder that, at times, their religion degenerated into superstition: "Existe, sem dúvida, um espírito muito religioso na população. Mâs é preciso reconhecer que por tudo, por falta de instrução, este espírito degenerou em superstição" (There is, no doubt, a very religious spirit in the people. But we must admit that because of lack of instruction, this spirit degenerated into superstition).  

Nevertheless, in the Romantic literary tradition, Nanetto, a child of nature, did not escape the stars. As long as he lived a life of adventure and freedom, he survived. Once he began to think about leading a more settled existence and becoming a man of property—"Sta volta me fasso siore! Sto colpo me fo capitalista, a dopo vago tore la Gelina, a dopo s'implantemo na bela casa, e logo vago nitalia a tore la mamma" (Soon I'll become a senhor! I'll become a capitalist, and afterwards I'll fetch Gelina [the girl he loves] and we'll set ourselves up in a beautiful
house, and then I'll go to Italy to fetch my mother) (Nanetto Pipetta, pp. 171-172)—he became overwhelmed by life and physically drowned in the river das Antas. The river thus becomes the metaphor for life, more specifically a life of materialism.

For many immigrants, crossing the river das Antas was like crossing the Rubicon. It took them away from Porto Alegre, the capital, from the settled communities of Caixas, Conde d'Eu, and Dona Isabel, into virgin forests, and isolation. There was land beyond the river, however, and for the opportunity to become landed proprietors, they were willing to sacrifice all, friends and family, spiritual comfort, medical care. Nanetto Pipetta was no exception. But fate saved him from a life of spiritual emptiness. His boat became entangled in the branches of a tree uprooted by a storm, and capsized. Ironically, therefore, the very forest that he would tame became the instrument of his destruction. Could it be that the author was casting doubt on a life that was too rigidly materialistic, as well as raising the age-old question of free will and predestination?

Memorias de um imigrante italiano by Julio Lorenzoni presents another side of the drama of the Italian immigration. If Nanetto Pipetta whimsically depicts its protagonist who struggles against fearful odds but who manages to survive until a change in his philosophy, Memorias de um imigrante italiano is a brisk, no-nonsense factual account with a tone of resigned acceptance, conveying, nevertheless, that note of pragmatism which helped the immigrants to surmount all obstacles. To illustrate: Shortly after the Bortoluzzi family, thirty-four strong, arrived at the barracks in Silveira Martins, they lost sixteen members, no doubt from diseases contracted during the voyage. To which misfortune, the author comments: "Diante de tanta miséria, tanto sofrimento, tantas foires, assim mesmo o colono italiano não desanimava. Impávido, superava todos os obstáculos e todas as desgracías que ameaçava até sua própria existência. (Notwithstanding, in the face of so much misery, so much suffering, so much grief, the Italian immigrant was not disheartened. Fearless, he overcame all obstacles and all the misfortunes which threatened even his very existence) (Lorenzoni, p. 53).

Julio Lorenzoni, the author of Memorias, was born in Veneto, Italy, and emigrated with his family to Brazil in 1878 when he was fifteen, after he had completed primary school and the first four years of Gymnasium, the equivalent of high school. The education he received in Italy enabled him to write what is perhaps the only existing sustained firsthand narrative of the life of an Italian immigrant in Rio Grande do Sul. He subsequently became an elementary schoolteacher of Italian language in 1884, took out his naturalization papers in 1887, and thereafter held several public offices until his death in 1934.
The manuscript remained unedited for several years, with the exception of excerpts which appeared in 1925 and 1929. In 1974, his daughter translated the complete work, which was published in 1975 for the centennial. The work is divided into three parts. The first deals with the departure from Italy for Rio Grande do Sul, and the settlement of Silveira Martins, the second with the transfer of his residence to Dona Isabel, and the third with the revolution of 1893 to 1895 and the period following, up to 1920. Interspersed are elucidating chapters on the flora and fauna, the birds, insects, reptiles, and fish of the region of the Serra de São Martinho, the area in which the settlement of Silveira Martins developed, as well as chapters on Santa Cruz, Itajaí, Porto Alegre, and the monetary rate of exchange.

The narrative begins when the author was fourteen. His father, a cabinetmaker and owner of two hectares of land and a modest house, finding it increasing difficult to support his family, decided to emigrate. He sold all his belongings to pay the passage of one hundred to one hundred and fifty liras per person. On the morning of their departure, November 22, 1877, they first repaired to the village church to hear the last mass and receive the blessing of the priest. Afterward, amidst singing and huzzahs, they left for Genoa, via Vicenza and Milan. Two days later, they arrived in Genoa at nine o'clock at night, and on the following day were disheartened to learn that they would have to delay their sailing, as there were twenty thousand people ahead of them awaiting embarkation. Not until February 11, 1878, did they sail, interestingly enough, on the Colombo.

The narrative so far, parallels Nanetto Pipetta. But the tone is different. In keeping with the author's sense of buoyancy and optimism, he makes no mention of hardships encountered or impatience experienced at the delay. Instead, like true tourists, they spend the time sightseeing, marvelling at the splendid churches with their art treasures, the marble palaces and the piazzas, emblazoning their names in their memory, to be recalled in the new land in an attempt to bridge the gap between immigrants and descendants of immigrants, many of whom would never have the opportunity to see the beauty of Italy.

Indeed, this same note of optimism is evident in his description of the first part of the voyage. Everything is in abundance. "Tudo em abundancia" is his favourite expression. Biscuits and coffee they had for breakfast, soup or rice with vegetables, meat or fish, codfish, herring, eggs, fresh bread and wine for lunch and dinner, and on Sundays, a double ration of wine and dried fruits (Lorenzoni, p. 28). This bounty is in stark contrast to Nanetto's, "che brutta morte, morir de fame" (Nanetto Pipetta, p. 35). As the voyage continues, however, a note of disenchantment creeps in. He mentions the excessive heat on approaching the equator, and the discomfort caused thereby, the lack of
adequate protection from the sun, the lack of fresh water, in the face of so much heat, not being able to take a bath and change their clothes which they had not done since leaving Genoa, the filth breeding parasites and vermin, the fetid air causing illness.

On March 8, 1878, one thousand five hundred passengers disembarked on the island of Santa Cruz, situated near Florianópolis, and were abandoned on that island with only a dilapidated fort, a small church, and lush tropical vegetation, but no food, except for coffee and sugar in abundance, and no place to sleep. However, they received spiritual sustenance from going to the small church, and delightfully surprised the immigration officers when they left the church singing popular Italian songs with great gusto. Five days they spent at Santa Cruz, and then, by paddle wheeler, they left for Itajaí; another delay of twenty days in Itajaí, then travel by a small boat to Rio Grande, where they had little to eat and no place to sleep except on the ground. They arrived the following day at Porto Alegre.

Clearly, from this account, the promises of food and shelter made by the agents of the Brazilian government fell short of expectation, and gradually, the romantic illusion of happiness and well-being was becoming tempered with the grim reality that for us immigrants, "nosso imigrantes," it was going to be "trabalho, privações, perseverança" (Lorenzoni, p. 63).

In Porto Alegre, one hundred families selected the colony of Silveira Martins, which necessitated another trip by boat, up the river Jacuí to the settlement of Jacuí, where the German administrator gave them adequate supplies for each family. Afterward came the long trek across the plains, cattle land of the gauchos, the women, children, and the old in ox-drawn carts, which groaned at every movement along the apology of a road; the young and strong, with arms linked and singing popular Italian songs, walked (Lorenzoni, p. 44). It was November when they left their village in Italy; it was the end of April the following year when they finally reached their destination, the colony of Silveira Martins. It was a Longa viagem, indeed.²⁶

The author describes the first days in the settlement, the temporary shelter made from the boughs of trees, until a permanent one, a barracks, was built, under the roof of which people from different provinces in Italy lived, ate, and slept together, each speaking a language that the other could not understand, some well-bred, others boorish and illiterate. It was babel, he said (Lorenzoni, p. 52). By then, it was the depth of winter, and there were days when impassable roads prevented the supply carts from coming through with food and agricultural implements. He mentions the opening up of new roads, a task in which everyone participated—the men earning one thousand and fifty reis per day, the women and youths of sixteen and seventeen earning a thousand reis, and the very young fifty. Next came the clearing of the land, and then the construction of the buildings for the
"sede," the administrative seat, followed by the surveying of two hundred urban lots each thirty metres wide and fifty long, many of which were at once selected by those who had a definite profession, or intended to engage in commerce. The rural lots, three hundred metres wide and one thousand metres long, were surveyed and distributed several months later.

After six years, the author had this to say about the settlement: All the immigrants were happy in their little houses, where, besides an enormous abundance of everything, they had one, two, or more cows from which they got milk to make cheese, cream cheese, and butter, several pigs which at a certain time each year they killed to supply lard, bacon, salami, sausage, chickens which they could eat at will and which supplied fresh eggs, beautiful gardens where they grew a variety of vegetables, and saddle animals to transport the products to the mill or to the shops. It is true, they did not have much money but they lived very well, and he had never heard any immigrant complain about Brazil (Lorenzoni, pp. 100-102).

The picture Lorenzoni paints is one of Arcadian hills. The hardships encountered during the voyage and the first years were forgotten, and through work, the settlers had achieved a measure of material comfort. In the "sede" which later developed into the town, they had a windmill for pumping water, a brewery for beer, several commercial houses, a pharmacy, a shoemaker's shop, a blacksmith's, a brickyard—but no doctor, midwife, or teacher. In good pragmatic fashion, the author comments: "Mas . . . o que fazer? Precisavamos ter paciência, porque Roma não foi feito num só dia" (Lorenzoni, p. 102).

By 1881, the author married, but the uncertainty of finding gainful employment made him decide to transfer his residence to Dona Isabel where he had bought a small property. He described the journey in detail: by cart to Jacuí, train to Taquari, boat to Porto Alegre and up the river Caí to São João do Montenegro, and from there, travelling on horseback and cart through the colony of Conde d'Eu, to Dona Isabel. He expressed joy at finding comfortable accommodation on the way, and delight, on arriving at Linha Leopoldo in the colony of Dona Isabel where his property was located, to find good wine made in the vineyards of the settlers. Portuguese wine, he said, was frankly inferior. And his pleasure at seeing the flourishing fields of wheat, maize, potatoes, and beans elicited the following comment: Those pioneers have all the reason to give thanks to God, for in six years, they had fearlessly tamed the forest, and had succeeded in making themselves into small proprietors . . . which they could never have become in the Old World (Lorenzoni, p. 115).

By 1888, the author was again assessing the progress made in Dona Isabel. Elementary schools had been founded, the first in 1884 under the auspices of the Sociedade Italiana de Mutuo Socorro Rainha Margarida, and he had become a teacher of the
Italian language, for, said he, the Brazilian government was so backward in providing schools that, had the immigrants not selected the most capable persons in their midst to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, their children would have grown up in abject ignorance (Lorenzoni, p. 126). With admirable tenacity our immigrants had succeeded in clearing the forest and building their beautiful houses of wood, with beautiful gardens, stables for horses, cow sheds for cows, had planted vineyards and established winepresses, in addition to cultivating glowing fields of wheat and maize. The immigrant who loved to work, he continued, lacked nothing. He had, it is true, certain difficulties in acquiring clothing and shoes, for those made in the settlement were not of high quality, but the immigrants at that time were not fashion conscious, and dressed with extreme simplicity (Lorenzoni, p. 177).

Throughout the narrative, the author manages to create the impression that he is a firm believer in the power of positive thinking. He does not ignore the horrors of the long voyage nor the hardships of the early years, but he takes them in his stride and does not dwell on them unduly. His philosophy seems to be: utter no complaints, work hard and tenaciously, and success will inevitably follow. To judge from his narrative, the immigrants did achieve material success, but at what price to the spirit? That we do not know from the narrative, for the personal note is lacking. Which, we may ask, presented the truer picture of the immigrant experience: the philosophical and psychological story of the ill-starred Nanetto, very human in his travails, or the upbeat, success-oriented narrative of Lorenzoni? We do not know Lorenzoni, what his fears were. We know only some of the external details of his life, that he was always seeking opportunities to improve his fortune, but his soul remains hidden. Not so with Nanetto Pipetta who lives and breathes through his adventures and, anti-hero though he is, manages to arouse our sympathy.

Two poems by Mansueto Bernardi, "Caminhos coloniais" and "Cemitério dos imigrantes," present the balanced view of the immigrant experience, by combining the personal and the emotional, in the spirit of Nanetto Pipetta, with the objective reality, in the spirit of Lorenzoni's Memorias. Bernardi's language is stark and simple, his style neoclassical; yet, he succeeds in evoking an emotion that is awesome in its clarity.

In order to understand the significance of the title, "Caminhos coloniais" (Settlement Roads), it helps to bear in mind the pattern of settlement followed by the Brazilian government. The territory granted by the Imperial government to be settled by immigrants, was called a "colonia" varying in size from sixteen to seventeen square leagues, that is, sixty-four to sixty-eight square miles. Each "colonia" had a director, usually an engineer, who was responsible for administering the affairs of the colony,
surveying the land, dividing each square league into linhas, and each linha into lots to be sold to the immigrants. A linha was a straight road cut through the forest from six to seven kilometres long. All the lots, ranging from two hundred to two hundred and fifty metres frontage, and one thousand to one thousand and fifty metres deep, bordered on the linha. The houses were built on either side of the linha (road), parallel to one another. Because there were no subsidiary roads connecting the linhas, the social interaction was between people living on the same linha. To cite an example, Lorenzoni owned Lot 21 on Linha Leopoldo in the colony of Dona Isabel (Lorenzoni, p. 114).

"Caminhos coloniais" in fourteen short stanzas tells the story of the old colonial zone of Rio Grande do Sul, hints at the chronology of their settlement, gives an idea of their products, their religious life, and by extension, their social life. Nevertheless, in the midst of what may seem to be mundane details, the poet, through a series of visual images, succeeds in creating a Vergilian landscape of golden wheat fields, of vineyards redolent with the aroma of new wine, of orchards perfuming the air with fragrant blossoms, at the same time conveying his pride in his people who, having tamed rampant nature, had transformed it into order.

Roads give structural unity to the poem, in the same way that the linha gave social and religious cohesion to the settlements. The poem begins with the image of long grey/brown roads stretching out over hills, through valleys, cutting across rivers and horizons, giving the impression of endlessness, and ends with the image of a retinue of churches, madonnas, and saints lined up along the roads.

The roads join settlements, link hearts, beginning with São Leopoldo, Novo Hamburgo, Alto da Linha Felix, all German settlements, the first in the experiment of systematic colonization. Caxias is dynamic and the mother, because it was the first Italian community. Veranópolis rises like a lion from its lair, because, isolated by distance and the obstacle created by the unbridged river das Antas, it developed more slowly than the other colonies. Not until a bridge was built did it reach its full potential, commercially and industrially. Hence the imagery of a sleeping lion suddenly awakening. Dona Isabel is a cornucopia of plenty, the centre of the wine industry. Erechim, Antonio Prado, Nova Prata, Guaporé were new colonies populated by the overflow from the older colonies.

In the next four stanzas, the poet paints the landscape of green and gold, of orchards and wheat fields, of serpentine roads lined with houses, wine cellars, mills and factories, and, dominating the skyline, the crosses and spires of churches and belfries, where pine trees and century-old cedar trees once flourished. The final stanzas bring together roads and churches to create an organic unity, the hallmark of the settlements.
Mansueto Bernardi, the son of immigrants, is the social poet in "Caminhos coloniais" expressing pride in his humble origin. He was born in Italy in 1888, and emigrated with his parents, who were agriculturists, when he was only three months old. That he survived the harrowing transatlantic voyage and the long trek to Alfredo Chaves where his parents settled was a miracle. There being no schools in Alfredo Chaves, he did not receive any formal schooling until he was twelve but, once begun, he completed his education in record time, gaining a teacher's diploma from the Colegio Distrital in Montenegro. He taught school until 1909 when he was appointed to the Treasury in Rio Grande do Sul. This appointment marked the beginning of an illustrious career in public office, both provincially and federally, which culminated in his appointment as director of the Casa de Moeda in 1931 under Getulio Vargas. During his term of office, he reorganized the Brazilian monetary system, using the cruzeiro as the base unit, and revised the law governing national lotteries. He returned to Rio Grande do Sul in 1939 and held more public offices, founded institutions of higher education, and published periodicals for which he wrote under different pseudonyms, "Parsifal," "Paulo Segantin," "Carlos Selvagem," "Icaro de Lepanto," and "Zarastustra."\(^{30}\) Mansueto Bernardi died in 1966 and was buried beside his parents in the cemetery of the neighborhood in Alfredo Chaves (Veranópolis) where he grew up. Aptly so, when, on reading ""Cemitério dos imigrantes," we see the great love he had for his "colonia" and the almost romantic attachment he had for the cemetery.

"Cemitério dos imigrantes" is the ultimate tribute to the Italian immigrants of Rio Grande do Sul, the poem that expresses with awesome simplicity the drama of the immigrant experience. Even before there were permanent homes, before there were churches, there were cemeteries,\(^{31}\) since many immigrants died as a result of the hardships of the long voyage. Cemeteries, therefore, are not merely the final resting place of those who have lived long and rewarding lives, but they come to symbolize aborted hopes, truncated lives. This meaning is intensified by the first stanza:

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Este singelo campo-santo alpestre
formou-se em torno de uma cruz de lenho
na rudeza do chão, sem o desenho
prêvio de nenhum mestre,
em pretensiosos mausoléus mundanos.
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Cemeteries sprang up hastily, wherever and whenever the occasion warranted, hence there was no planning, no elaborate tombstones, only a central wooden cross to mark the area. Later, as life became more settled, a simple stone wall surrounded the cemetery, still, however, with the large central cross.
The first part of the poem recalls the early difficult years with the simple lines: The first Italian settlers built slowly, between prayers and tears, in isolation, far from the rhythmic traffic at sea. (The sea, for all its bitter memories, was the link with civilization.) Tombstones now cover the mountain tops, where before pine trees flaunted their foliage. Sparingly, the poet conveys the reality of the high mortality among the first immigrants—the young and innocent suffering most, their tombs legion. Nevertheless, he finds the cemetery a restful retreat from the hustle and bustle of an active life, and once a year repairs there for spiritual regeneration.

The second part of the poem is the invocation. Through his eyes we see those first immigrants as real human beings with individual characteristics, with distinctive personality traits. First comes his mother, grave and sad; next his father, smiling and witty; then his paternal grandfather, slim and erect as an elm tree; his maternal grandmother, small and spry as a swallow. He remembers Mario Morosini who drowned in the river das Antas; Plácido Lunardi who died of typhoid in the barracks; Old Man Ferro who had the neck of a bull but succumbed to a heart attack; Catarino Bertoli who knew both Italian and German and so was held in high esteem; the taciturn Tento; the happy-go-lucky Damiano Bavaresco who wore a golden earring in one ear; and Pagliari, the tenor who took such pride in having once sung with the great Bento Battagello.

The third part presents the community at work. We see the church wardens, Catholic and grave, wrapped in the aura of sanctity the office conferred on them; the grape harvesters gathering grapes; the reapers singing as they reap; the female reapers, blondes and brunettes, wearing large hats, standing among the corn; his friends from primary school days; Aunt Bla, a ninety-year-old still hoeing in the fields; the roadman; and the beautiful country girl, his first love. With the simple brushstroke of an artist, without superfluous words, the poet unfolds before our eyes the drama of life in the settlement, and we see a community humming with cheerful activity, idyllic in work and in love.

But in the fourth section the poet introduces a philosophical and mystical note. He touches on the transitoriness of life. All those people who were once so full of life are now resting peacefully under the cross in mystical and perpetual union with the land that they had worked and had come to love, free at last from the toil and the hardships that had made each orchard, each vineyard, each mountain a battlefield, each fruit a drop of sweat. He was not willing, however, to grant his venerable forebears the peace they had earned, since their beloved land was torn apart in strife. And finally, he evokes their spirit to be the guardian of the Empire, under which the integration of the races would be achieved without more delay and without dissonance.
Undoubtedly, the conflict to which the poet refers is the Revolution of 1930, during which he was director of the Official Information Service and controller of news about the revolution. From his experience then was born his desire for equilibrium and his fervent wish that the dynamic qualities of the old Brazilians (the gaucho, perhaps) and the new creative races would combine in productive harmony.

According to Itálico Marcon, Mansueto Bernardi is the paradigm of the Italian immigrant, who through the cross (religion) and work overcame the limitations of birth imposed upon him by the old country, to achieve substance and stature in the new land, as poet, agriculturalist, politician, administrator, humanist, and professor, and to become one of the most outstanding intellectuals of Rio Grande do Sul (in Mansueto Bernardi, Terra Convalescente, p. 44).

That productive integration of the races which Bernardi desired was realized in Emilio Garrastazu Médici, who became president of Brazil from 1969 to 1974. Garrastazu Médici was born in Rio Grande do Sul. His father was an Italian immigrant, his mother the descendant of a rich fazendeiro of Spanish-Basque origin. His maternal grandfather was a federalist during the Revolution of 1893-1895. Encouraged by his mother, he attended military college and, pursuing a military career, attained the rank of general.

Raimundo Magalhaes Junior, in his tribute to the Brazilian Italians on the occasion of the Centennial of Italian Immigration to Brazil, wrote in Manchete: Italians have always been present in Brazil even from colonial times ... from the Florentine Filippo Calvalcanti from whom is descended the numerous Calvalcanti family in Pernambuco and the rest of the northeast, to the jeweller César Farani who is remembered by the street in Rio de Janeiro which bears his name, to Guiseppe Garibaldi who participated in the Farroupilha movement. It was, however, to the survivors and descendants of the pioneers of 1875 to whom his essay was directed. Many became men of letters and held political office in Rio Grande do Sul, many achieved prominence in politics, but above them all was Emilio Garrastazu Médici. He continued: "Os descendentes de italianos do Rio Grande do Sul chegaram à presidencia da República antes dos descendentes de alemães, que so ha pouco alcançaram essa posição através de Ernesto Geisel."32

When Garrastazu Médici celebrated his golden wedding anniversary in 1981, among the thousand guests present were President João Baptiste Figueiredo, former President Ernesto Geisel who had succeeded Garrastazu Médici, and the governors and ministers of state, which attested to the prestige and the importance he still continued to enjoy in the political life of his country.33
NOTES


3. Ibid.


7. Costa et al., p. 19.


11. As late as 1909, Portuguese was not known. See the editorial of La Libertá, a newspaper founded in January 1909, which stated that it was published in Italian, "porque os colonos ainda não conhecem o portugues," quoted in Manfroi, p. 150.

12. This weekly newspaper was founded as La Libertá in 1909 by two Italian priests, afterward with the collaboration of the Capuchins who were French. Owing to internal politics its name was changed in 1910 to Il Colono, in 1917 to Staffeta Riograndense, and in 1940 to Correio Riograndense, the name it now bears. Cited in Manfroi, p. 150.

13. José Barea, "La vita spirituale nelle colonie italiana dello stato" in Cinquentenario del colonizzazione italiana nel Rio Grande del Sud (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1925), p. 35. Quoted in Costa et al., p. 25. See also, Lorenzoni, pp. 87, 170. The pine seeds were boiled or roasted.


Lorenzoni, p. 17.

Manfroi, p. 100.

Barea, pp. 57-58.

Costa et al., p. 45. Ribeiro (p. 45) noted that Nanetto, the diminutive of Nani, can also mean "festivity" in an ironic sense, and that by naming the protagonist Nanetto Pipetta, Aquiles Bernardi was defining the comical and popular character of the work.


In fact, Aquiles Bernardi was told by the editor of the newspaper to bring the series to an end, and he chose this method of doing so. His readers were so vociferous in their protest that he began another story, also serialized: Storia de nino fradello de Nanetto Pipetta, which was published post-humously in book form in 1976.

In 1881, the Brazilian government created a reception centre and quarantine station at Ilha das Flores (Manfroi, p. 106).

By 1879 Italian immigration was at its peak, many of the incentives granted by the Brazilian government by the Law of 1867 were rescinded: free passage was discontinued, subsidy for free food until the immigrants were settled was replaced by fifteen days' work per month in the construction of roads. The only benefit which remained intact was the option to buy land on credit (ibid., p. 64).

The average capacity of the transatlantic ship was 700 passengers (ibid., pp. 103-104).

The date of the first Italian settlement in Rio Grande do Sul may be in dispute,
but there is none about the length and tediousness of the voyage. Rizzardo cites, as example, the arrival of three Italian families in Nova Milano, on May 20, 1875, after a voyage of three months and eight days.

27 He had been employed in building two kilometres of railway, and had hoped to find employment with the English engineer contracted to build the Cacequi bridge. The project was delayed.

28 Manfroi, pp. 113-115.

29 Veranópolis was the former Alfredo Chaves founded 1884. Other colonies also suffered name changes after the Republic was established, e.g., Conde d'Eu became Garibaldi, and Dona Isabel became Bento Gonçalves (ibid., p. 80).

30 Bernardi, Terra convalescente, p. 30.


BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

When Stuart Clark Rothwell wrote "The Old Colonial Zone of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil: A Geographical Interpretation," in partial fulfillment of his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography at Syracuse University in 1956, he said in the Preface that source materials were scarce and nearly all written for public consumption. Among the six sources noted are Leo Waibel, "Principios da Colonização Europeia no Sul do Brazil," originally published in Revista brasileira de geografia, 11:11 (April-June, 1949), reprinted in Aspectos da geografia riograndense (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Conselho Nacional de Geografia, 1954); Orlando Valverde, "Excursão a Região Colonial Antiga do Rio Grande do Sul," originally published in Revista brasileira de geografia, 10:4 (October-December, 1948), reprinted in Aspectos; and the historical classic Un viaggio a Rio Grande del Sul by Vittorio Buccelli. Since then, owing to the untiring efforts of the descendants of those immigrants, the body of literature has increased considerably.

The most comprehensive collection for the study of Italian immigration to Rio Grande do Sul is Coleção imigração italiana, coordinated by Rovilio Costa and Luís A. De Boni (Porto Alegre:
Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourença de Brindes/Editoria Universidade Caxias, 1975--). Some of the works in the series were first published by other publishers. The series was started in 1975 with the work by Rovilio Costa, *Imigração italiana no Rio Grande do Sul*, to commemorate the centennial of Italian immigration to Brazil. Sixty titles have appeared, covering a wide range of subject areas: history, sociology, anthropology, literature, linguistics, viticulture. A number of the works are oral history gathered from the surviving first immigrants and their descendants.


Travel books of the period provide invaluable primary information: Vittorio Buccelli, Un viaggio a Rio Grande del Sul (Milan: L. E. Pallestrini, 1906); Alfredo Cusano, Italia d'oltre mare. Impressioni e ricordi dei miei cinque anni di Brasile (Milan: E. Reggiani, 1911); Filippo Ugolotti, Italia e italiani in Brasile: note e appunti (São Paulo: Reidel and Lemmi, 1897).


European Bookdealers: 
Their Contributions to Latin American Culture
I would like to introduce some historical patterns of European migration to Latin America and describe how some of the immigrants affected the book trades of their new homelands from the colony to the twentieth century.

European immigrants have always been an important feature of the Latin American book trade. Acting as printers, publishers, and booksellers, Europeans introduced the book trade to the Americas, dominated its early history, and have continually infused it with energy, knowledge, and capital. In examining the history of European involvement in the Latin American book trade, I suggest two major trends: (1) Europeans' domination of technology and their connections with sources of finance in their mother countries or new homelands and (2) the importance of examining Europeans in the Latin American book business in the context of the larger and better-documented picture of migration as a whole.

The Colony

Remember that the European book trade was still quite young at the time of Columbus's discovery. Gutenberg set up his first press in the 1450s and printing spread rapidly through Western Europe for the next half century. The expansion reached Rome in 1467 and England in 1471 when William Caxton set up his shop in London. The first press in Iberia was established at Zaragoza in 1473, and by the time of Columbus's first voyage, Burgos and Seville as well could boast printing installations. Because of its recent introduction, early sixteenth-century Spanish printing was dominated by immigrants from the Germanies. Names such as Botel, von Holtz, and Planck appear as owners of Spanish presses in 1500.

Seen in this light, the establishment of the book trade in Latin America was a part of a general European expansion from Central Europe westward. A part of this European model was the importance of emigrants in the establishment and functioning of the trade. And so it was to be in colonial Latin America with emigrants--first from northern Europe and then from Spain--dominating the core of the book trade.

At one time studies of the Spanish American colonial culture stressed the deleterious effects of censorship by the metropolis. Eminent scholars, such as our own inspiration, José Toribio Medina, argued that Spain wished to keep her colonies benighted
for political reasons. While this view stressed the role of the mother country in controlling the spread of enlightened ideas, the evidence often cited was the underdeveloped book trade of the colonies.

But by the 1940s, inspired by Francisco Fernández del Castillo's work, scholars had begun to question this view of the colonial culture. The best-known exponent of the revisionist interpretation was Irving Leonard, who between 1942 and 1956 published no fewer than ten articles and the now classic monograph, Books of the Brave, all of which examined colonial Spanish culture through the lens of the book market. Thanks to Leonard and others, we know that the book trade not only survived Spanish censorship but it prospered in spite of it, and it did so everywhere in the colonies.

European immigrants were, of course, heavily involved in the trade throughout the colonial years. Among the most famous of the early immigrant families of the colonial book trade were the Crombergers. The patriarch, Jacob, born in Mainz, set up a shop in Seville sometime around 1500 where he combined press operations with retail sales. In 1525, only four years after the conquest of Tenochtitlán, Cromberger gained a monopoly from Charles V for book sales to New Spain. This same agreement, by the way, guaranteed the bookseller a 100 percent profit. Though the elder Cromberger died two years after the establishment of his monopoly, the agreement was continued under his son, Juan, and then the son's widow until 1550.

In 1539 Juan Cromberger expanded his Mexican operation by entering a partnership with the Lombard, Juan Pablos, to set up a printing press in Mexico City. This multinational, German-Ibero-Lombardian, agreement, signed ironically a year before Juan Cromberger's death, resulted in bringing the first press to the Americas and opened the colonies to a slow but steady expansion of printing.

Leonard's examination of inventories of both Crombergers' book stock in Seville, taken to settle their estates, gives further details of the Mexican book trade in the first two decades after the Conquest. One is struck immediately by the size of the holdings. Representative entries from Jacob's inventory show 478 copies of Amadís de Gaula, 320 copies of Don Clarín, and 1,501 copies of Rey Canamor. Juan's storehouse must have been very large, as twenty of his titles bulked 8,679 copies. While these inventories may not have been totally directed to the Mexican trade, the fact that Juan bothered to ward off other Seville printers' challenges to his extension of Jacob's original contract with the Crown suggests that the Crombergers' Mexican operation was a very large and profitable one.

The Crombergers were undoubtedly a special, privileged case. However, this capsule of their operations serves to introduce the issues of European emigrants in the Latin American
book trade for which there is copious if scattered additional evidence. A perusal of the huge compendia of colonial printing prepared by Medina reveals the dominance of Europeans in early imprints. ³ Mexico City alone held Pierre Ochart of Rouen, Pierre Balli and Antonio Ricardo, both Italians, and Henrico Martínez, a Frenchman. And as printing spread to other areas of the colonies, we encounter the same pattern of European dominance. For instance, Peru's first press dates from 1584 when Ricardo established a shop in Lima four years after his departure from Mexico City.

Bookselling in the colonial period seldom existed as a full-time occupation. Printers sometimes added a retail shop for their productions and those of others, a pattern illustrated by the Crombergers. Another outlet for books was their presence in a line of more general merchandise. At the end of the colonial period, the Spanish merchant Manuel Riesco regularly ordered books as a staple for his dry goods shop in Santiago de Chile.⁴

But despite their rarity, booksellers did arrive in the Indies, usually carrying their wares with them. Leonard cites the case of one Juan de Sarria of Alcalá de Henares who traveled with the flota of 1606 to Puerto Bello, crossed the isthmus to Panama, and arrived in Callao with 45 fardos of books belonging to his father. Then, after contacting his father's partner in Lima, Sarria walked across the Andes with a mule train to carry a consignment of books to Cuzco.⁵

Historical studies of the colonial book trade, especially those of Leonard and his successors, tend to introduce the subject in the context of colonial culture. They use the documentation of the book trade to challenge a part of the "Black Legend," to wit, that Spain suppressed the spread of enlightened ideas to the colonies. This is an important point, not only for cultural historiography but also for our examination of the role of emigrants in the colonial book trade. For if the scholars are right and enlightened ideas were entering the colonies through an extensive imported literature, a mechanism would have to have existed for the transport of that literature from Europe to the Indies. Through their illumination of personalities and processes, the same scholars inadvertently develop another theme, that European emigrants were inextricably bound to the colonial book trade. Spaniards as the dominant merchant group controlled the supply of books to the colonies. And the emigrants from other regions of Europe, despite legislation prohibiting their emigration to the Indies, controlled much of the technology of colonial printing and book manufacture.

Nineteenth Century

The independence of the former Spanish colonies and the arrival of the Braganzas to Brazil marked a dramatic acceleration of northern European influence on Latin American economies. At
the same time, economic and political turmoil in Europe contributed to an ever enlarging flow of Europeans to the New World. Both of these trends had pronounced effects on the nineteenth-century book trade.

Studies of the Latin American book trade mention the prominence of French immigrants in printing and bookselling in the years immediately following independence. Laurence Hallewell points out that one of the two original booksellers in Rio was Paul Martin, a native of Tours, and that the principal bookstores of early Republican Brazil were all French owned, bearing names such as Villeneuve, Mongie, and Laemmert. Apparently the same was true for Mexico and Argentina.

A part of the reason for this French hegemony lay in the importance of French high culture at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1800 French ideas and French books dominated the entire Iberian world. The Latin American book trade represented a natural outgrowth of this domination. The second major reason for an exceptional French presence in the Latin American book trade of the early nineteenth century was the emigration that followed the fall of Napoleon. And 1815 marked only the first in a series of events that spurred European emigration in the nineteenth century. To the Napoleonic downfall, one would have to add the Bourbon restoration in Spain, the general upheaval of 1848, the Spanish Carlist Wars, the wars of German unification, the Franco-Prussian War, and the serious economic crises of 1857, 1866, and 1873-1875 as stimuli for European migration. These classic push factors were augmented by economic opportunities in the Atlantic-facing nations of Latin America, especially Argentina after the Conquest of the Desert and postabolition Brazil, to produce a steady stream of European migrants to nineteenth-century Latin America.

Evidence of foreign influence on the nineteenth-century book trade is thus far sparsely documented in published sources. Some European bookmen arrived in Latin America as functionaries of international trade and as exponents of new technologies. With the opening of the Argentine economy to northern Europe in the 1820s, the famous London bookseller Rudolph Ackerman established a branch office in Buenos Aires which furnished the new government with educational materials. The Parmesan Claudio Linati set up the first lithographic equipment in Mexico, with government backing, five years after its independence.

However, the greatest European influence on the nineteenth-century book trade came from those men and women who joined the migrant stream and entered bibliographic work in their new homelands on their own initiative. The documented appearance of the new arrivals clusters around the periods of European unrest cited above. Pierre Plancher, a loyal Bonapartist, arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1823 to begin what would be a decade of activity in the Brazilian book trade. The first librería de lance (secondhand
Patterns of Migration and the Latin American Book Trade

bookstore) in Chile was established by a veteran of Garibaldi's army. La Librería Científica de Juan Etchepareborda opened sometime between 1848 and 1850, operated by a French Basque who also practiced dentistry. Etchepareborda maintained a dental clinic above his street-level bookstore in Buenos Aires and shuttled up and down between enterprises. Perhaps the best-documented case of a political exile qua bookman of the period is the Spaniard, Benito Hortelano, who came to Argentina in 1849 with experience in editing political books and journals in Madrid. After initially applying his editorial skills in Buenos Aires, Hortelano founded the Librería Hispano-Americana and an adjacent printing shop where he produced and sold such works as Woodbine Parrish's Buenos Aires y las provincias del Río de la Plata.7

The 1860s and 1870s continued the trend of French influence on the Latin American booktrade. In Argentina Claude Joly bought the stock of a compatriot and began a business which was to spawn a series of French-owned bookstores in the port, including those of Felix Lajouane and Joseph Escary. This period also marks the return of a strong Spanish influence in Latin American publishing and the onset of German participation in the book trade of Argentina. During the early Porfiriato Spaniards, personified by firms such as Ballestá and Herrero, became prominent in Mexican publishing. And the 1860s also date the establishment of the famous Germano-Argentine houses of Kraft and Peuser.8

The nineteenth century marked Latin America's formal entry into the greater European world. And while the effects of this entry were not altogether happy ones, they widely expanded the role of northern Europe in the economic affairs of the region and opened Latin America as a potential haven to those desiring to escape the Old World. The book trade captured only a small part of the economic and demographic activities. But however small in numbers, Europeans had a considerable impact on the emerging book industry of the new nations.

Twentieth Century

The twentieth century began as its predecessor ended, with high levels of European migration. However, the bulk of the immigration was directed toward the United States, and in Latin America European immigrants spread themselves unevenly. Mexico, which put great hopes on immigration as a means of modernizing the country, was disappointed in the paucity of European immigrants reaching its shores. Yet among those immigrants who did arrive were men with names still familiar to us, names such as Porrúa and Botas.

Brazil and Argentina received the lion's share of the twentieth-century immigrants. Surprisingly, Brazilian immigrants do not seem to have played a major role in the book trade of our
century. Perhaps the best indicator of this contention is Laurence Hallewell's *Books in Brazil* which develops the history of the Brazilian trade by tracing the careers of prominent publishers and booksellers. Of the eight figures Hallewell examines from the colony to 1900, only one, Francisco de Paula Brito, was a native Brazilian. The twentieth century reverses this trend with all six major personalities native sons.

Argentina presents a much more likely scenario. Domingo Buonocore's study of the national book trade since 1825 shows twentieth-century immigrants active in every facet of the industry. Immigrant booksellers are especially prominent, with Spaniards leading the way and Italians also playing important roles.9

Among the Spaniards active in the early twentieth-century book trade were: Jesús Mendez, Gerardo Fernández Blanco, Fernando García Cambeiro, and Andrés Pérez. Italian immigrants included the booksellers Florentino Ameghino and the Albasio brothers as well as Franco Colombo and Chino Fogli, both active in graphics production. Buonocore's account also highlights the great diversity of immigrants active in the Argentine book trade by introducing such figures as Samuel Kohan and Edward Mitchell. Kohan arrived in the Entre Ríos colonization area under the auspices of the Jewish Colonization Association and later moved to Buenos Aires where he established a bookshop. Mitchell opened his English Bookstore in 1907 and entered a friendly competition with the Dane, William Bremer, to service the sizable English-speaking population of Buenos Aires.

The middle decades of the twentieth century were noteworthy as a period of marked upsurge in European emigrants' participation in the Latin American book trade. This trend grew out of the tragic consequences of the Spanish Civil War and the rise of Nazism. I confine my treatment of our century to the Civil War and leave later events to the papers that follow.

Earlier I wrote of a French domination of the nineteenth-century Latin American book business. With the cooling of passions against the former mother country, Spanish publishers began to make inroads against their Gallic rivals, and by 1920 the reconquista of the book trade was nearly complete. The Spanish aegis was to be short-lived, however, the casualty of Civil War.

Defeat of the Republic and the harsh peace terms imposed by the victors produced a large-scale exodus of the vanquished. This emigration is best documented for Mexico, owing principally to the well-organized Mexican programs to welcome and resettle Spanish exiles. While the best-known group of exiles is that which became part of the Casa de España, later renamed the Colegio de Mexico, Mexican publishing also benefited from the new immigrant groups. Ironically, the disruption of the Spanish publishing industry created a vacuum in Latin America, a vacuum
largely filled by national industries that developed, nurtured by the skills and energy provided by Republican expatriates.

In Mexico, Spanish exiles participated in all phases of the book trade. They established some of the most important imprints in contemporary publishing, including Joaquín Mortiz, Arcos, Proa, Grijalbo, and Era. Spaniards also provided the intellectual and technical impetus for Mexican houses such as Fondo de Cultura Económica, established in 1934. Exile-owned establishments, such as the Librería de Cristal on the Alameda, served both the immigrant and Mexican intellectual communities.10

In Argentina, another popular destination for Republican exiles, Spanish emigrants had an important impact on the book trade. At least one scholar attributes the emergence of a true Argentine publishing industry to the arrival of Spanish Republican emigrés, citing the wholesale movement of publishing companies such as Espasa-Calpe and the establishment of new concerns such as Sudamericana by Spaniards.11

Conclusion

The other panelists will have to put flesh on this introductory skeleton by illuminating why they chose bookselling and by describing something of their lives in the craft. What I have tried to suggest is that my fellow participants are part of a long tradition of European involvement in the Latin American book trade, a tradition shaped by the dynamics of Old World demography and technological leadership. They are in a sense the descendants of Jacob Cromberger, without his guaranteed profit margin.

Many of us here, charged with the procurement of Latin American bibliographic materials, owe a special debt to those European immigrants who chose to devote themselves to the book trade.

NOTES


3Medina's works on colonial printing cover some 7 titles and 18 volumes all beginning with the prefix La imprenta en. . . . The works cover all of Latin America from Mexico to Chile.

4Sergio Martínez Baeza, El libro en Chile (Santiago: Biblioteca Nacional, 1982), p. 73.

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8 Ibid., p. 59.

9 Ibid., pp. 132-134, 153-160, 189.


12. THE IMPACT OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR ON LATIN AMERICAN PUBLISHING

Laurence Hallewell

In the century and a half since Latin American independence, the second decade of the present century marks a convenient midpoint divide. On its far side lies the world created in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars: the bourgeois belle époque, that middle-class paradise of relative political, social, and monetary stability, recognized rules of personal, institutional, and international conduct, settled frontiers and unhampered movement of goods and labor across them, of exquisite manners, splendid fashions, eternal material progress, and cheap servants, the era of the British countinghouse, the Prussian schoolroom and the French bookshop. Latin America took its economics and its investment capital from London, its philosophy and its military tactics from Berlin, and its art, fashion, and literature from Paris.

Even publishing in Spanish for the minuscule Latin American book trade was dominated by French firms such as Charles Bouvet, Armand Collin, Garnier Frères, Louis Michaud, and Paul Ollendorf and their Latin American branches. Only at the very end of the period did Spanish publishers become of any account: their 1901 output of 1,318 titles was barely a third of what the Paris trade had been achieving in 1815. In the early years of this century, Barcelona houses, seeking to compensate for their eccentric position in the home market, began to look to the Latin American trade. Their efforts only began to have any real impact about 1912: the very year in which a Cuban writer1 was lamenting that Garnier Frères represented virtually the only commercial outlet available to the Hispanic American author. That year however saw Spanish book imports into Brazil (for example) jump from under 4 tonnes a year to almost 30. Between then and 1917 the Spanish book trade as a whole was producing almost 5,000 titles a year: a rate not attained again until after the Civil War.

That old, Eurocentric, liberal world order disappeared in the cataclysm of the 1910s. While revolution convulsed the periphery—Mexico, China, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire—the center hemorrhaged its blood and treasure into the mud of Flanders.

Europe's impoverishment in the immediate postwar period, by decreasing its consumption of Latin American products, created conditions for a sudden burgeoning of indigenous publishing in Latin America: Monteiro Lobato in Brazil, Editorial Claridad and the Gluzberg brothers' Babel and Minerva in Argentina, and José Vasconcelos's new federal education ministry in Mexico with its
output of cheap classics for the newly literate masses. But only for a short while: outside those countries still convulsed with revolution, the urge to get back to "normalcy" was irresistible. By 1925 the illusion of a return to prewar economic and political conditions was largely achieved, with even the gold standard nominally reinstated, all precariously floating on a treacherous sea of American credit. With a revived world economy, Latin American products recovered their markets, and Latin American currencies recovered their value, destroying the price advantage that had permitted the brief publishing boom.

For the book trade, there was one important difference. The growth in Spanish book imports, which had become significant in the immediate prewar years, but which had declined immediately afterward—only 997 titles appeared in Spain in 1921—was now flourishing again, and had become Hispanic America's chief source of books. The Argentine publishing industry, the region's largest, was averaging a mere 650 or so titles a year, almost all of them of purely limited local interest.

But the world bankers' economic restauration of the 1920s was as artificial and as impermanent as the Congress of Vienna's political restauration of a hundred years before. When American banks snatched back their loans in the aftermath of the stock market crash of October 24-29, 1929, the old order was finally sucked away in a whirlwind of universal economic and political collapse.

Crippled by the loss of their vital export markets for coffee, copper, and nitrates, Brazil and Chile were the most severely affected Latin American countries. No longer having any foreign exchange to spare for mere books, both countries had perforce to provide their own. Chile, with the benefit of speaking Spanish, and with a peso that had fallen even further in value than the milreis, was even able to develop a book export industry, the price advantage she now enjoyed over Spain and France enhanced by the accident of her never having signed the Berne Convention, which freed her from the onus of paying royalties to European authors. Ercilla in particular became an imprint familiar throughout Latin America, especially for its translations of contemporary fiction.

The Great Depression of the 1930s swept away every government, except those few—Italy, Mexico, Portugal, Russia, Turkey—forged in the revolution of ten years earlier, which had already repudiated the old nineteenth-century heritage of liberal cosmopolitanism. State dirigiste nationalism, whether of the right or of the left, became the new norm. In some countries (such as the United States) this was the almost exclusive property of the democratic left. In others (such as Germany) it came to be monopolized by the radical right. In Chile right and left alternated in power whilst pursuing basically similar policies. In Brazil right and left collaborated in overthrowing the "Old
Republic," scarcely aware of their differences before both succumbed to the personalista rule of Getulio Vargas, who himself provided the Mussolini-inspired role model for Argentina's Perón. In unhappy Spain, the liberal center withered away gradually, leaving the political spectrum ever more polarized at its two extremes. In July 1936 the Spanish right tried a traditional army pronunciamiento to resolve the issue, but found it had badly miscalculated the strength of the left; order could only be reimposed through the benevolent neutrality of Britain, and the active intervention of Germany and Italy—and even at that, only after three long years of savage civil war.

Spanish book exporting practically ceased. Imports of all types of printed matter from Spain into Brazil (for instance) went down from 41 metric tons in 1935 to 116 kilograms in 1937, and a mere 57 kg in 1938. Madrid and Barcelona, the two centers of the Spanish book trade, were both in the loyalist zone, blockaded by the Axis navies. Output during the war is unknown: no figures were kept, or, if kept, were never published. In any case the Republic saw books more as a way to boost morale and a weapon of internal propaganda than as a foreign exchange earner.

Chile, Mexico, and Argentina all strove to fill the gap, hoping not merely to replace imports on their home markets but also to become the principal source of Spanish-language books in all the other Hispanic countries. All three achieved some success. Even Chile, the eventual loser, did well enough until the end of World War II to encourage the continual appearance of new publishing houses: Editorial del Pacífico in 1941, Editora Universitaria in 1942, Editorial Jurídica in 1945, and the Chilean branch of Paulinas in 1946. Argentina was, however, by far the most successful. Her existing domestic book industry provided her with the largest base upon which to build. The size of her internal book market gave her significant economies of scale and a consequent price advantage. Above all, she could profit from the experience of the Chileans, who had suffered all the disadvantages of having been the pioneers—particularly in regard to the inefficiency (and often downright dishonesty) of their foreign agents and distributors.

From 817 titles produced in 3 million copies or so in 1937, Argentine book production climbed to 1,736 titles in 7 million copies in 1938; 2,671 titles in 12 million copies in 1940; 3,778 titles in 21 million copies (of which half were exported) in 1942; to 5,323 titles in 31 million copies (of which two-thirds were exported) in 1944. Average edition size went from 3,500 in 1936 to 11,040 in 1953. Almost as soon as the Civil War began, the Buenos Aires branches of several Spanish houses, having no imports to sell, began to publish in their own right: Labor Argentina in 1936, Espasa-Calpe Argentina and Sopena Argentina in 1937. In some cases, individual Spaniards who had been working for such oversea branches decided to go into business on
their own account. Gonzalo Losada (born 1894) who had come to Argentina in 1928 as Espasa-Calpe's South American manager, founded Editorial Losada in August 1938. Claiming that his purpose had been to secure the freedom to publish the works he personally considered important, he launched his firm with thirteen titles that included works by d'Annunzio, Kafka, Lorca, Miró, Tagore, Unamuno, Juan Valera—and the Poema del Cid. Other authors he issued in his early years included prominent Spanish republicans such as Alberti and Machado, and important literary figures from other Latin American countries, such as Miguel Angel Asturias. Many of these were included in his series Biblioteca contemporánea and Novelistas de nuestra época. In November 1943, in association with Emecé, he launched the reviewing journal Negro sobre blanco. He also founded two other imprints, Magisterio Argentina and Pleamar, and well before the end of World War II was exporting half his production. Symptomatic of the way the expansion of Argentine publishing was crowding out that of Chile was the fact that Pablo Neruda gave Losada a title of his to publish in 1944, and then, from 1947 onward, made Losada his exclusive publisher in place of Nascimento of Santiago.

The situation created by the Spanish Civil War naturally benefited native Argentines too. Santiago Rueda (1905–1968), for instance, the nephew of Pedro García, the founder of El Ateneo, went into business on his own account in October 1939, publishing such contemporary or near contemporary classics as Cocteau, Freud, Hesse, James Joyce, Kierkgaard, and D.H. Lawrence. Rueda was particularly important for the American authors he published, including Sherwood Anderson, Louis Bromfield, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Hemingway, Sinclair Lewis, Henry Miller, and Agnes Smedley. In Brazil, for instance, although Globo of Porto Alegre had already issued one or two Faulkner titles in Portuguese, most carioca writers of the period got their first acquaintance with the Mississippi author through imports of Rueda's Spanish versions. 2

In an expansive mood, the Argentine industry began to broaden the horizons of its Hispanic American readers by publishing translations of authors the Spanish book trade had ignored: Brazilians, for example. Within a few months of the outbreak of the Civil War, Claridad had inaugurated a Biblioteca de autores brasileños with Jorge Amado's Cacao and Mar muerto. In the same year (1937), Imán had published Amado's D na, and there had also been a Chilean edition of Sudor, from Ercilla. In 1941 Los Amigos del Libro launched Dinah Silveira de Queiroz's Floradas en la sierra in 10,000 copies, an edition substantially larger than the original Brazilian one. By 1946 Monteiro Lobato had seen no fewer than thirty-seven of his books published in Spanish, mostly by Americalee (founded in 1943) of Buenos Aires. The Brazilian publisher Octalles Marcondes Ferreira of Companhia
Editora Nacional was so impressed by the vitality of the Argentine publishing scene that, but for the outbreak of World War II, he would have established his own Editora Nacional Argentina in Buenos Aires.

Refugees had begun to flee from Spain at the very outbreak of the war. The vast majority were republicans. Although some nationalists were holed up in friendly embassies for the duration, no rebel sympathizer needed to remain abroad for long. The loyalist zone steadily contracted as the war advanced; the entire north, including Biscay, was cut off and overrun early in the conflict. And only the loyalist zone suffered systematic terror bombing of its civilian population.

During the war a number of countries took in republican refugees. Even Britain allowed its navy to evacuate orphaned children from besieged Bilbao, and the Argentine navy sent a cruiser and a destroyer which spent the whole war ferrying refugees across the Atlantic, making a total of fifteen round trips.

It was a very different story after April 1939 when the nationalists secured the unconditional surrender of their opponents and with it the right to visit upon the former loyalist zone the savage repression they had been inflicting upon their own territory for the previous three years. Almost half a million republicans fled for their lives across the Pyrenees, only to find that they were denied any way to earn a living, unless they were desperate enough to accept enlistment in the Foreign Legion. Almost 100,000 preferred to return and face the wrath of Franco. The rest were herded into concentration camps where, unless they found some other country willing to take them, they would fall into Nazi hands (and slave labor) when Vichy France was occupied in 1943.

Most Latin American governments were openly sympathetic to the nationalists, and most of the others did not wish to offend their principal creditors, Britain and France, by aiding the republicans in any way, even in defeat. Mexico alone was prepared openly to support the Republic on ideological grounds, a risk it dared to take mainly because it was already in open conflict with the leading capitalist powers as a result of the recent nationalization of its oil industry. That in itself had put the country in a difficult financial position, which in turn made it hard for it to afford to do much for the refugees. Nevertheless, some 160,000 republicans found refuge in Mexico, including 2,440 from the printing trades, 2,065 profesores, 368 "intellectuals," and half a dozen publishers. These last included Julián Calvo and Javier Marqués (who eventually joined the Fondo de Cultura Económica), Juan José Cremades (who had been a member of the Cortes, and who later managed a Mexican publishing firm), and Miguel Angel Marín (a former law professor at the University of
Barcelona who set up a publishing house in association with other refugees).

Chile had supported the rebels all through the war, opening its Madrid embassy to any opponent of the government in need of a safe haven. Providentially, however, the Alessandri government lost the elections of October 1938 and a Popular Front president (Pedro Aguirre Cerda) came to power in the closing months of the war. It was then too late to do anything to affect the outcome, but Aguirre was able to appoint Pablo Neruda, then newly converted to Communism, as Chilean consul in Paris, from where he worked valiantly to secure passage to Chile for some of the loyalists languishing in the French prison camps. As a result of Neruda's efforts, a whole shipload, the SS Winnipeg—some two thousand souls—reached Chile. Being a good proletarian, Neruda selected his refugees almost entirely from the working class. As a humanitarian effort, this was admirable: it was the amorphous mass of ordinary folk among the refugees who would suffer most if they fell into nationalist hands, and it was precisely they who would receive least consideration from any other refugee organization. Also, being mostly skilled artisans, they were just the type of immigrant Chile stood most in need of, and who would be most easily assimilated. Doubtless, since printers have always been notorious for their progressive political views, the Winnipeg's two thousand must have included members of the printing trades. But, being useful rather than prominent, their possible contribution to Chilean publishing cannot be detailed, only surmised.

Other less anonymous refugees made their way to Chile independently. Among those who contributed to the book trade were Leopoldo Castedo, Eleazar Huerta, and Joaquín Alendro. Alendro founded the bookshop and publishing house Orbe, and he also wrote an important study of the Chilean book trade, El libro y el problema editorial en Chile (Santiago, 1958). There were also the brothers Soria who founded the small but important Editorial Cruz del Sur in 1943, publisher of Marta Brunet, Augusto d'Halma, and the first Chilean edition of Huidobro's Altazar.

Chile benefited at the same time from a number of political refugees from Peru, such as Luis Alberto Sánchez (who occupied a key post at Ercilla), Ciro Alegria, and others.

Argentina was potentially the most attractive haven for any refugee with publishing or intellectual interests. Apart from the country's newly achieved primacy in the Spanish-language book trade, it possessed in Buenos Aires what was, in the 1940s, the world's largest Hispanic city, and the most Europeanized capital in Latin America. Its immigration laws had however been very restrictive ever since the Depression, and were not liberalized again until 1947. Thus only a lucky few loyalist refugees gained admission before then.
Catalan Antonio López Llausás founded Editorial Sudamericana in 1939; by 1970 this had grown into almost the country's largest house, with a backlist of a thousand titles, many of them in its Gran colección de obras narrativas series. Another Catalan, Joan Merli, founded Poseidón, mainly a publisher of art books. Other houses started about this time by loyalist immigrants included Editorial PHAC (Patronato Hispano-Argentino de Cultura), concentrating on popular titles, and Editora Nova, with a predilection for Galician authors.

Losada made the refugee Guillermo de Torre his literary editor, and Rueda too recruited a number of émigrés. Editorial Schapire recruited Rafael Alberti and Arturo Serrano Plaja; Editorial Atlántida gave employment to Rafael Dieste. Many of the émigrés worked for the book trade as translators, an important but seldom well-paid adjunct to publishing: José Luis Martínez (medical works), Demetrio Náñez (French philosophy), "Pedro Ibarzábal" (Pedro Lecuona) (English works).

No other Hispanic countries had publishing industries of any consequence at the time, although mention might be made of the brothers Escofet who emigrated to the Dominican Republic where they created the Librería Escofet.

Argentine dominance of Hispanic publishing was not however fated to last. Unhelpful government policies in regard to currency regulations, customs procedures and postal rates, allied to the country's troubled economic and political history in the postwar years are part of the explanation. The determination of Franco's Spain to recover its position as the leading book exporting nation in the Spanish-speaking world is the rest. Publishers such as Seix Barral were even encouraged to publish titles for the Latin American market that the regime did not wish to have read in Spain. The jeito was a gentleman's agreement that only a token number of copies from each addition of such works would be permitted by the publisher to find their way onto the domestic market. Spanish book exports recovered rapidly, going from 4 million pesetas' worth in 1942 to 16 million in 1945, 181 million in 1952, and 1,079 million in 1961. Argentine figures show a peak for exports of 24 million copies in 1947, and then a fall to less than half of this through the 1950s. In 1955 overall output was below that of 1943. And output of titles seems to have been less than that of Spain for every year since 1953. Presently there is a more than fourfold difference: Argentina is averaging 5,000 titles a year, Spain is exceeding 20,000.

It may perhaps be Mexico that proves eventually to have benefited most from the Spanish republican diaspora. The Spaniards arrived just as Mexican publishing was beginning to expand, whilst Mexico's unique refusal ever to acknowledge the legitimacy of the Franco regime freed it from any obligation to respect Spanish copyrights. Although Mexico's publishing never achieved the initial success enjoyed by Argentina in the 1940s, its
long-term growth was, until quite recently, much more regular, continuous, and sustained. By the beginning of the 1970s Mexico bid fair to become the premier publishing country of Hispanic America and the only one that gave promise of one day challenging Spain’s preeminence.

An important gesture of the Mexican government at the very outset of Spanish republican immigration was the 1938 creation of the Casa de España, a postgraduate teaching and research center, directed by Alfonso Reyes, set up to cater to the many intellectuals among the émigrés. In 1940 this was rechristened the Colegio de México, and, in May that year, given its own publishing house, Tenzontle.

The Spaniards’ impact was felt most, perhaps, in the Fondo de Cultura Económica, which eventually, in 1950, took over the Colegio. The FCE had been created by the Banco de México in 1934, and placed under the direction of Daniel Cosío Villegas, to publish works on economics and finance, fields until then quite inadequately catered to by Spanish-language publishing. The Spanish refugees it recruited helped turn this small and very specialized house into one of far wider interests, and the largest publisher in Mexico to boot: José Alaminos, Juan Comas, Sindulfo de la Fuente, Ramón Iglesia, Javier Márquez, José Medina Echavarría, Manuel Pedrosó, José Roura-Parella and Florentino Torner among them. Between 1939 and 1955 the FCE published some hundred foreign works, translated into Spanish by such émigrés as José Gaos, Eugenio Imaz, Wenceslao Roces (from French), and Vicente Herrero (who translated political philosophers, from Hobbes to Marx).

At the end of 1965, many of the FCE people (including a number of the refugees) left as a result of a policy disagreement to set up Siglo XXI, which has since become one of the most respected imprints in Hispanic politically progressive publishing, with branches in Spain and Argentina.

Meanwhile some others of the émigrés had left FCE to start their own businesses (Joaquín Díez Canedo, for instance, founded the literary house Joaquín Mortiz). Yet others--such as José Echavarría and Francisco Giner de los Ríos--went to ECLA, the United Nations agency in Santiago de Chile responsible for so much important social science publishing on Latin America.

Mention should also be made of Spanish-born José González Pinto who had spent most of his life as a publisher in Havana, Cuba. Seeking a wider field for his activities, he had moved to Mexico City, where in 1938 he founded UTEHA (Unión Tipografía Editorial Hispanoamericana) as a sci-tech and dictionary publisher, later adding the imprints Acrópolis, González Pinto, Occidente, and Renacimiento, and finding many of his employees among the republican refugees. These contributed in particular to his most notable publication, the first wholly Hispano-American multivolume encyclopedia which UTEHA first issued in 1951.
The course of Mexican publishing has, unfortunately, been badly affected by the impact of the recent developments in the world petroleum industry on the country's economic situation. The resultant curtailment of domestic income has reduced Mexican book production, measured in titles per annum, from almost 6,000 in the early 1970s to well under half that level in the mid-1980s. Exports, however, remain high--devaluation has given them a price advantage--and there would seem to be every reason to believe that, once the internal economy recovers, and with it the home market for books, the pattern of growth achieved a decade ago will be resumed.

NOTES

1 Antonio Miguel Alcover y Beltrán, Los libros de producción latinoamericana (Havana, 1912).

2 Private communication from Brazilian publisher Enio Silveira.

3 According to Mark Falcoff and Frederick B. Pike's The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: American Hemispheric Perspectives (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1982), p. 340: "After a long period of tight restriction, in 1947 Argentina opened its doors once again to massive Spanish immigration... In particular, the infant Argentine book publishing industry received an enormous boost."

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Latin American Publishing


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Al comenzar este trabajo tenía la intención de circunscribirlo a la época de la Guerra Civil Española, pues, como todos sabemos, por causa de ella muchos intelectuales se ven forzados a abandonar España. Casi todos ellos buscan refugio en los países de América; en sus nuevas patrias fueron recibidos generosamente y ellos, generosamente, con su trabajo fecundo y su espíritu inquebrantable, abrieron nuevos surcos en tierra americana.

Como siempre sucede cuando se cubre el cielo con las nubes sombrías de la intolerancia y de la ignorancia, quienes más amenazados están son los pensadores, y junto con ellos los encargados de difundir el pensamiento: los editores y los libreros. Fue así que a partir de 1936 llegaron a todas las capitales de Hispanoamérica escritores, poetas, músicos, directores de teatro, libreros y en nuestras tierra encontraron la libertad que su patria les negaba.

Y mientras recordaba la vida y milagros de los editores y libreros españoles que llegaron a la Argentina, pues ése es el tema que nos ocupa, advertí muy pronto que esta emigración, si así podemos llamarla, no podía comprenderse de una manera aislada: es decir, que no era un fenómeno nuevo. Habían ya varias generaciones de libreros españoles en la Argentina. Los libreros y los editores españoles son valientes pioneros de un fenómeno social mucho más vasto, que trataremos de esbozar en las pocas páginas de este trabajo.

El pueblo, los cientos de miles de voluntades de hombres sencillos, tiene un sentido de la Historia que generalmente le falta a las élites. Como escribía hace poco Octavio Paz: "la sabiduría popular no es libresca ni moderna sino antigua y tradicional. Es una mezcla de estoicismo, silenciosa energía, humor, resignación, realismo, valor, fe religiosa y sentido común."

Cuando hace poco recorrimos los viejos pueblos del Altiplano Andino de nombres poéticos y sonoros: Azángaro, Ayaviri, Huancancé, Pupuja, Sicuani, Checacupe, nos asombrábamos ante su arquitectura, tan parecida a la de los viejos pueblos de Extremadura y Castilla la Vieja; cuando visitábamos las iglesias que construyó España en aquellos desolados paisajes en las que hoy se venera a los mismos santos que se veneran en España; cuando veíamos a los buenos habitantes de aquellos pueblos vestidos igual que los labradores españoles, ventear el trigo para separar la paja del grano, como todavía se hace en los viejos pueblos españoles, cuando escuchábamos cantar las antiguas coplas
españolas que todavía se cantan en España, comprendimos cómo esa fuerza secreta de la Historia que vive en el pueblo había sabido conservar su herencia cultural que en las ciudades habíamos perdido. Esa es la razón de vivir de una sociedad: su herencia cultural.

España trasplanta a América su religión, su idioma, sus leyes, sus tradiciones, su arquitectura, sus costumbres y asimiándolas a las condiciones del Nuevo Mundo forja a lo largo de tres siglos una cultura: la cultura hispanoamericana.

Al producirse las guerras de la independencia americana la ciega soberbia de la monarquía española, por un lado, la verborragia guerrera por el otro, y los intereses económicos de las otras potencias europeas hicieron que la ruptura de España con América fuera una herida demasiado profunda. España se niega a reconocer a los nuevos Estados Americanos hasta alrededor de 1860, mientras que en América los sectores oficiales se empeñan por "desespañolizar" a nuestros países. Durante casi todo el siglo XIX, además del distanciamiento y de la ruptura de lazos económicos, políticos y culturales, se difunde en América una imagen peyorativa de España, mientras que España, aislada por su crisis interna de ese siglo, tampoco puede aceptar la responsabilidad que le cabe como antigua metrópoli hacia los nuevos Estados americanos.

Entonces esa "energía silenciosa" del pueblo irrumpe en la Historia. Cientos de miles de gallegos, asturianos, vascos, extremeños y andaluces cruzan el Atlántico y llegan a los nuevos países, ahora como inmigrantes. Pero ya no son intérpretes de la cultura oficial religiosa y autoritaria española sino de la cultura popular y democrática de sus aldeas y sus pueblos.

La llegada de estos españoles a América y el hecho de que se arraigan principalmente en las ciudades, como Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rosario, Caracas, Santiago de Chile, la Habana, etc. hace renacer el interés por las cosas españolas en América. Junto con los emigrantes vienen maestros, sacerdotes, exiliados liberales y revolucionarios socialistas y libertarios.

Y ya entonces a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX aparecen los libreros. Es tan importante el papel de los libreros en este proceso de recomposición de las relaciones de España con América, porque fue a través de la cultura y de la difusión del pensamiento y de la palabra escrita de un lenguaje y de un sentimiento común que se preservaron los lazos que las guerras de la independencia habían querido cortar.

La recíproca difusión del pensamiento español y americano a través de libros, periódicos, visitas de intelectuales, poetas e historiadores, los reiterados exílios de políticos en desgracia desde España a América, o desde América a España, la presencia de las colectividades españolas en las principales ciudades de América, fortalecieron los lazos de la comunidad cultural hispanoamericana y a la vez el intercambio de experiencias y la
reciprocidad de intereses fueron camino seguro para que se formaran relaciones culturales, políticas y económicas estables toda vez que los viejos rencoros ya habían cicatrizado.

Recordaremos pues a los libreros españoles en la Argentina y veremos como su fecunda labor fue un factor fundamental en la preservación y difusión de estos valores. Veremos que hay un hilo conductor a lo largo del último tercio del siglo XIX hasta mediados del siglo XX y trataremos de desbrozar de malezas el buen camino que aquellos buenos libreros nos dejaron trazado.

Para recordar a los libreros españoles en la Argentina hemos seguido el libro de Domingo Buonocore, Libreros, editores e impresores en la Argentina, hemos conversado con los hermanos Luis y Alberto La Cueva de la Librería Platero y con los hijos de Don Joaquín Gil, Joaquín y Teresa Gil, que hoy dirigen la distribuidora Cúspide en Buenos Aires, y con el señor Adolfo Peña de la Librería Agropecuaria, quien trabajó durante muchos años con Martínez de Murguía. No será ésta, pues, una investi-gación ni muchos menos. Solamente recordaremos a los hombres con sus luchas, desventuras, éxitos y fracasos que están detrás de un sello editorial o del nombre de una librería.

Cuando llegan los primeros libreros españoles a Buenos Aires en la segunda mitad del Siglo XIX, la ciudad era todavía una gran aldea. Los primeros libreros que encontramos como Benito Hortelano, Teodomiro Real y Prado, José Bosch, Juan Bonmati, Laureano Ocinde, desarrollan su actividad desde aproximadamente 1853 hasta fines del siglo. Todos ellos tienen éxito comercial pues se ocupan de traer producciones españolas que no llegaban por entonces al Río de la Plata. Los nombres de sus librerías siempre recuerdan a la Madre Patria: la Librería Hispanoamericana de Benito Hortelano y de Juan Bonmati, la Librería Hispanoargentina de José Bosch. También se instalan en Buenos Aires en 1869 Angel Estrada y en 1875 Ramón Espasa, fundadores de prestijiosas casas editoriales de dilatada trayectoria hasta nuestros días. Si bien estos primeros libreros españoles son relativamente poco importantes al compararlos con otras casas editoras que se establecen por estos años en Buenos Aires, como Carlos Casavalle con su Imprenta y Librería de Mayo, Pablo Emilio Coni, Guillermo Kraft y Jacob Peuser, ellos son el punto de partida para los libreros que continuarán su camino. Vemos ya en ellos el interés por publicar los temas hispanoamericanos y el pensamiento de autores argentinos. En estos tiempos el círculo de intelectuales y lectores era pequeño, y las ediciones para satisfacer este mercado eran muy reducidas. Difícilmente superaban los 500 ejemplares.

Con los primeros años del siglo XX la inmigración sacude las estructuras sociales de la Argentina. La población urbana se duplica en pocos años y más de la mitad de los habitantes de Buenos Aires son extranjeros. Será necesario un esfuerzo cultural singular para incorporar a la cultura nacional a los nuevos habitantes. Se amplía por consiguiente el mercado
consumidor de libros. Será necesario adecuar la producción editorial con miras a un horizonte más amplio de lectores.

Son éstos años de bienestar económico, moneda sana, confianza en el futuro y paz fecunda y generosa. Están dadas las condiciones para un extraordinario florecer cultural y editorial que abarcará las tres primeras décadas del siglo XX.

La popularización del libro y de los autores argentinos se debe principalmente a dos empresas que incorporan los métodos modernos de impresión y comercialización que ya entonces se usaban en España: nos referimos a la Biblioteca Argentina de Ricardo Rojas y a la Cultura Argentina de José Ingenieros. Sobre todo esta última, que llegó a hacer ediciones semanales de 3,000 a 5,000 ejemplares. Continúan este camino, aunque ya con "ediciones popularísimas" el editor español Juan Carlos Torrendell, a partir de 1916, con su Editorial Tor, y Antonio Zamora, antiguo militante socialista en su España natal, con la Editorial Claridad, a partir de 1922. Ambas editoriales publican literalmente millones de libros en un esfuerzo comercial desconocido hasta entonces.

Es ésta una época de oro del libro y de la cultura. Florecen las tertulias literarias, los teatros, los historiadores, políticos y ensayistas, las librerías y los grandes libreros, entre ellos el más recordado de todos los libreros españoles: Don Julio Suárez y su Librería Cervantes; Martín García y su Librería Hispanoamericana, donde se inicia su hermano Pedro, futuro fundador de la Librería El Ateneo, punto de partida, refugio, escuela y guía de todos los libreros españoles; Jaime Moreira; Andrés Pérez Cuberes: Secundino Rivero; Bautista Fuego; José Pardo Aragüez, fundador de la Casa Pardo de Antigüedades; Antonio García Santos, asturiano, de quien desciende una ilustre progenie de libreros; Don Jesús Menéndez; y muy especialmente el aporte fundamental de la Librería, editorial 'La Facultad' que inicia Don Cesáreo García en 1897, continúa Juan Roldán en su mejor época y culmina con los hermanos José Miguel y Adolfo Bernabé hasta su cierre definitivo en 1962.

Es en este fértil terreno donde sembrarán su semilla y echarán raíces los libreros españoles procedentes de Madrid y Barcelona que la Guerra Civil Española trae a nuestro seno. Con ellos vienen artistas, músicos, escritores, poetas: Rafael Alberti, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Manuel de Falla, Margarita Xirgú, Alejandro Casona, Jacinto Grau.

Esta nueva generación de libreros y editores españoles aporta un concepto moderno y eficiente a la actividad editorial. Se fundan entonces las editoriales que prestigiarán la cultura argentina a lo largo y ancho de la América Española: Gonzalo Losada, Editorial Losada; Pedro García y la Librería y Editorial El Ateneo, en su momento la más importante de Sudamérica; Antonio López Llausás y José María Urgoiti, la Editorial Sudamericana; Eduardo Medina y Arturo Cuadrado, la Editorial Emecé; Joan Merli, Editorial Poseidón; Santiago Rueda, sobrino de Pedro
García, la Editorial Rueda; Joaquín Torres, Editorial Juventud; Joaquín Gil, en quien nos detendremos un instante, por su labor editorial silenciosa, inteligente y fecunda que la guerra civil interrumpió y que continuó en nuestro país, por el amor que profesó a los libros y los cuidados infinitos con que rodeaba cada uno de los libros que llevan su sello editor.

Al amparo de la libertad y estabilidad económica y del prestigio de la industria editorial argentina las más importantes casas editoriales españolas como Espasa Calpe, Sopena y Aguilar establecen sucursales y editan en la Argentina. Editoriales especializadas como la Editorial Jurídica de Valerio Abeledo, la Editorial de Aniceto López, hoy López Libreros, especializada en medicina, y la Editorial Alsina de Tomás Vilar, especializada en libros técnicos, aportan casi con exclusividad los textos universitarios con que estudiaba la juventud de América.

Todas estas empresas y muchas otras que hoy no alcanzaríamos a enumerar florecieron en un marco de libertad política y económica. La maquinaria gráfica, el papel y los demás insumos de la industria no sufrían trabas aduaneras. El producto de esta industria circulaba libremente desde fuera y hacia afuera del país.

En sus viajes por América los libreros españoles radicados en la Argentina se encuentran con sus colegas y compatriotas establecidos en todas las ciudades de América. Entre ellos se establece un provechoso intercambio cultural y comercial. Martínez de Murga será el pionero en abrir nuevos caminos sembrando libros argentinos por toda América en una feliz tarea de distribuidor de varios sellos, españoles al principio, a los cuales se acoplarán pronto los sellos editoriales argentinos.

En las editoriales argentinas se publican los mejores autores españoles y americanos y se traducen y publican las obras más importantes del pensamiento europeo. La calidad de las impresiones es inobjetable y a veces de gran mérito, tal es el caso de algunos de los libros editados por Joaquín Gil: la Vida Pasión y Muerte de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, con 56 grabados de Durero, El Tratado de Pintura de Leonardo, con 840 grabados, El viaje de un Naturalista Alrededor del Mundo, de Darwin, 120 ilustraciones de la época y su famosa edición del Quijote, con 406 dibujos de Gustavo Doré.

El proceso de decadencia de este esfuerzo extraordinario escapa a los fines de este trabajo: el atraso tecnológico, la inestabilidad política y económica son sus causas más visibles.

España y México, conscientes de la importancia y trascendencia de la industria del libro, lo han fomentado y auspiciado de todas las formas posibles y ocupan hoy en el mundo de habla hispana el lugar que los libreros españoles habían conquistado para el libro argentino.
I arrived in Paris in 1933, after getting my Ph.D. in Romance Philology from the University of Munich. There were no restrictions at that time, the circumstances were those of normal travel. My mother joined me two years later. In Paris I learned the book trade in a bookshop and publishing house which specialized in Romance languages, the Librairie E. Droz. When I decided to go to Brazil, it was pure chance. Brazil was the only country for which I was able to get a visa. I arrived with a group of thirty to forty people with as many Jews as non-Jews. We were granted a visa not because we were fleeing Nazi Germany but in spite of it. In 1941 Brazil was not keen on letting Jews in. Our group had the good luck of having been granted a Papal visa, which served as a guarantee from the Catholic church. I never had any difficulties with the language because I knew Spanish well and had only to learn the differences between Spanish and Portuguese. For some time I worked as a secretary in several offices and made translations. I started my book trade in 1954 in Rio de Janeiro. At first I only dealt with out-of-print books but soon I bought and sold new publications as well, which then became my main business.

As we were German refugees, no German colony would have welcomed us newcomers. We each had our own way to go without any help from other Germans. However, there was never any kind of prejudice against us by Brazilians on account of our religious background. In those days the book business in Brazil was purely national. We immigrants did not feel foreign for very long; we integrated well and became Brazilians.

My first visit to the old continent, to France and Spain, took place in 1952, and my old country, Germany, in 1958. There was no family left in Germany to visit.

The demand for Brazilian books in other countries was then as good as nonexistent. I can say that I started the export business myself in 1954. Now we have several established exporters of Brazilian books to foreign countries. I do believe that the LACAP program as well as the former Farmington plan greatly influenced the export of Brazilian materials. And a major factor in its development was the creation and growth of Brazilian studies' programs in the United States beginning in the 1960s.

Editor's Note. Ms. Bach wrote this not as a paper but in response to a questionnaire that was sent to her. We are very grateful to her for being so obliging to our request.
I was born in 1920 in Breslau, Germany (now Wroclaw, Poland), into a middle-class Jewish family who lost their money during the great German depression. My father who was a commercial traveler was placed in a concentration camp by the Nazis.

I had four years of primary school and three years of secondary after which, for economic and "racial" reasons, I had to abandon my studies. I went to work as an apprentice in a wholesale veneer firm for two years. At twelve I joined a youth movement which would be declared illegal soon after that, and many of its leaders as well as some of my friends ended up in concentration camps or in exile. It was my luck that I could go to Holland and enter a boarding school for Jewish boys where they could learn farming or a trade which would prepare them for work in a foreign country. I learned mechanics. This was to be a model camp to be imitated in other free countries. But the Holocaust and the war came first.

My parents got visas to travel to Bolivia, and somehow my father was allowed to leave the concentration camp. Once in Bolivia they obtained a visa for me and made it possible for me to be one of the few young people to leave Europe in time. This was 1939. I arrived directly in Cochabamba where my parents had already found jobs. I started working as a mechanic, and I made jewelry, and not too much later I became employed in a mining company in the Bolivian highlands.

In 1945 with some financial help I could fulfill my dream of establishing a bookstore in Cochabamba. I started with a German-language lending library. It is interesting to note that from 1940 to 1950 three German lending libraries existed in La Paz and two in Cochabamba. Many German-speaking immigrants lived in Bolivia at that time, not only in these two cities, but also throughout the Bolivian countryside. Books were sent by surface mail, airmail, railroad, trucks, as well as by mule. In 1952 all those lending libraries were closed, including my own.

When I started my bookstore in 1945 I stocked it with the few Bolivian books that were then published, buying them from the big bookstores in La Paz. After two years I began traveling to Argentina and Chile to import books. I would try to sell foreign-language literature, especially English, German, and French books and magazines. I established contacts with publishers in Spain, Mexico, the United States, England, Switzerland, and Germany, and I became wholesaler for many of them, especially for medical books. The constantly changing political situation in our country impacted greatly on the economy and the
conditions for import. The revolution of 1952 completely changed our life pattern, as it incorporated vast masses of rural population into the active economy of a developing Third World country. After some time I opened stores in La Paz and Santa Cruz, and agencies in all important towns. (Unfortunately, these last three years we have had a hyperinflation that caused some of the agencies to close.)

With success came more and more involvement in the business end of it and I lost the direct contact with my clients. I miss the wonderful feeling of being there when the bookbuyer received the book I recommended, or obtained for him from abroad. Knowing the client's taste and satisfying him is comparable to me only with the satisfaction of a doctor whose patient has been cured, or a lawyer who has gotten his client out of legal difficulties.

Having been invited to many international book events, I was proud to present books from a country so little known around the world as Bolivia. I tried to learn modern merchandising methods and to adapt them to the conditions in our country. Over the years I stocked nearly all Bolivian books being published, as well as out of print. I made lists and mailed them to foreign bookstores, university libraries, and the like. I later became a member of SALALM, and have attended several of its meetings, sometimes with my wife and daughter.

In 1962 I started to assemble an annual Bolivian bibliography, to which I later added brief biographies, changing its name to Bio-Bibliografia Boliviana.

I continued to read more and more about the book trade and about publishing and tried to become more creative; I published books that would promote knowledge about the country. With the help of the late Bolivian writer, Héctor Cossio Salinas, I published a Bolivian encyclopedia in order to present as complete a picture of our country as possible. It was quite a "quixotic" undertaking, considering that we did not have sufficient funds available; however, so far we have published seventy-five titles, each being sold as a monograph.

One of my most important discoveries was that in the nineteenth century a bookseller named Emanuel Guttertag, born in the same town as my father, so undoubtedly a relative, was living in Berlin and publishing a collection of legal works. The bookstore and publishing house are no longer, but to this day the German publisher Walter de Gruyter and Co. of Berlin is producing the Sammlung Guttertag law collection. This coincidence inspired me to introduce a German tradition to Bolivia, so I also started to publish a collection of law books in our country. I wanted to introduce something authentically European, totally devoid of any suggestion of the Holocaust which had forced our family to leave Europe.
Learning from European publishers how to assemble collections of national and world classics, I began to try something similar, a series of Bolivian classics: contemporary novels, poetry, and essays; archaeology, manuals for Quechua, Aymara, and lesser-known indigenous languages, as well as other kinds of books which would help us to understand Bolivia better. However, I could never come up with something quite as good as the books produced in Europe. Then again, our internal market is not comparable and we have a great percentage of illiterate people and that makes many projects impossible to achieve.

With the purpose of increasing the quality and quantity of Bolivian novels, and of giving new and young authors the opportunity to be published, about twenty years ago I established the Erich Guttentag Prize named in memory of my father. This prize became the most important of its kind in Bolivia; there have been nine contests and we have published fourteen novels.

I sometimes regret that lacking a formal education in bookselling and publishing, I made some mistakes and perhaps hindered a more positive development of my book trade and publishing ventures, but I have learned much by attending international events. I have represented Bolivia at the Frankfurt International Bookfair more than once. At these events and others I made many important contacts with publishers and booksellers, as well as with writers and translators. They sometimes have given me a chance to publish their works. With international help we have made several co-editions, such as Del coloniaje al siglo XX: alemanes interpretan Bolivia, compiled by José Friedl Zapata, a German-Uruguayan translator, Alemanes en Bolivia, by Alberto R. Crespo, a Bolivian historian, and two novels by Swiss authors. Even during the most difficult times I kept up my subscriptions to professional journals from Germany, England, Spain, and the United States. I believe that helped stretch my imagination toward new horizons. There still are many projects pending for co-editions between our Bolivian enterprise and European organizations. I think I could not have accomplished as much without my European background and my continuous contact with Europe.

My intention was to stay away from personal details, but I feel I should mention my encounters with the negative German past. My direct and indirect contact with Barbie Altmann, the "butcher from Lyon," and his Bolivian henchmen resulted in an assault of my home by paramilitares, my detention in a "private prison," public burning of several of my publications, and the storming and ransacking of my bookstores and my private library. On the other hand, a certain publishing venture brought a threat against my family from a left-wing urban guerrilla group.

A publisher who looks for truth and independence can rarely stay unharmed in the middle.
The Europeanizing Influence of Intellectual Emigrés
16. LA INMIGRACION INTELECTUAL ESPAÑOLA EN MEXICO: EVALUACION BIBLIOGRÁFICA

Marie-Claire Fischer de Figueroa

Introducción
Este trabajo pretende ofrecer una evaluación bibliográfica de los estudios publicados hasta la fecha sobre el grupo de destacados intelectuales de la España republicana que llegaron a México durante la Guerra Civil y a principios del régimen franquista. El objetivo de esta evaluación, cuantitativa y a la vez cualitativa, será poner de relieve varios aspectos de las referencias bibliográficas. De este examen sacaremos las conclusiones pertinentes.

Para obtener un número sustancial de documentos, consultamos el catálogo temático de la Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas de El Colegio de México, que en una primera etapa proporcionó un número restringido de obras. Sin embargo, se trataba en gran medida de obras básicas con abundantes bibliografías; éstas contenían un número de referencias mucho mayor, sobre todo las obras más recientes, como era de esperar. Con base en la lista que establecimos, sacamos las estadísticas que exponemos en nuestro análisis. Para este trabajo preliminar, nos limitamos al estudio del acervo de la biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas.

Usamos el término "intelectuales" en el sentido amplio de la palabra. Es a veces difícil marcar un límite riguroso entre los universitarios y hombres de letras, por una parte, y los artistas y los profesionistas, por otra; incluimos también a estos últimos para diferenciarlos de los otros sectores de la población española que llegaron a México—los campesinos, los obreros, los técnicos y los comerciantes.

Después de una breve introducción histórica, empezaremos a estudiar el tipo de documentos en los cuales se publicaron los trabajos, luego los organismos que los editaron en varios países, y los diversos campos en los que se ubicaron los intelectuales. Finalmente, examinaremos las de publicación de todos los documentos. La lista de las sesenta y cuatro obras estudiadas forma el apéndice del trabajo.

Editor's Note. This paper was selected as one of the winners of the SALALM XXXI scholarship for a Latin American member. It was subsequently published in Foro Internacional, 27:1 (July-September 1986), 132-153, and is reprinted here with permission of the journal editor.
Antecedentes Históricos

La guerra civil española empezó en 1936 y desgarró al país durante cuatro largos años, al término de los cuales el partido republicano perdió toda esperanza. Comenzó entonces un movimiento masivo\(^1\) de emigración hacia los países que por las buenas o por las malas se decidieron a acoger a los refugiados. Francia, Portugal, Inglaterra, la Unión Soviética, Estados Unidos y las naciones de América Latina recibieron millares de emigrados.

En América Latina, México, gobernado en aquel entonces por el presidente Lázaro Cárdenas, se comprometió solemnemente a darles hospitalidad y trabajo. No se trataba solamente de un ofrecimiento impulso de compasión hacia una república hermana en desgracia sino de un acto bien pensado que, además de sus fines altruistas, se proponía lograr ventajas para el país y así se indicaba para convencer a quienes se oponían al proyecto. Se efectuó un cuidadoso cálculo de la proporción de cada sector que iba a integrarse al país. De este modo, se previó una llegada de 10 por ciento de intelectuales sobre el número total de inmigrantes.\(^2\)

En realidad, las cifras fueron otras, como lo podemos advertir en el cuadro estadístico de la página siguiente: en 1939 las profesiones liberales (es preciso colocar a los intelectuales bajo este rubro) rebasaron el 10 percent propuesto por Lázaro Cárdenas; llegaron alrededor de 16 percent. Esta proporción fue disminuyendo al paso de los años, y a finales de 1948 regresó a 12 por ciento.

Al revisar la copiosa literatura sobre el tema del exilio español, se percata uno del lugar privilegiado que ocupa en ésta el exilio de los intelectuales. Se han escrito decenas de obras básicas, monografías, artículos de revista, documentos varios, folletos, panfletos, discursos, memoranda, etc. Es cierto que los propios intelectuales tenían a la mano todos los elementos para escribir sobre la historia de su exilio, lo cual no era el caso del otro sector. Este, "el sector olvidado de los refugiados," no reúne tanto material bibliográfico:

La mayor parte de la literatura que existe sobre los refugiados se ha ocupado especialmente de los intelectuales, reforzando el estereotipo de una migración de intelectuales. Si bien entre los refugiados españoles llegó un buen número de intelectuales destacados, que por serlo se convirtieron en los hombres visibles de la migración, sin embargo éstos constituían una élite de la migración.\(^3\)

A pesar de ser éste un tema sumamente digno de interés, no lo abordaremos porque rebasa el marco del presente estudio.
Cuadro 1

Composición socioprofesional de los refugiados españoles emigrados a México durante el decenio 1939-1948

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Años</th>
<th>Agricult. y pesca</th>
<th>Minas y petrolé</th>
<th>Indust. varias</th>
<th>Transporte</th>
<th>Comercio</th>
<th>Administración pública</th>
<th>Profesiones liberales</th>
<th>Servicio doméstico</th>
<th>Sin profesión o no conocida</th>
<th>Total inmigrantes adultos</th>
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<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>1,027</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>1,787</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>528</td>
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<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>53</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>433</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>65</td>
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<td>98</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>639</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>284</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>510</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>49</td>
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<td>1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
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<td>145</td>
<td>739</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>391</td>
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<td>18,454</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,272</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>2,149</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1,723</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>2,298</td>
<td>4,472</td>
<td>5,518</td>
<td>8,418</td>
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Sector*  1,272  2,820  4,326  8,418

Proporción  15.18%  33.5%  51.4%  100%

*Prescindiendo de "Servicio doméstico" y "Sin profesión"

Source: Javier Rubio, La emigración de la guerra civil de 1936-1939, Vol. 1, p. 233
¿Cuál fue entonces el soporte bibliográfico de tantos estudios? ¿En qué tipo de documentos se publicó tanta literatura? Para tener una idea inmediata bastará una breve ojeada de la bibliografía anexa en el apéndice de este trabajo, ya que está organizada precisamente por tipo de fuentes. En ciertos casos, fue un poco difícil trazar una línea exacta entre ciertas fuentes, sobre todo en cuanto a la definición de las obras básicas, de las monografías y de los documentos varios. Es de suponer que los resúmenes analíticos tienen por objetivo informar lo mejor posible sobre el contenido para remediar posibles errores de definición. Enumeramos a continuación el contenido de nuestra bibliografía:

13 obras de consulta y obras básicas
17 libros generales y monografías específicas y capítulos de libros
23 artículos de revistas
6 documentos varios

Haremos un breve comentario sobre cada una de estas secciones.

Obras de consulta y libros básicos

Las de tipo enciclopédico no necesitan explicación. En cuanto a los índices bibliográficos, tienen la ventaja de seguir publicándose regularmente, señalando de este modo la producción pasada, presente y los proyectos de investigación sobre el exilio. En cuanto a las obras básicas, encierran una gran cantidad de datos; nuestro criterio de selección en cada caso fue la presencia de una abundante información y una rica bibliografía en todos los campos del intelecto español incorporado a nuestro país.

Libros generales, capítulos de libros y monografías

Estos muestran un panorama general de la migración o solamente alguna que otra faceta específica. Unos son testimonios personales de los propios autores—memorias, autobiografías; otros son testimonios recogidos por terceras personas.

Revistas y artículos de revistas

Soporte cómodo de las ideas y medio de difusión por excelencia, el artículo de revista fue el vehículo predilecto de los intelectuales españoles y de sus portavoces. Tres revistas destacan en el conjunto: Cuadernos Americanos, fundada en 1942 para ayudar a los exiliados descorazonados por no poder seguir publicando su órgano vocero, España Peregrina, demasiado nacionalista para el gusto del gobierno mexicano. Con la nueva revista, se iba a manifestar una larga y fructífera colaboración entre los mexicanos, los españoles de México y otros distinguidos hispanoamericanos de origen diverso. Por supuesto, Historia...
Mexicana, publicada por el Centro de Estudios Históricos de El Colegio de México desde 1951, es uno de los medios de expresión favoritos de los profesores de El Colegio en cuanto a historia hispanoamericana se refiere. Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos, publicación madrileña fundada en 1948, recogió el pensamiento y los testimonios de los dos bandos: los que se habían quedado, a veces a pesar de ellos, no perdían de vista el impulso nuevo dado a las humanidades, fruto de la colaboración de mexicanos y españoles; se sentían aislados ya que en el campo de la literatura los que habían permanecido en España eran inferiores en número a los que habían salido.\(^5\) Por esto, escribieron tanto sobre los exiliados y les dieron cabida en esta revista y en algunas otras.\(^6\)

Por otra parte, los "transterrados," para usar el neologismo acuñado por José Gaos, fundaron muchas revistas y publicaron folletos para dejar constancia de su nacionalismo y de la continuidad de su vida intelectual; pero la mayor parte de estas publicaciones tuvieron una vida efímera, de unos cuantos meses y a veces de unos cuantos números.

**Documentos varios**

En este caso, la bibliografía aparentemente arroja poco material; sin embargo uno de los documentos mencionados es una colección de archivos muy valiosos, intitulada: "Archivo histórico de la Casa de México." Este archivo se encuentra desglosado en el cuadro siguiente. Como podemos advertir al examinarlo, se trata esencialmente de un conjunto de expedientes curriculares de los fundadores de la Casa de España y de los primeros hombres de letras llegados a México.

Es indispensable hacer notar la ausencia en nuestro trabajo de referencias extraídas de la prensa. Se podrá remediar esta carencia con un estudio minucioso de las bibliografías de las obras básicas arriba mencionadas.

**Organismos Editores y Países de Origen**

Gran parte de este material bibliográfico fue editado por algunos organismos fundados por o para los españoles intelectuales en el exilio; y en otros casos, por organismos que ya existían y que les abrieron las puertas en un acto de solidaridad hacia compañeros en desgracia. Vamos a examinar ahora el conjunto formado por el material que describimos en el capítulo anterior, del cual excluiremos las dos obras de consulta de tipo enciclopédico, los documentos inéditos de la última sección\(^7\) y las revistas fichadas en su totalidad. Al mirar el cuadro estadístico de la hoja siguiente, anotamos que trece documentos se editaron en España, cinco en Estados Unidos y uno en Chile. Los demás, 34 en total, se publicaron México. Nos detendremos un instante sobre los organismos mexicanos, en particular sobre El Colegio de México y el Fondo de Cultura Económica.
**Cuadro 2**

*Contenido del Archivo Histórico de El Colegio de México*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leg.</th>
<th>Descripción</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Actas del Patronato</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Contratos</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Gastos</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Comité Técnico de Ayuda a los Españoles</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fundación, Patronato, Miembros</td>
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<tr>
<td>6A</td>
<td>Correspondencia con relación al arribo de los Españoles</td>
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<td>6B</td>
<td>Correspondencia con relación al arribo de los Españoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6C</td>
<td>Correspondencia con relación al arribo de los Españoles</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Homenaje a Luis Vives</td>
</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Junta de Cultura Española</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Solicitudes de residencia</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>Trabajos realizados por los miembros</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Correspondencia general</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Peticiones y recomendaciones por trabajo</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Conferencias y cursillos</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Presidencia de la República</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Libro de Diario del Patronato de la Casa de España en México</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Centro de Estudios Sociales. Seminario colectivo sobre América Latina (1944) (AG-89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Centro de Estudios Sociales. Seminario colectivo sobre la guerra, 1943 (AG-89)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Fundación de &quot;La Casa de España en México&quot; y posteriormente &quot;El Colegio de México,&quot; AC</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Biblioteca Inventario, 1941 (AG-69)</td>
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Se incluye también un archivero completo, con 526 expedientes (del N° 1 al 526) con su fichero correspondiente, relativo a profesores y alumnos desde 1934 hasta 1970.
El Colegio de México

Previamente al arribo del primer contingente de hombres de letras españoles, unos intelectuales mexicanos que habían tenido fuertes lazos con España desde antes de la guerra civil idearon el proyecto de una institución que recibiría en su seno un pequeño número de universitarios españoles en el ramo de las ciencias sociales. Alfonso Reyes y Daniel Cosío Villegas, por intermedio de terceras personas, comunicaron la idea al presidente Lázaro Cárdenas que, desde el principio, la apoyó totalmente. En julio de 1938 la institución proyectada se creó con el nombre de Casa de España; en octubre de 1940, se modificaron sus estatutos para su plena integración al medio intelectual del país. Recibió entonces el nombre de El Colegio de México. En el apéndice bibliográfico, incluimos buen número de artículos de revistas y de capítulos de libros acerca de la fundación de la Casa de España y de la organización subsecuente de El Colegio de México (de sus primeros centros, su vida intelectual, su producción, sus revistas, etc.).

Cuadro 3
Editoriales de los documentos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. México</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Colegio de México</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuadernos Americanos</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fondo de Cultura Económica</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia</td>
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<td>Universidad Iberoamericana</td>
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<td>Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretaría de Educación Pública</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editoriales mexicanas fundadas por españoles (Junta de Cultura Española, Libromex, Finisterre, Joaquín Mortiz, Salvat)</td>
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<th>II. Extranjero</th>
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<td>Editoriales de España</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Editoriales Norteamericanas</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Editoriales de América Latina (Chile)</td>
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El Fondo de Cultura Económica

A raíz de la fundación de la Escuela de Economía en 1929, se creó en 1934 el Fondo de Cultura Económica. Distinguidos intelectuales mexicanos, Jesús Silva Herzog y Daniel Cosío Villegas entre otros--este último era entonces director de la Escuela de Economía--fueron designados por el gobierno mexicano para dirigir esta casa editorial que iba a ser una de las más prestigiosas de América Latina, con sucursales en varios países. La idea original fue publicar obras de economía, pero paulatinamente numerosas otras disciplinas encontraron cabida. Al llegar a México, algunos eruditos de la inmigración se integraron al cuerpo editorial y desempeñaron todo tipo de actividades: revisión de pruebas, innumerables traducciones--incluyendo las de autores griegos y latinos--y, por supuesto, producción humanística realizada en el marco de los centros de El Colegio de México y de algunos otros centros intelectuales del país.

Otros organismos editores

También la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México en sus facultades y centros de investigación, tanto humanísticos como científicos, y otras entidades académicas nacionales como el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, acogieron a numerosos intelectuales en los campos correspondientes y publicaron sus obras.

Por otra parte, los españoles crearon editoriales privadas que editarían una producción a la vez española y mexicana. Sobre el particular, existe un capítulo extremadamente documentado de Luis Suárez, en el libro que puede considerarse como la biblia del exilio intelectual: El exilio español en México 1939-1982, editado por el Fondo de Cultura Económica y Salvat en 1982.

Disciplinas Abarcadas

En todos los ámbitos se notó la presencia de los españoles en México. Definiremos ahora los campos de la docencia y de la investigación, de la producción literaria y de la producción científica en los que más brillaron los inmigrantes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aportación general</th>
<th>Letras en general</th>
<th>Narrativa</th>
<th>Poesía</th>
<th>Ciencias sociales</th>
<th>Antropol. Historia</th>
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Examinamos 22 documentos sobre la aportación intelectual general de los españoles. Incluimos aquí tanto las obras de consulta como las obras básicas y los documentos que, a pesar
de tratar ciertos asuntos específicos, no se refieren a ninguna disciplina en particular; unos son meros discursos u homenajes, otros son artículos sobre la situación de los intelectuales españoles en México.

Nueve títulos en letras en general, tres en narrativa y doce en poesía constituyen el aporte literario. La ira del republicano injustamente vencido, la nostalgia del país abandonado, la esperanza de volver a pisarlo un día, constituyeron una fuente de inspiración inagotable para los poetas.

En cuanto a los historiadores y a los antropólogos, de los cuales reseñamos cuatro títulos para cada disciplina, encontraron en México un terreno fértil y se lanzaron con entusiasmo a una colaboración muy productiva con sus colegas mexicanos.

En el campo de la filosofía, debemos citar los nombres de J. L. Aranguren, quien permaneció en España, y el de José Gaos, a la cabeza del pensamiento español en México, quienes resucitaron e introdujeron a México no solamente la filosofía de Ortega y Gasset, sino también las principales corrientes y doctrinas de los filósofos europeos. Es lo que expone brevemente John Leddy Phelan en uno de los cuatro documentos que citamos.

Finalmente, desbordaremos los límites fijados desde el principio para referirnos al artículo de Somolinos d'Ardois publicado en la Gaceta Médica de México sobre los 25 años de medicina española en México. Lo incluimos en las estadísticas de historia pero es preciso señalarlo de modo particular, ya que hace el recuento de las actividades de los médicos españoles desde su llegada y muestra su perfecta asimilación a la medicina del país.

Para terminar sobre este tema, debemos recordar que el acervo de la biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas es esencialmente humanístico, razón por la cual no abordamos el campo científico salvo en algunas ocasiones, pero algunas de las obras básicas citadas contienen muchos datos al respecto.

Fechas de Publicación

El último indicador relevante sobre el cual nos detendremos es el de las fechas de edición de los documentos. Repartimos las obras de la bibliografía por décadas según se muestra a continuación. Estas estadísticas ponen de manifiesto el interés continuo de los escritores en este episodio histórico de la vida intelectual de dos países. Pone de manifiesto también el nuevo impulso provocado por la muerte de Franco a fines de 1975.

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Desde 1938, un puente se había tendido entre los exiliados y algunos intelectuales católicos de España quienes, sin ser cabeza de ningún partido político, tampoco luchaban abiertamente en la oposición. Inmersos en sus tareas universitarias, como fue el caso del filósofo José Luis Aranguren, se dedicaron a tender lazos entre todos los españoles, a mantenerlos firmes y a edificar un verdadero puente cultural. Al principio, los españoles en México se quedaban encerrados en los límites de su propia cultura. La creación de la Junta de Cultura Española y de su primera revista España Peregrina es un testimonio de este deseo de conservar de modo íntegro el patrimonio y el recuerdo del terruño. Luego empezaría cierta evolución mediante un proceso de aculturación y de una lenta osmosis que culminaría en una síntesis cultural. Esta idea de puente se encuentra en gran parte de los escritores que quisieron mostrar la continuidad de la cultura de los "trans-terrados," enriqueciéndose por su fusión con la cultura mexicana antes de la muerte de Franco. Este mismo puente llevó la nueva cultura a España después de la muerte del dictador, con el regreso de los exiliados a su primera patria. Se produjo cierta retroalimentación con valores que vinieron a colmar el "vacío" intelectual de tantos años. El puente permitió el redescubrimiento recíproco de América y de España.

Conclusión

En este trabajo reunimos una especie de acervo-muestra que desarticulamos para analizar cada uno de sus componentes bibliográficos. Una evaluación bibliográfica de los estudios sobre la inmigración intelectual española en México se podía hacer de muchas maneras. Escogimos la vía más práctica por las limitaciones de tiempo y espacio que nos fueron impuestas. Pero debe uno tener en mente que el presente estudio es sólo una parte de un conjunto. Es tal vez el núcleo importante en cantidad; en cuanto a calidad se refiere, faltaría escudriñar otras colecciones: los archivos del Ateneo español, los de ciertas casas editoriales o de fundaciones de beneficencia y las colecciones privadas de los inmigrados y de sus descendientes, podrían arrojar todavía mucha información.

Sin abarcar tanto, habríamos podido limitarnos a la obra escrita no sobre sino de los desterrados, en un solo ramo de la ciencia. Enfocando de modo más preciso, un solo personaje del exilio hubiera podido ser el centro de nuestra investigación, por ejemplo, algún bibliotecario-bibliógrafo célebre, porque también los hubo. En fin, este trabajo de mil facetas es inagotable y sobre todo muy ilustrativo.

En una de sus obras de teatro, "El último piso," Max Aub escribió lo siguiente: "En esta hora del mundo tan compleja y ambigua en que las emigraciones son el pan nuestro de cada día..."; nosotros podemos concluir que estas migraciones portadoras de tantas penas, tribulaciones y amarguras, también
pueden ser fuente de renacimientos y de transformaciones rejuvenecedoras. Lo que se lleva el viento de las guerras no son siempre palabras vacías o palabras de discordia, pueden ser igualmente semillas de creación.

**NOTAS**

1Unos movimientos aislados o individuales ya se habían iniciado desde los albores de la guerra. En México, al más sobresaliente fue el de los "niños de Morelia."

2Se previeron 30 por ciento de técnicos y obreros calificados y 60 por ciento de agricultores: Antolín Piña Soria, "El presidente Cárdenas y la inmigración de españoles republicanos." México, 1939.


4Recuerdo que por lo pronto el estudio se hizo solamente sobre el material de la Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas de El Colegio de México.


6*Insula* fue otra revista de literatura española que también publicaba la producción de los españoles que permanecieron en su país y la de los republicanos en el exilio.

7En realidad, algunos fueron editados por centros españoles que no se dedicaban a la publicación de obras en general pero que tenían por lo menos una pequeña imprenta para producir todo el material importante que querían difundir.

8También llegaron unos cuya estancia en la Casa de España fue provisional porque pertenecían a otras disciplinas.

9No incluimos las dos obras de tipo enciclopédico.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA**

Obras de Consulta y Obras Básicas

Obra de referencia muy importante. Para cada autor, una sección biográfica precede la sección bibliográfica. Esta última sección presenta la lista de libros, monografías y folletos, artículos, traducciones y exposiciones realizadas. Al final de
la obra se encuentran las siglas desarrolladas de las revistas mencionadas y un apéndice listando los intelectuales catalanes y vascos en América.


Las búsquedas están más fáciles de realizar en los números recientes porque en su índice general se destaca claramente la sección entitulada "Historia de España." Las referencias están precedidas de un número consecutivo y no tienen (salvo excepciones) resumen analítico.


Artículos de extensión variable, algunos de los cuales están firmados y/o tienen bibliografía.


Publicación del Centro de Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Barcelona. Cada referencia está acompañada de un extenso resumen descriptivo, analítico y hasta cierto punto crítico.


Contenido

I La emigración republicana de 1939
II Guerra y política
III Revistas, pensamiento, educación
IV Cultura y literatura
V Arte y ciencia
VI Cataluña, Euzkadi, Galicia


Esta obra tuvo la ventaja de haber sacado provecho de los estudios publicados anteriormente y de haber sido el fruto de la colaboración de todo un equipo de periodistas (la idea de la
La obra fue de Manuel Buendía), intelectuales y profesionales de México. Unos, investigadores, otros, redactores, otros, consejeros, antiguos exiliados o mexicanos, algunos, hijos o nietos de exiliados, todos cooperaron para esta obra que se puede considerar como la Biblia del exilio. Es inútil hacer el recuento de los aspectos estudiados porque todos están estudiados: antecedentes histórico-políticos, llegada de los españoles y actividades desempeñadas en todos los campos (no solamente intelectuales) desglosados por los autores, por capítulos, cada uno escrito por un especialista en la materia. La obra concluye con un índice biobibliográfico muy completo del exilio, compilado por Matilde Mantecón, y un conjunto de entrevistas a cinco personalidades políticas mexicanas que tuvieron una participación especial en la llegada de esta migración masiva.


Esta obra se refiere antes que nada a los intelectuales y a los profesionistas de la migración española a México durante y después de la guerra civil; menciona también a las clases campesinas y urbanas. Es un libro basante completo cuyos temas principales por lo que nos interesa son los siguientes:

Antecedentes históricos

Impacto de la migración intelectual en México (aspecto cuantitativo y cualitativo); campos intelectuales en donde se insertaron instituciones fundadas (Colegios, asociaciones etc....) (El antecedente de esta obra fue la tesis de doctorado de la autora presentada en la Universidad de Stanford en 1970 (cf. Infra Stea Weiss, Patricia Ellen, en Documentos Varios)


Después de una corta introducción, el autor proporciona una lista de 29 poetas españoles del destierro en México. Para cada uno, cita las obras individuales y las antologías, con sus datos bibliográficos. En la 2a. parte cita las ediciones mexicanas de poetas contemporáneos muertos (García Lorca, Machado, Unamuno) y en una tercera parte las ediciones mexicanas de poetas españoles residentes en otros países.

El autor no siempre señala el lugar de exilio de los numerosos novelistas que estudia, lo que dificulta el estudio biográfico porque tampoco se extiende mucho sobre la vida de cada uno. Se nota que está más interesado en seguir la evolución de los escritores a través del estudio de sus obras. Abundantes fragmentos ilustran el libro. Cada capítulo contiene al final una bibliografía del autor correspondiente y una lista de obras de consulta sobre él.


Cubre tanto los aspectos científico-culturales del exilio español como los aspectos del comercio, de las diversiones, etc. . . . Anéctodas, fragmentos de obras, visión costumbrista de México confieren a esta crónica un carácter muy vivo. Varios capítulos están enteramente dedicados con abundancia notable de detalles a las actividades intelectuales desempeñadas por los emigrados, en todos los campos. "Texto pionero e insustituible" J.A. Matesanz (El exilio español. p. 172).


Corto capítulo sobre la obra de unos doce escritores, los centros fundados por ellos y las revistas culturales en las cuales colaboraron.


Bibliografía que muestra la producción intelectual de los exiliados españoles en México, cuya actividad se desempeñó en varios centros de México. El catálogo general constituye la parte más importante e incluye también traducciones. Está seguido de un catálogo de obras colectivas o anónimas (homenajes, discursos, documentos de toda índole) y de una lista de revistas y de publicaciones periódicas. La última hace el inventario de 10 obras de referencia básicas para el estudio del tema, obras en parte incluidas en la presente bibliografía.

Libros, Capítulos de Libros y Monografías


Compilación de textos publicados anteriormente por el autor en diferentes documentos. Visión socio-histórica del exilio. Por haber sido publicada ocho años después de la muerte de
Franco, esta obra quiere anunciar la transformación de una "cultura de frontera" en una "cultura para la democracia." El redescubrimiento de América por los españoles y de los españoles por los hispanoamericanos conduce a la vez a la edificación de un puente entre las dos culturas y poco a poco a un "mestizaje" cultural.


Recuento de los campos de estudio en los cuales se ilustraron destacados intelectuales españoles emigrados, tanto para revisar pruebas, traducir y producir en el ámbito de El Colegio de México y de otros centros universitarios, obras que editaría El Fondo de Cultura Económica.


En el "tramo" diez de sus memorias el autor relata la historia de la creación de la Casa de España y su organización subsecuente cuando toma el nombre de El Colegio de México.


El autor, diplomático mexicano, pretende demostrar que la hospitalidad de México a los refugiados de la guerra civil ha dado magníficos frutos. Después de exponer los principales antecedentes a la migración (campos en Francia, formalidades previas, viajes en barco, etc.), el autor lista por carreras a los miembros de la unión de profesores universitarios españoles en el extranjero, nombra los centros culturales fundados por ellos, las escuelas, casas editoriales, etc. y las diversas actividades desempeñadas. Una importante sección está dedicada a las obras escritas por los republicanos y a las de los artistas de diversos ramos. El libro incluye igualmente una sección acerca de las empresas industriales instaladas por numerosos refugiados. A pesar de que la obra no aparente ser muy académica, su valor es incontestable por los innumerables datos que proporciona, datos que se revelaron muy útiles a todos los estudiosos posteriores del mismo tema.


Capítulo dedicado a los intelectuales españoles que llegaron a trabajar a la Casa de España, fundada especialmente para
ellos, y a los otros centros de investigación de la capital, en particular médicos y científicos.


El primer volumen del homenaje a este gran antropólogo mexicano de origen español está precedido de una presentación sobre su vida y obra, y de una biobibliografía muy extensa (pp. XIII-LV).


Un estudio preliminar en 3 capítulos introduce la obra. El libro es importante por los 16 testimonios de intelectuales que vivieron lo que narran e interpretan los hechos para dar una nueva visión de la guerra en España y del exilio en México. Cada entrevista está precedida por una corta biobibliografía del personaje. El libro se publicó muy poco tiempo después de la muerte de Franco lo que muestra un respiro pero también una inquietud sobre la transformación de conciencia que deberá sufrir poco a poco España, la esperanza de que pronto "se recobre a sí misma." p. 365. La autora recaba también las opiniones de los entrevistados acerca del restablecimiento de la República. (España "puente histórico y puente vivo entre el Viejo y el Nuevo Continente." Anselmo Carretero.)


Se mencionan en este capítulo a los principales escritores del destierro, no solamente en México sino también en otros países. En su ensayo el autor incluye todos los géneros literarios: poesía, teatro, novelística, crítica literaria, crítica de arte, periodismo, todos en campos distintos: filosofía, derecho, ciencias exactas y aplicadas, etc. El autor aborda también la producción del exilio en otros idiomas peninsulares: el catalán, el gallego, el vasco.


Se trata de una bibliografía del historiador español que después de dos viajes previos a México decidió radicar allí definitivamente in 1945. Fue su tercer y último viaje, ya que murió en la capital en 1951.

Se trata de uno de los textos publicados anteriormente por el autor en distintas revistas. Este en particular se había publicado en 1961 en el Texas Quarterly pero esta nueva versión dista mucho de la primera. Marichal parafrasea la idea de José Gaos, utilizando su neologismo de "transterrado" para mostrar que en los principales centros de la emigración española (Oxford, Princeton, Buenos Aires y México) el intelectual no se desterraba culturalmente: varios escritores españoles en exilio se sirven para ilustrar la idea.


Para este estudio se pueden utilizar 2 capítulos (cortos) sobre ciertas personalidades intelectuales y sobre instituciones fundadas en México por ellas.


Antología de poesía de once poetas del exilio. De los que vivieron en México, están incluidas algunas obras de los autores siguientes: León Felipe, José Moreno Villa, Emilio Prados y Juan Larrea.


Capítulo sobre la llegada del autor a México después de haber sido enviado por unos meses a Washington en 1937, y relato del resto de su vida en la capital mexicana.


Vida y obra de los antropólogos siguientes: Pedro Armillas, Pedro Carrasco, Juan Comas Camps, Santiago Genovés, José Luis Lorenzo, Angel Palerm. Bibliografía completa de sus obras.


Obra muy completa sobre el aspecto histórico de la guerra civil española con una visión también socio-demográfica. Por lo
general estos tres libros tratan del conjunto de emigrados "de tropa"; muy poco se dice sobre los intelectuales. En el tercer capítulo, en el subcapítulo intitulado "las primeras reemigraciones: el caso de México," el autor se extiende sobre la fundación de la Casa de España. En el mismo capítulo, unos cuadros estadísticos muestran claramente que el número real de intelectuales y profesionistas rebasó las cifras previstas por el gobierno mexicano inicialmente. Para mantenerlos unidos, se estableció la Junta de Cultura Española. El tercer volumen es una compilación de documentos varios, inéditos en su gran mayoría. Citemos el documento n° 30 que se refiere al sector intelectual exiliado en México: Estatutos de la Junta de Cultura Española de México, y directorio de la misma en febrero de 1940.


Notas biográficas (en parte extraídas de Vida en claro, autobiografía del propio autor) y estudio de su obra en general y de la Cornucopia de México en particular; textos cortos, reflejo de sus impresiones al descubrir y observar el mundo nuevo que era México para él. La obra está ilustrada por los dibujos del autor.


Contiene el texto del acuerdo dictado por el Presidente Lázaro Cárdenas el primero de julio de 1938 sobre la creación de la Casa de España (llamado en el acuerdo Centro Español de Estudios). Se nombran en este capítulo de las Memorias de Villaseñor los primeros intelectuales incorporados a la Casa de España y sus dos primeros presidentes.

Artículos de Revistas y Revistas
Abellán, José Luis. "Filosofía y pensamiento: su función en el exilio de 1939," en Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos (Madrid), 104, 310 (1976), 52-86.

Artículo sobre el gran número de profesionistas e intelectuales liberales que abandonaron España después de la Guerra Civil. Historia del desarrollo y de la contribución de varios centros de investigación y de docencia en donde trabajaron, de su producción intelectual, de la fundación de sus publicaciones periódicas, compañías editoriales y librerías.

Con motivo de la muerte de este conocido antropólogo español, exiliado y naturalizado mexicano, el autor de esta nota recuerda su vida, su obra y su doctrina. Una abundante bibliografía de sus trabajos cierra el artículo.


Artículo sobre la simbiosis literaria entre los escritores españoles exiliados en México, y los propios novelistas mexicanos. El autor ilustra su ensayo con varios ejemplos de autores oriundos de los dos países.


Artículo sobre la situación de los intelectuales españoles desterrados no solamente en México sino en toda América Latina. Situación de "transterrado," término acuñado por José Gaos que significa emigra a una tierra que no es extranjera sino que se puede considerar como una prolongación de España. Aporte intelectual de cada uno en su reivindicación de la historia de España. El autor paradójicamente destaca la vinculación de ellos a su tierra de origen y no su desarruego, su decisión de "hacer efectiva su presencia hispánica en el mundo futuro" (p. 156).


La idea general del ensayo es la siguiente: la mitad de los poetas españoles que vivían antes de la guerra civil se murieron, la otra está en el destierro. Los que se quedaron en España son prácticamente inexistentes. La parte más importante del artículo se refiere al poeta emigrado en México, León Felipe.


Ensayo amargado y pesimista de la condición del hombre de letras en el exilio. El autor extiende esta condición del escritor emigrado español a todos los escritores en general: la voz del escritor se va con el viento. Sin embargo, Ayala trata de dar una solución al problema: actuar de inmediato con energía, a pesar de las circunstancias, para salvar a la vez la
producción y la política literaria y sobre todo quedar atento al diálogo que se empieza a entablar con la generación más joven de España. Con este rayo de esperanza concluye el artículo.


Se trata de una nota sobre la vida y la obra del poeta Luis Cernuda, redactada poco después de su muerte.


Historia de la fundación en 1939 de la Casa de España, (actualmente El Colegio de México) para acoger a algunos de los destacados intelectuales del exilio español. El autor, quien fuera su primer presidente, relata la creación de sus primeros centros: Centro de Estudios Históricos y Centro de Estudios Internacionales y de sus primeras revistas: Historia Mexicana y Foro Internacional. Este artículo está reproducido del décimo "tramo" de las memorias de Cosío Villegas.


Un intelectual escribe sobre la adaptación del republicano español refugiado en México y explica largamente lo que era el México de entonces al cual se tenían que acomodar forzosamente los exiliados. Describe las condiciones de vida que, por una razón u otra, los permitieron un buen ajuste no al destierro sino al "transtierro" (neologismo acuñado por el propio autor).


El autor hace el recuento de las actividades desempeñadas en México por los filósofos españoles llegados con la inmigración: actividades de investigación y docencia principalmente. Al citar las publicaciones hechas en México, menciona también para cada uno de ellos las obras publicadas anteriormente en España. Aprovecha luego para hablar de las actividades de los filósofos mexicanos antes de la llegada de los españoles y después en conjunto con ellos. Finalmente el autor muestra cómo la experiencia del exilio de los españoles por una parte y la hospitalidad de los mexicanos por otra, permitieron un gran impulso de parte de todos hacia este desarrollo múltiple de actividades, lo que no fue siempre el caso para los emigrados en otros países. En este ensayo, el autor explica cómo le llegó a la mente y cómo se acuñó definitivamente gracias al continuo uso que se hizo de ella, la palabra "transterrado."

Lo que nos interesa de esta "nota" publicada al final del nº 4 de Cuadernos Americanos es el Apéndice que presenta una bibliografía de la labor realizada por los poetas en el destierro. El autor reseña a 20 poetas españoles en México: "la voz viva de España frente a su silencio agonizante oficial."

"Image of Spain." Número especial, en Texas Quarterly (Austin, TX), 4, 1 (1961), 1-284.

Se trata de una especie de antología ilustrada, conteniendo artículos, narrativa, crítica, poesía, etc. que pretenden ser representativos del pensamiento y de la creatividad artística de los españoles en España y fuera de ella. Aparte de la literatura, varios ramos del arte están allí representados: pintura, escultura, cerámica, cinema, etc.


La autora del artículo hace el recuento de las obras de historia sobre España realizadas en México por historiadores mexicanos y españoles (del exilio) a la vez. Se trata de una bibliografía selectiva de las obras más destacadas dentro de cada período histórico. Alrededor de 25 libros, monografías y ensayos, y 15 artículos están allí reseñados y comentados.


Descripción de la labor de los historiadores exiliados en México y caracterización de los aspectos más importantes que se pueden poner de relieve después de un estudio profundo de su obra.

Marra-López, José R. "Jóvenes poetas españoles en México (una promoción desconocida)," en Insula (Madrid), 20, 222 (1965), 5.

El artículo empieza por una breve biobibliografía de ocho poetas del exilio y continúa exponiendo la situación de cada uno y de todos a la vez, las circunstancias que los rodearon, las influencias que los marcaron, tanto a los de la primera generación como a los de las siguientes.


Historia de la fundación de la Casa de España y de su organización al convertirse en El Colegio de México. Dos apéndices: 1. Relación de los miembros de la Casa de España,
agrupados conforme a las categorías establecidas por el patronato. 2. Lista de las obras publicadas por la Casa de España de 1939 a 1942.


Conjunto de observaciones que describe la posición de la antropología mexicana y pone en claro lo siguiente: tanto en México como en España, "la antropología tiene enormes posibilidades que actualizar y realizar" (extracto de la conclusión del discurso).


Aunque este artículo no se dedica realmente a los intelectuales españoles de la emigración, sin embargo hace resaltar hasta qué punto la cultura y la filosofía española, la de José Ortega y Gasset en particular, se hizo sentir en México a partir de la llegada de este distinguido grupo cuyos profesores trajeron una enseñanza nueva a los estudiantes mexicanos.


Este texto fue la introducción al disco del mismo título, Vol. I, Voz Viva de México, UNAM, que incluye la voz de nueve poetas del exilio. Ruiz se detiene particularmente sobre la vida y la obra de dos de ellos: Juan José Domenchina y Pedro Garfias. (El Vol. II se editaría en 1970 con un prólogo de Juan Rejano.)


El autor que fue uno de los médicos exiliados se remonta a los años 1939-1940 y ofrece una historia detallada de la colaboración entre los médicos mexicanos y los médicos españoles recién llegados, gracias a la hospitalidad del país. Muestra la completa absorción y asimilación de los dos grupos. Somolinos d'Ardois menciona también la fundación de centros hospitalarios, centros de investigación, laboratorios químico-farmacéuticos de la industria y la creación de numerosas revistas tanto científicas como publicitarias.
Inmigración Intelectual Española en México 185


Como lo indica el título, se trata de un ensayo en dos partes sobre la nueva generación de poetas exiliados a México; exiliados en una edad muy tierna ya que en 1954, el promedio de edad de estos poetas era de 24 años. Souto Alabarce caracteriza en estas páginas varios de estos poetas, así unas revistas literarias en las cuales publicaron sus obras. Para citar solamente las revistas mencionaremos Presencia, Clavileño, Segrel, Hoja.

Vicens, Juan. "La bibliografía hispánica," en España peregrina (México), 1, 1 (1940), 17-21.

Proyecto de un organismo bibliográfico que sería encargado de publicar en México las bibliografías generales hispánicas.

* * *


Palabras en exordio del primer volumen: "En los actuales días críticos un grupo de intelectuales mexicanos y españoles resueltos a enfrentarse con los problemas que plantea la continuidad de la cultura se ha sentido obligado a publicar Cuadernos Americanos, revista bimestral en cuatro secciones tituladas: Nuestro tiempo, Aventura del pensamiento, Presencia del pasado, Dimensión imaginaria."


Revista de cultura general fundada por destacados intelectuales para seguir creando y manteniendo la cultura general española lejos de su patria de origen. Se publicaron solamente ocho números.

Revista literaria que incluía narrativa y poesía, así como unas secciones dedicadas a la crítica literaria y a reseñas bibliográficas. Se trata allí de un ejemplo de cooperación entre los autores mexicanos y los españoles del exilio.


Revista de literatura universal y crítica literaria con una sección importante de resúmenes y reseñas bibliográficas. La obra literaria de los escritores en exilio encontró su lugar en esta revista peninsular, desde el principio.

Litoral. Cuadernos mensuales de poesía, pintura y música. México. 3a. época, 3 números publicados en 1944.

De los tres números publicados, un número especial está dedicado al poeta Enríque Diez-Canedo. Los otros dos contienen obras de otros poetas españoles también del exilio.

Documentos Varios


Expedientes curriculares de los primeros intelectuales que formaron la Casa de España en México.


Homenajes individuales de gratitud ofrecidos al presidente Lázaro Cárdenas por destacados miembros de los exiliados. El conjunto de textos, muy breves en general, está dividido en las secciones siguientes: Junta de Auxilio, Política, Ciencia, Letras, Derecho, Armas, Finanzas.


Discurso que incluye comentarios sobre la élite intelectual y las instituciones fundadas por ella. Poco material (el tipo de fuente no se prestaba para más).


Cap. III: Cómo se selecciona [el exilio]: 60 por ciento de agricultores, 30 por ciento de técnicos y obreros calificados y 10 por ciento de intelectuales . . . "porcentaje más que suficiente para acoger a los grandes valores científicos que en
este aspecto arroja España de su suelo." Cap. IV: Estadísticas de los que han venido: ... 496 dedicados a profesiones liberales, intelectuales y funcionarios del régimen republicano caído. Cap. V: Características de las actividades, adaptabilidad a nuestro medio, beneficios a la cultura y a la ecomonía de nuestro país. Cap. XXI: Comparación con los braceros en E.U.: Documento para informar a las organizaciones obreras, campesinas e intelectuales de todos los aspectos del problema con el fin de contrarrestar la propaganda de la reacción, de los enemigos de la administración del General Cárdenas.


En esta tesis, desarrollada posteriormente en una de las "Latin American Monographs" de la Universidad de Austin, Patricia Stea hace hincapié sobre el sector bastante importante de hombres de letras y de profesionistas de cierto nivel quienes por su abandono de España y de su sociedad, casi destruyeron su vida intelectual durante una generación.


Denuncia desde México de la represión de la cultura en España, de la "persecución del pensamiento," de la distorsión a la cual el régimen franquista estaba llevando la educación por medios innobles y despreciables. El último capítulo señala en cambio el nuevo vigor recobrado por la vida intelectual de los países que acogieron a los emigrados españoles.
17. CIENTIFICOS EUROPEOS DEL SIGLO XIX EN MEXICO:
ANDRES MANUEL DEL RIO Y FERNANDEZ

Elsa Barberena Blásquez

El 20 de octubre de 1799 llega en un barco de guerra español, "San Pedro Alcántara," a la fortaleza de San Juan de Ulúa, Veracruz, "un hombre de regular estatura, delgado y esbelto, de tez blanca, ojos claros, nariz aguilena, boca chica y frente espaciosa. Representaba a lo sumo treinta años."¹ Esta descripción física de Andrés Manuel del Río se complementa con la litografía publicada por el Ingeniero en Minas, su discípulo, Santiago Ramírez, en 1891, y con la pintura al óleo que se conserva en el Palacio de Minería de la Ciudad de México.

El siglo XVIII, en el que nació el Maestro del Río, que era filosófico, había llegado a confiar en la ciencia como en ninguna otra época. En las etapas anteriores, el cultivo de la ciencia había sido cosa de pequeños grupos, islotes limitados de aficionados al trabajo intelectual. Pero también el siglo XVIII presenó cómo la Química, la Física y la Botánica llegarían a convertirse en auténticas ciencias, con nuevas e ilimitadas posibilidades. La Ilustración había logrado separar la Química científica de la vieja Alquimia y, desarrollando sus posibilidades creadoras, había empezado a vislumbrar la decisiva significación económica de los procesos industriales. Andrés Manuel del Río representaba a la ciencia moderna europea con alto grado de originalidad e inventiva.²

El Mtro. del Río era un profundo matemático, un hábil físico, un ingenioso químico, un entendido geólogo, un célebre mineralogista, además de poeta. En Química fue un atomista, de quien pudiera creerse, como le aconteció a Berzelius, que confundía a veces hasta parecer sinónimos los términos átomo, molécula, peso atómico y equivalente químico—confusión propia, también de muchos químicos, hasta bien entrada la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Era principalmente un mineralogista; no dio demasiada importancia a las cuestiones teóricas de la Química. A pesar de la importancia que dio a la Química para la determinación de minerales, no dejó de advertir cuan difícil era calificar en un análisis qué elementos eran esenciales a los minerales y cuáles eran accidentales o acompañantes: de tal modo que se podría tomar como una especie mineral nueva lo que en realidad sea una mezcla de especies conocidas. Entre las especies mineralógicas investigadas, tal vez sólo el plomo pardo de Zimapán, la alabandina y quizá un 'seleniuro de mercurio' fuesen verdaderas especies.³
El Mtro. del Río fue miembro de asociaciones científicas, tales como la Real Academia de Ciencias del Instituto de Francia, la Real Academia Médica Matritense, la Sociedad Económica de Leipzig, la Sociedad de Medicina de Strasburgo, la Sociedad Werneriana de Edinburgo, la Sociedad Linneana de Leipzig, la Real Económica de Sajonia, la Sociedad Filosófica, la Academia de Ciencias de Filadelfia, el Liceo de Historia Natural de Nueva York, el Instituto de Washington, Presidente de la Sociedad Geológica de Filadelfia, la Comisión de Geografía y Estadística de México, la Academia de Medicina de México, El Consejo Superior de Salubridad de la República Mexicana, del Instituto de Ciencias, del Instituto de Geografía.

En la España del Mtro. del Río había matemáticos y físicos, pero no naturalistas, químicos y mineralogistas. Sus profundos conocimientos en matemáticas, física, química, mineralogía y geología los aplicó no solamente en España, la Real Academia de Minas de Almadén, en la Sierra Morena, sino en Francia (París), en donde se asombró de los descubrimientos, tales como: la ley de conservación de la materia; la nomenclatura química; la composición del aire; el papel del aire en la respiración y en la combustión; la presencia del oxígeno en la mayoría de los ácidos; la comprobación de que los cuerpos terrosos no eran simples, sino óxidos; la confirmación de las ideas emitidas por Newton sobre la composición del diamante.

En Alemania visitó los principales establecimientos mineros, entre ellos Freiberg, donde se dedicó al estudio de la Orictognosia con Werner; éste comprendía la mineralogía, la geognosia y la paleontología; sus condiscípulos fueron Weber, Saussure, Dolomieu y Humboldt.

En Inglaterra es perseguido por haber sido discípulo y colaborador de Antonio Lorenzo de Lavoisier, uno de los creadores de la química moderna, quien muere en la guillotina en 6 de mayo de 1794 cuando el Presidente del Tribunal lo sentencia porque "la revolución no necesita sabios" o "la República no tenía necesidad de químicos."

En México los sistemas de explotación de las minas eran un tanto caóticos, ya que las grandes propiedades mineras se mantenían sin extracción de los minerales; las obras eran imperfectas, hechas al azar, sin galería de comunicación y ventilación. Los aztecas no habían emprendido trabajos subterráneos; ellos lavaban el oro arrastrado en estado nativo por los ríos y arrancaban el oro, plata, cobre, estano y plomo nativos de los crestones. Fray Bartolomé de Medina descubre en México la adopción del mercurio en la reducción de los metales argentíferos, y es en el año de 1543 que los españoles descubren la primera mina, la del Espíritu Santo, en el Reino de la Nueva Galicia, ahora Jalisco, para seguir después los descubrimientos de Zacatecas, en 1546, Guanajuato en 1548, Taxco, Sultepec y Temascaltepec en 1549, Pachuca en 1551, Fresnillo y Sombrerete poco después. De
Medina establece el beneficio por el sistema de patio o de amalga-
mación que implanta en Pachuca, en 1557, y es entonces cuando el
auge de la minería se extiende por toda la Nueva España, y en
1571 se introduce en el Perú.

El Mtro. del Río, compañero de trabajo del Barón de
Humboldt, también señaló las imperfecciones de las obras ejecu-
tadas en las minas de México. Después del informe del Gremio de
Mineros de la Nueva España se propusieron reformas a las
ordenanzas, creación de un Tribunal de Minería y organización de
un Seminario Metálico; de esta manera se creó el Colegio de
Minería, donde el Mtro. del Río impartió su cátedra, no de
Química como apareció en el nombramiento expedido por el
Gobierno Español, sino debido a su propia solicitud y aceptación,
de Mineralogía.

En México, el país de las minas por excelencia, no había un
ingeniero de minas. Los mineros y metalúrgicos novohispanos
practicaban hasta fines del siglo XVIII sus profesiones en
condiciones similares a las de la Edad Media, es decir, de manera
empírica sin interés por el aspecto práctico. El Mtro. del Río,
por otra parte, decía que "el único medio de conocer las propie-
dades de los cuerpos es la observación." Sentía la necesidad de
aplicar sus conocimientos a la industria minera mexicana: sus
conocimientos en matemáticas para el trazo de las obras que
establecen, sostienen y constituyen el laboreo de las minas; una
mecánica para vencer la serie de resistencias que constituyen el
trabajo; la física para llevar a las labores el aire respirable que
sostiene la vida y expulsar de ellas el aire viciado por las gases
mefíticos que causan la muerte; la química para preparar, graduar
y disponer los explosivos, para destruir las combinaciones y para
reducir los metales; la mineralogía para conocer los compuestos y
sacar las consecuencias industriales que se deducen de este
conocimiento; la geología para fijar las condiciones de yacimiento
de los criaderos, anticipar su importancia y juzgar sus resul-
tados. En resumen, un gran español y un insigne ciudadano de
México, a quien el gobierno de la República Mexicana honró con la
emisión de un sello de correos en el segundo centenario de su
natalicio 1764-1964, y por quien la Sociedad Química de México
creó el "Premio Andrés Manuel del Río" y acuñó una medalla
alusiva, por quien el Estado de Chihuahua dio su nombre a un
distrito en donde se encuentra el mineral de Batopilas, quien en
su exilio voluntario en Filadelfia en 1832, dijo: "Conocedor por
experiencia de la feliz disposición de la juventud mexicana para el
estudio de esta ciencia (Orictognosia), quiero en el último tercio
de mi vida consagrarle el escaso producto de mis afanes. Dichoso
mil veces, si puedo ser útil a un país que he habitado treinta y
cinco años, recibiendo todo género de distinciones."

El Mtro. del Río nace en Madrid en 1764; muere en la Ciudad
de México en 1849.
Catedra de Mineralogía en el Colegio de Minería

El Mtro. del Río inicia su cátedra de mineralogía el 27 de abril de 1795, en el recién fundado Colegio de Minería de México, Real Seminario de Minería de México o Colegio Metálico como se le llamaba también. El Real Seminario de Minería se ubicaba en la Calle del Hospicio de San Nicolás, ahora Calle de Guatemala Nos. 88, 90 y 92, donde se establece provisionalmente el Colegio. Los cursos de mineralogía del Mtro. del Río fueron los primeros que de dicha ciencia se dieron en México (1795), así como las enseñanzas sobre laboreo de minas (1796).

La clase, conducida con palabras concisas y claras, estaba destinada a formar mineros técnicos. Es decir, se estudiaba la ciencia aunada a la sabiduría de las lecciones de la experiencia del Mtro. del Río. La cátedra de Mineralogía duraba 10 meses y se dividía en cinco partes: Oriéntognosia, Geognosia, Química mineralógica, Geografía mineralógica y Mineralogía económica. Este núcleo fundamental de estudios estaba encaminado a lograr que los técnicos mineros que se formaran en el Colegio de Minería salieran en condiciones de poder conocer e identificar los diversos materiales que habrían de encontrar en el seno de la tierra, de distinguir la antigüedad de las diversas rocas, y de saber las relaciones que guardan con ellas las vetas, los mantos y los cumbres de las diferentes especies minerales; todo esto con la finalidad común de llegar a dar con los criaderos de los metales. Además de curso de mineralogía y geología, el Mtro. del Río daba el curso de explotación de minas, que se conocía con el nombre de arte de minas.

En el Colegio de Minería el Mtro. del Río no solamente fue profesor, sino también Director; no era teórico, sino práctico. Entre las minas mexicanas donde llevó a cabo importantes trabajos se destacan: 1) Tetelá del Oro, estudio de los minerales de un criadero de mercurio; 2) descubrimiento de las minas de Morán de Real del Monte; 3) descubrimiento del eritronio (vanadio) en Zimapán, en 1801, antes del profesor sueco Sefström.

Aunque el Mtro. del Río no fue quien inició las prácticas de actos públicos, donde los catedráticos disertaran sobre temas de interés para sus discípulos (el Real Jardín Botánico los estuvo efectuando desde 1789, y el propio Colegio de Minería desde 1792), su mérito radica en la constancia de la presentación de discursos de interés en los actos públicos de 1796 a 1803.

Su cátedra de mineralogía se interrumpió en 1829, cuando el gobierno mexicano decretó la expulsión de los españoles, de la que fue exento; no obstante, compartió la suerte de sus compatriotas y no volvió a la cátedra sino hasta el año de 1834.

El Mtro. del Río fue el introductor en América de la Doctrina Werneriana. Werner se basó en la composición química para establecer los cuatro grandes grupos de su clasificación (tierra y piedras, sales, combustibles y metales, fundándose en el elemento característico del mineral). Del Río, para fijar las especies
minerales y para situarlas según familias, se basó principalmente en los caracteres externos aunque auxiliado de los físicos, no pudo sustraerse a la influencia del químico sueco Berzelius, quien consideraba a los minerales como de composición química semejante a los compuestos químicos, y ateniéndose a su composición química los clasificó en 18 grupos, de acuerdo con otros tantos elementos entre los más electronegativos.

En 1820 del Río es nombrado Diputado a las Cortes Españolas, y cede al Colegio de Minería, en menos de su valor, la colección mineralógica y un surtido de reactivos químicos.

La sede del Real Seminario de Minería, en su primera época de 1792 a 1811, ha sido honrada por el muy distinguido historador de la ciencia, José Joaquín Izquierdo, con el título de 'Primera Casa de las Ciencias en México.' El Mtro. del Río con su magisterio, su incansable labor investigadora, cultura y técnica fue el más destacado contribuyente a la merecida fama de que gozó el viejo Real Seminario. El reconocimiento al magisterio de este sabio español en México se encuentra en las letras de oro a la entrada de la Escuela de Minería, al lado de los Directores Generales de Minería: Joaquín Velázquez de León, discípulo del Mtro. del Río, y Fausto Elhúyar.

Sus discípulos

El historiador Arturo Arnáiz y Freg habla del ilustre magisterio de Mtro. del Río, porque supo preparar y orientar en México a una valiosa falange de hombres de ciencia. Sirvió a la cultura mexicana con sus clases del Real Seminario de Minería, forjó discípulos y creó escuela, la pléyade de jóvenes ingenieros capacitados para dirigir minas de la envergadura de la Valenciana (Guanajuato).

El primer curso de Mineralogía que se dio en México, abierto el 24 de abril de 1795, cuenta entre los cursantes a Pedro Vicente Valencia, Casimiro Chovell, Manuel Cotero, y Manuel Ruiz de Tejada. Sus alumnos le llamaban 'precioso aerolito,' porque tanto los iluminó, y por tan fugaz como les pareció su existencia. Trataron de fundar la "Sociedad del Río" sus discípulos de mineralogía de 1862, Manuel Rivera Cambias, Francisco Javier Lavista, Pablo Ocampo, Julio Arancivia, Felipe Zavalza, Santiago Ramírez, pero no se consolidó. Posteriormente, en 1873, se organizó la "Sociedad Andrés del Río," cuyo reglamento fue aprobado el 1º de julio de 1875.

Pedro Vicente Valencia, descendiente de mineros de Tlalpujahua, ejerció su profesión en la mina de Valenciana, en Guanajuato. El Mtro. del Río le dedica una nueva especie mineral formada por el manganato doble de cobre y zinc con algún cloro, designándola con el nombre de 'valencia' o 'valencita.' En la página 86 del Suplemento de Adiciones y Correcciones a la Mineralogía del Mtro. del Río, impresa en Filadelfia en 1832 e impresa en México en 1848, habla del descubrimiento de Valencia
para evitar el consumido en el beneficio de los minerales dóciles. El propio Valencia escribe en 1800 una disertación sobre el mineral de San José del Yermo y una descripción geognóstica del Real de Minas de Zacatecas, calificada 'muy importante' por Humboldt y superior por su calidad a otra sobre el mismo asunto que escribió el alemán Sonneschmidt.

Casimiro Chovell también asiste al primer curso de Química impartido en el país en 1797 por el Mtro. Elhúyar. El Mtro. del Río también le dedica a su discípulo Chovell el 'cuarzo romboidal,' llamándole 'chovelia,' mencionado en la página 45 de Elementos de Orictognosia de 1832, y le nombra 'benemérito de la patria y de la mineralogía.' A Chovell, hijo de mineros de Taxco, lo ahorcan frente a la puerta principal de la Alhóndiga, por orden de Calleja, el 28 de noviembre de 1810. Chovell era Coronel de su regimiento y organizador de la Primera Casa de Moneda Insur- gente, a la vez que administrador de la mina de la Valenciana de 1807 a 1810. No solamente el Mtro. del Río lo alaba, sino el barón Humboldt, por su colaboración en la elaboración del mapa de la Nueva España. Chovell, en el centro minero de Villal- pando, conversa con él durante su visita a México, 1803-1804. Carlos María Bustamante, autor del libro Cuadro Histórico de la Revolución Mexicana, lo llama el hijo querido de las ciencias.

Manuel Cotero ingresa como alumno del Colegio de Minería en 1793, y es ayudante de clase en 1801, 1802. Los médicos y boticarios que poseían conocimientos de química la habían apren- dido de él. En la Casa del Hospicio de San Nicolás se dieron cursos de Química, Dosimasia y Metalurgia, de 1806 a 1810. En 1816, Cotero realiza el primer examen histoquímico que se practicó en México: el de un fragmento de las excrecencias córneas de un paciente.

Manuel Cotero es el discípulo con quien analiza un nuevo mineral, no conocido en Europa, procedente de los Mijes de Oaxaca: 'manganesa sulfúrea,' que añade al catálogo de minerales conocidos. Hablando del grupo de sus investigaciones, una de las frases favoritas del Mtro. del Río era: "todo lo que parece nuevo aquí lo es, y la mitad de lo que no lo parece."

Manuel Ruiz de Tejada, alumno en 1792 del Colegio de Minería a la edad de 12 años, previa dispensa del Virrey por no tener los 14 años que se requerían, es después catedrático sustituto del Colegio de Minería. Junto con Cotero colabora en el análisis del plomo pardo de Zimapán, descubierto por el Mtro. del Río. Se encarga de mantener viva la llama de las ciencias del Colegio de Minería, así como de ayudar a Humboldt en los ensayos químicos a los que sometieron las muestras mineralógicas de Chapultepec, de la zona de lava basáltica del pedregal del Xitle, de la Sierra de Guadalupe y del Peñón de los Baños.

Joaquín Velázquez de León, catedrático de zoología y geología, discípulo del Mtro. del Río, Director del Colegio de Minería, pronunció el Elogio Fúnebre del Mtro. del Río.
Sus investigaciones: el hierro mexicano, el pancrom, el eritronio (vanadio)

Mientras en España las ferrerías corrían el riesgo de desaparecer, en Nueva España se comprobaban experimentos metalúrgicos con dos hornos que el Mtro. del Río había hecho construir para empezar a fundir bajo su dirección.

El Mtro. del Río contribuyó para que se produjera en México muy buena calidad de hierro en la ferrería de Coalcomán establecida en 1805, siendo la primera de Hispanoamérica dirigida por él, y que continuó trabajando en 1807 con sus discípulos Manuel Herrera, José Mariano de Oteiza y Rafael Cardoso, hasta octubre de 1811, en que fue destruida por las fuerzas realistas.

Al analizar el Mtro. del Río, en 1801, en el antiguo Real Seminario de Minería, un ejemplar del 'plomo pardo' del Cardonal (Zimapán, Estado de Hidalgo), descubrió una nueva substancia metálica, a la que llamó pancrom, por la variedad de colores de sus óxidos, precipitados y disoluciones. Este nombre lo sustituyó por el de 'eritronio' o 'eritronio,' por tornarse sus sales alcalinas de color rojo escarlata al ser sometidas al fuego y tratada por los ácidos. Existen varios documentos que autentizan al Mtro. del Río como descubridor del eritronio; el mismo Berzelius reconoció la validez del descubrimiento, que se le denomina vanadio por la confusión que se hizo este nuevo elemento con el cromo. Treinta años más tarde, en 1830, el químico sueco Sefström lo redescubre, y al elemento 23 le nombran vanadio, voz derivada de una diosa escandinava, Vanadis o Freya, que no tiene nada que ver con sus características propias. Al respecto, el Mtro. del Río hizo el comentario "lo que interesa a las ciencias son los descubrimientos, y no el nombre del que los hace." José Joaquín Izquierdo dice que vistas las cosas con serenidad y justicia, resulta que el Mtro. del Río tan sólo sospechó la presencia de una nueva substancia, pero que no trató de averiguar si era posible reducirla a elementos más simples.

Entre otras investigaciones están: estudio de los minerales de un criadero de mercurio en Tetela del Oro; establecimiento en la mina de Morán de una bomba de columna de agua, primera en su género construida en América; informe en 1843 sobre la fabricación de la porcelana para una fábrica que había de instalarse en Puebla; noticia en 1810 de un mineral de mercurio, procedente de San José de Casas Viejas, que unos años después dice que se trata de 'ioduro de mercurio'; colaboración de un 'seleniuro de plata' hallado en Taxco, y de una liga de oro y rodo, en 1823 y 1825; en 1833 estudio de la formación de cristales sobre la vermiculita, por acción del calor.

Sus relaciones con Alejandro Von Humboldt

En 1802 el Mtro. del Río, aprovechando la visita de Von Humboldt a México, le entregó muestras que contenían el elemento

El Mtro. del Río, y en menor grado Humboldt, deben ser considerados como los iniciadores de estudios geológicos mexicanos (1803). El barón Von Humboldt supo, como el Mtro. del Río, aplicar sus conocimientos en México, por el que sentía simpatía y reconocía los logros científicos mexicanos. Así decía que ninguna ciudad del Nuevo Continente, sin exceptuar la de los Estados Unidos, representaba establecimientos científicos tan grandes y sólidos como la capital de México. Como compañero de trabajo del Mtro. del Río, también señaló las imperfecciones de las obras ejecutadas en las minas de México.

Humboldt en su Ensayo político de la Nueva España llena de elogios al Mtro. del Río al descubrir la máquina con columna de agua en las minas de Morán, distrito vecino al de Real del Monte. Dice, "fue construida según los cálculos y planes del Señor del Río, profesor de mineralogía de México, que ha visitado las más célebres minas de Europa, y que reúne los conocimientos más sólidos y variados." También menciona cómo las obras del señor del Río han colaborado para el trazo del mapa de la Nueva España del mismo barón Von Humboldt.

En las conversaciones que tuvo Humboldt durante su visita de 1803-1804 con los profesores del Colegio de Minería, comentó con ellos cómo cuando las guerras marítimas habían paralizado el comercio exterior de España, las industrias mineras mexicanas del fierro, del acero y del mercurio habían despertado súbitamente por breves períodos, a los cuales siempre ponía término la reanudación de las comunicaciones, cuando tales productos volvían a ser adquiridos de modo exclusivo de los mercados europeos.

De la obra de del Río Orictognosia, Humboldt dijo: "En Méjico se ha impreso la mejor obra mineralógica que posee la literatura española, el manual de Orictognosia, dispuesto por el Señor del Río según los principios de la escuela de Freiberg, donde estudió el autor." Este mismo libro lo declara Guyton de Morveau como el libro de la Mineralogía más notable de su tiempo en todas las lenguas.

Sus publicaciones

El Mtro. del Río acostumbraba llevar siempre un libro bajo el brazo porque, como él decía, "el cargar la ciencia no deshonra a nadie"; a pesar de lo limitado de sus recursos, su biblioteca siempre fue abundante.
Los libros originales y las traducciones del Mtro. del Río, así como sus investigaciones mineralógicas aparecidas en buen número de revistas científicas europeas y estadounidenses, contribuyeron en alto grado a que el nombre de México ocupara un lugar honroso en la bibliografía mineralógica universal, y se diera a conocer a localidades mineralógicas mexicanas. Además del difusor del conocimiento científico mexicano, se podría considerar a del Río como pionero en la elaboración de libros de consulta sobre la mineralogía mexicana, ya que incluye un resumen de los principales distritos de minas en México en su manual de geología (1841). Entre sus numerosos libros y artículos sobre mineralogía y geología están:

1795 Elementos de Orictognosia, o del conocimiento de los fósiles, dispuestos, según los principios de A.G. Werner, para el uso del Real Seminario de Minería de México, por Don Andrés Manuel del Río, catedrático por S.M. de Mineralogía del mismo, socio honorario de la Sociedad Económica de Leipzig y de otras extranjeras, y correspondiente de la Real Academia Médica Matriense. Primera parte, que comprende las tierras, piedras y sales. Segunda parte, que comprende combustibles, metales y rocas, seguidos de la introducción a la Pasisgrafia Geológica del Señor barón Von Humboldt inédita hasta ahora con tres láminas. México: Con Mariano Joseph de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, Calle del Espíritu Santo, Año de 1795, 1805, 171 p.

1797 Discurso del Mtro. del Río en la Gaceta de México, del 18 de enero de 1797. En él establece preciosas relaciones entre la composición de un mineral y las substancias que en su criadero le sirven de acompañantes. Menciona que no hay criaderos de minas en la República Mexicana que no tengan sus semejantes en Europa, y de la estrecha analogía entre la formación de la veta de Valenciana, en Guanajuato (calcedonia acompaña de antimonio), y la de las vetas de Shémnits, en Hungría, como también lo comenta el barón Humboldt.

1802 Descripción en la Gaceta de México, del 12 de noviembre de 1802, en la que en forma clara, precisa, completa e interesante describe la importancia del descubrimiento de la 'plata azul' de Real de Catorce, en San Luis Potosí.

1804 Traducción de las Tablas mineralógicas de Karsten, a las que añade innumerables notas.

1809 Traducción de la Geometría subterránea, de Lempi, uno de sus maestros en Freiberg, que no fue impresa.

1825 Descripción de un nuevo mineral que llamó zimapánio en la Revista Mexicana, de junio-julio de 1825.
1827 Traducción del francés, con algunas notas y adiciones, del Nuevo sistema mineral de Bercelio del año de 1825, publicado por Aguila en México.

1828 Publicación de un trabajo sobre un 'seleniuro de xinc' y un 'seleniuro de mercurio' hallados en Culebras.

1832 Elementos de Orictognosia, o del conocimiento de los fósiles, según el Sistema de Berzelius, y según los Principios de Abraham Gottlieb Werner con la sinonimia inglesa, alemana y francesa, para uso del Seminario Nacional de Minería de México, por Andrés Manuel del Río, profesor de mineralogía del mismo y socio y corresponsal de algunas academias nacionales y extranjeras. Parte práctica, segunda edición. Filadelfia: Imprenta de Juan F. Hurtel, 1832. 683 p. ilus.

1841 Publicación del Manual de geología, al que pone como introducción un discurso geológico del Profesor Fuchs, de Munich, y cierra con un resumen de los principales distritos de minas en México.

1841 Edición en México del Manual de geología, extractado de la Lethae geognóstica de Bronn.

1843 Publicación del Discurso geológico leído en el Acto de Mineralogía del Seminario Nacional de Minería. México. Impreso por I. Cumplido, Calle de los Rebeldes No. 2, 1843. 8 p. ilus. fuera texto.

1846 Publicación de Elementos de Orictognosia, o sea mineralogía o del conocimiento de los fósiles, según el sistema del barón Berzelius, y según los principios de Abraham Werner, para uso del Seminario Nacional de Minería, por el C. Andrés del Río. Parte preparatoria, segunda edición. México: Imprenta de R. Rafael, Calle de Cadena No. 13, 1846. 167 p. ilus.

1848 Suplemento de Adiciones y Correcciones de Mineralogía, impresa en Filadelfia en 1832; esto es, diez y seis años hace, en cuyo tiempo se han hecho en Europa y en los Estados Unidos varios descubrimientos que les importa saber a los alumnos de Minería. Por el ciudadano Andrés del Río. México: Tipografía de R. Rafael, Calle de Cadena No. 13, 1848. 247 p. ilus.

1848 Publicación del Suplemento de Adiciones y Correcciones a su Orictognosia, y un último trabajo, un año antes de su muerte, sobre un mineral de 'magnato de cobre y zinc.' Además de sus libros y estudios publicados figuran otras investigaciones, como: 1) la memoria sobre la forma de dar los barrenos de las minas (1792); 2) Arte de minas, que trata de los fenómenos geognósticos que dan origen a los criaderos y del laboreo de minas; 3) estudios sobre las minas de cinabrio; 4) un Tratado especial de Cristalografía traducido del alemán.
José Joaquín Izquierdo para su libro La Primera Casa de las Ciencias en México agradece "las ya tan raras como valiosas obras de Del Río." La profundidad de sus trabajos pone de manifiesto el carácter de la especialización que ya se daba en los círculos científicos europeos. Los textos elaborados son de sólida estructura sin divagaciones personales.

Sus biógrafos
Entre sus biógrafos están:

1. El Dr. Manuel Sandoval Vallarta, miembro fundador de El Colegio Nacional, habla del Mtro. del Río como descubridor del elemento 23, eritronio o vanadio, y lo consideró junto con Fausto Elhúyar, descubridor del elemento 74, volfranio o tungsteno, como una de las grandes figuras en química de origen español de los siglos XVIII y XIX.

2. El Dr. Modesto Bargalló, catedrático de la Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Biológicas del Instituto Politécnico Nacional, habla sobre la inteligencia privilegiada del gran mineralogista y de su capacidad de trabajo, de su fuerza de voluntad y de su vehemencia para defender sus convicciones. Al evaluar la significación de la obra científica del Mtro. del Río, dice "En la historia de México y de América, Andrés del Río fue un 'Adelantado' de la ciencia, su descubrimiento del eritronio o vanadio en 1801 constituye un hecho excepcional para la América Latina hasta el segundo cuarto del presente siglo."

3. El historiador Arturo Arnáiz y Freg habla del ilustre magisterio de del Río en México porque preparó y orientó a los futuros mineralogistas mexicanos, y de la cantidad de especies minerales que pudo descubrir; lo considera gran español e insigne cuidadano de México.

4. Santiago Ramírez, antiguo alumno del Colegio de Minería, en la Introducción a su biografía, menciona que Andrés Manuel del Río fue español por nacimiento, pero por el corazón, las simpatías y los servicios prestados a México y por la inteligencia fue mexicano; también nos dice como Andrés Manuel del Río con una mano maestra hizo brotar la enseñanza y la doctrina en el Colegio de Minería, y como estudió las obras del Mtro. del Río escritas expresamente para los alumnos de su Colegio. Santiago Ramírez dedicó a la memoria del Mtro. del Río la publicación Noticia histórica de la riqueza minera de México y de su actual estado de explotación, para la Exposición de Nueva Orleans, en 1984.

5. Vito Alessio Robles escribe una detallada, concisa y amena biografía, en 31 páginas, de El ilustre maestro Andrés Manuel del Río, trabajo recomendado por el Jurado del Primer Concurso de la Escuela Nacional de Ingenieros, en la Ciudad de México, en 1937.
Aportación del conocimiento científico europeo dentro de la realidad mexicana

La fuente de que se dispone para el estudio de la minería y la metalurgia prehispánica la constituyen los códices, libros del Anáhuac, que fueron conocidos en Europa. Entre éstos están: la Matrícula de Tributos, el Códice Mendocino, el Códice Azoyú, el Códice Flotzin, el Códice Xolotl y el Lienzo de Jucutácato. Las minas prehispánicas se encontraban en la Sierra de Querétaro y en diversos lugares del bajo Río Balsas. La zona donde fundían el oro recogido de los ríos se ubicaba en las serranías occidentales de Oaxaca.

La minería produjo incalculables beneficios a la Colonia, a la Metrópoli y a Europa. Estos materiales estimularon considerablemente la industria y el comercio, y a causa de ello, aceleraron el progreso económico y material de muchos países.

Los habitantes de Nueva España han sacado, hace siglos, el mercurio necesario para la amalgamación parte del Perú y parte de Europa, de donde ha resultado que se han acostumbrado a mirar su país como falto enteramente de este metal. Sin embargo, dice el barón Humboldt, pasando la vista por las investigaciones que se hicieron en el reinado de Carlos IV, es preciso convenir que pocos territorios presentan tantos indicios de cinabrio como la mesa de las cordilleras mexicanas. En las intendencias de Guanajuato y de Méjico se hallan casi en todas partes. La mineralogía y la metalurgia, hacia 1795, cobraban un nuevo impulso sobre la base del estudio de los caracteres no sólo externos de los minerales, sino también de los de su composición química. El índice de eficiencia en la explotación y beneficio mexicanos de los metales era excelente, al grado de ser superior al europeo.

La institución de más importancia en el siglo XVIII mexicano era el Real Seminario de Minería. Su impulso a la investigación de una amplia gama de las ciencias la hizo un caso único en el continente americano. El Real Seminario o Colegio de Minería, concebido por la idea de comunicar impulso a un ramo que bajo su aspecto industrial es y ha sido siempre base de la riqueza de México, bajo su aspecto social fue un centro de trabajo, y bajo su aspecto intelectual el foco en que se reunían casi todos los conocimientos conquistados por las ciencias. El Colegio fue creado en una época en que estas últimas eran poco conocidas en la Nueva España. Los comienzos de la Geognosia y de la Geología mexicanas se originan en el Colegio de Minería. En 1795 el Mtro. del Río declaró que la Orictognosia no era más que la ciencia preliminar de otra de mayor interés para el minero, que era la Geognosia, la cual daba a conocer "las relaciones de las substancias minerales en el interior del globo." También anunció que a su Orictognosia seguiría inmediatamente un tratado de Geognosia que no llegó a aparecer. Con todo, los planes de estudio lo
obligaban a tratar en su cátedra de los aspectos geognósticos de los "criaderos de los fósiles." A estas explicaciones añadió un sumario esbozo geológico acerca de la formación de las montañas, que constituyó un documento acerca de la Geología en México. "Se dividen las montañas, por lo que toca a su formación, en primitivas, secundarias, de acarreo y volcánicas. Las últimas no interesan al minero, sino todas las demás, que deben su origen al agua. Las primitivas son las que contienen más 'fósiles.' Las secundarias también abundan de metales y otros fósiles. Las de acarreo son estériles en metales exceptuando los que se hallan en pedazos sueltos en los lavaderos."16

En 1808 llegaron las noticias de que España había sido sojuzgada por Napoleón; esto dio lugar a una onda de conmoción social que alcanzó al Colegio de Minería, que cayó en un lamentable período de decadencia, del cual no llegó a salir sino muy lenta y penosamente. En 1809 el Colegio de Minería fue testigo de la pugna entre "europeos" y "americanos." Las condiciones ambientales eran las ansias de independencia de los americanos, que cobraron tal vigor que quienes tomaron la votación de los sinodales para la graduación de los premios fueron el administrador del Tribunal de Minería, Marqués de San Juan de Rayas, y otros dos miembros, Juan Antonio de Terán y Agustín González Campillo, en vez de que lo hiciera el director europeo Fausto de Elhúyar y de Zubice, que se quejó de oficio al Virrey Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont.

Los centros mineros durante los primeros años de la revolución de independencia fueron ocupados por los insurgentes, y las condiciones eran caóticas por dondequiera. En 1813 se mejoraron un poco, y en 1814 se empezaron a tomar medidas para rehabilitar la industria minera, que pasó de un estado de gran prosperidad, que conoció el Mtro. del Río, a uno de completa miseria.

La ley del 2 de diciembre del año de 1867 al quitar, pasándolos a la Escuela Preparatoria, los cursos preparatorios para la carrera del Minero, que eran parte esencial del Colegio de Minería, modificó tan profundamente su organización que quedó ésta destruida; y al acumular en su programa de estudios a los profesionales para todas las carreras de Ingeniero, perdió su carácter de Colegio de Minería, perdiendo con este carácter hasta su nombre. Con esta ley acabó la etapa fructífera del Colegio de Minería, en donde el Mtro. del Río había impartido su cátedra, en donde la antorcha de las luces traída por sus fundadores europeas ya había sido puesta en manos de varios ilustres discípulos suyos. A esta etapa, que abarca de 1788 a 1803, Roberto Moreno de los Arcos le llama oficial o española. Esta etapa, que vive el Mtro. del Río y que se caracteriza por la presencia de un valioso grupo no solamente de científicos sino de artistas provenientes de la Metrópoli por expresa orden del gobierno, se dejó sentir no solamente en el Colegio de Minería, sino en el Jardín Botánico y en la Academia de San Carlos.17
El objetivo del presente trabajo—presentar en forma sucinta una etapa de la ciencia en México que tuvo un ciclo de inicio con la sabiduría europea, de desarrollo con la colaboración de los buenos discípulos mexicanos, de decaimiento por las conmociones sociales de la época—tendría mayor alcance con "la censura de los sabios que leen, se imponen, meditan, consultan a la razón y a los principios."18

NOTAS

3 Ibid., p. 27.
6 Alexander Von Humboldt, Ensayo político sobre Nueva España, 3a ed., vol. 5 (París: Librería de Lecointe, 1836), p. 244.
8 Prieto, Sandoval Vallarta, Bargalló, and Arnáiz y Freg, p. 73.
9 Ibid., p. 32.
10 Humboldt, vol. 3, p. 117.
11 Ibid., vol. 5, p. 243.
12 Izquierdo, pp. 220-221.
14 Prieto, Sandoval Vallarta, Bargalló, Arnáiz y Freg, p. 35.
15 Ibid., p. 27.
16 Izquierdo, p. 161.
Los estudios genealógicos en Uruguay en su mayoría fueron, hasta mediados del presente siglo, esfuerzos dispersos realizados por personas para conocer las raíces de sus propias familias o algunos sobre un reducido grupo de núcleos familiares.

Fueron pioneros en la investigación genealógica uruguaya como ciencia auxiliar de la historia Luis E. Azarola Gil y R. Llambías de Olivar, este último con un extenso trabajo sobre la familia de José Cervasio Artigas, héroe nacional de Uruguay. Obviamente, estos dos investigadores no fueron los únicos, pero sí los más destacados.

En 1966, aparece la primera edición de Génesis de la familia uruguaya del Dr. Juan Alejandro Apolant, marcando con su publicación una nueva época en los estudios genealógicos uruguayos.1

El Dr. Apolant nació en Alemania, en la ciudad de Belgard, en el mes de mayo de 1903. Realizó sus estudios primarios en Berlín y los superiores en las Universidades de Munich, Berlín y Leipzig. Es en esta última, en el año 1926, donde recibe su título de Doctor en Filosofía y en Ciencias Económicas.

En su país natal, trabajó, formó su familia y vivió hasta 1936. Desde sus años de estudiante mostró gran interés en los temas históricos, pero no como investigador, sino como aficionado. Su formación cultural fue muy amplia, sus intereses múltiples—las artes, las ciencias, los idiomas. En el año 1935 realizó un viaje a Inglaterra y es allí donde toma conocimiento de lo que estaba ocurriendo en su país desde el ascenso de Adolf Hitler al poder, hechos que en la propia Alemania se conocían poco o simplemente se desconocían. Supo percibir lo que la ascensión del nazismo iba a significar en la vida de los alemanes y de los europeos en general. Es así, que junto a su esposa a hijos, decide abandonar Europa y vivir en otro continente.

Se pone en contacto con amigos que vivían en América y uno de ellos le hace una oferta de trabajo en una firma importadora de tejidos que se estaba por fundar en Uruguay. Decide aceptar el cargo que le ofrecen y se dedica a estudiar el idioma español con gran ahínco, dedicándole muchas horas diarias. Es ésta, su dedicación profunda y total a cada estudio o investigación que emprende, una de las características más sobresalientes de Apolant.

Llega a Uruguay, entendiendo y hablando el español, en el mes de agosto de 1936. Apenas llegado a la ciudad de
Montevideo, donde fijará su residencia, él y su familia renuncian a la ciudadanía alemana, pasando a ser ciudadanos uruguayos.

Aunque su trabajo en la empresa importadora, que era su medio de sustento, le insume muchas horas de su vida, logra hacerse tiempo para estudiar la historia, economía y cultura de su país adoptivo. Tal como él mismo lo manifestará, estaba rápidamente compensando con estudios los primeros treinta y tres años de su vida, en que desconocía a Uruguay. Fácilmente se adaptó a su nuevo país, quiso ser uruguayo, entender la realidad del país, y lo logró asimiándose totalmente al medio social en el cual vivía. Rompió lazos con Alemania, no fue el típico inmigrante, ya que no mantenía contactos con sus compatriotas residentes en el Río de la Plata. Su afán de integración era enorme, leyó todo lo posible para entender la mentalidad de los uruguayos. Como anécdota, podemos decir que durante varios años leyó inclusive revistas de historietas, para compenetrarse rápidamente del humor y del lenguaje diario de sus nuevos compatriotas.

Su primer acercamiento a la investigación histórica en Uruguay es debido a su interés en hacer el árbol genealógico de la esposa de su hijo, quien era uruguaya. Previo a este trabajo, en Alemania, sus investigaciones en el área de la genealogía se resumían al árbol genealógico de la familia Apolant y de la de su esposa.

Es con la investigación de la familia de su nuera que comienza a conocer los archivos y repositorios documentales tanto de Uruguay como de Argentina. En los archivos argentinos comienza a relacionarse con historiadores, con los que intercambiaría informaciones durante toda su vida. Entre ellos estaban: José Torre Revello, Emilio Ravignani, De Gandía, Raúl A. Molina, y muchos otros. También en estos archivos río­-platenses conoce a numerosos investigadores uruguayos, como Ariosto Fernández, Flavio A. García, etc.

Hasta el momento en que comienza sus búsquedas en los archivos, no siente predilección por ningún período en especial de la historia uruguaya. Pero a través de estas primeras indagaciones, comenzó a interesarse cada vez más en la época colonial de la Banda Oriental. Es sobre este período, siglo XVIII, que versarán casi todos sus futuros trabajos. La elección de ese período de la historia no fue casual; notó que era éste, el período menos estudiado, sobre el cual la bibliografía era más escasa, en comparación con los siglos posteriores. Era por lo tanto un período donde existía un amplio campo para la investigación. Es así que sus trabajos son sobre temas escasamente investigados y por lo tanto su aporte más relevante aún.

Fue un pionero en el análisis de la rica información depositada en los archivos río­platenses. Para Apolant, la historia es un esfuerzo científico de reconstrucción del pasado, esfuerzo que permita conocer mejor y en profundidad el pasado de los pueblos.
La principal característica de sus trabajos, es el rigor científico con que los llevó a cabo. Analizó cada suceso en la forma más profunda posible, consultando siempre la documentación disponible. Es así que analiza críticamente, basándose en documentación de la época, casi toda la historiografía colonial uruguaya. Su posición ante la bibliografía histórica uruguaya, fue profundamente científica, Dudaba de todo lo escrito, si los datos aportados en las obras no habían tenido su origen en el análisis de la documentación pertinente, realizado en forma profunda e imparcial. Según sus propias palabras, que definen claramente su preocupación por el análisis de las fuentes documentales, el historiógrafo "... no es (o no debería ser) un escritor de historias. El que escribe seriamente sobre un tema histórico, sea de la índole que fuere, sin indicar correcta y completamente las fuentes de los datos aportados o de los documentos transcriptos o citados, comete, en nuestra opinión, un crimen de lesa ciencia. A la "historia" así escrita, hay que enfrentarla ya de entrada siempre con extrema desconfianza, considerándola, prima facie, seudo historia... "."

Basándose en su definición de la historiografía, es que realiza una revisión de la misma. Analizó hechos que se venían repitiendo de historiador en historiador, desde hacía mucho tiempo, a la luz de los documentos disponibles. Y en los casos en que probó la falsedad o inexactitud de una afirmación, no dudó en aclararlo públicamente. En su afanosa búsqueda en los documentos originales disponibles, logró terminar con una larga cadena de equívocos que ya formaban parte de la historia uruguaya como hechos verdaderos. Apolant dudó siempre de lo que se llama el "criterio de autoridad," que es en la mayoría de los casos culpable de que los errores se repitan de generación en generación. Un ejemplo claro sobre lo antedicho es el estudio que realizó de la partida bautismal de José Cervasio Artigas. A través del exhaustivo análisis del documento, auxiliándose inclusive con expertos en grafología, comparaciones de fechas y otros datos, Apolant logra probar sin lugar a dudas que el origen de dicha partida bautismal es auténtico, pero su transcripción al Libro de Bautismos de la Catedral de Montevideo es apócrifa. Este fue un hecho muy comentado, por su importancia, en el ámbito de los investigadores en historia uruguaya.

Aplicando su convencimiento en el método científico puesto al servicio de la historia, cuestionó y derribó varias afirmaciones realizadas en forma escasamente documentada. Pero este rigor en las críticas a la bibliografía histórica de otros autores la aplicó también en sus obras, rectificándose cuando un nuevo hallazgo documental así lo exigía.

Sin duda, este método científico, casi desconocido en el ámbito uruguayo al extremo que lo aplicó Apolant, sea su mayor aporte a la historiografía nacional.
En el curso de sus investigaciones, fue adentrándose cada vez más en los estudios genealógicos del siglo XVIII uruguayo, estudios que concibió como un aporte a la historia, ya que para Apolant lo principal era la historia y no la genealogía, y fue en función de aquélla que realizó sus estudios.

Aunque toda su obra la realizó solo, no se puede decir que viviera aislado de los otros investigadores de la época. Sus relaciones con éstos fueron muy fluidas, brindando él siempre toda información que le fuera solicitada, o que él sabía que alguien podría necesitar, en la forma más amplia, generosa y desinteresada--costumbre no muy extendida entre los investigadores del Río de la Plata, más inclinados a "ocultar" la información.

Formó parte de las más importantes instituciones en el área de la historia de América. Fue Miembro del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay, de todos los Institutos de Historia del continente americano, la Real Academia de la Historia de España, del Instituto Argentino de Estudios Genealógicos, la Academia de Genealogía y Heráldica de México, del Colegio Brasileiro de Genealogía, entre muchos otros. En 1964, junto a renombrados historadores uruguayos, entre ellos el Profesor Flavio A. García y el Licenciado Carlos Zubillaga, funda el Centro de Estudios del Pasado Uruguayo.

Tenía la capacidad de encauzar fácilmente los lineamientos que iba a darles a sus investigaciones, clasificando mental y rápidamente la información encontrada en los documentos, lo cual le significaba un gran ahorro de tiempo y esfuerzo, evitándole disgregaciones hacia otros temas. Sus técnicas para el registro y ordenación de la información recopilada eran casi perfectas. Su archivo personal, realizado en fichas, era extremadamente completo y la información allí registrada era corroborada en más de una fuente documental. Esa correcta clasificación de la información está claramente reflejada en sus obras, donde abundan las citas bibliográficas y cada dato está interrelacionado a través de referencias cruzadas, cuando así es útil y necesario para la mejor comprensión.

Producto de su rigor científico y de su método de trabajo son todas sus obras, pero donde esto llega a percibirse mejor es en Génesis de la familia uruguaya. Este trabajo genealógico es su legado más importante a la historiografía uruguaya del período colonial.

Apolant creía firmemente que la genealogía debía ser el estudio de todos y cada uno de los hombres y mujeres, sin distingos de razas, clases sociales, ni credos. No debía haber, según su opinión, una genealogía de grupos sociales, que era la práctica habitual en el medio uruguayo. Es esta creencia en la genealogía democrática lo que lo lleva a estudiar a todos y cada uno de los habitantes de la ciudad de Montevideo en los primeros
cuarenta años de vida de la misma. Incluyó a todos los hombres y mujeres que vivieron, nacieron, trabajaron y murieron en este período del siglo XVIII, registrando toda la información encontrada, sin realizar ningún tipo de selección del contenido de los documentos aplicando patrones morales, económicos o políticos.

Así como Apoland fue convirtiéndose en un especialista de consulta ineludible para los interesados en la historia rioplatense del siglo XVIII, Génesis de la familia uruguaya se convirtió en obra básica de referencia para el estudio de ese mismo período. Por la rica y variada información contenida en ella, no se la puede clasificar únicamente como una obra genealógica. Es de utilidad tanto al historiador como a los estudiosos de tan diversas ramas del conocimiento como sociología, economía, demografía, derecho, arquitectura, etc.

Para realizar esta obra, el autor recopiló información existente en numerosos archivos, entre ellos, y a modo de ejemplo: las iglesias y catedrales uruguayas y argentinas; Archivo General de la Nación, tanto el de Montevideo como el de Buenos Aires; los archivos administrativos y judiciales de Uruguay y el Archivo General de Indias, de Sevilla.

Tomó como base para el desarrollo de su investigación el Libro de Matrimonios de la Catedral de Montevideo y a partir de él, comenzó a formar un extenso y complejo estudio de los primeros cuarenta años de vida en el Uruguay. Como ejemplo, daremos sólo algunos de los numerosos datos que incluyó sobre cada una de las personas: fecha y lugar del matrimonio; nombre de los contrayentes y de los testigos; fechas extremas; nombres de los padres; en el caso de los extranjeros, incluyó la fecha de llegada a Uruguay y barco en el cual arribaron; nombres de los hijos y sus fechas de nacimiento; etc. Basándose en la documentación existente sobre los censos, hizo un estudio de la situación económica de cada núcleo familiar, las tierras que le fueron adjudicadas, las condiciones de sus viviendas, profesiones u oficios. Toda esta inmensa información fue cotejada, como era norma en Apoland, en más de una fuente documental, con aclaraciones precisas, cuando los datos registrados en las propias fuentes se contradecían o no coincidían totalmente. En la obra se incluyen también informes sobre tópicos tan diversos como: diferencias familiares, pedidos de divorcios, relaciones extra-matrimoniales, rompimientos de promesas de matrimonio, hijos bastardos, bigamia, destierro, robos, favoritismos judiciales o administrativos, bibliotecas. La obra está complementada con un índice, que nos remite a la obra; este índice es casi una obra en sí mismo. El sistema de referencia utilizado es inobjetable, permitiendo una rápida consulta de la obra principal. Es de destacar la inestimable colaboración prestada por su esposa, Ellen Segall, quien le ayudó durante todas sus investigaciones a través de los años, a recopilar y ordenar la información que formó
su archivo personal. Es ella, quien desde la muerte del Dr. Apolant, brinda información sobre el período colonial uruguayo a todo investigador que se lo solicite, con la misma celeridad, precisión y generosidad que caracterizó a su esposo, al lado de quien se formó en la historia uruguaya.

Sobre Génesis de la familia uruguaya dijo Carlos Real de Azúa: "... sólo la paciencia de un científico alemán, podía haber producido ese libro. . . ."

Aunque nos hemos referido extensamente a su obra Génesis, no se pueden dejar de lado sus otros trabajos, como Operativo Patagonia, que es un complemento indispensable de Génesis. En Operativo Patagonia se estudia, con la misma precisión que en la anteriormente citada, la inmigración española masiva realizada entre 1778 y 1784, con destino a las costas patagónicas argentinas, y que desembarcaron en Uruguay, donde se afincaron.

En Instantáneas de la época colonial Apolant exhumó documentos de los archivos, con los cuales nos brinda detalles ignorados de sucesos de la vida diaria y familiar de los pobladores coloniales, quienes también hicieron la historia de Uruguay. Ésta su única obra de lectura fácil; todas las demás son en realidad obras de referencia para los investigadores y no libros de difusión sobre el período.

Sus trabajos lo hicieron acreedor de varios premios. Ganó en dos ocasiones el Premio Pablo Blanco Acevedo, otorgado por la Universidad de la República de Montevideo, por sus obras Génesis de la familia uruguaya y por Operativo Patagonia. Recibió también en dos oportunidades el Premio Concurso Literario Municipal, otorgado por la Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo, en la categoría Biografía e Historia, por Crónica del naufragio del navío Nuestra Señora de la Luz y por Operativo Patagonia. En 1981 se le otorgó post-mortem el Premio Hermes, instituido por el semanario Correo de los Viernes, en la categoría historia.

El Dr. Juan Alejandro Apolant murió en la cuidad de Montevideo el 26 de diciembre de 1975. Había dedicado al estudio de la historia de Uruguay, su país adoptivo, los últimos quince años de su vida en forma completa y total.

Su obra, no suficientemente valorizada dada su envergadura, está siendo descubierta cada día por nuevas generaciones de investigadores en diversas áreas, quienes la utilizan como obra de referencia para sus estudios, la cual les aporta información básica para el conocimiento del período colonial uruguayo y un acercamiento fácil y rápido a los fondos documentales argentinos, españoles y uruguayos.

El Dr. Apolant, alemán de nacimiento y uruguayo por elección, hizo aportes invaluables a los estudios históricos de Uruguay, legando no sólo sus obras, sino también su metodología, generosidad, dedicación y seriedad en el trabajo de investigación.
NOTAS

1 Juan Alejandro Apolant, Génesis de la familia uruguaya (Montevideo: Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay, 1966).
2 Idem, 2a ed. ampl. (Montevideo, 1975), Prefacio.
3 Idem, Operativo Patagonia; historia de la mayor aportación demográfica masiva a la Banda Oriental; con la nómina completa, filiación y destino de las familias pobladoras (Montevideo, 1970).

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Obras de Juan Alejandro Apolant


19. A "COLEÇÃO SERGIO BUARQUE DE HOLANDA"

Sonia T. Dias Gonçalves da Silva

O homem

Sérgio Buarque de Holanda nasceu em São Paulo em 2 de julho de 1902. Fez seus estudos elementares e secundários em São Paulo, e os estudos superiores no Rio de Janeiro, devido à mudança de sua família para lá. Homem de muitos amigos, conviveu nessa época com grande parte da inteligêncis brasileira, tais como os poetas Manuel Bandeira e Cecília Meirelles, o historiador Octavio Tarquínio de Souza, o sociólogo Gilberto Freyre, os pintores Cícero Dias e Cândido Portinari, os literatos Graciliano Ramos, Raul de Leoni e Ribeiro Couto entre outros.

Casou-se em 1935 com Maria Amélia Alvim e teve sua casa sempre repleta de amigos, entre eles os escritores Mário de Andrade, Lígia Miguel-Pereira e Rubens Borba de Moraes.

Em 1945, durante o Congresso de Escritores, foi um dos signatários da célebre "Declaração de Princípios" contra a ditadura de Getúlio Vargas.

Voltou a residir em São Paulo em 1946 onde, ao lado de sua intensa vida intelectual e didática, aumentou seu círculo de amizades.

Pai de sete filhos, alguns deles hoje sobressaindo-se nas artes e na literatura, formou ao lado de sua esposa uma família unida e um lar fraterno, sendo sua casa um ponto de encontro de intelectuais e políticos, sempre aberta às conversas, aos debates e à música.

Brilhante figura humana, era sempre solidário com as vítimas da injustiça e da arbitrariedade, como pode demonstrar com sua atitude contra a prepotência, em 30 de abril de 1969, pedindo sua aposentadoria como professor da Universidade de São Paulo, em solidariedade aos seus colegas aposentados no dia anterior pela ditadura militar. Deixou lavrado seu protesto nos registros departamentais por não poder fazê-lo através da imprensa livre que estava censurada.

Em 1977, pouco antes do movimento de anistia aos condenados pelo regime militar, manifestou seu pesar com a situação política vigente, dizendo: "Eu quero morrer antes que o Brasil acabe."

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Editor's Note. Although the subject of this paper does not quite adhere to the theme of the Seminar, it is included here as a valuable contribution to the dissemination of Brazilian cultural heritage. Buarque de Holanda was neither an immigrant nor was ever in exile, yet his work shows a marked European influence.
Pessoa simples, nunca foi apreciador de elogios. Irônico e bem humorado, ao receber o "Troféu Juca Pato" em 1980 disse: "Por algum tempo, o Chico* era quem aparecia como o filho do Sérgio. Agora não tenho a menor importância, sou apenas o pai do Chico."

Tendo sido um dos fundadores do Partido Socialista em 1947, foi no final da década de 70 um dos membros fundadores do Partido dos Trabalhadores, que representa uma novidade no quadro partidário brasileiro.

Suas qualidades humanas, ao lado de suas inigualáveis qualidades intelectuais, fizeram de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda um verdadeiro exemplo para as novas gerações. Uma personalidade famosa, que nunca se preocupou em ganhar dinheiro ou acumular riquezas materiais, foi um verdadeiro "mestre" na verdadeira acepção da palavra.

Faleceu em 24 de abril de 1982, tendo sido seu corpo cremado. Em seu necrológio falou o dominicano Frei Betto, seu particular amigo: "Mais do que ninguém ele nos ensinou a ler a história do Brasil com uma leitura pela ótica dos pequenos, dos humilhados... Tenho certeza de que aqui se celebra sua ressurreição. Agora ele será cremado para que suas cinzas se tornem também semente de vida nova. Estarão na brisa, nas flores, no sol que brilha nas manhãs..."

O intelectual

Vida

Sérgio Buarque de Holanda começou a escrever aos 18 anos, com o artigo "Originalidade literária," publicado no jornal "Correio Paulistano." Mas sua primeira produção foi musical, a valsa "Vitória Régia" aos 9 anos de idade, publicada no "O Tico-Tico," revista infantil muito conhecida na época. Na década de 20 exerceu o jornalismo em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro, tendo colaborado em mais de uma dezena de jornais e revistas.

Como colaborador do Movimento Modernista de 1922 foi representante de seu primeiro periódico "Klaxon." Em 1924 fundou, juntamente com outros intelectuais, a revista "Estética," segundo periódico do modernismo.

Foi também correspondente das agências de notícias Havas, United Press e anos mais tarde da Associated Press.


*Mencão a seu filho Chico Buarque de Holanda, um dos mais famosos compositores da música popular brasileira.
Nas entrevistas para "O Jornal" pode conhecer várias personalidades fomas como Thomas Mann, Henri Guillebaux (fundador da revista "Demain") e pode também assistir a aulas de História com o professor Friedrich Meinecke, na Universidade de Berlim. Lá também pode ler Kantorowicz, Weber, Sombart, Rilke e Kafka entre outros, que vão incutir no jovem modernista brasileiro ideias diversas das adquiridas através dos estudos franceses tão em voga no Brasil naquela época. Pode também presenciar os primórdios da eclosão do nazismo, com o partido alcançando os primeiros lugares nas votações.

Essa sua profícua permanência na Europa provocou profunda modificação em seus conceitos. A partir dos estudos sobre o historicismo alemão, iniciou uma revisão interpretativa que foi marcante em nossa historiografia, pois aliava à narrativa histórica os fatos sociológicos, antropológicos, econômicos e filosóficos que aconteciam naquele momento.

De volta ao Brasil, continuou no início dos anos 30 a colaborar com jornais e revistas cariocas e paulistas.

Em 1936 foi nomeado Professor-Assistente de História Moderna e Econômica e também de Literatura Comparada na Universidade do Distrito Federal e mais tarde esteve como professor Titular de História da América e de Cultura Luso-Brasileira, dando início a sua carreira docente.

Colaborou no final da década de 30 com o Instituto Nacional do Livro, do Ministério da Educação e Cultura.

Ao lado de traduções e publicações de obras, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda dirigiu a Divisão de Consultas da Biblioteca Nacional, participando também da Diretoria da Associação Brasileira de Escritores, no decêncio de 40.


Nos anos 50 fez também crítica literária em jornais de São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro e participou de congressos nos Estados Unidos.


Em 1957 assumiu a cátedra de História da Civilização Brasileira na Universidade de São Paulo, efetivando-se nela no ano seguinte, cargo que só deixou em 1969.

Um dos seus maiores feitos foi no início dos anos 60, quando fundou o Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, na Universidade de
São Paulo, considerado por ele próprio sua maior contribuição para a Universidade. Sua preocupação maior nesse Instituto foi que tivesse como centro uma biblioteca de grande importância e para tal adquiriu o acervo de J. F. de Almeida Prado, que possuía a melhor coleção particular sobre o Brasil, para iniciá-la. Hoje esse Instituto possui um dos melhores acervos para pesquisa em História do Brasil.

Durante toda década de 60 planejou e dirigiu a publicação da coleção "História Geral da Civilização Brasileira," para a Editora Difusão Européia do Livro, sendo co-autor do conteúdo de seus 6 volumes iniciais dedicados ao Brasil-colônia e monárquico e autor do sétimo volume todo, encerrando sua contribuição a essa obra que inovou os estudos históricos no Brasil. Para dirigir o período republicano foi designado seu ex-aluno, professor Bóris Fausto.

Nessa mesma década de 60 ministraram aulas e realizaram seminários na Universidade do Chile, em Santiago e nos Estados Unidos nas Universidades de Harvard, Columbia, California (Los Angeles), Indiana (Bloomington), New York State, Yale e Princeton e no Queens College. Também pesquisou em arquivos da França, Espanha, Portugal e no Vaticano.

Mesmo após sua aposentadoria em 1969, fez viagens pelo Brasil, América do Sul e Europa como professor-conferencista, divulgando nossa história e nossa gente.

É incontável o número de conferências e aulas magnas que proferiu, teses de mestrado e doutorado que orientou, bancas examinadoras de que participou, seminários que dirigiu, livros que prefaciou e em que colaborou.

Durante toda sua vida intelectual praticou a crítica inteligente, amparada numa sólida formação histórica e estética. Analisou o passado de seu país numa visão histórica, econômica, social e etnológica renovadoras, trazendo novos rumos aos trabalhos de reconstituição do passado. Segundo suas próprias palavras, "procurou sempre a palavra correta--não a floreada, mas a palavra exata."

Fazem em "A República das letras" uma profissão de fé antitradicionalista: "O passado, como simples espetáculo, não me interessa." Para ele a função da história era exatamente a liberação do passado. Em sua obra histórica partiu da análise das particularidades para o entendimento global, recompondo assim o passado e fazendo com que se entendesse o presente como um todo.

Nas suas atividades de crítico, pensador e erudito, compôs a mais completa imagem de historiador que o país conhece.

Considerou sua maior satisfação como mestre e historiador ter conseguido sucesso ao formar um grande número de verdadeiros historiadores especializados em Brasil.

Na homilia de sua missa de 7° dia, Frei Betto identificou-o como "um trabalhador da cultura, alguém que foi a fundo no
passado, no estudo dos verdadeiros objetivos dos nossos coloniza- dores que trouxeram a morte dos índios, a escravidão, o saque de nossas riquezas naturais e o autoritarismo que ainda persiste."

**Obras**

A seguir, vai exposto um breve comentário de suas obras mais famosas.


**Cobra de vidro.** Publicada em 1944, foi a reunião de seus ensaios publicados em jornais cariocas, quando o autor era crítico literário.

**Monções.** Publicada em 1945, trata do estudo da origem, desenvolvimento e expansão da América portuguesa e do povo brasileiro. Analisa, através da histórica social e econômica, um dos aspectos mais importantes da expansão geográfica do Brasil.

**Antologia de poetas brasileiros na fase colonial.** Publicada em 1952 pelo então Ministerio da Educação e Cultura, foi objeto de demoradas pesquisas até em códices manuscritos. Reúne autores desde o Padre José Anchieta até os poetas da Escola Mineira, num registro expressivo e fiel do quadro poético na fase colonial.

**Caminhos e fronteiras.** Publicada em 1957, também integrou a série "Documentos Brasileiros" da editora José Olympio. Como o próprio autor afirmou, "são ampliações e desdobramentos de trabalhos anteriormente divulgados em diversas épocas, porém entrosados em perfeita unidade." Aborda o contato entre a população adventícia e os naturais da terra, as técnicas rurais (herança indígena) e as atividades acomodadas aos meios urbanos. Obra admirável de pesquisa e análise, escrita com segurança e estilo.

**Visão do paraíso.** Publicada em 1958, trata da ideologia e mentalidade dos navegadores e descobridores do século XVI, que procuravam um paraíso, o Eldorad. Analisa os traços diferencia- dores entre a América hispânica e a América lusa e contrasta-os com os americanos do Norte.
História geral da civilização brasileira. Publicada de 1960 a 1972 (períodos colonial e monárquico) é um marco na historiografia brasileira dos últimos 20 anos. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda assumiu a coordenadoria do projeto, pois quase não havia no Brasil historiadores especializados nas diversas áreas que a coleção devia cobrir e foi seu pioneiro até o 7º volume. Ele próprio escreveu muitos capítulos sobre diferentes assuntos, nos quais teve êxito graças a sua cultura humanística. Escreveu todo 7º volume—"Do Império à República."


A coleção

História e constituição

Desde sua juventude, Sérgio Buarque de Holanda dedicou-se à leitura e se dipôs a comprar livros. Como frequentador assíduo de livrarias, que naquela época eram locais de encontro de intelectuais, adquiria constantemente obras que serviam também para crítica em jornais e revistas.

Porém em 1927 aceitou um convite para dirigir um jornal no interior do Estado do Espírito Santo (Brasil) e então distribuiu grande parte de sua biblioteca entre os amigos, principalmente as obras de literatura.

Em 1928, de volta ao Rio de Janeiro, recomeça a comprar livros, sendo esse o princípio de sua coleção.

Em 1929, sentindo a necessidade de uma ruptura em sua vida, decide cruzar o Oceano Atlântico, e na Alemanha, dominando o idioma alemão, pôs-se a adquirir livros de filósofos e literatos alemães e, aproveitando a facilidade de se comprar livros franceses e ingleses, voltou a formar nova biblioteca. Essas obras fazem parte até hoje de sua coleção e se encontram em bom estado de conservação.

E assim prossegue por toda vida comprando livros e também recebendo-os como doação de inúmeros intelectuais brasileiros e estrangeiros e de livreiros.

O fundo bibliográfico de sua coleção é rico de livros e periódicos especializados em História, Literatura, Sociologia, Economia, Antropologia e Filosofia, além de inúmeros documentos. Inclui também uma parte de obras raras e salienta-se na coleção a extraordinária brasileira, num total de aproximadamente 8.000 obras. Publicações alemãs, inglesas, francesas, italianas, norte-americanas, espanholas, portuguesas e de toda América Latina, de melhor nível editorial lançadas nas seis últimas décadas e não encontráveis facilmente hoje, mesmo no mercado internacional, fazem parte desse memorável acervo.

A brasileira cobre as áreas de História, Sociologia, Política, Economia, Antropologia, Literatura, Filosofia e Artes Plásticas e
um grande número de separatas. Muitos desses volumes são valorizados pelos autógrafos de seus autores, que compõem toda uma geração de intelectuais brasileiros que tiveram em Sérgio Buarque de Holanda um referencial obrigatório. Algumas dessas assinaturas são extremamente significativas para a vida literária do país, tais como a de "A trilogia do exílio--Os condenados," de Oswaldo de Andrade, 1922 e a de "Os parceiros do rio Bonito," de Antonio Candido, 1971. Salienta-se entre as dedicatórias a da obra "Há uma gota de sangue em cada poema," livro de poesias onde Mário de Andrade fez sua estréia na literatura, em 1917, sob o pseudônimo de Mário Sobral. Nela o autor se autodenominou "uma bêsta." Inúmeros exemplares de teses, algumas das quais tiveram em Sérgio Buarque de Holanda o orientador ou partici- pante da banca examinadora, foram doadas ao mestre com dedica- tória. Várias das obras contêm anotações do historiador nas margens ou nas páginas finais da obra, bem como comentários e correções. Além desse material há cerca de 200 livros esgotados há anos. Inúmeros documentos que foram por ele pesquisados no Brasil ou no exterior foram copiados manualmente, datilografados ou fotocopiados. Conta também a coleção com microfilmes de correspondência diplomática entre Brasil e Estados Unidos.

A coleção de obras raras contém cerca de 100 volumes, sendo que 20 deles foram publicados nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII, e consideradas de muita raridade, altamente cotadas no mercado internacional. Destacamos aqui "Navigationi et viaggi nel quale si contengono la navigationi al Mundo Nuovo," de Giovanni Battista Ramusio, publicada em Veneza em 1554-1559, 3 volumes, obra que coletou as narrativas de viagem dos descobridores do Novo Mundo. Segundo Rubens Borba de Moraes, em sua "Bibliographia Brasiliana," trata-se da mais valiosa coleção de viagens do século XVI. Desse livro conhece-se atualmente somente 6 exemplares, sendo que o que pertence a essa coleção está muitíssimo bem conservado. Outras raridades a serem destacadas são: "Cálculo da população do Brazil em 1820" e "Conta de custos de uma canoa, 1775," ambos documentos manuscritos originais, em bom estado de conservação.

Nota-se considerável número de obras da América Latina, principalmente as referentes ao período colonial. Sendo Sérgio Buarque de Holanda amigo de muitos latino-americanistas, vários exemplares foram doados com dedicatória de seus autores. Interessante foi como o brazilianista Thomas Skidmore ofereceu uma de suas obras a Sérgio, em 1967: "Para o pai de Chico, que eu conheço como Sérgio, ofereço . . ."

Quase todos os volumes, quer de livros ou de revistas, estão encadernados em couro e em bom estado de conservação.

A "Coleção Sérgio Buarque de Holanda" na UNICAMP

Desde a década de 70 diversas bibliotecas pertencentes a personalidades da inteligenstia brasileira tem sido adquiridas pela
UNICAMP, política essa que visa impedir que se dispersem preciosos acervos reunidos ao longo de toda uma vida científica. Num país ainda pobre de bibliotecas, essa prática assume a mais alta relevância, pois como se sabe, com frequência, as famílias de pessoas ilustres quando mortas, se desfazem de bibliotecas inteiras vendendo-as a livreiros antiquários ou a instituições estrangeiras. Lembrem-se a esse respeito, as preciosíssimas coleções de "Oliveira Lima," atualmente na Catholic University of Washington e que representa uma das brasilianas mais completas de que se tem notícia e também o "Arquivo Astorjildo Pereira," famoso militante comunista dos anos 20 e 30, hoje depositado no Istituto Feltrinelli, em Milão, Itália.


Ressalte-se que o grande interesse que a UNICAMP tem pela aquisição, preparação, utilização e divulgação de documentos e bibliotecas particulares tem alcançada a melhor repercussão, pois muitas famílias de personalidades importantes nos meios acadêmicos brasileiros se sentem interessadas em confiar, a título de doação, materiais dessa ordem que receberam por herança. Assim foi com as coleções "Müller Carioba," família de origem germânica que doou uma coleção de livros raras do século XVIII, escritos em alemão gótico; "Cornélio Penna," sobre literatura dos costumes e peças de teatro e, recentemente, o célebre "Arquivo Oswald de Andrade," doado pela família do famoso literato modernista. Num país aparentemente sem memória, essa mudança de atitude é bastante significativa e comprova o alcance educativo de uma instituição de vanguarda nas pesquisas sociais e científicas como é a UNICAMP, que vem demonstrando que suas coleções são ativos centros de pesquisas e de respostas para as indagações de brasileiros para as coisas do Brasil.

Dentro desse pensamento se abriu a oportunidade de adquirir a coleção do professor Sérgio Buarque do Holanda, personalidade que desempenhou um papel sem igual na história do Brasil. Iniciadas as conversações após 2 meses de sua morte, a compra veio a se efetivar um ano após, ao preço de 100 milhões de cruzeiros, com pagamento de forma parcelar, sendo 40% inicialmente e 60% depois, valor esse corrigido a partir da data da avaliação, mediante a aplicação dos índices de correção monetária vigentes na época no país.

A família do historiador estipulou no contrato de venda que não se dispersasse a coleção e que mantivesse o nome de seu
ex-proprietary, o que foi respeitado pela UNICAMP. Também incorporou à venda o mobiliário que constituía o seu escritório de trabalho, tal como foi deixado pelo famoso historiador. Para isso foi necessário que a UNICAMP alugasse um imóvel residencial na Cidade Universitária para abrigar esse importante conjunto, que se constituía na memória de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda e que serviria pra reconstituir o ambiente de trabalho que havia em sua casa em São Paulo. Esse local de estudo e pesquisa servirá de exemplo para as novas gerações e também para acolher pesquisadores de todo mundo que a ela acorrerem, atraídos por seu importante acervo.

A UNICAMP providenciou pessoal especializado para cuidar da administração e organização técnica das obras, subordinando o acervo à recém-criada Diretoria de Coleções Especiais da Biblioteca Central. Foi bastante precioso o auxílio da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP) na fese inicial da preparação técnica dessas obras, pois destinou recursos financeiros para a contratação de um bibliotecário-catalogador que colabora em seu corpo técnico.

Todo acervo passou por um processo de higienização e 2/3 dos livros da coleção já se encontra technicamente preparado, bem como todos os periódicos e separatas. Mesmo antes de totalmente preparada, a coleção já acolhe pesquisadores provindos dos cursos de pós-graduação e docentes da UNICAMP e até mesmo bolsistas do exterior e inúmeros visitantes, desejosos de conhecer esse retrato do ambiente de estudos de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.

Planeja-se, tão logo esteja preparado todo o acervo, a publicação de um catálogo da coleção com os respectivos índices e a elaboração de boletins periódicos para divulgação da coleção.

Em seu conjunto, essa preciosa coleção representa uma destacad contribuição aos estudos brasileiros que se desenvolvem na UNICAMP e seu natural encaminhamento na direção dos estudos latino-americanos, que poderão ensejar um novo espaço criativo de pesquisas e produção de conhecimentos, sob a motivação de um nome, cuja vida e obra constituem um dos grandes momentos do pensamento brasileiro—Sérgio Buarque de Holanda.

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Obras de autoria de Sérgio Buarque de Holanda


Molding International Opinion:
European Reaction to Key Latin American Events
A wheelchair. An empty wheelchair on a runway. That was the picture that El País carried on the front page of its October 22, 1982, edition. The wheelchair had been brought to the airport--Orly Airport in Paris--by an admirer of a disabled poet who was on his way to France from a prison in Cuba, a poet who had been unable to walk for nearly a decade. His paralysis was the result of maltreatment in the Cuban prisons. His paralysis and the wheelchair were the themes of the poems he had written behind bars, the poems that had brought him world attention, that were now bringing him into exile in Europe. But when the jet landed and its door was pushed open and those waiting for the prisoner--representatives from President Mitterand's government, friends, members of the international press--rushed forward to welcome the poet, the poet-prisoner walked out of the plane . . . without crutches, without a cane, on his own two feet. Without a wheelchair and with no need for one.

This wheelchair is the symbol, the essence of the Valladares affair. Two groups surround this wheelchair. Those who support Valladares and carried out the campaign to get him out of Cuba, and those who support Fidel Castro and are against Valladares and have carried out a campaign to discredit the former inmate. The first group, through its campaign, painted the picture of a fragile, talented poet, wasting away in a cell, wheelchair-bound, sentenced to thirty years of imprisonment for the simple act of criticizing the Revolution. The second group paints a different picture: The poet is not a poet, not even a writer; he is not disabled, he is not sickly, and he is not so innocent: He was a Batista henchman, a terrorist, and was sent to prison for conspiring against the Revolution. The hero is no hero.

The Valladares affair is well documented in the popular press in the United States and in Europe. Since 1979, there has been a war of words. In the Western press, the wheelchair is synonymous with violations of human rights in Cuba. In the liberal press, the wheelchair is evidence used to support the claim that the Valladares affair was a CIA fabrication designed to discredit the Cuban Revolution,¹ a fabrication that duped President Mitterand, the French government, and European intellectuals.
The controversy dates back to the 60s. From his memoirs, interviews, and magazine articles, we can develop a chronology that is acceptable to all parties:

1960. Valladares is arrested and sentenced to 31 years of imprisonment.


1974. Valladares begins to use a wheelchair.

1977. Desde mi silla de ruedas, his first book, is published.


The disagreement comes about when interpreting Valladares, his motives, and the events that reflect a particular reality of the Cuban Revolution.

For the Cuban government, Valladares is something corrupt. One official position is to dismiss him. A diplomat at the Cuban Mission in New York states, "Why bother with Valladares? He's an insignificant event in the revolutionary process and growth of the Cuban people." The tendency, though, is to discredit him. East German writers follow this line. The monograph Cuba, by Willie Huisman and Hans J. Krögen, claims that Valladares was an invention of the Cubans in Miami, a CIA misinformation plot, one more example of anti-Castro propaganda. Armando Hart Davalos, a Castro associate, says in a Cuban publication, "The case is pure fabrication from head to foot since he was neither paralyzed nor an intellectual." In an interview with a Spanish reporter Castro says that the affair makes him laugh, that "the wheelchair was a big lie . . . everything Valladares has said is a lie, he does not say one single truth."

Castro adds that Valladares does not tell the truth about his arrest, that he was detained for "terrorist acts against the revolution." This view is maintained by the Center of Cuban Studies in New York. Armando Hart says, "[Valladares] was imprisoned for participating and organizing sabotage acts and terrorist attacks, as the newspapers of the time show."

There are no indexes to the newspapers of the time. One must examine them individually. Two newspapers that covered the case were Noticias de Hoy, edited by the Communist party, and Revolución, edited by Carlos Franqui, now in exile in Italy. Both papers covered the event in a similar style and printed the same news. The headline read: "Terrorists arrested! Let them pay for their crime. In the hands of the G-2, a bomb factory and terrorist gangs."

The article reported: "The counterrevolutionary terrorist groups . . . financed by the American Embassy have been given a blow . . . they have been disbanded and detained, their arms
taken. . . . Among those arrested are some who participated in recent terrorist acts. . . . Those arrested are: . . . Armando Valladares. . . . "

The article went on to describe how the G-2 found the home where the weapons were hidden. The piece ended with, "the arrestees await the decision of the Revolutionary tribunals. In the meantime, the people cry, 'Execute them! Execute them!'"

This article is in direct contradiction to numerous American and European reports covering the same event two decades later. Cambio 16, L'Europeo, and Time carried interviews given by Valladares and an article written by him where he says that he was taken from his home at dawn, that nothing was found to compromise him, that there was no evidence against him, and that nevertheless he was sentenced to thirty-one years of imprisonment. In his memoirs, Contra toda esperanza, he repeats the same story. Here is part of the dialogue:

"There's no proof against me." [Valladares speaking.]

"It's true that there is no concrete proof against you" [the interrogator says], "but we are convinced that you are a potential enemy of the Revolution." Amnest International reports similar cases where suspects were sent to prison without proof against them. The International American Commission on Human Rights supports Valladares' version, explaining that when the Fundamental Law was enacted in Cuba in the early days of the Revolution, constitutional rights were not acknowledged and that the law was loosely worded and could be interpreted by officials serving the regime to apply to any Cuban who did not agree with the policies of the government.

Amnesty International chose Valladares' account over the Cuban government's and adopted him as prisoner of the month. "Prisoner of the Month," as explained by Amnesty International in all its reports, "is a prisoner of conscience, someone arrested because of his or her religious or political belief . . . [and who has not] used or advocated violence." Valladares was sent to prison. There, he met Martha—she was visiting her father, a prisoner—and later on married her. In prison, he began to write poetry. He did so during the time when he started to use the wheelchair. He explains in his memoirs that being unable to move he sought movement through poetry.

A source at the Cuban Mission belittled this and wondered why Valladares had to write poetry, "I don't know why he got into poetry. He didn't write before prison so I wonder what it is about prison that makes him write poetry."

John Neuhaus, in a National Review article, writes, "The act of writing when conducted in circumstances like those in a prison
... is reduced to something elemental. ... It is an act by which an author affirms his or her essential worth and thereby that of all human beings.\textsuperscript{18}

The Cuban official questioning Valladares' desire to write is not as naive and uninformed as he seems. The statement reflects a viewpoint, it questions his talents as a writer, it questions whether or not Valladares is an author. This echoes Castro's position. Castro says, "I don't know if he wrote all these verses or if some were written for him by an outside person."\textsuperscript{19} The Center for Cuban Studies maintains a similar view.\textsuperscript{20} There are some who are suspect of those prisoners who come out of jail and immediately publish collections of poetry, prisoners who were not known to have literary ambitions and once out of Cuba become poets and writers. An article in The Guardian states:

Cuban authorities ... believe the metamorphosis of political figures into literary rebels is a conspiracy designed to discredit Cuba in the eyes of left-wing intellectuals. Without the confession of the actual ghost-writer, it is virtually impossible to prove that literary work attributed to Prisoner X was actually written by Exile Y. But the Cubans think it odd that a number of persons who had never published any literary work or even expressed any interest in literature had entire books appear over their name while they were in Cuban prisons.\textsuperscript{21}

The Cuban government might be suspect of Valladares' literary talents and one can question whether or not he is a great poet, but since his release Valladares has written articles for weeklies, dailies, and the memoirs already cited. The man can put words to paper and no one can seriously question that he wrote poetry while in prison.

There was, however, a campaign to present him as a poet, maybe even a great poet. The cover of Prisionero de Castro has a subtitle, "the sorrowful voice of a great poet incarcerated."\textsuperscript{22} The introduction to \textit{El corazón con que vivo} describes him as a great poet.\textsuperscript{23} Fernando Arrabal has called Valladares the "best Catholic poet in the Spanish language."\textsuperscript{24} Pierre Golendorf, responsible for the publication in French of the poems, always referred to Valladares as a poet. A Newsweek article about Valladares said, "a haggard poet scales the rainbow."\textsuperscript{25} Le Monde, in a piece about the maltreatment Valladares was receiving in prison, described him as a poet.\textsuperscript{26} So did the \textit{New York Times} in a December, 1977, article.\textsuperscript{27}

Valladares, the poet, the great poet, the not-so-great poet: whatever he was and is as a poet, he used poetry to call attention to himself, to protest his condition, to seek help outside Cuba.
His paralysis was the major theme of his poetry--his love for his wife was the second theme. His first book consisted of twenty-four poems, out of which fourteen dealt with his paralysis:

One day wings will grow
from my wheelchair
I will fly over the parks
carpeted by children and violets

My wheelchair will be an angel dream
without the obsession of the bars
and I will scale a rainbow
and descend the quiet mountains

My chair will be a dream without eyes
a metallic sparrow without ground.\(^{28}\)

The voice in this poem is that of someone desperate, of a man unable to walk, of someone crying for immediate help. This desperation appeared also in his letters.

Valladares became disabled in August 1974 when he and other prisoners were denied food for forty-six days. He wrote to his wife, "Seven of us are unable to use our legs for walking. I am one of them ... I am suffering from Polyneuritis."\(^{29}\)

He wrote to friends and international organizations. To Miguel Sales: "The government is not treating my paralysis."\(^{30}\)

To Carlos Alberto Montaner: "Tell the Red Cross in Holland that the government does not want to give me the wheelchair they sent. . . . I need the chair."\(^{31}\)

To the International Red Cross: "I'm disabled. . . ."\(^{32}\)

To Pierre Golendorf: "I'm disabled."\(^{33}\)

To Amnesty International: "I'm locked up in a cell . . . can't move my wheelchair in this cell."\(^{34}\)

The friends who received these letters were touched and came to his help, using their pens and words. Carlos Alberto Montaner wrote in Spain, "Valladares is about 40 years old. His enemies have taken away his life and half of his body. . . . He has been beaten, tortured . . . poorly fed . . . he has a polynieuritis that has destroyed his legs and has left him disabled."\(^{35}\)

Golendorf and Fernando Arrabal, both in France, expressed the same concern. Cuban author Hilda Perera presented Valladares in her novel Plantado, published in Spain, as someone permanently paralyzed, using the expression "ya inválido"\(^{36}\) to describe him.

Of this "inválido," stated the president of Cuba's Supreme Court: "His claims of mistreatment and becoming paralyzed are . . . fiction. You will see for yourself now that he is out of Cuba."\(^{37}\)

Armando Hart expressed the same sentiment: "They said he was paralyzed but I can assure you that's a lie. He wasn't paralyzed and the proof is that he walked onto the plane as he was leaving Cuba."\(^{38}\) The same thought was expressed by
Castro: "Valladares had deceived the prison doctor and we asked the specialists: Look, study him well, see if there is an organic problem. . . . The doctors checked him, they treated him, and then told me, 'There's nothing wrong.'"39

Covert Action reported that there was nothing wrong with Valladares:

On his release from a Cuban prison in October 1982, Armando Valladares was hailed as a hero by the western media and the Right. During his internment, Valladares complained of being tortured and mistreated by his Cuban jailers. His punishment was so severe, he claimed, that he had lost use of his legs and was unable to walk. His supporters were therefore quite embarrassed when they met him with a wheelchair at the Madrid airport and he walked off the plane looking healthy.40

The man in the wheelchair did not need one after all. The Canadian magazine Macleans touched on this point in an interview with Valladares: "In 1974, your legs were left paralyzed after authorities denied you food for 46 days. Still, when you were released last October, you walked off the plane in Paris. How do you explain that?"41 Valladares responded: "In 1981, I was placed in a two room, windowless complex. I had orthopedic therapy that was very intensive. . . . Eventually, I regained use of my legs. I was also given proper meals . . . there was a total news blackout. As a result, the Castro government made effective use of the element of surprise."42

Valladares has repeated this account in several interviews, and in his memoirs he devoted a whole chapter to the subject. His explanation is constant and even the extra details that he provided in his memoirs do not add more information to the basic outline presented above. The fundamental question is: Was he wasting away as Carlos Alberto Montaner wrote and said several times? Was he permanently disabled?

Events, of course, show that this was not the case. Castro supporters use this fact, this empty chair, as evidence to back the claim that Valladares is a liar. However, Valladares' early letters state that given the proper treatment his condition would improve: "If I receive medical assistance, intensive, and at a rehabilitation center, I will walk again."43

In his memoirs, he said: "It was always stated that my condition was curable and that is what happened. Behind my renewed ability to walk, there was no surprise, no mystery, only manipulation. The same people who made me sick cured me."44

At the time of his release, information portraying him not as a hero appeared in the press. The Instituto Cubano de Amistad con los Pueblos issued a statement describing him as a henchman, a terrorist, and a liar. To prove this, his police ID, identifying
him as an officer working for Batista's police force, was published. Le Monde dismissed this information and wrote that Valladares had worked for the police as a civil servant. The former prisoner commented that had he been a henchman, the early revolutionary tribunals would have sentenced him to death and the revolutionary government would not have given him an administrative position in the Ministry of Communications. Luis Israel Abreu of the World Federation of Cuban Prisoners explained that if Valladares had been a Batista henchman, the political prisoners would have known and would not have associated themselves with him. These political prisoners had fought against Batista and wanted nothing to do with henchmen from the previous regime.

Why should the Cuban authorities want to discredit Valladares? Because Valladares contradicts Castro and questions the achievements of the Revolution. In the past, El País, L'Humanité, Le Monde, Oggi, have all praised the Revolution. Based on interviews with Castro and other Cuban dignitaries, the sympathetic press reported the achievements in education, housing, and medicine. They reported that there were very few political prisoners and the prison system, though not perfect, attempted to be fair and humane and emphasized rehabilitation.

Valladares has stated the opposite. Popular journals and newspapers have printed the atrocities reported by the poet-prisoner. In an article, Valladares summarized the situation in Cuban prisons: "Violence . . . solitary confinement and isolation, denial of correspondence and visits with family members, lack of medical attention, denial of food for extended periods, and beatings . . . ." In his letters to his wife he described the same conditions, and there is even a poem, "Cárcel de Boniato: relato de una masacre" where he tells of a massacre that occurred in the prisons.

It was the telling of such atrocities and of the poet's suffering that moved those who wanted to help Valladares. The list is a who's who of world personalities: Liv Ullman, Yves Montand, Eugene Ionesco, Fernando Arrabal, José Camilo Cela, Mario Vargas Llosa, Octavio Paz, among others.

Valladares' letters reveal how these world figures came to his help. Tossing aside the United States, though he did write Senators Henry Jackson, Clifford Case, Hubert Humphrey, Robert Dole, Sam Nunn, and Edward Cooke, all addressed in one letter, the poet-prisoner decided to contact European and Latin American personalities. In a letter to Pierre Golendorf, he asked the French writer to help him get his book published in France. He wrote to Carlos Alberto Montaner in Spain, Amnesty International in London, and others. But it was his wife who led the campaign
to get him out of Cuba. An outline of the campaign, gathered from different sources, follows:

1. Desde mi silla de ruedas, funded by his wife and friends, is published in the United States.
4. Eduardo Manet promotes the book in Europe.
5. Different P.E.N. clubs become interested in the case.
7. Arrabal writes to President Mitterand.
8. Regis Debray becomes interested in the case.
9. Le Monde prints several articles about the poet.
11. Cambio 16 actively advocates Valladares' case.
12. French minister Jacques Lang and Castro's associate Carlos Rafael Rodríguez meet to discuss the case.
13. Several writers, including Gabriel García Márquez, bring up the case to President Mitterand.
14. Regis Debray asks Mitterand to contact Castro.

After Castro was approached by the French president, the Cuban leader decided to release Valladares. However, Castro made it clear to the press that he was releasing the prisoner not because of world pressure but as a favor to President Mitterand.

The question is: Why did Mitterand become interested in Valladares? Why should France care about political prisoners in another country? Why should Valladares, a hero who might be a villain, become the concern of Mitterand and his cabinet?

Newsweek suggested that it was a political act. Mitterand, a Jimmy Carter of the left, made it clear that though he was a socialist he was critical of kindred spirits who violated human rights. Other sources believed that the release of Valladares would show the world that the French president had influence in international matters. One could also suggest that Mitterand was just pleasing friends like Debray and Golendorf.

But there might be underlying reasons not so easily defined. We could look at a parallel. One could take a risk and examine the Dreyfus affair.

The Dreyfus affair divided the French nation: Those with power—the established press, the Royal Academy, the government—were against Dreyfus. Those who did not have power—the people, the popular press, popular writers—were in favor of Dreyfus. We know Zola sided with Dreyfus and Zola was a popular writer, one whom the Royal Academy would not let through its doors, according to Regis Debray. Zola and the popular press won and, as we know, the case was re-examined and Dreyfus was released. This victory, says Regis Debray,
signified the victory of the low intellectuals over the high intellectuals, the popular against the select.\footnote{53} This also indicated a posture: The state could not silence the voice of the individual; the rights of the state were secondary to the rights of the individual.

The Dreyfus affair occurred at a time when, according to Debray,\footnote{54} French society turned away from teachers and looked to the author for guidance. The author was the teacher, the author--the poet--was that gifted individual who stood apart from the crowd, a voice to be heard, not to be silenced. It was an author, Emile Zola, who rallied the people around Dreyfus. The author must be heard. The poet must be allowed to speak.

Debray is expressing his ideas in Teachers, Writers, Celebrities, his X ray of French society and culture. It was Debray who asked Mitterand to talk to Castro about this poet in Cuba.

Dreyfus, too, was imprisoned on an island where penal conditions were not the best. The same could be said of Valladares--if French intellectuals and the public believed Valladares and his friends.

This meant that the French had to agree with what Valladares was saying about Cuba and Castro and the prison system on the island. Not an easy thing to do since the French--as a review of the literature shows--tended to view the Cuban Revolution as a success story, "Socialism with a face," an island working its way toward perfection, toward paradise. However, the popular French press began to change its view of Cuba. Before 1980, the articles indexed in Periodix were favorable to Castro. But, in 1980, more than 80 percent of the articles indexed were critical of the Cuban government. In 1981, 30 percent were critical. In 1982, the figure was the same. In 1983, approximately 90 percent were critical of the Revolution. Le Monde, the popular, the powerful, was also printing articles criticizing current conditions on the island. So the scenario was set: The French asked for the release of Dreyfus from Devil's Island. The French asked for the release of Valladares from Castro's island.

Valladares is now in Europe and Castro is in Cuba and the war of words still rages on. On one side Castro and his supporters and the Cuban government. On the other, Valladares and his poetry and his supporters. Between them, the wheelchair. Both men are using the wheelchair and the media to discredit each other. And we collect their words.

Says Armando Hart: "There's a very powerful consortium that controls information in Western Europe . . . this apparatus fabricated the Valladares case. . . . There's an incredible manipulation of the news and we know whom it serves."\footnote{55}

Says Armando Valladares: "Everyone in the West knows of the habitual practice in the communist countries of falsifying
documents. . . . This practice the communists call Aktivnnyye Meropriyativa (active measures) and it includes a variety of schemes, among them a campaign that uses the mass media to distribute false information. . . .”56

NOTES

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In October 1983 the Caribbean island of Grenada was thrust into the limelight by a series of events involving the killing of the prime minister and some of his Cabinet members by a faction of the ruling party, and the subsequent invasion of the island by American forces. The crisis, needless to say, generated considerable news reports and discussion in newspapers and popular magazines throughout the world. In this paper I give a brief history of Grenada and the background to the crisis, with some discussion on the migratory process and its relation to the incidents that took place. I then discuss the role and function of the media in the crisis and analyze the reporting in selected, mainly British, and other European newspapers and popular magazines—a list of these is given in an appendix. The discussion shows that at one level newspapers generally tried to give an account of what took place and discuss the relevant issues, but the general restriction on the media by the ruling council in Grenada after the killings and by the United States government after the invasion of the island had an effect on news reporting. Details conflicted and news items, for the most part, were based on secondhand sources. Most countries were opposed to the United States invasion and considered the crisis in terms of local and/or international politics. The analysis of the crisis in popular magazines is also examined with an emphasis on the viewpoints of West Indian and European émigrés.

Grenada, a mere 334 square kilometers in size with a population of 110,000, was a British colony that became independent in 1974. For the greater part of the three decades between 1949 and 1979 the political life of the island was dominated by Eric Gairy, politician and trade unionist. His administration was noted for its corruption and resistance to opposition and under him the island experienced severe social and economic problems.

In the 1970s the desperate economic situation and the absence of a strong and credible leadership, encouraged by expressions of dissatisfaction in Trinidad and Tobago, caused a gradual acceleration in the mood of discontent among Grenadians. On March 13, 1979, the New Jewel Movement led by Maurice Bishop overthrew the Gairy government in a bloodless coup. They established themselves as the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), suspended the 1974 constitution, and pledged themselves to fight against imperialism, steering Grenada along a socialist path as they set about to solve the country's economic
problems. Opinions conflict as to whether they were successful in solving the economic problems but it can be said that during the four years that they were in power the economy achieved significant growth and there was a reduction in unemployment. Substantial advances were made in the area of social development: literacy programs, legislation for women's rights, protection of trade union rights were some of the achievements in this area.

Their foreign policy was one of the main controversial areas. They declared themselves to be non-aligned but sought help from everyone. Several countries offered help but one significant point is that Cuba assisted and the United States of America did not. In the meantime there was considerable evidence of violation of personal freedom of those opposed to the government. By mid 1982 relations with the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and many of the other Caribbean territories were quite strained. The fact too that the promised elections had not been held remained a sore point. The United States was also concerned about the international airport being constructed in Grenada which they saw as part of a Soviet military design.

In mid 1983, an internal conflict within the New Jewel Movement became public knowledge. The conflict was evident mainly in terms of a power struggle between Maurice Bishop, the charismatic leader of the party who had the support of the masses, and the deputy leader Bernard Coard, who generally upheld a more hard-line leftist policy than Bishop but who was backed by the army. The conflict came to a head on October 13, 1983, when Bishop was placed under house arrest. A few days later, on October 19, his supporters freed him and led him to Fort Rupert where he was captured by troops. In the ensuing confusion Bishop, three of his Cabinet ministers, and two labour leaders were reportedly executed by army troops. An unknown number of civilians were also killed or injured. The army leader announced that a Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) was in control, closed the airport, imposed prohibitions on foreign journalists, and instituted a four-day round-the-clock curfew. He reported that foreign residents would be permitted to leave.

On the Caribbean and international scene there was outrage at the murders. The surrounding Caribbean leaders held an emergency meeting and discussed whether to request United States assistance. On the morning of October 25, U.S. marines and the U.S. Army Rangers along with troops from six Caribbean nations entered Grenada. Fighting between United States forces and Cuban workers took place; the RMC was detained before order was finally restored and an interim government set up.\(^1\)

It is necessary now to consider the question of migration from Grenada and the connections between the whole migratory process and the events in Grenada. From the 1940s onwards it was customary for West Indians to see migration to Britain as a means of bettering oneself.\(^2\) Initially the numbers were small--
mainly students—or the intellectual migrants for whom Gordon Lewis has given a detailed profile. In his view the Caribbean intellectual migrant is generally willing to analyze the basic principles of the society to which he migrates. He has been a political refugee and the reason he migrates is either to escape the repression of colonial regimes or the intellectual narrowness of some island colonial towns. Some may simply want to enjoy the pleasures of living in exile, others may be there for professional advancement, still others may be political activists concentrating their energies on the liberation of their homeland.3

It is important to note that some of the leaders of the New Jewel Movement had been products of the intellectual migratory process. Unison Whiteman had studied economics in England and on returning to Grenada in the mid 1960s he was concerned that Grenadians were worse off than when he left and that the government had no plans for development. He instituted a program of meetings to help with the political education of the people and shortly afterward founded the Jewel Movement. Maurice Bishop who had also returned to Grenada in the late 1960s had studied law in London. While there, he had been influenced by the writings of Nkrumah, Che Guevara, Fanon, and he had become aware of social injustices in general. In London he had also helped to found the first Legal Aid Centre for Caribbean people in Notting Hill. Back in Grenada, he founded the Movement for Assemblies of the People (MAP) which was opposed to a parliament of the Westminster type on the grounds that it was unsuited to the needs of the Grenadians. The movements founded by Whiteman and Bishop merged to form the opposition to the Gairy government. Bernard Coard had also studied in Britain and had campaigned against racism in education.4

The majority of West Indians who emigrated to Britain (in the 1950s and 1960s) were mainly artisans and unskilled labourers who came mainly in response to the need for labour. These "worker migrants" have tended to remain permanently in Britain partly because their home societies with limited land space and natural resources cannot reabsorb them. For Grenadians in particular it has been reported that the repressive Gairy regime was also a source of dissatisfaction. In Britain the migrants have tended to group together with fellow islanders which helps them to keep abreast of events and also retain a consciousness of their homeland.

It is necessary to state from the outset that the media did not have free access to the events in Grenada as they took place. From its takeover in 1979 the PRG had tended to be secretive about what was happening in the country and although freedom of speech was permitted in theory, the government in fact took tough action against the opposition press. The government-controlled press and radio, the Free West Indian and Radio Free
Grenada, suppressed the internal wranglings in the Party during the days preceding the murders. When the matter came out into the open and Bishop was detained the five main foreign reporters on the island were deported. Most of the reports about the coup came from CANA, the Caribbean News Agency which is associated with British Reuters whose correspondent in St. George's, Alister Hughes, had been sending reports to Barbados. However, on the evening of the murders, Hughes, who had been critical of the PRG, was arrested and detained in Richmond Hill Prison for one week. Thus the outside world was then dependent on Radio Free Grenada, the state-controlled radio station, telephone conversations with residents whenever this was possible, and on reports by travellers leaving Grenada. Ham radio operators in Barbados and Miami also passed on reports from their counterparts in Grenada.

The United States government had, during the years of the revolution, done its best to publicize the view that Grenada was "first and foremost a potential base for Cuban and Soviet ideological and military operations in the Caribbean and Latin America." When the invasion began, however, the United States government prevented news reporters from going to the island and imposed restrictions on news coverage of the military invasion. The restriction on the media allowed the United States government to manipulate the news to its own advantage. For example, they reported Cuban troops as doing the bulk of the fighting. After three days the island was open to the press. More than 160 reporters went onto the island and it was then revealed that the United States' accounts did not always coincide with the facts. As O'Shaughnessy has stated, "In the war of words that the United States and Grenadian governments waged on each other the first casualty was the truth."

The crisis generated significant international reaction and in the rest of this essay I examine and discuss the reporting in a selection of European newspapers and popular magazines with some focus on the viewpoints of migrants. Generally it will be seen that the details of events, the part played by the surrounding Caribbean territories, the role, function, and reaction of Britain in particular as the former mother country, the reasons for and against American intervention were all subjects of discussion even long after the crisis itself had ended. In the European media the crisis was seen in terms of European or international politics and diplomacy. It was primarily the West Indian migrants who focussed their attention on the reality of what had happened in Grenada itself and its significance for Grenadian people.

The unavailability of sources prevents examination of the day-to-day reporting in most European newspapers. The Times (London) and Le Monde (Paris) both carried reports of the main details of the crisis as they happened from October 18th and
19th, respectively. These newspapers were mainly dependent on reports from correspondents in Trinidad, Barbados, and Washington. In some instances accounts conflicted, which substantiates what I said earlier about the effects of censorship on the media access to the crisis and the invasion. During the course of the week, though, all the major issues relating to the crisis were aired. The United States intervention (or invasion) caused a great stir in Britain. The related issues of Britain's relationship to the United States and also the internal workings of the British political system, in particular the Foreign Office, came to the fore in the days following the landing of the United States troops in Grenada.12

The Financial Times (London) echoed other reports but also included an interesting item that seemed to have been overlooked in other accounts: the denial by a British contractor firm involved in the construction of Point Salines Airport that the airfield was to be a military installation.13 This newspaper also published the text of the letter from the Grenadian governor-general inviting the United States and friendly eastern Caribbean nations to intervene.14

The Observer newspaper in its reporting shed light on the invasion and implications for United States internal politics. In one article by Conor Cruise O'Brien, "Why the President Had No Choice," the United States invasion is seen principally as a product of American domestic political pressures. Following on the bombing of American marines in Beirut the Grenada situation presented the United States with an opportunity for a display of military power.15

One Observer reporter, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, who was in Grenada when the United States marines landed and stayed on, gave a detailed eyewitness account. This report is extremely interesting because it gives a firsthand account of local reaction to the American presence in Grenada. There were those who enthusiastically thanked God, while others though mourning for Bishop "did not . . . welcome the invaders with any enthusiasm."16

Another concern of this paper was America's treatment of Britain. In an item entitled "Why Washington Lied" the point is made that they deliberately withheld information because it was certain that Britain would object to the invasion. The rest of the article then gives an analysis of the events leading up to the invasion and the author is careful to note that contrary to reports the British Foreign Office had made "strenuous" attempts to keep in contact with Washington but information had been purposely withheld. In fact there seemed to be a conspiracy to convince London that an invasion was unlikely just at the time it was becoming more and more of a reality.17

Newspapers and secondary reports of reactions in other parts of Europe indicate that some coverage was given to the
crisis by the press in other European countries. The foreign staff reporters of the *Times* the majority of countries condemned the invasion, although the manner in which it was expressed and details given did vary from country to country. As is to be expected government and press condemnation merely reflected political persuasion. The French press reported President Mitterand's condemnation which was expressed in terms of the principles on which international society is based "in particular the right of self-determination of peoples, and those principles have the same value everywhere."19

The Spanish government condemned the use of force in international affairs, and called for the urgent withdrawal of United States troops. The Greek government viewed the intervention in Grenada as causing further aggravation in an already tense situation. The Polish government saw the United States action as "a violation of the sovereignty and independence of other nations."20 In Rome, both the ruling Italian Social Party and the Communist opposition were opposed to the invasion. The former saw it as "a grave violation of international law" while the latter saw it as "an act of brutal aggression."21

A closer examination of the reporting in two of Italy's daily newspapers, *La Repubblica* and *L'Unità*, shows the greater concern with the implications of the crisis for the wider world of the former and the obvious bias of the latter. In *La Repubblica* the story of the invasion was reported with a recurrent page caption which emphasized the fact that it was really a confrontation of the super powers. In *L'Unità*, the organ of the Italian Communist Party, the discussion emphasized the relationship between Cuba and Grenada and stressed the positive aspects of the Bishop regime.22

An analysis of the reports in the German Tribune further illustrates the point that in countries where the link with Grenada itself is not strong the invasion was considered largely in terms of international and local politics. For example, one report stated that the European community could not afford to be indifferent to military intervention and it was in danger of losing credibility in the Third World if it did not take a public stand against the invasion. Another report conveyed the complexities and repercussions of the situation on the local (Caribbean and American) and international scenes.23 Cuban presence in Grenada represented a threat to their access to the approaches to the Panama Canal and Gulf of Mexico and their reactions could perhaps be understood on this ground. The invasion had also put an end to the "advance of Cuban-style revolution" which was still progressing in Central America and the Reagan government might well be applauded in some quarters for this.24 Another article saw the Grenada invasion against the backdrop of the recently concluded meeting of NATO's nuclear planning group on the subject of nuclear weapons. During the course of the talks
differences had arisen between Europe and the U.S. on how many short-range nuclear weapons were necessary for deterrent purposes. The United States invasion following in the wake of this dispute was seen as "a demonstration of naked military striving for power" and the United States administration was considered to be "plunging NATO into a serious crisis." On the subject of the United States of America and NATO, one of the leaders of the opposition to the Bonn government, Franz Joseph Strauss, criticized the government's attitude and felt that Germany should publicly support the United States action. According to the newspaper report Strauss was "more interested in fomenting internal disputes within the CDU camp than in a foreign policy line." Popular magazines in Britain also gave extensive coverage to the crisis focussing variously on discussing related issues. The New Statesman was critical of British and American foreign policy. It indicated that prior to the events in Grenada the British government had not been concerned with what was happening and that the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States had had to turn to the United States "in desperation." This magazine also expressed the view that the Grenada invasion would support an argument that American foreign and military policy was "consistently more aggressive" than that of the other super powers. Another magazine, South, which discussed the invasion against the history of United States and Soviet military aggression, saw no difference between United States and Soviet policy. The headline reads "Gunship Diplomacy: The Ideologies Differ--but the White House and the Kremlin Have Identical Responses When Their Systems Are Challenged." The Economist, which carried articles over several issues, in discussing the invasion succeeded perhaps in presenting a more balanced picture of the overall situation. In particular one article presented the arguments for and against the Revolution and had as its main point that "neither . . . line of argument takes account of the still small voice which is yet to be heard: the voice of the Grenadians." Most of the discussions of the crisis seem to have ignored the situation in Grenada itself and how those who were directly involved felt about the matter.

One European popular magazine which painted a negative picture of the Grenada revolution under the PRG and favoured the invasion was the Swiss Review of World Affairs. According to this magazine: "Aside from an improvement of the island's free medical care and its literacy campaign, the latter serving largely to promote Marxist–Leninist indoctrination, the only thing that had improved in Grenada under the Bishop regime was the state of the armaments." They saw the United States action as a "counter-intervention" in response to "the initial intervention which had already been carried out by the Soviet Bloc."
The Italian weekly magazine L'Espresso presented another aspect of the issue. It focused on the effect that the crisis was having on the Commonwealth. A conflict of loyalties emerged as a result of Grenada's relationship with Britain, Britain's position in the Commonwealth, and her special relationship with the U.S. It saw the Grenada crisis as having divided the two women at the head of the Commonwealth. It does seem that in its analysis of the Queen's role the report has given much more power to the monarchy than it has in reality. In another article in L'Espresso the crisis was viewed in terms of local American and international politics. In one article entitled "Ronnie prende il fucile," the point is made that by sending troops to Grenada President Reagan had irritated a section of the American electorate. On the other hand, because of the happenings in the Middle East and the massacre of marines in Beirut, the U.S. action with regard to Grenada also had the effect of generating a flow of patriotism.31

Now I consider what the migrants, in this case West Indians in general rather than Grenadians specifically, had to say about the issue. John La Rose, political activist and spokesman for a section of the black community in Britain, in a series of comments in the popular magazine Race Today, has mainly offered explanations for the failure of the revolution. In the course of tracing the history of the revolution La Rose has made several interesting points. The New Jewel Movement is seen as a part of the post-1970 political scenario following on the upheavals in Trinidad in 1970 when the traditional patterns of politics gave way to a new phase in which "the workers, unemployed, urban poor, peasants" were engaged in a struggle for power--people's power. He conceded that the events of October 1983 had in fact defeated the revolution. But he is quick to add--as if by way of consolation to the ordinary West Indians living in Britain—that Grenada was not "the first place in this century" where revolutionary power had been seized, could not be consolidated, and was lost, that it had happened in parts of Eastern Europe following the revolution in Russia.

In discussing the crisis what comes through clearly from La Rose's comment is the admission that the masses had no power. He concludes that the failure of the revolution was attributable to the fact that Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement had failed to focus on organizing some kind of system which would have given the people a stronger influence in deciding who held the reins of power. In another article La Rose goes a little further and states that the United States invasion and occupation had "aborted" the process by which the masses (peasants, workers, youths, unemployed) would have defeated the hard-line faction in the government.32 This seems an unrealistic expectation given the earlier admission that the masses had no power.

A statement issued by the Alliance of Black Parents Movement, Black Youth Movement, and the Race Today Collective
organizations which had wholeheartedly supported the 1979 seizure of power from Gairy by the New Jewel Movement declared that the Coard faction within the movement had controlled it from the time they came into power and that the internal conflict that came to the fore in the days preceding the crisis had existed for more than four years. These groups also called for a "state based on organs of the popular power of workers and peasants" which Bishop had described and opposed intervention from any quarter whatsoever. In denouncing the American invasion they cited other instances in the Caribbean when the United States had turned a blind eye to injustices and thus their explanation that this invasion had as its aim the restoration of democracy and rescue of American citizens in Grenada was not justified. Unlike most other commentaries of the crisis, though, this report does concede that the United States invasion was to some extent not only inevitable but welcome: "Indeed the fact has to be faced, by supporters of the Grenadian revolution, that, for a very large number of Grenadians, the American invasion did come as a relief after the trauma and repression they had suffered over the preceding fortnight." On the other hand their objection to the United States invasion and seeming recolonization of Grenada was so intense that they also expressed their opposition to the humiliation and imprisonment of Bernard Coard and others who were allegedly responsible for the killing and demanded their release so the "Grenadian people" could deal with them "at the appropriate moment." The statements of these groups embody the tragedy of the situation and to some extent reflect the feeling of hopelessness among support groups in England who had despised the Gairy regime and had looked for radical changes in Grenada under the New Jewel Movement. The closing statements of these groups were expressions of support for the show of power displayed in 1979 and October 19, 1983:

Forward with the Grenadian Revolution.

Forward with Workers' and Peasants' Power in the Caribbean.

These however seemed to turn a blind eye to the fact that the events of October 19th to 23rd and its consequences had radically changed the route of the revolution. The people's power, whether real or imagined in the previous four and one half years, had been dealt a severe blow and it was highly unlikely that the support of these groups was of any consequence now as it would need a mighty "force" to reinstate the revolution.

The West Indian Digest, popular magazine for West Indians, in examining the aftermath of the crisis, stressed that the United States was intent on colonizing Grenada. An article cites the views of the New Jewel Movement Support Group, London, alongside those of several important sources: the governments of India, China, Libya, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and the
British Labour Party. All denounced the United States action and felt that some international regulations such as the Charter of the United Nations be sought to prevent the United States from managing the affairs of Grenada.36

In another issue of this magazine an article entitled "How the CIA Prepared Grenada for the Invasion" described how the internal events leading up to the crisis had been engineered by the United States in a "three-pronged attack of U.S. destabilization" which had begun a mere two months after the New Jewel Movement had come to power and that the invasion had been rehearsed in August 1981 at Vieques Island off Puerto Rico. Linking all the internal dissensions in Grenada between 1979 and 1983 to CIA influences, the item also detailed how certain factions in Grenada's Trade Union Movement who had received training from the American Institute for Free Labour Development were a source of destabilization to the Workers' Movement. The events of October 1983 gave the United States (CIA) the loophole it needed to stage an intervention--action that was always a priority option. It is notable that the author of this analysis, Chris Searle, was another "intellectual migrant," this time an English teacher, poet, and author who worked in Grenada in the National In-service Teacher Education Programme from 1980 to 1982,37 and who had been a supporter of the New Jewel Movement.

Robin Cohen, an English sociologist who has also worked in the Caribbean, writing in New Society, aims at correcting the misrepresentations of the Grenada Revolution as perpetrated in the American press. The article assesses favourably the achievements of the PRG during their four years in power, analyzes the mistakes, and makes some suggestions for future direction. In his view the revolution was about "the awakening of a people's spirit."38

It is interesting finally to look at the report of a leading West Indian intellectual living in England. V.S. Naipaul, eminent Trinidadian writer, well respected internationally, has written extensively but usually with contempt about the West Indies and the Third World. He had never visited Grenada while the New Jewel Movement was in power, but arrived seventeen days after the American invasion. His summary of the situation in Grenada under the New Jewel Movement in an issue of the Sunday Times Magazine is in keeping with the sarcastic tone he has always used. He declares that "socialist mimicry" was being perpetrated in Grenada and openly states that the PRG had done little. In his view the revolution was one of words and he himself uses the vocabulary which was popular in Grenada to describe very effectively what took place. The article is entitled "Heavy Manners in Grenada" and agrees with other support groups discussed earlier that the masses had no power. Naipaul emphasizes that the leaders in fact kept the masses in suppression. He states that "the power was real... for the four and a half years of its
rule the party kept Grenada under "heavy manners." Later in speaking about Bishop's death he says that "the manners that had been applied to hundreds of others were applied to the leader himself." And then about the American invasion he says: "Then the Americans invaded, and manners heavier than Grenada had known were applied to everybody." He denounces the American invasion but blames the Grenadians. As a literary piece it has all the brilliance of Naipaul but its content is so scathing that it is bound to antagonize those who had even the slightest feeling of goodwill toward the People's Revolutionary Government. His concluding statement that "the Revolution blew away; and what was left in Grenada was a murder story"\(^39\) dismisses much too casually an important if tragic moment in the history of the island.

In conclusion it is fair to say that European reporting of the Grenada crisis tended to view the issue in terms of local and international politics. In focussing on the intellectual migrant the discussion has shown that some played an important role in the crisis itself and others have had their say. It is also quite evident that the worker-migrants who make up the majority of the West Indian migrants in Britain\(^40\) have also expressed their views. They have tended to be more concerned about what was happening in Grenada itself, dwelling on the past or the precrisis era in Grenada and with a refusal almost to face the facts that the events of October 1983 had crushed the revolution.

The discussion in this paper has concentrated on media and reporting during and immediately after the crisis. Anthony Maingot, in reviewing seven of the monograph publications on Grenada which have appeared since the crisis, has said that "It is the nature of scholarship that when the talking stops the serious writing begins. And so it is with Grenada..."\(^41\) I would like to suggest, however, that notwithstanding the difficulties which faced the media, much "serious writing" did take place during and immediately after the crisis. If and when the whole truth about the crisis is known, then even the inaccuracies can be used as a measure of the success or failure of information control.

NOTES


5 See Rickey Singh. "Caribbean Media and the Grenada Affair," Caribbean Contact, 12:1 (Jan.-Feb., 1984), 14-15. Singh, former editor of the newspaper Caribbean Contact, has stated that one of the many lessons to be learnt from the Grenadian tragedy is that "had there been in Grenada a media system capable of permitting dissent, however restrained, given the siege mentality prevailing in St. George's, then Maurice Bishop himself may have had a vehicle to transmit to the Grenada masses some of the problems his once loyal comrades insisted on concealing from the people. . . ."


7 O'Shaughnessy, Grenada, p. 192.


The 1983 Grenada Crisis and the European Media

The Appendix gives a list of the newspapers and magazines used. Most of these are available in the University of the West Indies Library. Secondary reporting is also used in some instances and this is noted in the notes. As mentioned, British sources predominate.

The following headlines from the London Times give an indication of the range of subjects.


See also Anthony Payne, "The Grenada Crisis in British Politics," The Round Table, 292 (1984), 403-410. Payne notes that "for a few days the headlines in Britain were dominated by events in this tiny Eastern Caribbean island whose precise location and recent history were as unfamiliar to most British politicians as they were to the general public" (p. 403).

16"Invasion at Dawn," ibid., p. 9.
18Payne et al., Grenada: Revolution and Invasion, p. 168. Payne reports that "Within a week of the invasion 92 governments had made public statements of their position."


"NATO Decides to Scrap Part of Battlefield Nuclear Arsenal," ibid. (Report from Frankfurter Rundschau, Oct. 29, 1983.)


John La Rose, "Comment: Organizing the Revolutionary Workers, Peasants and People's Power: The Failure in Grenada,"
The 1983 Grenada Crisis and the European Media


35ibid.


39V. S. Naipaul. "Heavy Manners in Grenada," Sunday Times Magazine, Feb. 12, 1984, pp. 23-31. See discussion by Chris Searle on Naipaul's article. He says that "It is a tragic and lamentable fact that an established and successful writer should treat with such dismissive contempt these cultural aspirations of the Caribbean people" ("Naipaulicity: A Form of Cultural Imperialism," Race and Class, 26:2 [1984], 45-62).


APPENDIX
Bibliography of Newspapers and Popular Magazines

Major political, social, and business developments internationally.

L'Espresso (Rome). Weekly.
General interest periodical.

Business newspaper.

German Tribune (Federal Republic of Germany). Weekly.
Reprints from leading newspapers of the Federal Republic of Germany. Items are complete English translations of the original text.

Index on Censorship (London). Bi-monthly.
Magazine supporting freedom of expression and defending writers and others who are censored, harassed, or persecuted for their opinions.

ISLA Information Services on Latin America (Berkeley, CA). Monthly.
Reprints articles from newspapers including Financial Times of London, Le Monde.

Newspaper.

Newspaper.

Social sciences, social reportage; for the interested layman.

Current affairs, literature, the arts; independent, not the mouthpiece of any political party.

Newspaper.

   Race and community relations in Britain in an international
   context with reports and articles from overseas.

La Repubblica (Rome). Daily.
   Newspaper.

   Information about the Third World.


   General interest periodical.

Times (London). Daily.
   Newspaper.

L'Unità (Rome). Daily.
   Organ of the Communist Party.

   Newspaper.

West Indian Digest (London) Monthly.
   Popular review focusing especially on Caribbean life-styles.
The origins of the Sendero Luminoso are today well documented. Arising in the highland capital of Ayacucho—one of Peru's poorest departments—the ideology and objectives from the beginning drew upon the works of Mariátegui and Mao. The appropriateness of their philosophy to the rural conditions of Ayacucho and the circumstances that combined a set of political events with a brilliant leadership built the foundation of an extraordinarily resilient political movement. By basing itself in the reopened Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga (UNSCH), the movement had more than a decade to work with worker, student, and women's groups. Through their constant emphasis on the dignity of the peasantry and Indians, as well as their work with future rural school teachers, the Sendero Luminoso leadership established its credibility throughout the region. Abimael Guzmán and his fellow ideologues learned Quechua and demonstrated their undivided commitment to the region's oppressed peoples. With a military government in power which periodically silenced dissent, the Sendero Luminoso had the advantage of cultivating age-old injustices and those materializing under a nonrepresentative government.

Of particular importance is the Sendero Luminoso's decision to abandon the Peruvian Communist Party and form its own party. This unequivocal rejection of Moscow and Havana's leadership as well as Peking's after the failure of the Cultural Revolution placed the Sendero Luminoso alone among world communist movements. Neither the military nor the parliamentary parties offered the Sendero Luminoso anything. Termed revisionist and irrelevant or obstructionist to the long-term objectives of the Peruvian revolution under the leadership of Abimael Guzmán, all other political parties were considered enemies.

The evolution of revolutionary movements requires that their message be distributed to followers and the uninitiated alike. By utilizing the country's regular press in combination with an internal system of producing propaganda, a movement's philosophy and stance on specific situations is established. What makes the Sendero Luminoso different is its hermetic position. Prior to 1980 and its first military action the Sendero Luminoso was largely known through a series of Community Party publications. The novelness of Maoism combined with Mariátegui by an uncompromising group of highland intellectuals was such that every political party disassociated itself from Guzmán and his followers.
Dismissed as fanatical ideologues, the Sendero Luminoso leadership found itself without access to any news media because each newspaper held ties with government, conservative, or leftist parties. Adherence to the Maoist ideal of a peasant-led revolution restricted the Sendero Luminoso's efforts to the immediate area. The dominance of the Lima press and the isolation of Ayacucho meant that even the major pronouncements and actions of the movement before 1980 were unlikely to merit national attention. The fact that most of Sendero Luminoso's position papers and messages were distributed through interest groups and consisted of mimeographed or otherwise marginal publications inhibited the collection of the movement's records for use by political analysts. Therein lies one of the principal challenges to understanding the evolution of the Sendero Luminoso: the elusiveness of the documentation and after 1980 the sharply reduced amount issued or attributed to the Sendero Luminoso.

Interpreting the Sendero Luminoso and explaining its enduring attractiveness not only among rural highlanders but also to the residents of Lima's pueblos jóvenes has become the mission of journalists, politicians, and academics within and outside of Peru. Much of the information obtained by Peruvian journalists moves through subsequent interpretive processes. Because of the limited amount of printed documentation, journalists must turn to government sources and interviews. The former generally consist of reports by the different branches of the security forces and emphasize the violent aspects of the Sendero Luminoso--armed clashes, bombings, mass murders, and the like. Urban blackouts due to bombed electric pylons receive broad coverage when they coincide with nationally important events. Reportage of military operations that usually involve the slaughter or disappearance of peasants elicits the more sensationalist articles often accompanied by lurid photographs. For the Sendero Luminoso such actions are yet another manifestation of its operating mobility and the inefficacy of the state to crush the movement. In terms of body counts and stolen arms government intelligence sources reveal the existence of far larger figures than the press has reported or admitted. With the assumption of the García government in July 1985 indications point to a unified press effort to limit full coverage of the Sendero Luminoso actions. This affects some foreign reporting which relies upon direct or vector reading of the local press.

Among revolutionary groups broadcasts of statements of selected interviews of leaders normally occur, but not for the Sendero Luminoso. Committed to rejecting the press as an instrument either of the government or the revisionist Communist Party the Sendero Luminoso leadership has not provided any opportunity for open questioning. The consistency with which they follow their plans described in various published documents issued in the late 1970s and early 1980s and the fact that
defections rarely occur suggest an enduring strength of commitment and close adherence to the original pronouncements. Subsequent ones are not necessary because the plan of operation needs no modification. This situation places the press in the position of having accessible only the captured Senderistas for interview purposes. While some short articles using interviews exist, one must question the circumstances under which the prisoners were allowed to meet the press and the physical treatment they may be subjected to before and afterward. Also within the prison confines, especially in Lima with its concentration of individuals transferred from departmental incarceration, recruiting and instruction appear to be commonly practiced.9

The Peruvian media therefore is restricted by its political positions, access to unfiltered Senderista documentation, and in most cases the pressures to provide copy that will be of commercial attractiveness. The absence in Peru of widely circulated semischolarly and analytical journals found in Western Europe, Argentina, Mexico, and the United States places the assessment of the Sendero Luminoso outside of this type of publishing. Into this void foreign contributors step, sometimes familiar with Peruvian political idiosyncrasies and at other times simply skilled in interpreting guerrilla movements or governmental responses to them. These outsiders carry the values of their society and the requirements of their publications so that even with this coverage the "full" Sendero Luminoso story will evade recording.

Among Western Europeans knowledge of Latin American revolutionary movements tends to be circumscribed by the limitations of the media. Relatively few travelers venture to the remote epicenters of revolutionary activity. Threats about physical harm which are issued routinely by Western governments' embassies keep all but the most adventurous journalists restricted to major cities and away from contact with areas of revolutionary ferment. The work by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and the Americas Watch provides additional warnings that the violence of both the government and the revolutionary movement is a game with few second chances. The question therefore must be posed: what justifies the attention of Western Europeans to this Maoist organization? Are economic stakes significant enough to merit official and private sector concern for foreign investment and trade flows? Tables 1 and 2 illustrate exactly how marginal trade between these countries is. As illustrated in table 3, direct fixed foreign investment by the United Kingdom, France, and Spain is quite small and shows no dynamic increases. Or is it the curious and anachronistic nature of the Maoist movement comprised of Indians and disaffected urban youth which stimulates interest and motivates journalists to record and interpret events affecting most of Peru?
The absence of any European-based support is also worth considering. With the exception of solidarity groups, the most conspicuous ones of which operate in Spain, no European statements of support emanate from England, France, or Spain.\(^1\) This is in sharp contrast with the attention given by leading intellectuals to the Cuban revolution and the accolades Fidel Castro received upon the Twenty-sixth of July Movement's triumph.\(^2\) Abimael Guzmán elicits no such support. Furthermore the general discrediting of Maoism within and outside of China means that no political party in power or any significant opposition party exists to support the Sendero Luminoso with statements of solidarity and financial resources. The movement then is one of nearly total world isolation; only the messianic vision of itself and the disciplined nature of its followers allow it to continue and flourish. Therein no doubt lies the basis of some of the European fascination for the Sendero Luminoso. For a continent affected by attacks on home territory by political fanatics attempting to discern the broader world context of why such movements arise and how they perpetuate themselves are perhaps the more profound questions journalists can pose when reporting on the Sendero Luminoso. Simply to record destruction and death is only to repeat what residents of Paris, London, Belfast, and Madrid already know.

Given the perceived marginal importance of detailed reporting on all but the major acts of violence, the print media is left with three options: (1) carrying wire service news items; (2) running a feature article by a stringer; and (3) sending their own correspondent to Peru to prepare stories. Of the total mention of Sendero Luminoso the wire services predominate. Stringers and foreign correspondents provide reports which appear rather infrequently but in terms of total space probably equal or surpass that which is allocated to the wire services. What follows is an assessment of these reporters' coverage.\(^3\) It should be remembered that the Peruvian press by necessity is the basis of much information and that the government officials, military officers, and human rights association leaders provide additional commentary. On occasion foreign correspondents have gained direct access to individuals and information not part of the Peruvian public record. Generally, however, Western Europeans read what Peruvians can in the five or six national newspapers and news magazines; regional and local newspapers provide additional detail which often eludes foreign coverage and would be included by Lima publications if the information were deemed appropriate for their ideological perspective.

Regardless of country most coverage deals with what the Sendero Luminoso does and to a minor extent with its internal logic and program. In the descriptive area considerable attention is given to the socioeconomic conditions of Peru and for French reporting also the cultural context. These articles serve a
multiple purpose by informing readers about Peru itself and also highlighting the seriousness of the resource depletion of rural areas, urban squatter settlements, and the inability of the economy to create an adequate capacity for absorbing the youth entering the labor force.\textsuperscript{13} Some attention is provided to the historical and ethnic influences which other commentators have identified to describe the Sendero Luminoso. The rebellious nature of the highland region and its virtual disregard by the central government are now accepted interpretations for understanding the Sendero Luminoso leadership's fascination with the Chinese model of revolution. From their reported presence during the Cultural Revolution to their more recently exposed preparatory work in the UNSCH student associations and with Ayacuchano regional groups, the interrelationships between the region's historic problems and the introduction of Maoism are recognized. Considerable attention is given to the lack of alliances within Peru and internationally. This absence of revolutionary solidarity among Western Europeans for the Sendero Luminoso further enforces the fact that with this Latin American revolutionary movement, unlike most others, Western Europeans play no part.

Commentary on the Senderista organization itself, how it operates, the leadership, and its long-range plans is usually balanced with discussions of the government's response, which normally consists of military and police actions against suspected individuals and areas. The accompanying violence and inevitable violation of human rights does succeed in attracting an international audience primarily through the reporting of such groups as Amnesty International and the Americas Watch. As these organizations also cover the atrocities of other Latin American states, the total effect when combined with the official reports of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the various United Nations human rights investigations is a blur of details and a similarity in overall tactics that leave the poor and defenseless either slaughtered, disappeared or maimed from their experience in prison or presence in the crossfire. That this violence erupts from the strategies of both sides is recognized yet reporters less successfully deal with exactly what the government or the Sendero Luminoso attempt to accomplish beyond the obvious destruction that inevitably occurs during attacks by either side. The movement toward a "dirty war" along the lines of Argentina 1975-1980 no longer is an indirect illusion.

The much more difficult coverage of the Sendero's ideological application in governing receives a partial answer or none at all. In a profession accustomed to interviewing participants and reading documentation the Sendero Luminoso presents a challenge no press coverage has successfully met. The fact is that government infiltration has largely failed and that the Sendero Luminoso leadership elicits such loyalty that in the course of
seven years only a few Sendero Luminoso interviews are on record of which nearly all involve incarcerated members.\textsuperscript{14} Although considerable documentation from the 1960s and 1970s exists, one finds almost no indication that it was utilized for preparing the articles emphasizing the Sendero Luminoso's formation or its evaluation. Various Communist Party proceedings are the most commonly available documents, but even these seem not to be central in any assessment of the Sendero Luminoso. Rather reliance is placed upon a summary of the ideological divisions leading to the group's separation from and rejection of all other leftist Peruvian movements. What enables Guzmán to claim the position of being the "fourth sword of Marxism," or that the only true revolution to transpose Peruvian and later world society will be through the Sendero Luminoso is never critically examined. What all press accounts tend to avoid is penetrating the layers of mystique that envelop the Sendero Luminoso's core. To do so would require access to sources that appear to be denied or else exceedingly difficult to obtain, and to have a readership that is perceived to value knowing what the Sendero Luminoso really is.

Only does the French coverage strive to probe the more intangible issues of the country's morale and self-perceptions. Because of the Sendero Luminoso's rejection of cooperating with any leftist movement and its radically different interpretation of what is necessary in order to make Peruvian society a just one, the progressive elements that are generally granted recognition through various means of support by Western Europeans must spend some of their energies examining the demands of the Sendero Luminoso. On the surface it is easy to dismiss both Sendero Luminoso's analysis of Peruvian society (i.e., a rural-based nonindustrial country whose revolution will be led by peasants) and its strategy to achieve political dominance. Autarchy cannot work in a country already urbanized and highly dependent on international trade. What Sendero Luminoso challenges is precisely a question of equity which derives from the linkages required by Peru's participation in the world's economic order. Given the country's more than four hundred years of providing raw materials and the continuity of the political and economic power by whites and mestizos, it would suggest that elements of the Sendero Luminoso plan merit discussion and not outright rejection. This type of assessment which would lead into the "mind" of Sendero Luminoso appears neither in the Peruvian press nor the Western European press. Until this type of debate occurs and it is unlikely to under the present circumstance of violence, emergency zones, and a state of siege, the world is not going to have access to the thinking which melds Maoism with a variety of local beliefs. The fact that this ideology attracts a cross section of Peru's disaffected and marginalized groups suggests that more than a messianic aura
exists. Sendero Luminoso offers, or at least promises, a restructuring of society which appeals enough to the thousands who have already died struggling for Maoist objectives. As the twentieth century draws to an end with more and more religious fundamentalism, fanaticism, rebellion, and dissatisfaction characterizing the political life of much of the Third World, it will be necessary to know far more than the chronology and description of their attacks against the established order. The press, if it is to serve its purpose to inform with foresight and honesty, must strive to seek an understanding of what makes these revolutionary movements appealing and enduring. Enough is known about the structural inadequacies of the existing order; it is time that governments assess the proposed solutions of the opposition. If not, the growing wave of violence will submerge all rational minds and silence those committed to a reordering of society which can address the concerns of revolutionary movements such as the Sendero Luminoso which seek redress of age-old injustices.

NOTES


2 The principal groups are Comité Coordinador y Unificador del Movimiento Estudiantil Secundario, Federación de Estudiantes, Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario, Movimiento de Obreros y Trabajadores, Movimiento Estudiantil Juvenil, and Movimiento Femenino Popular.
3 Lewis Taylor, Maoism in the Andes: Sendero Luminoso and the Contemporary Guerrilla Movement in Peru (Liverpool: Centre for Latin American Studies, University of Liverpool, 1983), pp. 6-10.

4 Bandera roja, Voz popular, FER, and SUTE UNSCH.

5 See the Library of Congress Hispanic Division's Sendero Luminoso: A Bibliography and Desco. Resumen semanal for weekly compilations of activities as reported in the Peruvian press.

6 The return of Pope John Paul II February 3, 1985, to a darkened Lima is a typical Senderista action to emphasize their organizational ability and the futility of government forces in opposing them; see coverage in the New York Times, Feb. 3-5, 1985.

7 Perú, Presidencia, Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional, Informe mensual. Desco. Resumen semanal carries monthly totals of "subversive" actions.


10 Comité de Apoyo a la Revolución Peruana-Madrid, Boletín and reports issued by the Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista. The Paris groups--Centro Intelectual Amauta and the Frente Artístico-Intelectual Mariátegui--are known to issue statements designed for French audiences.


12 Serials included in this survey are: Times and Manchester Guardian (United Kingdom), Cambio 16 and El País (Spain), Le Monde, Le Monde diplomatique, Le Nouvel observateur, L'Express (France).

nearly doubled between 1976 and 1984 ending at 16.4 percent; the 1985 average real wage fell 20.5 percent from 1980.

Table 1
Trade Flows: Peru with Spain, France, and the United Kingdom
(in millions of US$)

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<td>16.7</td>
<td>37.7</td>
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<td>124.7</td>
<td>154.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1990.4</td>
<td>3675.3</td>
<td>3914.7</td>
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Percent of Total Trade

| Spain          | 0.38  | 0.38  | 0.61  | 0.41  | 0.41  | 0.44  | 0.59  | 1.08  | 0.86  | 0.15  | 1.69  | 3.67  | 1.52  | 3.30  |
| France         | 0.84  | 1.03  | 1.12  | 1.27  | 3.06  | 2.41  | 3.32  | 2.90  | 1.88  | 1.46  | 2.03  | 2.16  | 3.49  | 2.63  |
| United Kingdom | 2.53  | 3.39  | 3.94  | 4.09  | 4.33  | 5.14  | 4.37  | 2.73  | 2.44  | 3.32  | 2.68  | 1.91  | 1.86  | 1.77  |

Table 2
Trade Flows: Spain, France, and the United Kingdom with Peru
(in millions of US$)

Spain (to/from)

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United Kingdom (to/from)

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Source: IMF, Directory of Trade Statistics 1985 Yearbook
(Washington, IMF, 1985)
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*To November

Source: Comisión Nacional de Inversiones y Tecnologías Extranjeras, courtesy Banco Central de Reserva del Perú.
Preservation and Sharing of Latin American Materials in Microformats in Europe and the United States
At the 1985 conference of the American Library Association, Maurice Line, Director General for Science, Technology and Industry at the British Library, presented a paper in which he described the four ages of access: the Individual Age, when books were owned by private individuals; the Local Age, when books or other media were borrowed from subscription or institutional libraries; the National Age, when national plans have been devised to insure that access to materials is possible somewhere within national borders; and the International Age, when materials are actually lent or made available in some format across international borders.

The use of microfilm in libraries in the United States has evolved in the same manner: from local to national use. Its most recent usage has been to preserve materials. But the microfilming of materials has also been used extensively as a means of sharing. The microfilming programs of the Library of Congress, for example, as well as those of the Center for Research Libraries have enabled libraries to collect materials, particularly newspapers, in more permanent and complete formats. Other national institutions in the United States, such as the National Archives, have also made their original and unique holdings available more widely through microfilm.

At the international level, many libraries acquire microfilm available from institutions such as the Archivo General de Indias or the Archivo General de la Nación of Mexico. But these examples are few—perhaps because of lack of knowledge of what particular institutions own and what is being accomplished in the area of microfilming. As we shall see, LAMP, along with three other area-specific programs based at the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago, has pioneered the cooperative microfilming of materials overseas.

But this type of cooperation has also encountered the not inconsiderable difficulties of sharing resources at the international level which Mr. Line describes in the paper I mentioned above, particularly, difficulties with man and transport systems and customs regulations; nonetheless, he sees great promise in the concept of international cooperation in conservation—conservation of the content rather than the physical form. This is specifically the philosophy that led to the founding of LAMP. By learning more about the resources that are presently available on microfilm in a number of institutions, perhaps through LAMP or a similar
organization, we can enter into the International Age of resource-sharing for Latin American materials.

I believe that we all recognize that microfilm is, at best, an interim medium. The advances in communications and technology will undoubtedly make microfilming an archaic practice in the not too distant future. Nonetheless, it behooves us to consider now means to internationalize our resource-sharing efforts. The medium will change but the concept will not.
Cooperating in the acquisition, preservation, and sharing of resources has been a basic goal of SALALM from its beginning. For many years we have talked about cooperation in these matters, and the experience we in North American libraries have gained from pooling our resources in the Latin American Microform Project has had extremely productive results. Let me explain briefly how that project came into existence, how it functions, and how some of its activities have been undertaken.

The Latin American Microform Project (LAMP) was founded in 1975 by sixteen research libraries in the United States. The decision to organize LAMP was influenced by the successes of other similar projects which were at that time being administered in Chicago by the Center for Research Libraries (CRL). These CRL projects focused on Africa and Asia, and it was the African project, the Cooperative African Microform Project (CAMP), which ultimately served as the model for LAMP. Two features of the CAMP project stood out as particularly attractive components. First, emphasis was placed on providing access to many scholars for the first time of materials that were largely inaccessible in foreign repositories. Second, the emphasis was placed on preserving materials that otherwise might be lost because they were disintegrating or improperly stored and maintained.

Building on these two principles, the SALALM Advisory Committee to CRL undertook the founding and structuring of the Latin American Microform Project as a special activity to be administered through the Center for Research Libraries. The Committee was disbanded when this was accomplished. With LAMP administered through CRL, SALALM was freed of any fiscal or accounting responsibility for the project, and the attention of the institutional members of LAMP could fully focus on the direction that it should take and on the priorities it would accomplish for the immediate future. The first LAMP Prospectus outlined the direction and priorities that were to be followed in the coming decade. The Prospectus called for an Executive Committee to govern LAMP policies and required it to meet during the annual meetings of SALALM. The Executive Committee meetings were

Editor's Note. This paper was previously published in somewhat different form in Microform Review, 15:1 (Winter 1986), 22-27.
open to LAMP representatives from subscribing institutions, and observers from libraries not subscribing to LAMP were encouraged to attend these meetings.

The close relationship of LAMP with SALALM and the scheduling of LAMP's annual meetings during the SALALM conference served to spark great interest among individual SALALM members from libraries not subscribing to LAMP as well as among members from libraries that did subscribe. The result has been that membership in LAMP has increased from sixteen founding member libraries in 1975 to twenty-nine members in 1985. Another influential factor that helped LAMP in its first years was the association it cultivated with representatives of the Conference on Latin American History and the Latin American Studies Association. Advice from scholars who use materials that LAMP has acquired has helped initiate a number of original filming projects and continues to steer LAMP in decisions on major new projects.

An important planning decision was that dues initially would be set at a very modest level of $500 per year. This initially opened LAMP membership to as wide a participation as possible. Since there were no direct administrative costs borne by the project, this permitted a maximum investment for projects financed from the annual dues. Only two LAMP members have dropped that membership during the first ten years, and eleven new libraries joined after LAMP was established. With the maturing of the project, dues assessment has become an issue of lively discussion at every LAMP annual meeting.

An important feature of the original LAMP Prospectus called for a representative of the Library of Congress to serve on the LAMP Executive Committee. This has provided the closest possible association of LAMP with the Library of Congress Preservation Program. The result has been that a number of Latin American journal and newspaper titles of particular importance have been identified as worthy candidates for preservation by the Library of Congress, and some have been filmed. Once a title is filmed by the Library of Congress, it becomes available either on interlibrary loan or by purchase of a positive film copy at a price far under that of making an original negative. This demonstrates just how wide and beneficial the avenues of cooperation can be.

Today LAMP functions as only one of several special internationally focused projects of the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago. While the LAMP members decide upon the projects to be undertaken during the annual meetings or by written vote, the projects that are ultimately selected are administered by the Center for Research Libraries. Almost all filming for both CRL and LAMP projects is carried out in the Photographic Laboratory of the University of Chicago Library. Complete files of journals earmarked for filming are identified and assembled at CRL not
only from the holdings of LAMP member libraries but also from other libraries outside of LAMP. In several cases where LAMP has engaged in overseas filming, CRL has assisted by sending raw film overseas through U.S. government channels to lower project costs to feasible levels. The Center also collects the annual membership dues of $500. All project activities are governed by the LAMP Prospectus, and this document is periodically updated.

The connection with the Center for Research Libraries, which is one of the largest if not the largest North American cooperative library acquisition enterprise, is mutually beneficial. While those CRL members which do not also subscribe separately to LAMP cannot freely borrow LAMP materials housed at the Center, they can purchase positive copies of those materials at a charge far under the original cost of making the negative. Discussions underway now between the CRL administration and LAMP Executive Committee are exploring ways of increasing this accessibility to the broader CRL membership without endangering the dues structure of the LAMP project.

Since 1975 the benefits of cooperation through LAMP are becoming more evident with each complete project, and they will become massive as they continue to accumulate in the future. The economics of cooperation are also favorable, with the per reel cost for each member of LAMP figured at $4.32 per reel in 1980 and slightly decreasing by 1986. The impact on scholarship is equally impressive with original filming projects having been negotiated or undertaken in Brazil, Chile, Haiti, and Mexico as well as in the United States.

To date, the LAMP project of greatest distinction is the completion of the filming of the relatários of the Brazilian Imperial Period of 1822-1889. These annual reports are the official records of the chief administrative officers of the government, at that time known as presidents (governors), of the twenty Brazilian provinces. With the expansion of this project later to include filming of the Relatórios Ministeriais (annual reports) of the ministries of the Treasury, War, Interior, Justice, Navy, and Foreign Relations from approximately 1825 to 1890, LAMP has preserved a significant portion of the administrative and political history of Brazil before Independence. Furthermore, positive and negative copies of this material are available at the National Library in Brazil and at CRL in Chicago where they can be borrowed or reproduced for scholars.

The first Brazilian relatários project is especially important since Ann Hartness-Kane has published the Subject Guide to Statistics in the Presidential Reports of the Brazilian Provinces, 1830-1899 (Austin, TX: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1977). This project began with negotiations in Rio de Janeiro in 1978 with the director of the Biblioteca Nacional and the director of the Arquivo Nacional.
Holdings of the relatórios held in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Arquivo Nacional, which were later expanded to include those in regional Brazilian archives, were collected and collated by a team of Brazilian students and researchers under the direction of the Biblioteca Nacional. LAMP provided some equipment and all of the raw film, which was supplied by CRL through the U.S. Library of Congress Office in Rio de Janeiro. This involvement of government agencies in both Brazil and the United States, the need to identify and collect in Rio de Janeiro and in regional archives the most complete files possible, and the need to negotiate the sharing of the costs of the project by LAMP and its Brazilian partners make the project appear more complicated than it actually was. The enthusiasm in Brazil was so strong that special funds were secured by the Brazilian partners to search and fill in missing files from reports held in regional repositories. The existence of adequate equipment and experienced technicians in the Biblioteca Nacional in a well-managed administrative unit responsible for microfilming made it possible to meet readily the Library of Congress filming standards, and the supplying of raw film from Chicago presented no complications. As a final measure of its success, this project was expanded to include the ministerial reports already mentioned for approximately the same period, and it has led as well to filming the Almanak Laemmert (1884-1889) which is rarely found in North America or Brazilian libraries. This continuing relationship also shows great promise for the future, and the availability of this material has had a strong impact on Brazilian scholarship.

It has been LAMP's experience that foreign filming presents some difficult but not insurmountable problems. One, the need to provide raw film to avoid the unavailability or high costs of film outside of the United States, has already been discussed. A second problem is the securing of permission for filming in compliance with international copyright laws. Because this is difficult and often impossible to do by mail, on several occasions LAMP representatives or Latin Americanist faculty from LAMP institutions have obtained this permission while carrying out field research. Foreign publishers usually are pleased to know that their publication has been permanently preserved, therefore relieving them of the expense and technical difficulties of undertaking their own preservation filming. However, location of proper authorities to secure filming rights, especially for smaller publications or for publications which have gone out of print, can be a problem. In spite of obvious difficulties, filming abroad still offers the greatest attraction to LAMP.

While LAMP has added to its inventory copies of microfilms available commercially, the thrust of its intent is placed on original filming. Notable among its accomplishments, and in addition to the Brazilian projects just described, LAMP has filmed the Buckley collection of newspaper clippings on revolutionary
Mexico held by the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas, the West Coast Leader, a leading weekly newspaper from Lima which was filmed for CRL by Yale University Library, the first year of the Mexican daily newspaper Uno más uno, and the important social and political magazines, Siempre from Mexico City, and portions of Ercilla and ZigZag from Santiago, Chile. Titles originally considered by LAMP and referred to the Library of Congress for filming include the Buenos Aires newspaper, La Nación, and Suplemento Literario, an important Brazilian literary supplement to the official gazette of the state of Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

While LAMP in its first decade has concentrated its attention on filming materials from Mexico and Brazil, it has begun to expand its interest into the Central American and the Caribbean regions. It has completed the preservation on microfiche of the vertical files of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños at Hunter College, but has made futile efforts to film missing portions of the Nicaraguan newspaper, La Prensa. There is high demand among scholars to gain access to La Prensa, and there is some concern that issues held only in Nicaragua are in danger due to poor conditions under which they are now stored and due to difficulties being experienced by the publishers with the Nicaraguan government.

This brings me back to the central concern of this study. How can Latin American research materials be better shared and preserved in microformats in Europe and the United States?

The numerous collections of newspapers, journals, and archives which are in eminent danger of being lost or damaged require our collective attention. Perhaps incomplete files of materials LAMP wishes to film could be completed by filming holdings in European repositories and libraries. Perhaps there is a desire among libraries outside of the United States to share with LAMP through exchanges or by purchase of positive copies which LAMP holds or can purchase from other sources. There are undoubtedly many materials on film in European institutions which do not appear in standard bibliographic reference guides which would be of great use to scholars. Where are these materials located?

I would suggest that initial efforts at cooperation should: (1) identify institutions in Europe and elsewhere with major Latin American holdings and open communications between them and LAMP; (2) identify among these institutions those that are involved in microform projects; (3) invite representatives from institutions not participating in LAMP to attend annual LAMP meetings at SALALM as designated observers for their home institutions; (4) seek for LAMP from European institutions advice on communicating LAMP's activities to institutions outside of the United States; (5) identify institutions outside of LAMP which have significant Latin American holdings already on microforms

The key to cooperation is of course access first to the knowledge of where the materials are, followed by the establishment of agreements by which these materials may be filmed or exchanged, if they are already available. The ravages of time and natural disasters have been of constant concern to many librarians and scholars. I believe the Latin American Microform Project can do a better job in serving their needs if its efforts can be extended to cooperate internationally. It is my hope that with SALALM meeting in Berlin progress toward this goal can begin.
It is generally thought that we British tend to maintain a quaintly old-fashioned attitude towards new-fangled innovations, among which we, of course, still include microforms. However, in spite of our old world prejudices, and whilst hotly maintaining that the printed book will never become obsolete, even we accept that, in spite of their many disadvantages (which need not be catalogued here) microforms provide the best currently available medium to give wide diffusion to scarce material whilst preserving precious originals. We are, at least, beginning to accept the inevitable—and to recognise that this inevitable development is perhaps even to be welcomed.

However, the U.K. prospect is not yet an entirely satisfactory one. When I was first asked to contribute to this panel, I envisaged a presentation on Latin American materials in microformat in The British Library and other libraries in the U.K. To this end I approached a selection of institutions which I knew to hold strong collections of Latin Americana enquiring into past and present projects and future initiatives in in-house filming. From the University of Glasgow Library I received a report that O Estado de São Paulo, 1980-1983, and Uno más uno, 1980-1982, have already been filmed, and that there are plans for filming Excelsior. A project involving the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile collection of press cuttings had to be abandoned for technical reasons, however. The University of London Library has filmed the G. R. G. Conway collection, and an index to the collection by Michael Costeloe--Mexico State Papers, 1744-1843: A Descriptive Catalogue of the G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Institute of Historical Research, University of London--was published by The Athlone Press in 1976.

These efforts unfortunately prove to be the exception rather than the rule. Most libraries film Latin American material only in response to customers' orders, and, although archival negatives and positive copies are usually retained, there have been few attempts at bibliographic control of material filmed in-house, and consequently little possibility of avoidance of duplication of effort or of positive identification of promising areas for cooperation. The main reason for this shortcoming would seem to be a lack of resources and of leadership and it is thus fortunate that The British Library has recently begun a bibliographically controlled conservation microfilming programme which should provide the impetus for, and the coordination and support of, efforts elsewhere.
Faced, in the present economic climate, with currently necessary conservation work which would take twenty-five to thirty years to complete with existing internal resources, the Library has, in many areas, adopted a policy of providing microform surrogates and restricting original material which, while not being conserved, is not allowed to deteriorate further. Technical advances have overcome most of our reservations about the risks of filming fragile material, and only a small percentage of the collection will be ineligible for this treatment.

Further impetus for this programme will come from the recent reorganisation of the Library into subject-based rather than function-based divisions—that is to say, into Humanities and Social Sciences, and Science, Technology and Industry, rather than Reference and Lending Divisions. Now that our respective holdings are to be regarded as common stock, and all thus available for loan, we shall need to increase our use of microforms as an alternative to lending originals. Moreover, we can look upon the microfilming programme as a useful means of generating revenue simply as a by-product of improvement in services and preservation. As the programme gathers momentum, there will be further investigations into the possibilities of cooperation with libraries overseas, both in provision and interchange of microfilm and in its bibliographic control. Indeed, in The British Library's Hispanic Section, we have already started on one cooperative project with Latin America. At the request of the Cuban ambassador to London, we are in process of compiling a catalogue of our Cuban holdings which will be checked against the catalogues of the Biblioteca Nacional José Martí. We shall then make and exchange film of items needed to fill gaps in both collections. If this project is successful, we hope to be able to interest other Latin American countries in similar schemes.

Although the Library's Preservation Service is chiefly concerned with physical condition when selecting items for conservation microfilming, it also works in close consultation with the language and culture sections, and invites them to suggest select groups of works which, while not necessarily in extremely poor condition, would constitute desirable microform collections.

The first group in this category to be filmed is our collection of works by and about José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi. Definite proposals for the future include the Domínguez collection of over 500 mainly nineteenth-century Latin American pamphlets. Other suggestions include eighteenth- and nineteenth-century periodicals—perhaps Papel periódico de la Ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá (1791-1797) or El Repertorio Americano (1826-1827) for example, or a selection of early commercial directories and yearbooks. The possibilities are exciting, and suggestions for the identification of suitable material will be warmly welcomed. Official gazettes are, of course, obvious candidates, and I understand that The British Library's Official Publications Library
is currently negotiating with the Library of Congress and New York Public Library about a cooperative programme. Another priority should be census reports, a task which should be made easier on the publication of the forthcoming British union catalogue of Latin American censuses.

Exciting though these new projects are, bibliographic control is obviously an essential ingredient of their success, and to this end, The British Library has initiated the National Register of Microform Masters. Its objects are to make it possible to prevent repeated filming of the same items, both within the Library and throughout the U.K., to avoid Xeroxing material which has already been filmed, and to provide a basis for substitution policy. It will include records for all current British Library in-house filming, with the exception of the Newspaper Library, and for conservation filming carried out by contractors. Existing files of films already made to customers' orders will gradually be added, and the system will then be expanded to cover records from all over the U.K. The Register is mounted as a BLAISE (British Library Automated Information Service) Local file, and linked to RLIN. Output will be on fiche, in author/title and shelfmark sequences. It will be an invaluable tool in the bibliographic control of microfilming projects both within and without The British Library, and in due course, we shall be able to use it specifically to coordinate efforts in the Latin American field, perhaps with the cooperation of SCONUL's Advisory Committee on Latin American Materials.

There are no plans at present to include records of British Library Newspaper Library projects in the Register. Nevertheless, this department has, for many years, had its own microfilming programme to serve the interests of stock and shelf-space conservation, and of revenue earning.

For foreign language material, the selection is made either on conservation grounds or if a film is ordered by a member of the public. Once filmed, the originals are wrapped and stored. In view of increasing activity in this field, and of increased purchasing of film in preference to hard copy, the Newspaper Library has recently opened a new microfilm reading area. All filming is currently carried out in-house. A new edition of the Newspaper Library's current catalogue will be published soon. The catalogue includes various Latin American items. There are over twenty titles from Argentina: some long but patchy runs (for example, The Standard and River Plate News, Review of the River Plate); some longer runs without lacunae (for example, Gaceta del Foro from 1916 to 1964, El Mundo from 1960 to 1967); some short runs (for example, Gaceta de Buenos Aires from 21st July to 24th November 1934). Titles recently filmed are Nueva Gaceta (6th October to 21st November 1949), La Opinión (1974-75) and La Prensa (20th April to 15th September 1955). Among Brazilian Items filmed are Jornal de letras, 1953-1966,
Wileman's Brazilian Review, 1928-1934. Jornal de Brasil, 1972-1975 has also been filmed, but the Newspaper Library has run into copyright problems with this title. From Chile, we have two reasonably long runs of La información and of Magellan Times, and of South Pacific Mail, 1914-1939. The Colombian paper Cromos is available from 1916 to 1982, and issues for 1983-1985 are in process of being filmed. A few isolated issues of Cuba Internacional and L.P.V. are listed, while from Honduras we have almost a three-year run of El Estado, and a patchy run of Gaceta Judicial from 1900 to 1911. From Mexico, we have patchy runs of several late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century titles, such as El Demócrata, El Pueblo, El Universal, and from Panama, Panama Star and Herald, 1874-1882. Peruvian titles are represented by only a few isolated issues, but from Uruguay, we have a seven-year run, from 1955 to 1962, of El bien público. We have also filmed the London publication Brazil and River Plate Mail from 1863 to 1955. Other films have been made, but because of copyright restrictions, are not listed in the sale catalogue. However, it is worthwhile to consult the Newspaper Library about the availability of specific titles, as positive copies can be supplied if the customer obtains written permission from the copyright owner. Some attempt is made to complete runs by borrowing from other libraries before filming, but there is room for further cooperation in this area, particularly in the case of non-British publications. An interesting recent development is a suggestion that individuals might allow the Library to reproduce items from their own collections in return for a positive copy of the film. The first offer has come from a member of the Library's staff, who is willing to loan a complete run of the Brazilian title Lampião, but this project is still at the discussion stage.

We have recently carried out a review of our collection of Latin American newspapers which has led to a great improvement in our holdings. Many of these titles are acquired in microform, but in some cases film is not available, or not of satisfactory quality. For example, the Jornal do Brasil was originally acquired on film, but the quality proved to be so poor that we reverted to a hard copy supply, and now carry out our own filming.

To summarise: It seems that no large-scale or coordinated initiatives are being taken outside The British Library, and that within the Library, which consequently must lead U.K. efforts, with the exception of the Newspaper Library, microfilming programmes are in their infancy, although showing strong promise of developing into lusty adulthood over the coming years. There was a slight danger that projects might develop in a patchy way, and the National Register of Microform Masters is designed to steer round this peril by consistently registering U.K. efforts and imposing bibliographic control. It will, taking full advantage
of its link with RLIN, collect and disseminate information which will open the way to wide possibilities of cooperative efforts and sharing, both nationally and internationally.

We must ensure that we think carefully about priority areas of need in the microfilming of Latin American materials and strive for a coordinated and dynamic effort. I hope that the discussions and suggestions of this panel will provide the necessary stimulation and nourishment to help today's acorn grow into tomorrow's well-shaped and vigorous oak.
26. LATIN AMERICAN MATERIALS IN MICROFORMATS IN THE IBERO-AMERIKANISCHES INSTITUT, BERLIN

Sabine Zehrer

The Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut is a special library that collects literature on all subjects dealing with Latin America and published in all countries in the area. Publications from Spain and Portugal are also purchased if they are at all related to Latin America. Acquisitions in some special subjects, like law of Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, and parliamentary records, are bought under the sponsorship of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Society).

The Institut was founded in 1930 as a cultural and research institute. It started with 120,000 books donated by official and private foundations. After fifty-seven years the Institut is vital and strong. It regularly organizes exhibitions of literature and art; invites guest professors to give lectures in their fields of expertise; sponsors full-time academic research in economic history, art history, and Latin American archaeology, ethno-history, social anthropology, and ethnolinguistics. It edits two periodicals and one serial and holds the largest and most important collection of Latinamericana in Europe. New acquisitions continue to be added to the collection.

Besides its print materials and audiovisuals, the Institut acquires literature on microformats. When confronted with a choice between buying a paper edition or a microformat, usually the paper edition is chosen because of the more convenient handling, and a preference of library users. Concerning periodicals, the decision for or against one format depends on various facts. The advantages of the microformat are that it takes up less space, it is easier to use than large volumes of newspapers or government gazettes, and it is easier to lend to other libraries. Also, microforms may be purchased in complete sets, which guarantees that no volumes will be lost in shipping. Finally, many times the price of microformats is lower than the annual subscription, to which one must add the cost of binding. One disadvantage of the purchase of periodicals in microformats is that all issues arrive at one time, often many months after their publication. Another consideration is that to this day the life expectancy of the microformat is unknown.

The Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut's large stock of old newspapers were unbound and stored under inadequate conditions for many years. Newspapers were bundled without special precautions, and were in danger of breaking along the folds, or of falling to pieces due to the influence of the light. Binding
this material was inadvisable because of lack of storage facilities, and many pieces were already too damaged to bind. In 1974 the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft sponsored the microfilming of those holdings by financing the equipment, and paying the salary of one employee for two years. Originally it was intended to film all of the library's newspapers. In 1980 it was realized that one employee was not enough to complete the project. At that time it was established that some bookbinders would bind newspapers for 30 to 40 DM per volume. It was decided that it would be more expedient to bind all current newspapers from 1980 onward and to film only the old stock. First all newspapers from 1975 to 1980 were filmed, and then old stock is to be filmed retrospectively from 1975 back, on a title-by-title basis.

The filming is done by a Leitz Ducoflex 35 camera, on Fuji Microfilm Negative Panchromatic Safety Film 35mm x 30.5m (100 ft.). Before filming the newspapers are checked for completeness, arranged and pressed thoroughly on an old bookbinder's press. The development of the film is done commercially by a firm that guarantees the technical quality. The film is then checked by an IAI employee for gaps and readability. At that time the original newspapers are destroyed. The films are then stamped with the Institut's perforated stamp. With a special pencil the book number, volume, and year of edition are written on the film.

Films are then spooled on plastic reels, protected by pasteboards fixed by strings, and then are placed in plastic or thin plate boxes which are kept in cardboard boxes. At present the films are stored in specific steel cupboards which protect the film against dust and light, but as these are extremely expensive when space runs out the film will be stored on open shelves or steel cupboards as is done now with purchased films. The protective wrapping described above should be sufficient to avoid damage, particularly as the storeroom is air-conditioned.

Since 1945 no two libraries in Germany collect materials in the same manner. All publications in the German language, be they published in Germany or abroad, are acquired by the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt am Main. It can be assumed that every book in the German language will be found in that library. Foreign materials are collected by several libraries, and a special system has been devised for those acquisitions. The production of books all over the world is so high that it is impossible for one institution to employ all the necessary specialists needed to make the selections. Therefore all subjects and all countries have been divided among libraries which count on a specially trained staff or already have special holdings. This division was based on two criteria: by geographical area and by field. However, two libraries often buy the same material, or neither does because each assumes it is the other library's responsibility. As an example, the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut
is the assigned library for Latin American materials, but other libraries and institutions which are responsible for comprehensively collecting in a special subject (i.e., agriculture) from all over the world also include Latin America. The Technische Informationsbibliothek in Hannover collects technical subjects; the Zentralbibliothek der Landbauwissenschaften in Bonn acquires agricultural materials; the Zentralbibliothek der Medizin in Koln is responsible for medical literature; and the Bibliothek fur Weltwirtschaft in Kiel collects economic literature. The acquisition system described results in stocks of Latin American materials not in one but in several libraries which partly complement one another. These libraries perform an important service by exchanging literature, but holdings of newspapers, government gazettes, and parliamentary records of the IAI cannot be lent because they are unbound or they are too big. Microfilming would obviate those problems. Another problem that could be solved by the use of microfilm would be the need for storage space. Publications such as newspapers, government gazettes, and parliamentary records are acquired by several libraries. Both gazettes and records are purchased by all six Max Planck Institutes, those dealing with law are purchased by all University Institutes for foreign and international law, and by the IAI. None of these institutions has much storage room. A third problem could be solved by microfilming if several institutions cooperated to acquire complete runs of Latin American periodicals and to concentrate all holdings available in the Federal Republic in one place.

The first step in a cooperative microfilming project is for all participating libraries to choose the kind of material they want, then to make a list of the titles to be purchased. In the case of the Ibero-Americanaisches Institut, the first priority is to film its stock of newspapers, retrospective and current; the second is to film all government gazettes and parliamentary records.

Several indexes useful in finding Latin American periodicals in the Federal Republic of Germany are: The Zeitschriftendatenbank (National Serials Data Bank), which gives the holdings of nearly every library. For the government gazettes there is the Verzeichniss rechtswissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften und Serien (Union List of Legal Serials) edited by the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, and the index of Gesetz- und Amtsblatter des Auslandes und der DDR in deutschen Bibliotheken (Government Gazettes and Official Publications of Foreign Countries and the German Democratic Republic in German Libraries) published in February 1986. Both indexes are printouts from the Zeitschriftendatenbank which facilitates research in special areas. For searching newspapers there is the Standortverzeichnis ausländischer Zeitungen und Illustrierten (Index of Foreign Newspapers and Magazines) in the Federal Republic of Germany. This is not a printed index but a catalog kept in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. The IAI has its
own periodicals' index. It is reprinted from the Zeitschriften-datenbank and can be searched by title, country, or subject.

Filming should be done in the country where the most complete holdings are found. If this country is the FRG, the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut should be the central place for collection and preparation of filming. The filming should be done commercially. In the experience of the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt, it is best to inquire in West Germany for the best price. In January 1986 the price for microfilming one double page of a newspaper was 17.5 pfennig. There are 600 shots to one film and that would make the price for one reel 105DM. This includes the master and one copy. Each copy after that costs 22DM.

This kind of cooperation would benefit all participants and result in furthering knowledge of Latin America all over the world.
Songs of Exile and Literature of Immigrants
27. CHILEAN FOLK MUSIC IN EXILE/NUEVA
CANCION CHILENA EN EL EXILIO

Ana María Cobos and Ana Lya Sater

Introduction

The theme of this conference, Latin American migrations to and from Europe and their transcultural contributions, can readily be applied to Nueva Canción Chilena in exile in Europe since September of 1973. Our desire to examine this subject is the result not only of our personal interest in Nueva Canción (we are both Chilean) but also because we recently realized that many Nueva Canción singers had begun to perform in languages other than Spanish. For example, during their last Los Angeles tour, Inti-lllimani sang songs in Italian. Quilapayún also has sung in English and regularly performs in French. In both instances there has been considerable negative reaction among some personal friends. This may have something to do with intrinsic values that refuse or do not want to break with the past or, as in the case of emigrés or exiles, with what one has left behind. We believe the introduction of foreign language songs into their repertoires to be an obvious manifestation of the effect exile has had on their music and we quite naturally began to wonder about other effects. Besides language, have the themes or instrumentation changed? What else has been affected by the long years of exile? Needless to say, adaptations to life in exile vary widely, probably ranging from a total refusal to accept or interact with the new culture to an open adoption of everything in the new country. We feel that the exile experiences of the musicians we will examine provide some examples of transcultural contributions.

What does it mean for an artist to be forced to live in exile? Can the experience be a positive one or must it be entirely negative? As emigrants from Chile to the United States, we both identify with and can appreciate some of the feelings of duality that these artists undoubtedly experience in being forced to live away from their homeland as they look back at the culture left behind while the adoptive one dominates their daily lives. Let's not forget that these are extremely important questions, because the environment is such a vital stimulus for creativity.

For our study, we have selected two solo and at times duo performers, Isabel Parra and Angel Parra, and the groups Quilapayún and Inti-lllimani. Inti-lllimani has been living in Rome since 1973, and all the others (until very recently) have been making their home in Paris or its outskirts since the coup. We examine some musical pieces produced in exile, comparing these
with songs composed before the coup and/or in some instances with post-coup compositions. We comment on the themes, language, and lyrics of these pieces and make some observations about the effect the presence of the musicians has had on the host countries. In order to facilitate the task before us we have divided our responsibilities. Sater discusses Angel Parra and Inti-Illimani. Cobos is responsible for Isabel Parra and Quilapayún. Furthermore, to underscore the significance of language on the topic, Sater presents her study in Spanish and Cobos hers in English.

La Nueva Canción Chilena

¿Quién de los presentes no ha experimentado nostalgia alguna vez al escuchar una melodia evocadora de su tierra natal, estando en el extranjero?

La música, por ser la más abstracta de las artes, puede viajar en la mente de los compositores, los intérpretes y de los oyentes, de un continente a otro. ¿Qué pasa con esta música viajera cuando sus cantautores se ven obligados a abandonar su país? Como ya lo dijera Ana María, nuestra ponencia estudiará la Nueva Canción Chilena en el exilio.

Primero, quisiera definir para ustedes lo que llamamos Nueva Canción. Es el término que se usa para denominar un amplio movimiento musical que utiliza primordialmente música folklórica y temas de la realidad social actual, como la base para crear nuevas melodías y textos. La Nueva Canción se desarrolló en Latinoamérica junto con ciertos eventos políticos y sociales acaecidos en las décadas del 50 y el 60, y en especial, en el cono sur del continente. Este movimiento nació como una alternativa popular hacia la música extranjera, especialmente la norteamericana y la europea. Es así que la Nueva Canción era, y sigue siendo, una reafirmación de los valores netamente latinoamericanos.

En Chile, la Nueva Canción nació también en los años 60. Sus padres espirituales fueron Violeta Parra, chilena, y Atahualpa Yupanqui, argentino, quienes influenciaron el desarrollo de la Nueva Canción latinoamericana y cambiaron para siempre el folklore del continente.

Pioneros de la investigación folklórica recolectaron canciones, versos, leyendas y danzas chilenas campesinas e indígenas que eran desconocidas hasta entonces del público chileno, y que fueron incorporadas a la Nueva Canción.

En Chile, al igual que en el resto de Latinoamérica, el nacimiento de la Nueva Canción coincidió con el surgimiento de manifestaciones populares importantes en los años 60. Así fue como la canción se vio involucrada en este movimiento desde el principio.

En 1965, Angel e Isabel Parra abrieron la famosa Peña de los Parra a su vuelta de Francia. Es importante destacar aquí que
fue durante su estadía en ese país que Isabel y Angel conocieron y aprendieron a tocar varios instrumentos latinoamericanos tradicionales. En otras papabras, Francia ha jugado y sigue jugando un papel importante en el desarrollo de los artistas que nos conciernen.

En cuanto a la Peña de los Parra, ésta marcó el hito del camino que seguiría la Nueva Canción chilena y dio la posibilidad, además, para la apertura de otras Peñas folklóricas, principalmente en las Universidades. Más adelante describiré la Peña de los Parra en detalle.

Otras fechas importantes para la Nueva Canción son las siguientes: en 1967 se realizó el primer festival de la canción de protesta en Cuba donde Angel Parra representó a Chile. En 1968, la Universidad Católica de Chile auspició el primer festival de los que ellos llamaron "La Nueva Canción Chilena" y que le dio nombre a este movimiento. Al año siguiente, se realizó un festival de la canción comprometida en Valparaíso, organizado por el Instituto Chileno-Cubano de Cultura.

A medida que la Nueva Canción se hacía más popular y se difundía por todos los medios de comunicación, se formó una casa grabadora y distribuidora de discos, DICAP, con el propósito de propagar la música de este movimiento, y que es la que ha distribuído la mayor parte de los discos grabados por los artistas de nuestra ponencia.

Aún antes del advenimiento del gobierno popular en 1970, Quilapayún, Inti-lllimani y los Parra, entre otros, eran conocidos del público chileno; pero fue el gobierno de Allende quien les dio el apoyo necesario para desarrollar al máximo la Nueva Canción. En efecto, tanto Quilapayún como Inti-lllimani pasaron a ser los embajadores musicales del nuevo gobierno. Estos conjuntos viajaron por el mundo difundiendo el nuevo experimento político chileno y solicitando el apoyo mundial para él. Es por eso que estos dos conjuntos se encontraban en Europa el 11 de septiembre de 1973, día del golpe militar que derrocara al presidente Allende.

La Nueva Canción chilena ha triunfado en el extranjero y es una de las más difundidas de toda la música latinoamericana actual. Ha llegado a un gran nivel de desarrollo, formando uno de los movimientos más poderosos y de mayor influencia externa del continente, gracias en parte a los autores e intérpretes exiliados.

Es la variedad de los temas poéticos, políticos y musicales lo que hace que la Nueva Canción chilena despierte interés internacional, fuera del interés general que despierta Chile y su situación política actual.

Los Parra, Quilapayún e Inti-lllimani han actuado en casi todos los países de Europa, en Japón, Australia, los Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica, con excepción de Chile, difundiendo el mensaje de la experiencia chilena.
La Peña de los Parra

Como ya lo dije antes, cuando Angel e Isabel Parra volvieron de Francia con su madre, inauguraron en Santiago la Peña de los Parra, en abril de 1965. Este lugar era como un "café-concert" o una "cave" al estilo francés, que fue una novedad en Chile, y que influyó en el desarrollo y la difusión de la Nueva Canción chilena, pues era una forma novedosa de escuchar a los folcloristas que antes actuaban en teatros, radios y en la naciente televisión chilena.

En una vieja casona del centro de Santiago, todos los jueves, viernes y sábados en la noche, se reunía un grupo de compositores e intérpretes a cantar sus últimas composiciones, o las de otros autores. Aún recuerdo la sala repleta de sillitas de paja y mesitas bajas e incómodas; pero la música era tan maravillosa, que nos hacía olvidar toda incomodidad. En un rincón, se alzaba un pequeño entramado donde apenas cabían los intérpretes. Se consumía vino tinto y empanadas. El ambiente se encontraba cargado de electricidad, creado por el contacto cercano de los intérpretes con el público, el humo de los cigarrillos, la poca luz y la música generalmente nueva para los oyentes.

En la Peña se dieron a conocer los hermanos Parra y una serie de músicos e intérpretes que hoy gozan de fama internacional. Entre ellos, Víctor Jara, Patricio Manns, Rolando Alarcón e el grupo Los Curacas. También actuaron allí Quilapayún e Inti-Illimani. Los Parra difundieron en la Peña el folklore de Violeta Parra y las canciones que ellos componían. También introdujeron allí los instrumentos y ritmos latinoamericanos, desconocidos hasta entonces por el público chileno, y que pasarían a formar parte de la Nueva Canción.

Como decía un comentarista chileno: "La Peña fue el cuartel general de la revolución folklorista que se desencadenó en Chile, y que despertó la emulación con cerca de un centenar de otras Peñas en Santiago y las provincias, y que dio a la música popular y tradicional patente de benemérito cuando hasta entonces había que tararearla a escondidas, porque era estimada vulgar."

La Peña es algo que todavía vive en el recuerdo de la gente. A ella asistían intelectuales, políticos, niños y viejos, estudiantes, extranjeros y altos ejecutivos. Esta institución musical dejó de existir en 1973 con el cambio de gobierno en Chile.

Analysis of the Music

Isabel Parra

Isabel Parra is the daughter of Violeta Parra. During her childhood years Isabel was surrounded by her mother's music and soon learned to play several instruments. She later accompanied Violeta in her travels throughout Chile compiling and transcribing authentic Chilean folk music. Isabel and her brother, Angel, studied music in France in the late 1950s and early 1960s and
they performed together with other Latin American singers in La Candelaria nightclub in the Latin Quarter of Paris. In 1965, upon their return to Chile, they founded the Peña de los Parra to provide a forum for new performers of the Nueva Canción. Isabel sang continuously at the Peña until September 1973 when her eleven years of exile began in Paris. As of late 1984 Isabel has been residing in Buenos Aires, awaiting the opportunity to return to her beloved Chile.

Isabel Parra has been professionally very active throughout her many years of exile. She has produced more than ten LPs and has performed throughout Eastern and Western Europe, Latin America, and the United States in international folk, peace, or antinuclear festivals. However, despite this undeniable success, the exile years have been extremely painful and this experience has come to dominate the lyrics of her more recent work.

In order to examine the effect exile has had on Isabel's music I have analyzed three albums: two from the early exile years and the third a more recent production. From these three albums I have selected four songs, all composed and sung by Isabel herself. In addition, I comment briefly on the other songs in the albums discussing their instrumentation and themes.

In the first selection, "Ni toda la tierra entera," from the album Vientos del pueblo (1974) Isabel uses the guitar and the charango to express in a very effective way the anguish of finding herself in a situation that has been imposed upon her, a situation that always leaves her feeling like a stranger no matter where she is. If given but one choice she would choose the glory of returning to her country. In this simple song from the early exile years Isabel communicates her misery in being away from her country.

A brief examination of the other compositions in this album indicates that only two of the twelve songs deal with a longing for her country. The rest deal with a broad variety of subjects. The instruments used are common ones in Nueva Canción and the lyrics are composed by various Nueva Canción musicians.

In the second selection, from the album Isabel Parra de Chile (1975), Isabel uses the Chilean national dance form, the cueca, which normally relates light-hearted and gay stories and is accompanied by the guitar, tambourine (pandereta), bombo or Indian drum, harp, and piano, among others. "Cuecas del pañuelo," however, is the very serious story of a courageous people who will seek their revenge. The tale is obviously symbolic of the current Chilean struggle against the military government and it communicates a positive and unmistakable message. Isabel relies mainly on the instruments that characterize the cueca but also introduces the flute, an instrument not found in Chilean folk music.

The other songs in this album indicate that four of the twelve deal with a longing for her home, two of them convey sad
but positive messages about the Chilean political situation, and the rest cover other subjects. The instrumentation of this album is traditional of Nueva Canción although Isabel does introduce the piano and flute in a song based on a poem by Mario Benedetti.

These two songs from Isabel's early exile years, 1974 and 1975, embody several discernible characteristics. First, there is a growing concern with her personal exile situation; second, more of the lyrics are her own; and finally, there is a slow but definite introduction of different instruments to Nueva Canción.

The song "Tu voluntad más fuerte que el destierro" from the 1982 album of the same title is a very moving and beautiful poem about her banishment and relentless determination to return to her homeland. Isabel sings accompanied by her guitar, the tiple, and piano, all instruments by this time characteristic of Nueva Canción. The bass is, however, introduced for the first time.

The song "La llama encendida," also from the 1982 album, has, as the name implies, a positive outlook toward the Chilean situation emphasizing that hope will not disappear no matter how much time passes. Isabel sings accompanied by her guitar, a flute, and the piano. In this 1982 album practically all the lyrics are composed by Isabel and exile has become the dominant theme of the eleven songs that make up the album. This is in contrast to her brother Angel, where exile is not the dominant factor of his music.

Angel Parra

Angel Parra es un verdadero trovador de la canción. El se describe diciendo que compone "música popular con arraigo folklórico"; pero es también el compositor de canciones para niños, un oratorio y una pasión.

Angel tuvo la oportunidad de haber vivido en París en los años 50, como ya lo dijimos anteriormente, lo que le permitió conocer a fondo la vida parisina. Estos fueron años importantes de formación cultural y musical, realizados en el extranjero y que le ayudaron posteriormente a adaptarse en el exilio. Tuvo la suerte, como lo dijera él mismo, de vivir con la Violeta en la casa, escuchando música todo el día o acompañándola en sus canciones. Aprendió a tocar el arpa y la guitarra con ella. En 1973, a la caída del gobierno de Allende, Angel fue tomado preso y relegado a Chacabuco, un campo de concentración ubicado en el norte de Chile. Ahí pasó varios meses que resultaron productivos musicalmente, pues es allí donde compuso su "Pasión según San Juan."

A la salida de Chacabuco, Angel se asiló en México, Cuba y Canadá, radicándose finalmente en París. Ha participado en varios festivales de la canción folklórica y viaja por todo el mundo difundiendo su mensaje y su música.
Angel se encuentra abocado en estos momentos a la tarea de componer la banda sonora para una película sobre Chile, que fue filmada clandestinamente en ese país por Miguel Littín.

El interés de Angel Parra por los niños se manifiesta a través de sus dos discos titulados "Al mundo niño le canto," grabado en Chile en 1966 y reeditado por la distribuidora Alerce en Chile recientemente, y su última grabación francesa "Chansons et comptines de l'Amérique du Sud." (Cantos y cuentitos de la América del Sur.) Su primer álbum lo dedicó a los niños chilenos, y veinte años más tarde renueva esta experiencia para los niños franceses y sus amiguitos latinoamericanos.

Las primeras canciones para niños son todas originales de Angel. Dos de ellas están dedicadas a sus niños Angélico y Javiére, y otras están basadas en juegos infantiles. Un guitarrista acompaña a Angel. En algunas canciones incluye la quena o el guitarrón. Las melodías son sencillas a la manera de rondas infantiles, o de ritmos latinoamericanos o chilenos.

La canción "El circo" empieza y termina con la melodía de un antiguo y conocido vals, y luego cambia de ritmo.

La grabación francesa, "Chansons et comptines de l'Amérique du Sud," no incluye canciones originalmente compuestas por Angel, sino cantitos, rondas infantiles, dichos y adivinanzas populares en Sudamérica. Después de cada canción, Angel incluye una adivinanza, tanto en francés como en español. En los cantos, un estribillo es cantado en español y el otro en francés. Angel es el solista y canta en los dos idiomas. Lo acompaña un coro de niños, aparentemente hijos de exiliados; también incluye piano, chelo, contrabajo, flauta y percusión. Esta grabación es de una gran calidad técnica y arreglos musicales sofisticados. Las melodías son sencillas y las voces de los niños son puras y cristalinas, no estudiadas. La influencia del exilio es obvia en la interpretación bilingüe, y en su doble intención de dar a conocer la tradición musical infantil latinoamericana en Europa, y de que los niños en el exilio no olviden la cultura latinoamericana.

Angel ha compuesto dos obras musicales religiosas. El "Oratorio para el pueblo" compuesto en Chile en 1966 y "La pasión según San Juan" creada durante su cautiverio en el campo de concentración y que fue grabada posteriormente en Francia. Esta pieza ha sido interpretada además en la iglesia de Notre Dame de París.

"El oratorio para el pueblo" fue la primera obra larga que compuso Angel y que causó cierto impacto por su novedad, aunque ya se conocían la "Misa Criolla Argentina" de los Fronterizos y la misa de Vicente Bianchi. Angel compuso su oratorio porque "había que hablar a Dios de otro modo . . . en un lenguaje claro, directo y realista." Esta obra está basada en las diferentes partes de la misa católica. La composición de la música y la letra son originales de Angel, quien interpreta las canciones
acompañado por un coro y un conjunto musical. Los ritmos son netamente chilenos. El "Padre Nuestro" es un trote, ritmo del norte de Chile. Los instrumentos usados son el triángulo, la quena, el charango, el bombo y cuerdas.

Y ahora examinemos "La pasión según San Juan." Tanto la música como el texto son originales de Angel. El texto es en español y se basa libremente en el versículo número dieciocho del Evangelio según San Juan, que relata el sufrimiento y la resurrección de Cristo. Los versos son octosílabos, métrica usada en la poesía popular. El autor es el solista y lo acompaña un coro masculino, guitarra y una orquesta tradicional. Se destacan el piano y el chelo como instrumentos solistas. El chelo interpreta la obertura que inicia la obra. La melodía es sencilla, sobria y sombría, casi como una marcha fúnebre, y se repite a través de casi toda la pieza musical. La obra es corta y está dividida en seis actos que siguen los pasos de Jesús en su pasión. Un narrador resume cada escena en francés, acompañado de coro y música de fondo.

Cuentan los rumores que cuando el comandante a cargo de los presos de Chacabuco leyó el texto de esta composición musical, quiso saber quién era el autor de esos versos subversivos. Cuando se le contestó que era el apóstol San Juan, el comandante no quedó muy satisfecho con la respuesta.

Nuevamente podemos notar en esta pieza de Angel el uso del francés, que obviamente fue agregado después de que la obra fue escrita.

En resumen, la experiencia del exilio para Angel ha sido positiva, resultando en la diversificación y enriquecimiento de su música.

Quilapayún

Quilapayún was formed in 1965 during a period of significant social and political movements in Chile. The name of the group means "the three bearded ones" in Mapuche, the language of the Araucanian Indians, and it refers to the three original student founders. The group currently has nine members. In addition, the name acknowledges the importance of Chile's Indian heritage and alludes to the "barbudos" of the Cuban revolution. The quality and innovative character of the group, partly due to the guidance provided by Victor Jara, their director in the early 1970s, quickly brought them national popularity. During the Popular Unity period Quilapayún performed regularly at the different Peñas and soon their reputation extended to many other countries. In 1973 the group became cultural ambassadors of the Popular Unity government and at the time of the coup they were on tour in Europe representing their government. Since 1973 Quilapayún has resided in Colombes, a working-class suburb of Paris. Quilapayún has performed throughout the world during its years of exile.
Quilapayún always has been firmly rooted in the Nueva Canción tradition desiring to preserve authentic folk music and use it as the basis for new creations with themes of social content. One of their main concerns from the beginning has been to create a bridge between classical and popular music in order to make the former accessible to broader audiences. To achieve this, they have collaborated with classical music composers such as Sergio Ortega, Luis Advis, and Juan Ortega-Salas among others to create new works in the classical tradition relating events of social relevance. The creation of the popular cantata "Santa María de Iquique" is one example of this fruitful collaboration.

The four songs selected for my study provide examples of Quilapayún's work in exile and demonstrate their versatility and high artistry. In the handout you have two versions of Tony Táño's "La Batea," a Cuban song composed in 1963. The first is an adaptation by Quilapayún which corresponds to the Chilean sociopolitical reality of the Popular Unity period. The second version was adapted in 1975 as a satirical attack on each one of the Chilean military junta members.

The second version of "La Batea" is an excellent example of Quilapayún's more overtly political compositions, also demonstrating the group's sense of humor and superb command of Caribbean instruments and rhythms.

The second selection, "Cuando Valparaíso," and the third, "Quand les hommes vivront d'amour," from the album Alentours (1980) provide a concrete example of how their work has been affected by the exile experience. In the first song, the group has completely dispensed with their Latin American folk instruments and are simply singing the lyrics by the Chilean poet/composer Desiderio Arenas accompanied by a full orchestra directed by Pierre Rabbath whose arrangement is very European and reminiscent of a Michel Legrand sound track or even Jacques Brel's work. The lyrics provide a very nostalgic and beautiful view of Valparaíso, Chile's main port.

The lyrics and music of the second song, "Quand les hommes vivront d'amour," are by Raymond Levesque. While the lyrics are hopeful of the day when humanity does away with war and lives off love, they are also realistic in observing that such time is probably far away. As in the earlier song, Quilapayún is singing the lyrics and is accompanied by Pierre Rabbath's full orchestra.

I believe these two songs demonstrate a different stage in Quilapayún's development. Before the exile years Quilapayún's collaboration with classical musicians produced a blend of classical and folk instruments and rhythms resulting in new forms or pieces.

The rest of the songs in the Alentours album provide further evidence of Quilapayún's richness, versatility, and
adaptation to their life in exile. The album includes some old favorites such as "Te recuerdo Amanda" by Víctor Jara, but this time sung in English; "Vamos mujer" by Luis Advis from the cantata "Santa María de Iquique"; and the German solidarity song by Bertolt Brecht, "Solidarität Lied," sung in German. One of the most beautiful and original songs of the album is the "Valse de Colombes" composed by Eduardo Carrasco, the group's director. This piece is played entirely with zampoñas, evoking a definite French flavor as the zampoñas skillfully imitate the sound of the hurdy-gurdy.

The last selection is "Es el colmo que no dejen entrar a la Chabela" from Quilapayún's most recent album Tralalí-Tralalá. The song criticizes the military junta's continued refusal to allow Isabel Parra and others like her to return to Chile. It is an extremely sophisticated musical arrangement, combining traditional Latin American folk and classical instruments to produce a piece reminiscent of Karl Orff's "Carmina Burana." The extremely beautiful and complex arrangement of the choruses highlights one of the group's well-known achievements.

The other compositions in the album cover a wide range of musical styles. Several are instrumental pieces, some of which combine European and Latin American folk instruments to produce fresh, new results. The "Rondeau de Bach" is an excellent example of a classical composition arranged to perfection using only quenas and zampoñas. Among the lyrical pieces is the tantalizing, tropical composition, "Tutti-frutti," which cannot but result in inviting the listener to respond by moving his/her body.

In summary, I believe that the pieces I have discussed demonstrate that Quilapayún's music has been influenced by the years in exile. Some songs are subtly or overtly critical of the Chilean political situation, employing traditional Latin American instruments and rhythms; others are nostalgic of the Chile that is so far away and are quite European in style; still others are sung in English, French, or German; and finally Quilapayún has produced some very beautiful and unique pieces combining traditional Latin American instruments with European forms. While the group has expanded its creative possibilities by adding European and classical instruments and compositions to its repertoire, they continue to adhere closely to the principles of Nueva Canción.

Inti-lllimani

El conjunto Inti-lllimani nació en 1967, en la Universidad Técnica del Estado de Santiago de Chile, cuando la Nueva Canción chilena empezaba a tomar forma y a hacerse popular. Este grupo de jóvenes solía actuar en la Peña universitaria y estaba formado por cinco muchachos que estudiaban diversas carreras técnicas, de los cuales dos eran ecuatorianos. Actualmente el Inti-lllimani está formado por siete integrantes.
Inti-Illimani deriva su nombre de dos palabras quechunas: "Inti" que significa "cóndor," e "Illimani" que puede significar luz, oro, sol, dorado.

En un comienzo, sólo pretendieron dar a conocer el folklore tradicional boliviano en especial, y la música latinoamericana en general, compuesta por otros autores. Pero más tarde se integraron a la corriente de la Nueva Canción, componiendo los textos y la música ellos mismos, en especial Horacio Salinas, quien es el director y compositor musical del grupo.

Durante su residencia en Chile, entre los años 1968 y 1973, Inti-Illimani realizó giras por Latinoamérica, grabó siete discos y obtuvo dos premios como el mejor grupo musical del año.

Durante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular, fueron contratados por la Universidad Técnica, lo que les permitió dedicarse por entero a su trabajo musical.

Desde que viven en Roma, sus giras por el mundo los han llevado hasta las puertas de Chile. Una de sus últimas actuaciones tuvo lugar en Mendoza, ciudad fronteriza con Argentina, donde cientos de chilenos se movilizaron hasta esa ciudad para ver actuar al conjunto.

Más de la mitad de su experiencia artística la han vivido en el exilio, lo que ha influido en su formación, crecimiento y consolidación artística. Existen ciertos factores innegables que influyen en su música en el exilio; por ejemplo, muestran su desarrollo musical a pueblos que les son ajenos. Por lo tanto, realizan un esfuerzo consciente por universalizar su música y el lenguaje de sus canciones, aunque el deber principal de ellos es el de preservar la cultura chilena, dice uno de los integrantes del grupo.

Además, se encuentran aislados en Italia, lo que les hace difícil el trabajar en conjunto con otros artistas chilenos, por ejemplo, con Patricio Manns, que vive en Suiza y quien es el autor de muchas de sus canciones. Por lo tanto, han tenido que componer ellos mismos los textos de sus canciones, como se refleja claramente en sus últimas grabaciones.

Inti-Illimani, fuera de diversificar su estilo y hacerlo más universal, al igual que Quilapayún, ha expandido sus actividades e intereses. En 1978 compuso la música para una adaptación de "Don Quijote de la Mancha," que puso en escena una compañía teatral italiana. En los últimos años, han interpretado música para el cine y la televisión, por ejemplo, la banda sonora para la serie documental de televisión "Flight of the cóndor" de la BBC de Londres. También han incursionado en el campo de la música didáctica para niños.

Inti-Illimani era tan popular en Italia que las estadísticas de ventas de discos de ese país situaban al grupo entre los diez primeros lugares de la popularidad en el año 1975.

La música de Inti-Illimani es más instrumental que la de Quilapayún, como lo confirman sus dos últimas grabaciones. El
más reciente de estos dos discos es un resumen del trabajo instrumental del grupo, que incluye arreglos del folklore latinoamericano de otros autores, y composiciones originales de Horacio Salinas. Los intérpretes demuestran en estos dos discos ser verdaderos virtuosos de los instrumentos. Entre todos interpretan instrumentos de viento, cuerdas y percusión.

Quisiera evaluar dos composiciones instrumentales del grupo. Una, compuesta en Chile in 1968. La pieza se titula "Inti-lllimani" y fue escrita por Horacio Salinas. Es un instrumental que incluye charango, quena, guitarras y bombo, y cuyo ritmo es netamente latinoamericano y del altiplano. Es una composición corta y la única en todo el disco compuesta por un integrante del grupo. Las otras canciones son todas del folklore latinoamericano y compuestas por otros autores.


"El mercado de Testaccio" es un instrumental con una marcada influencia mediterránea en la cual el charango latinoamericano y la mandolina europea cantan al unísono como solistas, en una amalgama europeo-latinoamericana perfecta, acompañados de instrumentos de los dos continentes. La melodía puede ser italiana o griega, y la mezcla de instrumentos le da a la composición una textura rica en sonidos. La composición comienza con la mandolina y el charango que repiten una frase musical, a medida que se van incorporando los otros instrumentos.

La canción que le da título al disco "Palimpsesto" es de una riqueza textual extraordinaria. La letra fue compuesta por Patricio Manns y la melodía por Horacio Salinas. Es imposible descifrar de una sola vez todos significados de la letra al escuchar esta canción por primera vez.

Palimpsesto era un documento usado en la antigüedad cuyo texto se había borrado parcialmente bajo uno nuevo adicional. Aunque el texto semiborrado no es visible a simple vista, es posible descifrarlo con rayos ultravioleta. En la canción de Inti-lllimani, leemos un documento de frases y juego de palabras con varios significados simultáneos. Las frases pueden ser interpretadas de varias maneras y algunas palabras pueden ser divididas en sílabas que forman otras palabras. Por ejemplo Libertad Osuna (primera línea del segundo verso), puede ser un nombre propio; pero "libertad os una," tres palabras separadas, significa "que la libertad los una a ustedes." La letra de esta
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Con el fin de ilustrar el bilingüismo del conjunto, he elegido una composición cantada en italiano por Inti-Illimani. En esta canción, el cantante se mira pasar por una ventana abierta a una calle de Roma y piensa en su vida. Se extraña, por ejemplo, de que sus hijos jueguen en italiano. Quisiera regresar a su patria, pero no puede. Y termina diciendo, "Qué bello sol el de esta mañana! Si tan sólo pudiera deshacerme del frío de mis recuerdos!"

Como vemos, al igual que Quilapayún, Inti-Illimani ha integrado ritmos e instrumentos del país en que reside, siendo el exilio un ingrediente más en sus composiciones. Y a su vez, se mantienen fieles a su tradición de composiciones instrumentales.

Conclusions

Chilean Folk Music in Exile

In addition to examining the effect of exile on the music of Isabel and Angel Parra, Quilapayún, and Inti-Illimani, we would like to comment on whether or not their presence in the host country has had any effect on the local culture. Overall we can say that the experience, artistically, has been a positive one for all the singers whose music we have examined. In a creative sense, then, what has been the significance of exile for these artists? On the one hand, Europe has offered opportunities that otherwise would not have been available to them in Chile such as well-organized distributors and publicists and sophisticated recording studios, all of which undoubtedly have contributed to make them and their cause better known. Furthermore, the exposure to different cultures and traditions, not only European but also Latin American, has resulted in a broadening of their repertoires which has made their message accessible to broader audiences. The result of this is that they have begun to sing in languages other than Spanish, they have incorporated folk and classical instruments into their music, and added new rhythms and themes into their repertoires. In other words, Nueva Canción has evolved from being a purely Chilean or at most Latin American movement to one of international dimensions, and its interpreters have managed quite well not only to pursue their creative endeavors but also have succeeded in continuing to focus international attention on Chile, one of their major concerns, as active members of the Chilean Communist Party.

There are those who criticize this evolution, charging that the music has become too sophisticated and abstract, rendering it less accessible, and moving away from the original goals of Nueva Canción. We do not believe this to be a valid criticism. It is true that the music has become more abstract, more varied, more
sophisticated, but this is the inevitable result of living away from the original environment that used to provide the stimulus for their creative work. In Europe they are exposed to a new reality and experiences which inevitably affect their work. Undoubtedly, Nueva Canción would have had a different evolution had the circumstances not forced its singers to make their homes in Europe. In fact, it is very likely that Nueva Canción would not have become such an important movement had the "cultural ambassadors" visited these countries only on tours.

Another extremely important effect of their being forced to live away from Chile is that their presence in Europe has had a strong effect on local music. During his last Los Angeles tour we interviewed Angel Parra, and he described the growing collaboration between Nueva Canción singers and European groups. One example is the production of an LP by the Swedish group Aria Sayôma in cooperation with Inti-Illimani. The album is a translation into Swedish of songs by Inti-Illimani. Angel Parra also collaborates with French musicians on a regular basis. Furthermore, the growing popularity of these singers has encouraged French, Greek, Italian, Spanish, and North American artists and composers to adopt particular pieces into their repertoires. Such is the case of Mikis Theodorakis, Jean Ferrat, Joan Manuel Serrat, Paco Ibáñez, Holly Near, Pete Seeger, and Joan Baez. In addition, and perhaps this is even more noteworthy, their presence and popularity has encouraged the development of local New Song movements, instigating a European folk music rebirth. This has occurred primarily in the French province of Brittany and in the Spanish province of Catalonia. A reinvigoration and reaffirmation of local cultures which had been quickly disappearing in the twentieth century is partly the result of the exiled singers' presence.

Have the characteristics of Nueva Canción changed as a result of the exile experience? We do not think so. The original goals of relying on folk music and themes of social content continue to be the dominant characteristics. Whether the music is religious, whether it is overtly or subtly political, whether it is childrens' songs, the original objectives are still valid. In other words, Nueva Canción has evolved but continues to adhere to its original principles.

Evaluación de las Fuentes de Información

Un estudio de las fuentes de información como el Music Index, el Handbook of Latin American Studies, HAPI, etc. revela que aunque recojan toda la información sobre la Nueva Canción chilena en el exilio, el interés decae después de 1980. Las críticas de conciertos, entrevistas y artículos en general sobre el tema, disminuyen considerablemente en las fuentes de información, a pesar de que los intérpretes chilenos siguen viajando por el mundo y dando conciertos. Sin embargo, las revistas chilenas en
el exilio y aun dentro de Chile siguen publicando artículos sobre la Nueva Canción.

Información sobre nuestro tema se encuentra en publicaciones periódicas chilenas, francesas, inglesas y norteamericanas, además de algunos libros sobre la materia. Se destacan en particular una tesis escrita en Francia por Bernard Bessière titulada "La Nouvelle Chanson Chilienne en Exile" que estudia en forma sistemática el desarrollo de la Nueva Canción chilena y que fue publicada en 1980. El libro de Jean Clouzet, "La Nouvelle Chanson Chilienne," publicado en 1975, precede a Bessière al hacer un estudio de este movimiento a través de sus intérpretes y compositores.

Otra fuente de información para nuestro tema son los discos, las cassettes, y sus cubiertas. Desde el punto de vista bibliográfico, estas fuentes no son muy útiles y presentan varios problemas. En general, podemos decir que la mayoría de los discos carece de fecha de grabación. En especial, los discos grabados en Chile por las Juventudes Comunistas durante el gobierno de la Unidad Popular contienen muy poca información, tanto los discos como sus carátulas. Algunas fechas que aparecen en la discografía que hemos distribuido fueron calculadas por nosotros, o nos basamos en alguna referencia que encontramos en fuentes bibliográficas secundarias.

La duplicidad de las grabaciones es evidente. El mismo título ha sido publicado en varios países, por casas distribuidoras licenciadas, en su mayoría, por DICAP. Es frecuente además la duplicidad de canciones. Con esto quiero decir que se encuentran las mismas canciones en discos de títulos diferentes.

A veces, el contenido del disco o de la cassette no está descrito en forma completa. Puede que carezca de una nómina de autores de las letras o de la música de las canciones.

A veces, los títulos de los discos están numerados. Por ejemplo, Inti-Illimani 2, Inti-Illimani 3, etc. Pero también utilizan la denominación "volumen" después del título del disco. Estas numeraciones son confusas y nos recuerdan las publicaciones periódicas latinoamericanas cuyos años, tomos y volúmenes han hecho encanecer a más de un bibliotecario. Igualmente, en los discos es difícil establecer una correlación entre los números que acompañan los títulos, y los números de los volúmenes.

Las carátulas de los discos podrían ser, a mi juicio, parte de un estudio interesante por lo que revelan, o por lo que no revelan acerca de sus contenidos. Se encuentran plagadas de errores tipográficos. Como un ejemplo podemos citar la cubierta de un disco de Inti-Illimani, en que el nombre de Max Berrú, integrante del conjunto, aparece como Max Berry. En los textos que acompañan a los discos, también abundan los errores de tipografía, sobre todo en los discos que se graban en países de otro idioma, que ahora son la mayoría.
Siguiendo con el estudio de las carátulas, podemos constatar que se tornan cada vez más sofisticadas. Al comienzo, como ustedes pueden comprobarlo, las cubiertas de los discos mostraban una fotografía de los intérpretes o un simple dibujo las ilustraba. Especialmente las carátulas editadas por las Juventudes Comunistas de Chile muestran una gran sobriedad. En el exilio, al universalizarse la música de estos intérpretes, y junto con utilizar las más avanzadas técnicas de grabación, las cubiertas se convierten en verdaderas tarjetas postales o medios de propaganda. Es evidente que se ha puesto tanto cuidado en la calidad de la grabación como en la cubierta del disco.

Un hecho revelador para nosotras fue el descubrir que la biblioteca de Música de la Universidad de California en Los Ángeles, que fue la base de nuestras investigaciones, no posee discos ni cassettes sobre la Nueva Canción chilena. Al no existir una colección pública de material auditivo sobre este tema para consultar en la ciudad de Los Ángeles, nos vimos obligadas a recurrir a amigos, colegas, conocidos, los intérpretes mismos, casas de venta de discos, y a nuestras propias colecciones que, podría decir, han pasado a ser ahora las más completas sobre el tema. Ángel Parra, en especial, colaboró con nosotras otor-gándonos una entrevista y enviándonos sus últimos discos grabados en Francia y que no se encuentran en los Estados Unidos.

En resumen, la información sobre la Nueva Canción chilena en el exilio se encuentra disgregada en material de referencia bibliográfico tradicional, donde es fácil ubicarla; pero también se esconde en la vasta literatura latinoamericana que carece generalmente de índices para las publicaciones periódicas. A esto, debemos agregar las fuentes primarias del material auditivo que son esenciales para el estudio de un tema como el nuestro por la música que contienen; pero que como fuentes bibliográficas no son completas. Por lo tanto, el investigador se ve a veces obligado a resolver por sí mismo los problemas que presenta este material.
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De cuerdas

Guitarra: Instrumento europeo incorporado a la música mestiza.

Cuatro: Pequeña guitarra de cuatro cuerdas usada en los llanos venezolanos y colombianos.

Tiple: Pequeña guitarra de doce cuerdas metálicas usado en Colombia.

Charango: Instrumento derivado de la mandolina con cinco pares de cuerdas cuya caja está hecha con el caparazón del armadillo. Es usado en la región del Altiplano americano.

Guitarrón: Instrumento derivado de la guitarra española con caja de resonancia mayor que la de la guitarra, con 25 cuerdas más 4 cuerdas adicionales llamadas "diablitos."

De viento

Quena: Flauta indígena de caña sin boquilla usada en la región del Altiplano.

Rondador: Instrumento indígena de cañas con armonía de dos voces. Es usado en Ecuador.

Trutruca: Corneta muy larga de origen mapuche sin pabellón terminal.

Zampona o sikus: Instrumento indígena construido de cañas parecido a la flauta de pan y usado en el Altiplano. La pareja de zamponas alternando las notas completa la escala pentáfona.

De percusión

Bombo legüero: Tambor de sonido profundo golpeado con palos. Usado en la Argentina.

Caja: Instrumento similar a la caja militar.

Cascabel: Instrumento de sonido metálico hecho de pequeñas campanas.

Claves: Instrumento formado por dos trozos de maderas, de sonido seco y agudo.
Cultrún: Instrumento de los mapuches parecido a la pandereta pero de gran diámetro.

Güiro: Instrumento hecho de calabaza usado en la zona tropical.

Maracas: Instrumento de calabaza con semillas en el interior usado en la zona tropical.

Matraca: Instrumento de madera de sonido seco y desaparecible usado en el Norte de Chile.

Pandereta: Instrumento formado por un redondel de piel sujeto a un aro con sonajas.

Tumbaora: Tambor de origen africano empleado en el repertorio afro-cubano.

Gracias a la vida

Música y texto: Violeta Parra

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. Me dio dos luceros que cuando los abro perfecto distingo lo negro del blanco y en el alto cielo su fondo estrellado y en las multitudes al hombre que yo amo.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. Me ha dado el sonido y el abecedario con él las palabras que pienso y declaro madre, amigo, hermano y luz alumbrando la ruta del alma del que estoy amando.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. Me ha dado el oído que en todo su ancho graba noche y día grillos y canarios, martillos, turbinas, ladrillos, chubascos y la voz tan tierna de mi bienamado.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. Me dio el corazón que agita su marco cuando miro el fruto del cerebro humano; cuando miro el bueno tan lejos del malo cuando miro el fondo de tus ojos claros.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. Me ha dado la marcha de mis pies cansados; con ellos anduve ciudades y charcos, playas y desiertos, montañas y llanos y la casa tuya, tu calle y tu patio.

Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto. Me ha dado la risa y me ha dado el llanto, así yo distingo dicha de quebranto los dos materiales que forman mi canto y el canto de ustedes que es mi propio canto. Gracias a la vida . . .
Ni Toda la Tierra Entera

Música y texto: Isabel Parra

Ni toda la tierra entera
será un poco de mi tierra.
Dondequiera que me encuentre
seré siempre pasajera.
Mi trabajo cotidiano,
mis estrellas, mis ventanas,
se convirtieron en cenizas
de la noche a la mañana.

Puedo hablar, puedo reír,
y hasta me pongo a cantar,
pero mis ojos no pueden
tanta lágrima guardar.
A pesar de lo que digan,
no me olvido, compañero,
de que el pan que me alimenta
siempre será pan ajeno.

Quisiera estar en mi puerta,
esperándote llegar.
Todo quedó allá en Santiago,
mi comienzo y mi final.
Si me quedara siquiera
el don de pedir un sí,
eligiría la gloria
de volver a mi país.

Cuecas del Pañuelo

Música y texto: Isabel Parra

Para qué, para qué me das pañuelo
Pañuelo, pañuelo para llorar.
Para qué, para qué me das pañuelo
Pañuelo, pañuelo para llorar.
Pañuelo, pañuelo negro quisiera
Pañuelo para ponerme a bailar
Para qué, para qué me das pañuelo.

Para bailar lo quiero, mi negro por el sendero
Que se regó con sangre, valiente de un compañero.
Para bailar lo quiero, mi negro por el sendero
De un compañero, sí, valiente que allá en la patria
Cara a cara a la muerte, valiente nunca se agacha
Pañuelos tricolores al alma quitan dolores.

(cont.)
Para qué, para qué me das pañuelo
Pañuelo, pañuelo para llorar.
Para qué, para qué me das pañuelo
Pañuelo, pañuelo para llorar.
Pañuelo, pañuelo blanco quisiera
Pañuelo para ponerme a bailar.
Para qué, para qué me das pañuelo.
Para bailar contigo, mi negro porque la patria
Es una cueca larga, mi negro que se desata.
Para bailar contigo, mi negro porque la patria
Que se levantan sí, valientes cielos y tierras.
Tomará su revancha valiente la cordillera.
Pañuelos tricolores al alma quitan dolores.

Tu Voluntad Más Fuerte que el Destierro

Música y texto: Isabel Parra

En estos días oscuros de nostalgia
vientos del sur borraron las distancias
veo el futuro, se abrieron los caminos
traes la vida, mi tierra, su destino.

Se me hace un nudo en la garganta
tu forma de luchar tus esperanzas
la imagen que le diste a tus sueños
tu voluntad más fuerte que el destierro.

Aquí estoy, soy otra desde el día
que llegaste con tanta poesía
tranquila en el susurro de esta ausencia
inundada por el sol de tu presencia.

Nunca es tarde para hablar de primavera
de nuevo floreció tu enredadera
no se hacen historias sin canciones
ni se llenan papeles sin razones.

Fantasma vas y vienes por la casa
real como el recuerdo que me abrasa
llevada a un navegar de eternos días
tu mano tu ternura fueron mías.

Hay un secreto que oculta la neblina
Hay un perfume envuelto en clavelina
un deseo me persigue me rodea
ver algún día los cielos de tu aldea.
La Llama Encendida

Música y texto: Isabel Parra

Recordemos juntos que fue ayer
cuando nos mirábamos crecer
y luchábamos para vencer
en la patria que nos vio nacer,
en la patria que nos vio nacer.

Aunque pasen días, aunque pasen años
la llama encendida no se apagará.
Aunque pasen días, aunque pasen años
la llama encendida no se apagará.

Esta historia duele al corazón
la alegría espera en un rincón.
La esperanza busca su canción
la memoria tiene su razón,
la memoria tiene su razón.

Aunque pasen días, aunque pasen años
la llama encendida no se apagará.
Aunque pasen días, aunque pasen años
la llama encendida no se apagará.

No se cansa el niño de jugar,
no se cansa el hombre de crear,
no se cansa el cóndor de volar,
no se cansa el pueblo de luchar,
no se cansa el pueblo de luchar.

Aunque pasen días, aunque pasen años
la llama encendida no se apagará.
Aunque pasen días, aunque pasen años
la llama encendida no se apagará.
El Circo

Música y texto: Ángel Parra

El circo viene llegando
con carpas y camarines.
Traen a los perros sabios,
payasos y saltarines.
Traen a los perros sabios,
payasos y saltarines.

Empiezo a portarme bien
antes que llegue el domingo.
Sueño la noche enterita
con la bandita del circo.
Sueño la noche enterita
con la bandita del circo.

Sueño que toco el tambor,
el clarín y la trompeta.
Vendo turrones de flores
y que dirijo la fiesta.
Vendo turrones de flores
y que dirijo la fiesta.

Quisiera tener un circo
tan grande como un planeta.
Que vinieran a la pista
niños de toda la tierra.
Que vinieran a la pista
niños de toda la tierra.

Ya se va mi sueño-circo
da recorrer sus caminos.
Alegrar con los payasos
el corazón de otros niños.
Alegrar con los payasos
el corazón de otros niños.
Alicia Va en el Coche

Música y texto: De la tradición infantil sudamericana

Alice va en calèche caroline.
Alice va en calèche caroline.
Voir son papa chéri caroline cacao leo lao.
A ver a su papá carolín cacao leo lao.

Comme sa coiffure est belle caroline.
Comme sa coiffure est belle caroline.
Chez quel coiffure va-t-elle caroline cacao leo lao.
Quién se lo peinará carolín cacao leo lao.

Se lo peina su tía carolín.
C'est sa tante qui la coiffe caroline.
Avec des peignes d'or caroline cacao leo lao.
Con peines de cristal carolín cacao leo lao.

Padre Nuestro

Música y texto: Angel Parra

Padre nuestro
nuestro pan.

Déjanos ir a tu reino
a cumplir tu voluntad
porque en la tierra los hombres
no te han sabido mostrar.

(cont.)
Padre nuestro
nuestro pan.

Dame el pan para mi madre
dame un poco de tu paz
enseña a perdonar deudas
que quisiera perdonar.

A quien reniega del sol
lo debe hacer sin pensar.

Padre nuestro
nuestro pan.

*Jesús y sus Discípulos*

**Música y texto: Angel Parra**

Antorchas, linternas, armas,
refulgieron esa noche.
Los guardias van enviados
por los sumos sacerdotes.
Los guardias van enviados
por los sumos sacerdotes.

Judas que los entregaría
ya conocía ese huerto.
La traición la había fraguado
escuchando a su maestro.
La traición la había fraguado
escuchando a su maestro.

"Soldados, a quién buscaís?"
Preguntó Cristo sereno.
Los soldados le responden:
"A Jesús, el Nazareno"
Los soldados le responden
"A Jesús, el Nazareno."
La Batea (Primera Versión)

Música: Tony Taño
Texto: Quilapayún

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

El gobierno va marchando
qué felicidad.
La derecha conspiando,
qué barbaridad!
Va marchando, conspiando;
pero el pueblo ya conoce la verdad.

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

Por el pase de Uspallata
qué barbaridad!
El momiaje ya se escapa,
qué felicidad!
Uspallata, hacen nata,
que se vayan y no vuelvan nunca más.

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

Ya perdieron la cordura
qué barbaridad!
Sabotean la agricultura
qué fatalidad!
Qué chuecura, las verduras.
Los culpables son de Patria y Libertad.*

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

La batea, tea,
qué barbaridad,
se menea, nea.
La batea, se menea,
se menea, la batea . . .

*Partido político de extrema derecha.
La Batea (Nueva versión)

Música: Tony Taño
Texto: Quilapayún, basado en la versión original de Tony Taño

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

De los cuatro pinganillas
qué barbaridad!
El Merino* es cuarahuilla
qué fatalidad!

Y el Mendoza*
para el combo y la pata!

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

El más gil se llama Augusto*
qué barbaridad!
El Augusto tiene susto
porque pronto
su castigo llegará.

Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

El cerebro de Gustavo*
qué barbaridad!
Cuántas cabezas 'e pescado!
qué fatalidad!
El Gustavo, los pescados
este circo de gorilas
nunca más!

*(cont.)

*Merino, Almirante y miembro de la Junta; Mendoza, General de Carabineros y miembro de la Junta; General Augusto Pinochet, Jefe del Ejército y de la Junta; General Gustavo Leigh, ex jefe de la Aviación y ex miembro de la Junta.
Mira la batea
como se menea
como se menea
el agua en la batea.

La batea
se menea
se menea
la batea.

_Cuando Valparaíso_

_Música:_ Desiderio Arenas
_Texto:_ Desiderio Arenas

Cuando el cuchillo bosteza
Valparaíso.
Con su sarcasmo gentil.
Cuando tus casas racimo
Valparaíso.
Guiñan sus ojos al mar,
presiento un país,
descubro que soy.
Cuando la herida me impone el despertar
Valparaíso.
Cuando la puerta se cierra
Valparaíso.
Quebraste el beso feroz
y los amantes naufragan
Valparaíso.
En tanta duda de ser
hay tanta estación
buscando algún tren
que lleve al mismo que nunca llegará
Valparaíso.
Valparaíso
dónde andarás
en qué penumbra te ocultarás.
En qué secreto naufragio antiguo
en qué profundo rincón del vino.
Valparaíso como un cristal
hecho pedazos encontrarás,
mordiendo inviernos bajo los muelles
Valparaíso.
Cuando la tierra despierta
Valparaíso.

(cont.)
Llevando al diablo en la piel
y alegre inicia su baile
Valparaíso.
Vertiginoso y brutal
Hay tanto albañil
dispuesto al ritual
de los andamios alzados otra vez
Valparaíso.
Valparaíso
dónde andarás
en qué penumbra te ocultarás
en qué secreto naufragio antiguo
en qué profundo rincón del vino.
Valparaíso como un cristal
hecho pedazos encontrarás
mordiendo inviernos bajo los muelles
Valparaíso.

Quand les Hommes Vivront D’Amour

Música y texto: Raymond Levesque

Quand les hommes vivront d'amour
il n'y aura plus de misère.
Les soldats seront troubadours
Mais nous, nous serons morts mon frère.

Dans la grande chaîne de la vie
ou il fallait que nous passions,
on il fallait que nous soyons
nous aurons eu la mauvaise partie.

Quand les hommes vivront d'amour
il n'y aura plus de misère.
Les soldats seront troubadours
Mais nous, nous serons morts mon frère.

Dans la grande chaîne de la vie
pour qu'il y ait un meilleur temps,
it faut toujours quelques perdants
de la sagesse ici-bas c'est le prix.

Quand les hommes vivront d'amour
il n'y aura plus de misère.
Les soldats seront troubadours
Mais nous, nous serons morts mon frère.
Es el Colmo que no Dejen Entrar a la Chabela

Música: Patricio Wang
Texto: Eduardo Carrasco

Prohiben la luna llena
y el sol de pasos ardientes
el lucero ya naciente
y su ventana serena.
Le prohíben la palabra
al pasado y al futuro;
nos quieren a todos puros
sin ninguna escarapela.
Prohibida la vihuela!
Es el colmo que no dejen entrar a la Chabela!

Entra el arroyo en el río
y el río en el mar huraño,
entra el día todo el año
por la puerta del rocío
sin que nadie se dé cuenta
y casi sin hacer ruido
entra el pájaro en el nido.
El otoño y su acuarela
entra en la hoja que vuela.
Es el colmo que no dejen entrar a la Chabela!

Dejan entrar al ladrón
y al zorro contrabandista
pero no a los folklóricos
esos no tienen perdón!
Entra el señor senador
con dinero en la maleta.
Entra la vieja alcahueta
el pille en su carretela
y el chiquillo con viruela.
Es el colmo que no dejen entrar a la Chabela!

Entra el tornillo en el Palo
y el clavo en el agujero
entra al cielo el justiciero
y al infierno el que fue malo
va entrando el invierno en julio
y en enero es el verano
al bolsillo entra la mano
pero aunque mucho nos duele
no entra la Chabe y su hijuela
Es el colmo que no dejen entrar a la Chabela!
Palimpsesto

Música: Horacio Salinas
Texto: Patricio Manns

Huelga deciros que yo os quiero más en la profunda pulpa de antesueño, cuando el glacial se reconvirtió en sol y se nos va la esperma en el empeño, y se nos cuaja el ceño de cenizas ávidas de hendir el cavilar del leño.

Huelga deciros, Libertad Osuna, que os sueño arando en hierro y sabio azote, volviendo a herrar y errar sin miramientos sobre un caballo y sobre un brioso brote, que es una forma de entender amar y otra jornada que vencéis al trote con ansias de echar la tierra a mugir la luz a rodar.

Huelga dudar que Libertad Amando me vuelva a herir la gana regresando.

Qué hambre tener que Libertad Osuna os una en la memoria de ultraje, os rememore y os despierte al vuelo, os calce el corazón con los corajes, os arremeta, sin parar, la estancia oscura en que bebéis la injusticia y su brebaje.

Qué hombre volver para que Osuna Libre libre su nombre y su veloz corpiño su vientre cuarzo y su agonía historia, y sus cadenas, su reloj, su niño. Y os avecíne, Osuna y os ausculte con sus dos manos y sus tres cariños, y su refugir su oficio de herir la luz por venir.

Si nos va a arder la gana en toda luna y hemos de andarla junto tierra a tierra que en las raíces Libertad Nos Una.
Una Finestra Aperta

Música: Horacio Salinas
Texto: José Seves

Da una finestra aperta
da tempo vi sto guardando passare,
scendo alle vostre strade
che son nuove per le mie vecchie scarpe.
Io cercavo dei fiori
i fiori non li ho trovati
ma gesti che mi disegnano le mani.
Da una finestra aperta
da tempo mi sto guardando passare.

Ma che rumori son quelli
che sorgono e che mi assalgono l'orecchio?
ma cosa fa nel mercato
mio figlio giocherellando in italiano?
Io cercavo canzoni
canzoni non ho trovato
ma nuove parole per leggere il passato.
Ma che rumori son quelli
che sorgono e poi non sembrano più strani?

Che sole questa mattina
magari togliesse il freddo dei ricordi.
Ho i giorni devanti agli occhi
invece la notte in altra latitudine.
Io volevo partire
partire non e permesso
in tanto faro del vostro il mio tempo.
Che sole questa mattina,
magari togliesse il freddo dell'inverno.

Io sono dello stormo un uccello
che scrive con le ali
sul foglio celeste.
Per mestiere la primavera inseguo,
fugge da me l'amante
quando chiedo un seme.
Vola, vola illusione
e portaci dove nasce l'orizzonte.
che sole questa mattina
magari togliesse il freddo dei ricordi.
El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido

Música: Quilapayún
Texto: Sergio Ortega

De pie, cantar
que vamos a triunfar
avanzan ya
banderas de unidad
y tú vendrás
marchando junto a mí
y así verás
tu canto y tu bandera
florecer, la luz
de un rojo amanecer
anuncian ya
la vida que vendrá.

De pie, luchar
el pueblo va a triunfar
será mejor
la vida que vendrá
a conquistar
nuestra felicidad
y en un clamor
mil voces de combate
se alzarán, dirán
canción de libertad
con decisión
la patria vencerá.

La patria está
forjando la unidad
de norte a sur
se movilizará
desde el salar
ardiente y mineral
al bosque austral
unidos en la lucha
y el trabajo irán.
La patria cubrirán
su paso ya
anuncia el porvenir.

(cont.)
De pie, cantar
el pueblo va a triunfar
millones ya
imponen la verdad
de acero son
ardiente batallón
sus manos van
llevando la justicia
y la razón, mujer
con fuego y con valor
ya estás aquí
junto al trabajador.

Y ahora, el pueblo
que se alza en la lucha
con voz de gigante
gritando: Adelante!

El pueblo unido jamás será vencido!

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In 1924 a man we know as B. Traven— but who called himself many other names—arrived in Mexico, probably at the port of Tampico. Like the characters he was soon to write about, he carried no identification papers and was on the run. He had worked his way across the Atlantic as a ship's fireman, quietly departing from England rather than being deported. In November 1923, British authorities had arrested and imprisoned him for four months for failing to register as an alien. He called himself Ret Marut at this time, and his need to leave town in a hurry was a recurring experience. He had been in flight for four years, moving constantly between Cologne, Berlin, Vienna, and Munich, living underground with his girlfriend Irene Mermet, writing and clandestinely publishing an anarchist journal Der Ziegelbrenner.

Munich was the place of greatest danger, where an arrest warrant for high treason with his name on it remained outstanding. He was wanted for the role he had played in the short-lived Räterepublik, or "Republic of Councils," in April 1919. This was the second phase of the quixotic and confused Bavarian Revolt, which had erupted because of the people's profound disillusionment with World War I. For a few days Marut had served as a press censor and propaganda commissioner. When the central government sent 30,000 troops to crush the rebellion, he was captured, and barely escaped a firing squad by breaking away from his guards and running. Other leaders of the Räterepublik were either killed or imprisoned.

Marut had been living in Munich for four years, writing short stories and articles. His first book, a collection of stories entitled An das Fräulein von S... (To the Honorable Miss S...), was published in 1916. On the title page he called himself by another name: Richard Maurhut. Perhaps one reason this man could change names and roles so easily was his experience as an actor. He had been an itinerant player of minor parts for the previous eight years. Indeed the first documented reference to Ret Marut was in a 1907 theatre almanac, where he was listed as an actor and director at the State Theatre in Essen. A contemporaneous police registration card reveals that Marut said he was born in San Francisco, California, February 25, 1882. He claimed to be an American by birth, and would continue to do so until his death in 1969.
Most of what is known about Traven's life during this period is due to the meticulous research of Rolf Recknagel.¹ The name Marut vanishes prior to 1907, and Recknagel was never able to conclusively link it to another, or to trace the first twenty-five years of the man's life. Recknagel published most of his findings by 1966. After Traven died, his wife Rosa Elena Luján apparently told reporters what she later confirmed in an article: "Ret Marut [was] a pseudonym used by Traven Torsvan during the time that he lived in Germany."²

Little more was discovered about Traven's life until a BBC journalist and producer named Will Wyatt began a four-year investigation which culminated in a 1978 documentary film entitled "B. Traven: A Mystery Solved" and in a follow-up book The Man Who Was B. Traven (1980). For the most part Wyatt retraced and independently verified the work of Recknagel and other investigators, without turning up much that was new. Indeed he was almost at the point of editing his film script and footage when a breakthrough occurred. Utilizing the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, Wyatt had secured State Department documents about Marut when he was in Brixton Prison in London in 1924. A file existed because Marut had told authorities he was an American. It included a letter from Boylston A. Beal in the London Embassy to Norman Armour in the State Department in Washington, which said in part:

A rather mysterious case has been brought to my notice by one of our friends in the Special Branch. He came to see me a few days ago concerning a man who claimed to be an American, passing under the name of RET MARUT and in possession of German Police papers stating that he was born in San Francisco in 1882. This man came under the notice of the Police as being intimately mixed up with Communist circles here and is now detained on the ground of failure of registration. They now tell me that he has confessed that his real name is HERMAN OTTO ALBERT MAX FEIGE, and that he was born in Schweibus, in Germany, in 1882.³

Boylston asked German police to investigate, but they were unable to verify any of this information. He also set off an extensive FBI investigation within the United States, but without results. After World War II Schweibus became part of Poland, and was renamed Swiebodzin. Doggedly Wyatt made inquiry with Polish authorities for records of Feige. He did so for the sake of thoroughness, and was not optimistic. But to his amazement an official copy of a birth certificate arrived in the mail. As Wyatt explained, "this was the first time that any of the names or birth places connected with Traven had ever produced any corroboration." The registered birth date, February 23, 1882, was only two days off from the one Marut and Traven often used, and the
full name of the father (Adolf Rudolf Feige) and the maiden name of the mother (Wienecke) were among those Marut had used as aliases in Britain. Their occupations were also exactly as he had confessed to British police. The mother was a mill worker, and the father a potter, or brickmaker, the German word for which is Ziegelbrenner, which was, of course, the title of Marut's magazine.

Wyatt proceeded to Poland, and located surviving members of Feige's immediate family. They possessed early photographs of Otto which bore remarkable similarity to later ones of Marut and Traven. They remembered their eldest brother as a clever loner and a superior student. He wanted to continue his studies, but his parents decided they could not afford it, and instead apprenticed him to a locksmith at the age of fourteen or fifteen. At twenty he was in the army for two years, and came out a political radical, which alarmed his family and led to an angry dispute, after which Otto left home never to return again. A while later Marut appears.

However, the family did hear from Otto once more—about fifteen years later. As Wyatt reports, "He wrote from London to say that he was in trouble with British authorities and that they were going to throw him out." Most likely he wanted to prepare his family for a police inquiry, "so that they would back up his account of who he said he was." But when the police did arrive, his fearful mother denied that she even had a son named Otto. Afterward she "wept at what she had done."5

Wyatt's research, which proves that Traven was German by birth rather than American, has not been accepted by Recknagel. In a review he says that Wyatt's "biography is full of grave errors too numerous to mention." He concedes, however, that Traven must have known Feige well.6

There is far more agreement about the facts of Traven's life after he reached Mexico at the age of forty-two in 1924, although the facts remain sketchy and isolated. Calling himself Traven Torsvan, he seems to have lived in the Tampico area for about two years, where his long-time companion Irene Mermet joined him. He had to have been living and writing furiously because he published, on the average, a major book each year during his first eight years in Mexico. Considering that Traven said more than once that he wrote from experience, his astonishing productivity raises serious questions about his life and his literary methods. Here is how he put it in 1929: "I am unable to chew things out of my pencil; others may be able to do so; not I. I have to know the people about whom I talk. They must have been my friends or my enemies or my neighbors or my fellow citizens for me to be able to render them well. I must have seen things and landscapes and persons before I can call them to life in my works."7
His first work emanating from Mexico was Die Baumwollpflücker (The Cotton Pickers), which was serialized in the Berlin socialist daily newspaper Vorwärts from June 21 to July 16, 1925. These marvelous stories about working and adventuring along the Gulf Coast are told by an American itinerant worker Gerard Gales. He picks cotton, works on an oil rig, bakes bread in a French restaurant, and trail bosses a cattle drive. Gale's self-reliance, ingenuity, amused detachment, humor, and disrespect for authority seem quintessentially American. One wonders how Traven, living in Europe the previous four decades, could have experienced and absorbed American working-class character, several occupations, and a great expanse of Mexican territory in about six months. Perhaps he should be believed when he said he was an American who first entered Mexico in 1914. Or perhaps his acting skills enabled him to get inside another person quickly, and begin mimicking and scripting the story.

In 1926 Das Totenschiff (The Death Ship) was published in Berlin by Büchergilde Gutenberg, a leftist book club which still exists, and it became an immediate best-seller. Although he would not permit his publisher to release any biographical information, the name B. Traven became well known almost overnight in German-speaking countries.

We next hear of Torsvan taking photography lessons from Edward Weston in Mexico City, preparing himself to join an archaeological expedition led by Enrique Palacios through Chiapas in southern Mexico. As he marched he was observing and composing some of his finest stories, such as "Nachttänze der Indianer" (Indian Dance in the Jungle). He also kept notebooks of the expedition which were written in English. Meanwhile Irene Mermet, tired of being left by herself for many months, returned to the United States. Back in Mexico City Torsvan enrolled in summer school at UNAM, studying the Spanish language, Latin American literature, the Mexican Revolution, and Mexican archaeology and folklore.

During the next three years Torsvan would go on three more expeditions to Chiapas, Guatemala, and the Yucatan. As he traveled, he learned two indigenous languages. He described the region in a nonfiction work, Land des Frühlings (Land of Springtime) (1928), which has still not been translated into English. The book is unique because it contains some sixty pages of photographs by the author. Prodigiously creative, Torsvan also completed Der Schatz der Sierra Madre (The Treasure of the Sierra Madre) (1927), Die Brücke im Dschungel (The Bridge in the Jungle) (1929), and Die weisse Rose (The White Rose) (1929).

Torsvan began living with another woman, María de la Luz Martínez, about whom little is known. In 1930 they moved from Mexico City to Acapulco, and opened an outdoor restaurant. He
maintained this residence, living quietly and anonymously, for more than eighteen years, until an ace reporter Luis Spota, using both ingenious and unscrupulous methods, ferreted him out, confronted him, and finally published a lengthy exposé in Mañana magazine, August 7, 1948, "Mañana descubre la identidad de B. Traven."

But another Traven identity had already emerged--Hal Croves--who presented himself to the American director John Huston, then filming Treasure of the Sierra Madre in Mexico, as the author’s intimate friend and translator. Huston suspected that Croves might be Traven, but he wasn’t sure. In any case, he put him on the payroll. Although a total of seven films have been based on Traven’s books, including at least one other masterpiece, Macario (1959), for which Hal Croves was the screenwriter and Gabriel Figueroa the director. Another film, Rosa Blanca (1961), was suppressed by the Mexican government for its supposed anti-Americanism, and has never been released.

After being a stateless man for most of his life, Traven became a naturalized Mexican citizen in 1951, at last declaring where he belonged. Then he suffered a personal loss when his agent, translator, and confidante, Esperanza López Mateos, committed suicide. Her roles were eventually assumed by Rosa Elena Luján, whom he married in 1957. They lived in Mexico City until his death March 26, 1969. By request his ashes were scattered from an airplane over the mountainous jungles of Chiapas, a place of burial as obscure as his life had been. In his will executed just three weeks before the end, he named himself Traven Torsvan Croves, and swore that he had been born an American.9

So who was B. Traven: an American, German, or Mexican author? Major reference works such as the MLA Bibliography cannot decide. He always despised people who pried into his life. He told reporter Judy Stone to: "Forget the man! . . . Write about his works."10 But when we turn from biography to bibliography, analogous problems surface.

One begins optimistically saying that the books and texts themselves are facts, subject to the methods of analytic bibliography and textual criticism. The first fact is that all of Traven's books were originally published in German. But to confuse matters, Traven himself said that he originally wrote some of them in English. In a 1929 letter to a Professor Charlot Strasser he said the following about himself, speaking in the third person:

His native language is English. Although he writes a good deal [of his work] in German, he nevertheless writes about half, if not more, in English, because it is easier for him to put down first in English difficult thought connections and complicated dialogues, in order to clarify them for himself in words and sentences. . . .
The difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of finding a publisher in the United States for his books gave him the idea of rewriting his books in German and of offering them [to publishers] in Germany.\textsuperscript{11}

Traven's German and English are rather strange. They are both hybrids. The former includes multitudinous Americanisms; the latter multitudinous Germanisms. Two critics, Hubert Jannach and Michael L. Baumann, have carefully investigated the question of Traven's original language of composition. Using internal textual evidence, both conclude that the language was German.\textsuperscript{12}

The second fact is that Traven rewrote in English, not merely translated, several of his novels and stories for American publication. This was disclosed by his editor at Knopf, Bernard Smith. The English was exceedingly Germanic in construction, and in Smith's opinion unpublishable. Smith therefore offered, and was permitted by Traven, to restyle about 25 percent of the text. He did this for The Death Ship (1934), The Treasure of the Sierra Madre (1935), and The Bridge in the Jungle (1938). Smith emphasized: "There was nothing creative about the work I did. I neither added nor subtracted. I inserted no thought or feeling of my own. In fact, I was eager to retain the special flavor—the frequent awkwardness, the occasional stiltedness, the wavering union of toughness and sentimentality."\textsuperscript{13}

Apparently Traven also submitted texts in English for the Regency edition of Stories by the Man Nobody Knows (1961), the Dell edition of March to the Monteria (1964), the Hill & Wang editions of The Night Visitor and Other Stories (1966), The Carreta (1970), and Government (1971)—the two latter published posthumously. Lawrence Hill revealed that all of the books published in the United States for the first time "needed extensive editing."\textsuperscript{14}

But in actuality more than editing was involved—and this is the third fact about Traven bibliography: he continuously revised his works. Michael Baumann's description of changes in editions of The Death Ship are typical. He says: "The American version is considerably longer than the German—new material has been added; American place names and topical allusions are substituted for German place names and topical allusions; passages actually translated are poorly translated. In other words, the American version of The Death Ship suffers a sea change in transit from Germany to North America. . . ."\textsuperscript{15}

Indeed so much new material was added to Knopf's American editions that they were subsequently translated back into German by third parties and published by Büchergilde Gutenberg. Traven himself stated that he preferred his American editions. But critical opinion is divided. George Steven Hanson says that the short stories rewritten in English are "better than their German ancestors, profiting as they did from the same rethinking
that helped perfect the novels."17 On the other hand, Hubert Jannach believes the "American editions are inferior translations of the German."18 And Inge Kutt adds: "To read the real Traven is to read his German novels."19

Without a doubt future editors will agonize over the choice of the copy text for a critical edition. Would the ideal Traven text be the first edition, the last during his lifetime, the longest, or the most aesthetically pleasing?20

To complicate matters Traven made his changes interlingually. The differences between the German and American versions are well known, but a question which has not been asked previously is whether Traven further and distinctively revised his Mexican editions. He certainly had the opportunity to do so, because he was extremely close to both of his Mexican translators, Esperanza López Mateos and Rosa Elena Luján. They translated a total of eleven titles, ten from English-language texts, and one from German. It is interesting that three of the English-language texts were unpublished in any form when they were working on them.

I selected the work Macario to explore this question. Assisted by two colleagues, Heidi Hutchinson and Clifford Wurfel at the University of California, Riverside, I compared three first and six later editions or printings of the German, American, and Mexican versions of Macario. The first published version is the German, a handsomely designed book which served as the Büchergilde Gutenberg's Christmas present to its subscribers for the year 1950. This book is unique among all of Traven's German first editions, because it states that it is a translation from the English, the translator being Hans Kauders, and the original title, "The Healer." To date no copy of "The Healer" has been located. The second appearance of the work was the American first printing entitled "The Third Guest" in Fantastic magazine, March–April 1953. Comparing the two, one notes minor changes in numbers, key words, and sentence order. More significantly, the American version adds additional text: a phrase, a sentence, or a paragraph at a time. In spite of this, the two versions are basically alike. The third appearance is in German, but the only change is the title, "Der dritte Gast" in a book by the same name (Zürich: Limmat-Verlag, 1958). Then comes the Mexican first edition, Macario, translated from the English by Rosa Elena Luján in 1960 (México, D.F.: Compañía General de Ediciones). The Mexican version is more like the German than the English, with respect to minor variations in wording, and to the absence of the same phrases, sentences, and paragraphs. Indeed the Mexican version goes further in simplifying the text, and smoothing awkward constructions, by omitting phrases and sentences found in both of the others. But the Mexican version also adds new text here and there, including two major variants.
The first is an ironic definition of museums as grand buildings where governments display what they have robbed from other countries. Here is the complete passage:

--Perdón, compadre, ¿qué es un museo?
--¡Ah, eso...! Pues te diré, Macario, son grandes salas que en muchos países europeos tienen los gobiernos para exhibir todo lo que han robado de otros países o que se han llevado como botín de guerra de los pueblos vencidos. En algunas naciones de América los tienen para que malos funcionarios tomen lo que les gusta y se lo lleven a su casa.21

The second variant occurs in the last two paragraphs of the story, where the final image and concluding thought are vividly altered. In all versions Macario’s wife has found his dead body deep in the woods, where he went to feast by himself on the turkey. He has died sitting in the hollow of a tree, and is smiling. Before him are the cleaned bones of a half turkey lying on some spread banana leaves. Now comes the variant. In the German and English versions, directly opposite Macario, about three feet away, are the equally cleaned bones of the other half turkey. In wonderment, his wife tearfully concludes that he must have had a fine and noble and gentle person for dinner, or he wouldn’t have died so happily.

In the Mexican version, the other half turkey remains untouched, and the wife decides that death must have surprised Macario before he could eat it, for that was his deepest desire. Here is the complete passage:

En el suelo, frente a él, estaban extendidas unas hojas de plátano y sobre ellas los huesos correspon- dientes a medio pavo, bien mondos. En el lado opuesto, como a un metro y medio, también sobre hojas de plátano, estaba la otra mitad del pavo, pero intacta.
--¡Qué raro! --dijo su mujer sollozando--. ¿Por qué partiría el pavo en dos? ¡Tanta ilusión que tenía por comérselo todo él solo! Seguramente la muerte le sorprendió antes de que pudiera probar la otra mitad. A pesar de todo, parece que murió feliz.22

This is a better ending to the story. It is more vivid, realistic, and conclusive on several levels. Not surprisingly Traven included these same two major variants in the next German edition entitled Macario which was published a year later by Bertelsmann Lesering (1961). The book contains the following statement: "This licensed edition has been newly and thoroughly revised by the author, and thus differs widely from earlier versions in numerous places." The importance of the Bertelsmann edition has been discussed by the critic Werner Sellhorn, who
nevertheless seems completely unaware that its crucial textual changes first appeared in the Mexican version.23

This brief study indicates that Traven's Mexican versions—hitherto ignored—may well be quite significant within his canon. Therefore libraries should collect them for scholars to study. In the B. Traven special collection at the University of California, Riverside—which is probably the largest in the world, and which required thirty years to assemble—I was able to consult eight different editions of Macario. Nevertheless, I wish I had been able to consult one more, which the collection presently lacks. For authors like Traven, a comprehensive collection of first and later editions in at least three languages is a sine qua non for serious research. Ideally such a collection would also contain literary manuscripts, but almost none have surfaced.

In a posthumously published essay intended as an introduction to the Jungle Novels, Traven says that Mexican literature historians have called him "an authentic Mexican author."24 The first to do so was the discerning critic Manuel Pedro González in his book Trayectoria de la Novela en México (1951). While González acknowledges that language is an essential element in determining the nationality of literary work, he would not consider it the sole determinant. In the final analysis language is just the vehicle of the author's spirit. A more important determinant is the author's emotional bond with his surroundings. He asks: "Is the author intimately identified with the atmosphere and persons he portrays, or does he see as a tourist, from outside and without submerging himself in the world he intends to recreate?" He contrasts D.H. Lawrence with William Henry Hudson, both being English-language authors of important novels set in Latin America. On the basis of The Plumed Serpent Lawrence would never be considered a Mexican author, but Hudson has been incorporated into Argentine literature.

Having noted that many standard Mexican literary histories have omitted Traven, González asks a series of rhetorical questions to establish the Mexican character of his work. For example:

What Mexican has penetrated the Indian's idiosyncracy, whose soul is tortured by pain, hunger, and the mistreatment inflicted upon him for centuries by the white man and the Christian mestizo, with the wisdom, with the loving desire to understand and to redeem, as Traven has come close to doing? . . . Where is the Mexican novel that gives us the Indian's life seen "from inside," so dramatic and so faithfully captured as the picture Traven gives us?

González then says: "I think that Mexico owes an unpayable debt of gratitude to this formidable narrator. He is not only the most tenacious, bold, fervent, and artistically effective defender
that the Indian has had since Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, but he has also dramatized an age-old injustice before which the majority have remained blind, deaf, and mute for one hundred and fifty years."25 Herewith González pinpoints for us Traven's greatest contribution as an emigré to Latin America.

As time passes, a growing number of writers and critics agree that Traven belongs with the stream of Mexican literature, although they almost always add that his influence has been thematic, not stylistic.26 In any case, the people of Mexico have embraced him as one of their own. In bookstores throughout the Republic, from Tijuana to Mexico City to San Cristóbal de las Casas, his titles are stocked in quantity, and fill entire shelves. Almost twenty years after his death, Traven remains an enormously popular author among different classes of people. Popularity which continues signifies something quite different from popularity of the day. It is one of the marks of a classic author.

NOTES

1 Rolf Recknagel, B. Traven: Beiträge zur Biografie (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1982).
2 Rosa Elena Luján and Miguel Donoso Pareja, "Marut y Traven: de la praxis al servicio de la ideología a la ideología como praxis," Texto Crítico, 2 (Jan.-April 1976), 16.
4 Ibid., p. 264.
5 Ibid., pp. 297-298.
8 Wyatt, The Man Who Was, p. 128.


22 Ibid., p. 108.


El folleto

Por razones de claridad y para evitar ambigüedades terminológicas, partimos de la denominación "folleto" para referirnos al material bibliográfico que aquí se presenta. A diferencia del "folletón" y del "folletín," nuestro término "folleto" hace referencia a un texto de 16 páginas, cuyo origen es el pliego doblado dos veces, formando 8 hojas y que, en algunos casos, puede extenderse a 32 planas o más.

Se trata de una producción cultural que hasta hace poco tiempo fue desdeñada por los estudiosos de la literatura y habitualmente también por las bibliotecas, que no se preocuparon por la recopilación y conservación de estos materiales. Hemos preferido esta denominación en primer lugar porque no hace pensar directamente en el texto insertado en un periódico (folletón o folletín) ni tampoco, en segundo lugar, en cualquier tipo de publicación no muy extensa para la cual se emplean indistintamente los términos de "opúsculo," "cuadernillo" o "pliego suelto."

El Fondo Lehmann-Nitsche

Bajo este rótulo se conoce el material bibliográfico que este científico alemán dejara después de su muerte al "Patronato Cultural Prusiano" y que actualmente se conserva en el Instituto Ibero-Americano de Berlín.

Parte de este Fondo está constituido por lo que el propio Lehmann llamó Biblioteca Criolla. Consiste ésta en una colección de más de dos mil folletos, en su mayor parte agrupados en volúmenes que reúnen la producción de los autores más conocidos de la época. Dentro de este ordenamiento, y sin hacer uso del criterio de autor, existe un conjunto de 643 folletos, encuadernados en 25 tomos. Estos volúmenes están compaginados según un criterio de afinidad temática de los ejemplares sueltos. Así hay volúmenes que agrupan folletos relacionados con la literatura gauchesca (reelaboración de textos clásicos, coplas, versos, canciones), folletos con noticias policiales o relatos de crímenes o delitos; folletos de literatura "festiva" y cómica; cancioneros populares; folletos dedicados a la actualidad política nacional y extranjera, a temas históricos; publicaciones anarquistas,
socialistas y anticlericales; piezas teatrales breves; novelas; manuales de urbanidad y comportamiento social, etc.

Estos 25 tomos ofrecen un panorama representativo de la totalidad de los folletos conservados en la Biblioteca Criolla, siendo ésta la razón por la cual los hemos seleccionado como objeto de estudio.

Presentación gráfica

Estos folletos son por lo general cuadernillos de 16 páginas, de formato menor (en 8°), en papel periódico, de impresión tipográfica y de no siempre regular tipografía. Es frecuente encontrar ilustraciones gráficas, fotografías y—ocasionalmente—avisos publicitarios. El texto del folleto está impreso en negra, aunque en las tapas y contratapas suele emplearse un papel de otro color y, muchas veces, imprimirse a dos o más colores. La impresión es descuidada; los errores de imprenta son muy frecuentes, y la negligencia o la incompetencia del tipógrafo en la composición del texto—y, seguramente en no pocos casos, el insuficiente dominio del idioma—se hacen patentes en forma constante. Las ilustraciones pueden ser alusivas al texto y en la contratapa se encuentra o bien la publicidad de alguna imprenta o librería, algún texto o canción popular (normalmente un tango), la lista de las publicaciones ya aparecidas o algún tipo de ornamento floral, patriótico o criollista.

Producción y distribución

Según el material que hemos analizado—los 643 folletos—las casas editoras estaban localizadas fundamentalmente en los grandes centros urbanos, en este caso las ciudades de Buenos Aires, Rosario y Montevideo. Si bien el mayor número de casas editoras se concentra en Buenos Aires (51 sobre un total de 71), son las editoriales rosarinas las que mantienen un mayor volumen de producción (117 ejemplares sobre un total de 643). Debe señalarse también que algunos folletos indican como lugar de su edición algunas ciudades localizadas en otros países de América (Chile, Perú, Bolivia) o de Europa (España, Italia). Entre las principales casas editoras—ateniéndolos a la cantidad de folletos de que se dispone en esta Biblioteca—hay que mencionar en primer lugar a los editores rosarinos Longo y Argento, que ofrecían varias colecciones de folletos y contaban con un sistema de distribución instalado en Buenos Aires. Andrés Pérez, de Buenos Aires, se especializó en libretos de teatro nacional, novelas, obras de literatura campera (a él se deben diversas ediciones del Martín Fierro y de las obras de Eduardo Gutiérrez), crónicas policiales y también un importante surtido de libros de ciencias ocultas y magia. Fue el fundador de La Pampa Argentina, un periódico dominical que apareció entre 1898 y 1921. Salvador Matera se interesó principalmente en la edición de obras criollas muy populares, y dentro de la misma orientación
estuvieron José Bosch, J. A. Llambías, Santiago Rolleri y Carlos Ribassi, entre otros.

De los pocos folletos que ofrecen información en cuanto a la tirada, son los almanaques los que alcanzan el mayor número de ejemplares (125.000). Entre los folletos de temas gauchescos, hay tiradas de 45.000 ejemplares; entre los de difusión doctrinaria, una sexta edición de 25.000 ejemplares y, entre los de crímenes, una décima edición de 10.000 ejemplares. Según los datos que se poseen, la cifra tope para arriba está representada por los almanaques, mientras que puede afirmarse que las ediciones no debían de ser inferiores a los 10.000 ejemplares, siendo frecuentes las reediciones, que podían repetirse hasta la vigésima.

En cuanto a la periodicidad, es de lamentar que en los folletos apenas se encuentren informaciones sobre la frecuencia de su aparición. No obstante, algunos datos indican que ésta obedecía a ciertos planes editoriales, que se cumplían con regularidad. En algunos folletos se señala en la contratapa que todas las semanas se ofrecerá al lector un nuevo volumen; en otros, que la colección será aumentada mensualmente. Estos datos, unidos a la cantidad de títulos ofrecidos por cada casa editora (muchos catálogos incluyen más de 300), permiten pensar que en el caso de muchos de los folletos—si no de la gran mayoría—se habría tratado de publicaciones de frecuencia semanal.

Relaciones editor-impresor-librero-distribuidor

Aquí interesa describir el circuito de edición y venta de las obras. Por lo general, los editores más importantes eran al mismo tiempo distribuidores al por mayor y propietarios de las librerías de venta al por menor. Debe mencionarse que la venta al menudeo se realizaba en quioscos, estaciones de ferrocarril, salones de lustrabotas, etc., y que también existía la posibilidad de recibir los folletos por correo.

En el caso de las librerías, se trataba de negocios de libros nuevos y viejos—sean de literatura o escolares—folletos, artículos de librería y papelería, juguetería, útiles escolares y artículos de escritorio, lo que muchas veces implicaba que simultáneamente eran cigarrerías, agencias de lotería y también talleres de imprenta y litografías. Algunos de estos negocios se ocupaban de recibir suscripciones para la compra de folletos.

Para la relación editor-impresor, el caso de Andrés Pérez ofrece algunas características ejemplares. Este trabajó con diversos impresores para la edición de sus folletos. Existe una publicación de 1897 ("La Guerra de Cuba," por Juan de la Barca) realizada por la Imprenta Atenas, de la calle Lima 1570, de Buenos Aires. Del mismo editor, un folleto de 1900 impreso en la Litografía e Imprenta de P. Borja, en la calle Salta, de Buenos Aires; también de A. Pérez, en 1910, un folleto impreso en la Imprenta y Encuadernación Coronel Dorrego, en San Juan 2165,
de Buenos Aires. Se podrían mencionar todavía muchos ejemplos más.

Sin embargo, para darse una idea de qué tipo de establecimientos se trataba, hay que señalar que las imprentas eran talleres tipográficos encargados de la impresión y confección de "invitaciones para sociedades, tarjetas comerciales y de visita, circulares, recibos, cuentas, carteles, cuentas corrientes, invitaciones fúnebres, encuadernación y sellos de goma," como lo expresa un folleto (4,34), en su contratapa.

Catálogos de las casas editoras

El examen de los títulos ofrecidos en los catálogos de las casas editoras permite delimitar dos grandes grupos: por un lado, los editores con una especial preocupación política y, por otro, los que muestran una orientación claramente condicionada por el mercado. En este segundo grupo llama la atención la homogeneidad de las ofertas de los distintos editores, ya que no sólo se publicitan los mismos géneros (gauchesca, folletos de crímenes, cancioneros, etc.), sino que, en la mayoría de los casos, de un editor a otro coinciden los títulos de los folletos individuales. Por cierto que es el material de este segundo grupo el que predomina cuantitativamente. En muchos de los folletos se incluyen catálogos que combinan las clásicas ofertas de la literatura gauchesca con obras de A. Dumas, V. Hugo, Lamartine, E. Sue, Blasco Ibáñez, Hernández y Fernández, Montepín, etc.

En cuanto al primer grupo--folletos de especial preocupación política--incluyen en sus catálogos también ofertas de textos de Kropotkin, Proudhom, Darwin, Ibsen, Marx, Gorki, Engels, Voltaire, Spencer, Ghialdo, además de obras anticlericales y de crítica a la moral vigente, cancioneros revolucionarios o manuales de comida vegetariana.

De todas las empresas editoriales consideradas y que ofrecen sus publicaciones, sólo una enuncia en el catálogo sus estrategias y propósitos editoriales. Se trata de la Editorial La Protesta, que en 1924 dice distinguirse "fundamentalmente de todas las editoriales del sistema capitalista" por carecer de fines comerciales y por editar obras que sólo merecen recomendarse a los trabajadores revolucionarios, y porque "no subordina sus ediciones a fines bastardos ni desnaturaliza o recorta las obras para ajustarlas a las conveniencias tipográficas y comerciales" (cfr. folleto 1,45). Esta declaración permite ver claramente la política comercial dirigida al mercado que orientó a la mayoría de las editoriales, así como también algunos de los procedimientos que con estos fines se utilizaron.

Bibliotecas y colecciones

La publicación de los folletos obedecía vagamente a un plan editorial. A este respecto, los editores crearon series o colecciones que iban aumentando y que bautizaron con nombres como

No siempre estas colecciones así denominadas incluyeron el tipo de material que cabría esperar de su título. Por ejemplo, si bien se publicaron textos que por su temática, por la versificación y por el lenguaje empleados podrían considerarse como "gauchescos," en no pocas ocasiones el folleto incluido en estas bibliotecas presentaba características que en nada respondían al género indicado.

El género que más abundó en las publicaciones de estos folletos fue el de las "bibliotecas criollas," "camperas" o "gauchescas," que eran de encontrarse prácticamente en todas las casas editoras.

Conclusiones

Sobre la base del material revisado pueden adelantarse las siguientes conclusiones.

En primer lugar debe señalarse que se trata de una producción cultural estrechamente ligada y dependiente de un mercado consumidor surgido del intenso proceso de inmigración iniciado en el Río de la Plata a fines del siglo pasado. Esta producción cultural alcanzó un desarrollo extraordinario y logró constituirse en lo que podríamos denominar un sistema de producción popular masiva.

La descripción del circuito de producción y distribución, teniendo en cuenta el aparato editor (del que eran dependientes autores, ilustradores, impresores) y el aparato de distribución montado (libreros, quioscos, etc.), permite señalar que todavía se trataba de empresas de corte familiar, no exclusivamente especializadas en esta producción y que—por su reducido desarrollo—no pudieron hacer frente a todas las necesidades de la demanda, que superaba sus dimensiones (por ejemplo, el recurso al correo y los servicios estatales). Sin embargo, este circuito alcanzó proporciones tales que, en muchos casos, trascendió las fronteras nacionales, tanto desde el punto de vista de la producción como de la recepción.

En parte, estas características de incipienía del sistema pueden dar cuenta de los rasgos materiales de los folletos (impresión descuidada, papel de baja calidad, etc.), pero no agotan la explicación de los mismos. Los productos debían tener esas características no sólo por la precariedad de su elaboración, sino esencialmente por las exigencias de la producción misma: grandes tiradas a bajo precio para ser vendidas a corto plazo con inmediata recuperación del capital invertido.

Además de estos rasgos, hay otros que caracterizan a este fenómeno. Se trata de un hecho cultural fundamentalmente urbano y surgido en los dos o tres centros de alta densidad
demográfica que van constituyéndose simultáneamente. El funcionamiento de este sistema está centrado en dos polos: el editor y el público. El primero es el factor determinante, al cual se encuentran subordinadas las instancias referidas al impresor, distribuidor y autor, siendo esta última la menos significativa (escribe por encargo; ajusta su producción a limitaciones temáticas y de número de páginas y con frecuencia se omite la mención de su nombre en el folleto). El impresor era intercambiable y consecuentemente no idéntico al editor, mientras que las tareas de distribución podían ser asumidas por el propio editor, sobre todo a través de librerías y suscripciones, aunque la venta al menudeo se realizaba en la calle, sobre todo a través de quioscos.

El ilustrador era otra pieza en este engranaje que cumplía funciones similares a las del autor. El editor compraba la totalidad de sus ilustraciones y las utilizaba de manera más o menos arbitraria según las necesidades de composición y producción.

La caracterización del público presenta aspectos problemáticos. Las opiniones oscilan entre la afirmación de que éste era exclusivamente reclutado entre los sectores proletarios de los nuevos centros urbanos o que incluía también a las capas medias e incluso a los miembros de los grupos 'ilustrados' o bien que no formaba parte de los cinco mil lectores reales de obras literarias (libros) estimados para la época. Por nuestra parte, queremos destacar algunos datos.

Un rasgo esencial a los folletos es su bajo precio (entre 10 y 20 centavos, cuando un libro costaba 3 pesos). Un segundo aspecto son los lugares de venta, localizados en la zona de la ciudad (en el caso de Buenos Aires) que había sido ocupada por los nuevos sectores casi exclusivamente provenientes del caudal inmigratorio. Por otra parte, la publicidad incluida en los folletos ofrece esencialmente otros productos comercializados por el mismo editor. Sólo en dos casos se ofrecen productos ajenos a la empresa, pero en ambos se trata de artículos no suntuarios. El volumen de la tirada (entre 10.000 y 125.000) indicaría que el público en que piensa el editor no son los 5000 lectores calculados para los libros. El lenguaje empleado—más allá de la posibilidad de un cajista negligente—muestran en la mayoría de los casos un déficiente dominio del idioma (errores ortográficos, palabras procedentes de otros idiomas, así como también empleo del cocoliche y del lunfardo). El material literario ofrecido en los catálogos de los folletos consiste principalmente en obras de corte similar a los folletos mismos, como por ejemplo, las producciones de folletinistas europeos, así como también resúmenes o fragmentos de obras mayores, lo que supone un lector dispuesto a consumir un texto mutilado o incapaz de sostener la lectura de un texto integral. Un último aspecto que ayuda a la delimitación del público es el tema (colecciones de payadores, reelaboraciones de temas gauchescos a cargo de imitadores; cancioneros; folletos de
crímenes; literatura "festiva"; folletines de orientación anarquista, socialista y radical).

Todos estos aspectos llevan a formarse la opinión de que el público consumidor de estos folletos tuvo que haber sido el vinculado con el proceso de la inmigración que se concentró en ciudades y que constituyó los sectores de la clase y de la incipiente clase media, público que será el que tempranamente apoye al anarquismo y al socialismo y que más tarde constituya la gran base electoral del radicalismo. Esto no excluye que, coyuntural o esporádicamente, miembros de la elite hayan participado de este fenómeno.5

Finalmente tendría que señalarse aquí que el "sistema popular masivo" que hemos querido describir a través del análisis de los folletos tendría que ser encuadrado dentro de un marco mayor. Por una parte, el proyecto 'civilizador' que pretendió modernizar al país e integrarlo a una economía capitalista internacional; por otra parte—y subordinado a este hecho—el fenómeno de la inmigración masiva, que cambió la fisonomía de la región y, en tercer lugar, las transformaciones que—como consecuencia de estos procesos—tuvieron lugar en la sociedad y la cultura de la época, tendrían que proporcionar los elementos para este encuadre mayor.

NOTAS


2Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (1872-1938) llegó en julio de 1897 a Buenos Aires por invitación de F. P. Moreno, para hacerse cargo de la Sección de Antropología del museo fundado en La Plata por el naturalista argentino. Permaneció en el país hasta 1929. Entre sus trabajos científicos se cuentan contribuciones a la etnología, paleontología, antropología, lingüística, arqueología, el folclor y manifestaciones de la cultura popular (cfr. al respecto, R. Lehmann-Nitsche, Adivinanzas rioplatenses [Buenos Aires, 1911]; idem, Textos éroticos del Río de la Plata [Leipzig, 1923]).

3Esta ordenación fue realizada por Lehmann-Nitsche y originalmente los folletos se encontraban en 25 cajas, de las que faltan las número 9, 13, 16 y 20. De este modo, el investigador actual se ve enfrentado a un material ya clasificado, pero al mismo tiempo cuenta con la posibilidad de rastrear los mecanismos de recepción de estos folletos en la persona de Lehmann, dato relevante para la investigación si se tiene en cuenta que los representantes de la cultura oficial (de la que decididamente


5 Según nos relata Alvaro Yunque (cfr. "Prólogo," E. Gutiérrez, Croquis y siluetas militares [Buenos Aires, 1956], pp. 39-40), los asistentes a las representaciones de "Juan Moreira" (versión teatral del folletín de Eduardo Gutiérrez) en el circo de los Hermanos Podestá, no estaba constituido sólo por "gentes del pueblo—de las afueras," como se decía, "orilleros" de "extramuros ( . . . )" sino además por "hombres de club, de Bolsa, de Parlamento, de redacciones, damas del gran mundo concurrentes al Teatro Colón ( . . . ). Toda la calle Florida se volcaba en el local situado en la esquina de Montevideo y Cuyo ( . . . ), toda la calle Florida, entonces más salón que calle. Un 25 de mayo se presenta allí el presidente Pellegrini y el celebrado payador moreno Gabino Ezeiza, que intervenía en la representación"—y figura representativa en los folletos—"lo saluda improvisando. Esto ocurre en 1891."
El exilio en Alemania tiene una peculiaridad, y es que este país mandó al exilio mucha gente. Aquí hubo gente que luchó por la democracia, por ideas libertarias y que fueron perseguidos y tuvieron que irse. Tuvieron que irse a América Latina o a Estados Unidos, tuvieron que vivir en otros países europeos. Este país también llevó a cabo una guerra bastante cruel y por tanto tiene una deuda con la humanidad. De allí que desde que se establece la democracia después de la guerra, en esta república las fuerzas políticas distintas han tenido éxito en lograr una estabilidad democrática. Esto no significa que tendencias o actitudes peligrosas estén del todo desaparecidas en la sociedad, pero su formulación concreta es verdaderamente mínima. Los partidos democráticos alemanes en sus distintas variantes han logrado establecer una democracia en la cual el exiliado latinoamericano se siente libre de trabajar, incluso en un contexto dramático, porque éste es un país que tiene grandes cantidades de inmigrantes por razones económicas.

Aquí hay un problema también muy grande en las relaciones entre los alemanes y los que se llaman los Gastarbeiter, o sea grandes sumas de extranjeros que se encuentran en una situación difícil dada la crisis económica del país, la gran cesantía, y cierto provincialismo del alemán que no permite en la práctica una integración de extranjeros a esta sociedad.

Para un intelectual vivir aquí es extremadamente atractivo, lo digo por mi experiencia larga y de otros colegas, puesto que hay una—entiéndaseme bien—amplia minoría muy sensible a los problemas de otros mundos, a los problemas de América Latina, a los problemas de Africa. Hay una amplia minoría interesada en que haya justicia, democracia y libertad, no solamente en este país sino en los países latinoamericanos, en los países asiáticos y africanos. Esa gente le hace sentir a uno que los ideales por los cuales se tuvo que ir una gran masa de intelectuales al exilio y abandonar sus países, son ideales compartidos y son generalizados. En alguna manera dentro de esta amplia minoría uno encuentra una casa, un hogar.

Esto lo digo como introducción, porque yo vivo a mucho gusto en esta ciudad con todas sus contradicciones. El hecho

**Editor's Note.** This paper was transcribed from a tape. The editor is responsible for any misinterpretation of the material presented.
mismo de que la iglesia y las distintas instituciones culturales tengan una influencia notable en la vida pública del país permite que la gente más alerta y más sensible tenga espacios de poder que permiten también una ampliación de la cultura democrática y una distribución de esta cultura democrática en la cual los latinoamericanos que vivimos acá tenemos una cuota.

Tenemos un público que es receptivo a nuestra obra. Quiero decir además que éste es un país donde la gente lee mucho. En este país los autores latinoamericanos han sido grandes best-sellers. No solamente la gente ha comprado los libros de ellos sino que incluso los ha leído. ¡Y esto es asombroso! Mi querida colega y amiga Isabel Allende ha tenido el éxito más grande de su carrera en este país; cientos de miles de ejemplares de La casa de los espíritus han sido leídos por absolutamente todas las secretarías de las oficinas públicas, e incluso con el mayor agrado. Por tanto éste es un terreno muy abonado para la creación cultural, pero no es el paraíso. Yo voy a señalar algunas de las contradicciones que los poetas latinoamericanos jóvenes sienten en esta sociedad y cómo reaccionan frente a ellas a través de su obra. Quiero darles una pequeña muestra de cómo reaccionamos, o reaccionan estos colegas, frente al espectáculo que encuentran en esta sociedad.

A los poetas latinoamericanos que vienen a Alemania les impresiona piadosamente la ausencia de una Alemania soñada. Lo primero que notan acá es una carencia. Perciben una sociedad regida por el consumo, por gestos estereotipados, fria, mecánica, descargada de energía espiritual. Voy a poner como ejemplo un poema muy simple de la poeta exiliada Cristina Peri Rossi, que vive ahora en Barcelona, y que estuvo acá por un año porque Berlín trae artistas invitados. Esta es una de las cosas maravillosas que tiene esta ciudad, que hay un programa para artistas extranjeros. Cristina Peri Rossi ha publicado muchos libros de poesía y de prosa. Este es su poema:

Supermercado

La cajera de una sucursal del Kaiser Konstanzestrasse,\(^1\) mira con desaprobación el billete arrugado de diez marcos que le doy. 
Lo estira, lo plancha, lo alisa minuciosamente, coloca la efigie de Schiller hacia arriba como si se tratara en el fondo de un papel muy diferente al de envolver galletas.

Si no me mirara con tanta severidad le pediría disculpas, tengo ganas de preguntarle qué barco es el que aparece en el otro lado del billete.

(cont.)
Pero he cometido demasiadas incorrecciones este día:

escribí varios poemas, olvidé peinarme,
llueve y ando sin paraguas
y además los diez marcos estaban arrugados.

Constatemos aquí el enfrentamiento de una situación cotidiana entre dos maneras de vivir. Una, poco atenta a los detalles formales, la otra atenida a las convenciones y a la disciplina que debe regir la vida pública. La conducta de esta cajera simboliza de alguna manera, como vamos a ver en otros poemas, o ejemplifica en su actitud una complacencia con estas normas y quizá más aún, hace del cumplimiento de estas normas un sentido de la vida, lo cual al poeta latinoamericano le impresiona como poco sentido. La poeta que visita el supermercado, en cambio, se muestra dispuesta humildemente a disculparse de su conducta, a entablar un diálogo lleno de curiosidad sobre el billete, objeto que origina el litigio, pero la desalienta la certeza de que no es posible interesar a la cajera con románticos barcos que navegan, ni menos con la efigie de Schiller, que aparece en esta imagen como un poeta manoseado. La poeta dirige su atención en este poema a los símbolos que pueden invertir el valor de mercancía del billete. Donde alguien ve marcos alemanes--Deutsche Mark--ella ve barcos y Schiller.

Una confirmación de esta conducta que podríamos llamar referida a la tradición artística alemana y humanizadora se encuentra en un epigramático poema del chileno Manuel Silva, celebrado como uno de los poetas más relevantes por la crítica de su país. En su tránsito por Alemania se encuentra por primera vez con los "peep shows." El mecanismo deshumanizador de este espectáculo, como todos nosotros lo sabemos, es notable. Se vende la visión de un cuerpo desnudo de mujer en poses eróticas por minutos, introduciendo marcos por una ranura para mantener la rejilla abierta que permita espiarla. El proceso deshumanizador se completa hasta la perfección: la mujer que se exhibe no puede ver la cara de quien la observa, ya que el vidrio permite la visión sólo en un sentido. Choqueado por esta degradación típica de una sociedad de consumo, el poeta Silva no escribe una altanera prédica moral sino que utiliza el mecanismo del peep show para expresar una imagen en la cual se revela una atención espiritual hacia la mujer. El breve poema dice:

**Peep show**

(a Gabriela en Kreuzmarkt)

Por toda la eternidad
marco tras marco
templaría tu sonrisa de niña golfa
como una espada blanca
refulgiendo en la noche de Kreuzmarkt
El elogio amoroso con la inusual imagen del peep show significa una humanización de la mujer hecha objeto en el comercio. Aquí lo que el poeta desea ver es la expresión de la espiritualidad en una sonrisa; el poeta quiere ver en esta sociedad amor y no pornografía, almas y no objetos. Entre los seres que tienen una actitud semejante al poeta latinoamericano, identifica este poeta al artista alemán y al creador como a un hombre de alta tensión espiritual cuya obra y cuyo sentido vital no tocan esencialmente al conjunto de la población alemana. En la visión del poeta latinoamericano, el artista alemán es marginado de las preocupaciones centrales de la población. El artista es un monumento, una efigie en un billete, pero su apuesta por la belleza y el arte parece haber caído en el olvido.

Otro poeta chileno que vivió largo tiempo acá y que fue profesor de la universidad de Frankfort es Federico Schopf, que ahora ha vuelto a Chile. De familia alemana y hablando muy bien el alemán, se vinculó muy bien con esta tradición, con la cultura alemana. El es extremadamente rotundo en manifestar esta desvinculación de la sociedad con el gran arte que fue el arte alemán. Por que esto es lo que intriga a los poetas: ¡Cómo este país, que es el gran gestor de las grandes ideas revolucionarias, cómo este país, que es el gestor de la gran música, de la gran cultura, se encuentra transformado en una sociedad de masas consumidoras! ¡Esto es lo que lo choca! En un resumen de su vida en Alemania Federico Schopf expresa lo siguiente: "Para mí," dice, "en la República Federal Alemana, ha sido importante confirmar que la gran cultura alemana--o por lo menos una parte significativa de ella--es una cultura profundamente odiada por las clases dominantes y las clases que se le subordinan. Es una cultura crítica, provocada y rechazada por las sucesivas configuraciones que ha asumido el estado alemán. Sólo la república de Weimar otorgó más bien involuntariamente un amplio espacio de juego cuyo resultado fue la extraordinaria explosión cultural de los años 20, y entre paréntesis, ésta es la imagen que hay de Berlín, la imagen positiva, el Berlín eclosivo, si se puede decir así, de los años 20, el país de todo el arte posible. Un ejemplo de esta relación antagónica entre el estado alemán, las clases dominantes, y la herencia crítica es que hasta el día de hoy la Universidad de Düsseldorf no ha podido llamarse Heinrich Heine Universität. Heine, como se sabe, tuvo que vivir en el destierro y escribió desde el destierro. Era poeta crítico, intelectual con simpatías por el socialismo, y judío. Razones suficientes para despertar la antipatía de los sectores mayoritarios de la clase dominante y sus subordinados." Aquí, como ustedes ven, alguien expresa con experiencia en el país esta separación que se ve entre vida cultural y vida pública.

Volviendo al poeta Manuel Silva: Cuando viene a Alemania visita la casa de Beethoven, lo que demuestra que ellos buscan sus congéneres espirituales, se apartan de la sociedad y buscan
esta Alemania que ellos quieren, que sueñan. Entra a la casa de Beethoven y tiene el siguiente poema:

_Ludvig van Beethoven_

En esta habitación él vio la luz
y oyó con desconcierto el implacable sonido del mundo
y este piano
erosionado por el tropel incesante de turistas
soportó la feroz intensidad de sus descargas.
Pero mientras Susana con su vacilante castellano
me descubre el pulcro mausoleo que hoy es tu casa,
Ludvig van Beethoven,
yo observo la gastada navaja
que rasuró tus trágicas mejillas
y cuyo "ras" en el sordo interior de tu cabeza
debió ser el estremecedor silencio de la música.

No me voy a detener en la confrontación que aquí se ofrece:
turistas como tropel, masas que pasan por encima del poeta, y el intelectual acechado, digamos, transformado en monumento, pero cuya vigencia en la sociedad no es grande.

El escritor brasileño Ignacio Loyola de Brandão viene a Berlín y escribe un libro que se llama _Berlín, Aiaiá_. El cuenta que tal es la obsesión por buscar la cultura—no la cultura envasada, sino la vinculación entre la gran cultura y la calle—que los latinoamericanos hacen cosas locas. Por ejemplo, Ignacio Loyola de Brandão comienza a recorrer Berlín y busca todas las calles que tienen nombres de escritores y las recorre para ver si le pasa algo en ellas. Esto es cosa de locos, pero... lo hace. Su libro contiene una estadística en la página 41 donde constata que ni Hegel, Nietzsche, ni Heidegger, tienen una calle. En cambio, muchas llevan el nombre de Bismarck, al que nosotros en Chile conocíamos en la escuela como el canciller de hierro. De alguna manera el poeta visitante privilegia la Alemania del arte superpuesta a la Alemania real; el poeta la reclama con tenura, nostalgia, e ironía. Un ejemplo es este corto poema de Cristina Peri Rossi, escrito en Berlín que se llama

_Tarde de lluvia_

Llueve. Berlín se concentra en llover.
Los luminosos se encienden
pasan mujeres de paraguas,
hombres de sombrero.
Ensimismadamente cae la lluvia sobre sí misma
y secretas correspondencias
se establecen entre las gotas
que resbalan los vidrios helados,
los recuerdos de otros mundos
los sueños que una vez tuvimos,
la memoria de Caspar David Friedrich
como espejos que atravesáramos
de un espacio imbarcable,
de un tiempo inenarrable.

Este procedimiento es típico del poeta latinoamericano. Una realidad ve objetos; las mujeres y los hombres aparecen definidos por los objetos que portan. La lluvia la impulsa a la evasión y la evasión la contesta ¿con qué? con un pintor que captó esa atmósfera y esa radical tristeza del paisaje, es decir, el pintor Caspar David Friedrich. Hermandad, entonces, de alma entre los intelectuales y los poetas.

[Unfortunately, due to time constraints, Mr. Skármeta had to skip quite a bit of material at this point.]

Cito ahora un poeta peruano para tener un conjunto de visiones. Es Antonio Cisneros, quien fue publicado, obtuvo el premio Casa de las Américas y ha tenido largas experiencias en Europa. Es un escritor que hace de la ironía en una poesía muy tenso, enmarcada en la cotidianidad, su estilo. Aquí por ejemplo es un poema en que describe a sus vecinos y él se presenta a sí mismo como en oposición a ellos.

Naturaleza muerta en Innsbruckerstrasse

Ellos son por excelencia treintones
y con fe en el futuro,
mucha fe, al menos se deduce por sus compras
a crédito y costosas.
Casaca de gamuza natural,
Mercedes Benz sport color de oro.
Para colmo de mis males
se les ha dado además por ser eternos.
Corren todas las mañanas bajo los tilos
por la pista del parque
y toman cosas sanas, es decir,
legumbres crudas y sin sal,
arroz con cascarrilla, aguas minerales.
Cuando han consumido todo el oxígeno del barrio,
el suyo y el mío,
pasan por mi puerta bellos y bronceados.
Me miran--si me ven--como a un muerto
con el último cigarrillo en los labios.
Dejo otro poema que ilustraba esta misma oposición para llegar a la conclusión de esto. El poeta latinoamericano que vive acá—y esto es efectivo—siente una sociedad que funciona, que funciona bien, porque la subestructura democrática es bastante sólida con una amenaza siempre latente que hace que las fuerzas democráticas tengan que estar activas. Ellos se sienten partidarios de estas fuerzas, encuentran acá una casa, notan sí que lo que hacía a Alemania más atractiva como país era su vinculación entre la vida pública y la vida cultural, y encuentran que aquí hay una esquizofrenia. Se han separado ambas realidades, y los poetas por lo tanto expresan con ironía, con ternura, sin grandes énfasis retóricos, esta lamentable falta de coincidencia entre una gran cultura y un gran país.

**NOTAS**

1 The author explained that Kaiser is a chain store similar to Woolworth's.

2 Calle en que vivía cuando fue poeta becado en Berlín.
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PETER BRISCOE is Collection Development Officer at the University of California, Riverside, Library.

JULIANNE BURTON is Associate Professor, Board of Studies in Literature, and Coordinator of the Latin American Studies program at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

LYMAN CHAFFEE is Professor of Political Science at California State University, Dominguez Hills.

ANA MARIA COBOS was Project Manager of BorderLine at the University of California, Los Angeles, at the time she presented her paper. She is now living in Cologne, Germany.

BEATRIZ COLOMBI DE ALBERO is co-owner of Libros Nacionales e Importados, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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ANDREW GRAHAM-YOOLL is editor of the publication, South, London.

LAURA GUTIERREZ-WITT is Head of the Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

WERNER GUTTENTAG is a publisher and the owner of Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, Cochabamba, Bolivia.

LAURENCE HALLEWELL has taught librarianship at the Federal University of Paraíba, João Pessoa, Brazil, and was the Latin American Bibliographer at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, at the time he presented his paper. He is now the Ibero-American Bibliographer at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

DEBORAH L. JAKUBS is the Ibero-American Bibliographer at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

MARGARET JOHNSON is Head of the Hispanic Section of The British Library, London.

PETER T. JOHNSON is the Bibliographer for Latin America, Spain, and Portugal at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

MARY ELLIS KAHLER is a Senior Bibliographer in the Hispanic Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

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SIMONE A. NGUYEN-DAC is at the Université de Paris, Nanterre.

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JOSE MORALES SARAVIA is a graduate student at the Freie Universität, Berlin.

ANA LYA SATER is a librarian at the Los Angeles Ort Technical Institute.

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ANTONIO SKARMETA is a well-known Chilean novelist and cinematographer, now living in exile in West Berlin.

ILIANA L. SONNTAG, President of SALALM in 1985-1986, is the Latin American Bibliographer at San Diego State University, San Diego, California.

SABINE ZEHRE is a librarian at the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut in Berlin.
Conference Program
Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials XXXI
April 20–25, 1986

Intellectual Migrations:
Transcultural Contributions of European and Latin American Emigrés

Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut
Preussischer Kulturbesitz
Berlin
Federal Republic of Germany
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The recipients of the SALALM award for the best paper on the Seminar’s theme submitted by a Latin American (resident in Latin America) consisting of a free trip to Berlin are:

Marie-Claire Fischer de Figueroa and Danilo Albero Vergara. Professor Figueroa, from El Colegio de México, will present her paper "La inmigración española en México: evaluación bibliográfica," on Theme Panel V. Mr. Albero Vergara, owner of Danilo Albero Vergara/Libros Nacionales e Importados, will present his paper "Argentina: inmigrantes y emigrantes en el desarrollo de una nación," on Theme Panel I.
## COMMITTEE MEETINGS

(All meetings are open and take place at the IAI)

### Sunday, April 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Rooms</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00–18:00</td>
<td>REGISTRATION</td>
<td>IAI Lobby</td>
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<td>8:30–10:00</td>
<td>Membership Committee</td>
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<td>Subcommittee on Cuban Bibliography</td>
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<td>Subcommittee of OCLC users</td>
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<td>Subcommittee of RLG members</td>
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<td>Subcommittee on Library Education</td>
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<td>Bibliographic Guide to Resources</td>
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<td>10:15–11:45</td>
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<td>Editorial Board</td>
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<td>Library/Bookdealer/Publishers Subcommittee</td>
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<td>Subcommittee on Gifts and Exchanges</td>
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<td>Joint Committee on Official Publications</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Constitution and Bylaws</td>
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<td>11:45–13:00</td>
<td>LUNCH</td>
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<td>Time</td>
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<tr>
<td>13:00–14:30</td>
<td>Finance Committee, Nominating Committee (Ballot Counting), Subcommittee on Reference Services, Subcommittee on National Level Cooperation, Subcommittee on Bibliographic Instruction, Subcommittee on Cataloging and Bibliographic Technology</td>
<td>B, C, F, E, D, A</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:45–16:15</td>
<td>Library Operations &amp; Services Committee, Committee on Interlibrary Cooperation, Committee on Acquisitions, Committee on Bibliography</td>
<td>F, D, E, A</td>
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<td>16:15–18:00</td>
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<td>20:00–</td>
<td>EXECUTIVE BOARD</td>
<td>Hotel Berlin Salon X</td>
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The New World in the 16th Century
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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>9:00-17:00</td>
<td>REGISTRATION</td>
<td>IAI Lobby</td>
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<td>9:00-10:15</td>
<td>Tour of the IAI Library (I)</td>
<td>Meet in Lobby</td>
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<td>9:30-10:15</td>
<td>Opening of the Book Exhibits, Coffee with Bookdealers</td>
<td>Lobby</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:15-11:30</td>
<td>Tour of the IAI Library (II)</td>
<td>Meet in Lobby</td>
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<td>11:30-13:00</td>
<td>OPENING SESSION</td>
<td>Otto-Braun-Saal</td>
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<td>Werner Knopp, President, Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation</td>
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<td>Iliana L. Sonntag, President, SALALM XXXI, Latin American Bibliographer, San Diego State University</td>
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<td>Wilhelm Stegmann, Director, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz</td>
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<td>Lionel V. Loroña, New York Public Library</td>
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<td>Chair: José Toribio Medina Award Panel</td>
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<td>13:00-14:15</td>
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<td>14:30-18:00</td>
<td>Bus Tour of the City</td>
<td>Meet in Lobby</td>
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<tr>
<td>19:30-21:00</td>
<td>IAI Reception</td>
<td>Villa von der Heydt</td>
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Tuesday, April 22

9:00–10:00 Tour of the Staatsbibliothek (I) Meet in Lobby

9:00–10:45 WORKSHOP I Room A
Towards the Construction of a Database Index and Thesaurus for Cuban Materials at the University of Miami
Chairs: Sara Sánchez and Graziella Cruz-Taura, University of Miami and Subcommittee on Cuban Bibliography
Videotape by David Batty, Catholic University of America

WORKSHOP II Room F
International Exchange of Librarians: Challenges and Possibilities
Chair: Reynaldo Ayala, San Diego State University and Subcommittee on Library Education

10:45–11:00 COFFEE BREAK
Tuesday, April 22

11:15–13:00 THEME PANEL I Bolivar-Saal

“Exilio y Transcultura”
Chair: Iliana L. Sonntag, San Diego State University
Argentina: The phenomenon of the intellectual and cultural migration.
Lyman Chaffee, California State University, Dominguez Hills
De regreso: el viejo y el nuevo país, Osvaldo Bayer, Writer
Argentina: inmigrantes y emigrantes en el desarrollo de una nación.
Danilo Albero Vergara y Beatriz Colombi de Albero, Buenos Aires
La cultura europea en Latino América.
Ronald Daus, Freie Universität Berlin

13:00–14:45 LUNCH
Tuesday, April 22

15:00-17:00  THEME PANEL II  Bolivar-Saal

"Historia social de la literatura latinoamericana: inmigración y cultura de los inmigrantes, 1890/1910"

Chair: Thomas Bremer, Justus Liebig Universität, Giessen

El inmigrante y el teatro rioplatense, 1890/1910: el caso de Nemesio Trejo y los primeros saineteros
Evans Montoya, Université de Toulouse y
Thomas Bremer, Justus Liebig Universität, Giessen

La inmigración y la prensa libertaria en el Río de la Plata y Chile
Jean Andreu, Université de Toulouse

Inmigración y literatura popular en el Río de la Plata: la Biblioteca Criolla del Fondo Lehmann-Nietsche
Cristina Lisi y Jose Morales Saravia, Freie Universität Berlin

Criminalidad y cultura popular en el Caribe, 1880/1930
Ineke Phaf, Freie Universität Berlin

Discussants: Ulrich Fleischmann, Berlin, and Ole Østegaard, Odense
Tuesday, April 22

15:00–17:00  LIBRARY RESEARCH PANEL  Room G
“Preservation and Sharing of Latin American Materials in Microformats in Europe and the United States”
Chair: Laura Gutiérrez-Witt, University of Texas, Austin
The Latin American Microform Project
Carl W. Deal, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Latin American Materials in microformats in the British Library
Margaret Johnson, The British Library
Latin American literature in microformats in the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin
Sabine Zehrer, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut

17:30–19:30  LAMP Meeting  Room G

20:00–21:30  Motion picture: Ardiente Paciencia.  Otto-Braun-Saal

19:30–22:15  Alternatively night at the Opera (Albert Lortzing: Zar und Zimmermann)
Johann Moritz Rugendas: Muleteers on Their Way to Veracruz
Wednesday, April 23

9:00–10:00 Tour of the Staatsbibliothek (II) Meet in Lobby

9:00–10:45 THEME PANEL III Bolivar-Saal

"European Immigrants in Latin America: A Story of Adaptation"
Chair: Karen Lindvall, University of California, San Diego

Constructing a new home in the new world: the immigrants' experience as reflected in German-Brazilian almanacs and newspapers, 1850–1930
Ceres B. Birkhead, Louisiana State University

Contributions of selected European born citizens and residents of Brazil
Mary E. Kahler, The Library of Congress

From Nanetto Pipetta to Emilio Garrastuzu Medici, or the triumph of the work ethics
Enid D'Oyley, University of Toronto

Straddling the fence no more: the Falkland/Malvinas War and its impact on the Anglo-Argentine identity
Deborah Jakubs, Duke University

10:45–11:15 COFFEE BREAK
Wednesday, April 23

11:15-13:00  THEME PANEL IV  Bolivar-Saal

"The Waters of Babylon: Latin Americans in Europe"

Chair: Margaret Johnson, The British Library

The wild oats they sowed: a view of Latin American exiles and some of their publications
Andrew Graham-Yool, Editor

South

Contribuciones de los científicos latinoamericanos en Francia: fuga de competencias, o tributo a la libertad de conciencia?
Simone A. Nguyen-Dac, Institut des Hautes Etudes de l’Amérique Latine, Université de Paris

Exiles and emigrés: cross-currents in cinema from the 1890s to the 1980s
Julianne Burton, University of California, Santa Cruz

Jóvenes escritores latinoamericanos en Alemania: como sienten y expresan su experiencia
Antonio Skármeta, Writer
Wednesday, April 23

11:15–13:00 THEMЕ PANEL V
 Room G
“Writers and Bookmen in Exile: their Work”
Chair: Mark L. Grover
B. Traven: a bibliography
Peter Briscoe, University of California, Riverside
La inmigración española en México; evaluación bibliográfica
Marie-Claire Fischer de Figueroa, El Colegio de México
The impact of the Spanish Civil War on Latin American publishing
Laurence Hallewell, Ohio State University
Los libreros españoles en la Argentina y la guerra de 1936–1939
Francisco Bello, Buenos Aires

13:00–14:15 LUNCH

14:30–17:00 Visit to Dahlem or Tiergarten Museums Meet in Lobby

19:30–21:00 BOOKDEALERS’ RECEPTION IAI
Early Colonial Map of Cuzco
Thursday, April 24

9:00–10:45  THEME PANEL VI  Bolivar-Saal

"The Molding of International Opinion: European Reaction to Key Latin American Events"
Chair: Danilo Figueredo, New York Public Library

The Peruvian revolution from afar: Sendero Luminoso and its European commentators
Peter Johnson, Princeton University

The 1983 Grenada crisis: European points of view
Margaret Rouse Jones, The University of the West Indies

Outside the circle: realities of the Miskito Indian question within European political thought
Phillip Wyppensenwah, State University of New York, at Stonybrook

Shading light: the Valladares controversy
Danilo Figueredo, New York Public Library

9:00–10:45  WORKSHOP III  Room A

Online Catalogs
Chair: Gayle Williams, University of New Mexico and Subcommittee on Cataloging and Bibliographic Technology
South America in the 18th Century
Thursday, April 24

WORKSHOP IV
Relations between Librarians and Bookdealers
Chair: Howard Karno, Howard Karno Books, and Library/Publishers/Bookdealers Subcommittee

10:45–11:00 COFFEE BREAK

11:15–13:00 THEME PANEL VII
“European Immigrants as Bookdealers and Publishers in Latin America”
Chair: David Block, Cornell University

Historical background to the contemporary scene
David Block, Cornell University

A German bookdealer and publisher in Bolivia
Werner Guttentag

The Librería Lehmann in San José, Costa Rica
Antonio Lehmann

A German Bookdealer in Brazil
Susan Bach

11:15–13:00 THEME PRESENTATION
“Nueva Canción in Exile”
Ana Maria Cobos and Ana Lya Sater University of California, Los Angeles

13:00–14:45 LUNCH
Thursday, April 24

15:00–16:30 CLOSING SESSION
Iliana L. Sonntag, San Diego State University President, SALALM
Suzanne Hodgman, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Madison, Executive Secretary
Mina Jane Grothey, University of New Mexico
President-Elect

17:00–19:30 EXECUTIVE BOARD

20:00–22:00 Concert at the Philharmonie directed by André Previn (Mozart, Elgar, and Druckmann)

Friday, April 25

7:30–22:00 Bus trip to Wolfenbüttel
Meet in Lobby Hotel Berlin
Hans Staden, German Colonial Pioneer in Brazil (16th Century)
Harbor of Montevideo in the 19th Century

EXHIBITORS

UCLA Latin American Center
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90002

Libros Latinos
P. O. Box 1103, Redlands, CA 92373

Librería del Plata
Sarmiento 1674 – 4° “L”, 1042 Buenos Aires
Librería de Antaño (A. Breitfeld)
Sanchez Bustamente 1876, 1425 Buenos Aires

Danilo Albero Vergara
Lavalle 3908, 1190 Buenos Aires

Multimedia Internacional (E. Rosel Albero)
Caixa Postal 65.003, 20072 Rio de Janeiro, RJ

SEREC (Marta Dominguez Díaz)
Portugal 12, Dpto. 46, Santiago de Chile

Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana
Avda. Reyes Católicos, 4, 28040 Madrid

Puvill Libros
Boters, 10 y Paja, 29, 08002 Barcelona

Caribbean Imprint Library Services
Box 350, 410 West Falmouth Highway
West Falmouth, MA

Klaus Dieter Vervuert
Wielandstraße 40, D-6000 Frankfurt 1

Los Amigos del Libro, (Werner Guttentag)
Casilla 450, Cochabamba, Bolivia

Atlantis Livros, (Lucia Ehlers)
Caixa postal 21206, São Paulo, Brazil 04698

Caribbean Imprint Library Services
(Cristopher Boyd), 410 W. Falmouth Highway, Box 350
West Falmouth, MA 02574

Editorial INCA, (Alfredo Montalvo) Box 164900, Miami, FL 33116

Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana
(Teresa Armiñan), Avda. Reyes Católicos 4, 28040 Madrid

Howard Karno Books, Box 431, Santa Monica, CA 90406

Librería "Chile Ilustrada" de Erasmo Pizarro
Providencia 1652 – Local 6, Santiago de Chile
Caracas in the 19th Century
SALALM Publications

PUBLICATIONS/PUBLICACIONES — Publications may be ordered from the Secretariat. Prepayment is requested.

FINAL REPORT AND WORKING PAPERS. Nos. 1-16 are out of print. Nos. 17-19 (1972-74) are available from the Secretariat at $21.75 each. (Note: Vol. 15 of No. 19 contains the papers of the post-conference, the First Symposium on Spanish-Language Materials for Children and Young Adults, April, 1974)


No. 22. The Multifaceted Role of the Latin American Subject Specialist. 1979. $20.


PAPERS (continue FINAL REPORT AND WORKING PAPERS)


No. 29. Collection Development: Cooperation at the National and Local Levels. 1987. $35 (plus $1.50, P&H).


BIBLIOGRAPHY SERIES


No. 4. Lo, Sara de Mundo and Beverly Phillips. Colombian Serial Publications in the University of Illinois Library at Urbana-Champaign. 1978. $8 (plus $1.50, P&H).


BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCE SERIES (continues BIBLIOGRAPHY SERIES)


OTHER PUBLICATIONS


Kinard, Sammy R. Working Papers of the Seminars on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials: List and Index. 2nd Edition, revised. O.P.


SALALM Newsletter. Vol. 1, no. 1-, Jan. 1973-. Distributed without charge to members. Subscriptions available from the Secretariat at $10 per year. Back files are available at $10 per volume.

Whitmore, Marilyn P., Ed. Latin American Publications Available by Gift or Exchange. 1977-1978. 2 parts. $5 per part (plus 75 cents, P&H).

SALALM Secretariat

Memorial Library

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Madison, WI 53706

Phone: 608-262-3240

Rev. 1/87