Latin American Studies Research and Bibliography: Past, Present, and Future

SEMINAR ON THE ACQUISITION OF LATIN AMERICAN LIBRARY MATERIALS
Latin American Studies Research and Bibliography

SALALM Secretariat  
Latin American Library  
Tulane University
This volume is dedicated to the twenty-two honorary members of SALALM who have served the organization with—among other attributes—dedication, determination, insight, wisdom, collegiality, and good humor.
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SALALM@50 was a celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of an extraordinarily productive professional organization—the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM), which is dedicated to improving access to information from and about one of the world’s most interesting and important regions. Librarians, bookdealers, and university professors from thirty states and twenty countries came together to celebrate the history and accomplishments of the organization and the members who have helped build dozens of outstanding Latin American library collections outside of Latin America. They shared their multifaceted, ongoing professional experiences and interests in the region with nearly two hundred colleagues in attendance. The theme of the fiftieth anniversary conference was intentionally broad, “Latin American Studies Research and Bibliography: Past, Present, and Future,” in order to embrace research topics the membership currently deemed important to present and discuss. In sum, there were sixty-four presentations planned for seventeen panels.

The potpourri of panels presented a wide range of topics of current interest to scholars and librarians from the history of SALALM; the interplay between SALALM and various institutions relating to Latin America; Geographic Information Systems and mapping; information technology and libraries; and themes dealing with formats, gender, and regions. The twenty-four papers in this publication are arranged in the order they were presented during the conference. To see resumes of the other presentations, consult the SALALM Newsletter issues for June and August 2005.

We celebrated five decades of Latin American librarianship, research, bibliographic developments, and accomplishments in the lush setting of the former Spanish colony of Florida at the University of Florida at Gainesville. Not coincidentally, this institution also served as host to the first SALALM meeting in nearby Chinsegut Hill Manor. After the conference, an adventurous group of about fifteen Salameiros accompanied our hosts to the original site of the first SALALM meeting in the lovely rural setting. In the room where the first SALALM meeting took place, Mark L. Grover entertained us with a rousing narrative of the early years of SALALM with many older members chiming in with their personal reminiscences of the founding “mothers” and “fathers” of SALALM and meetings long past but not forgotten.
Apart from the postconference excursion to Chinsegut Hill, there were several special features of the conference this year worth mentioning. We were graced with the presence of one of the original founding members of SALALM, Miss Imogene “Jean” Hixson, who was the first rapporteur general of the first conference held in 1956. She had been interviewed by Mark Grover for his history of SALALM, and we were very fortunate that she was able to attend the opening session.

Other special honorary visitors who were enticed to come were former presidents Alma Jordan, Carl Deal, Iliana Sonntag, Laurence Hallewell, and former executive secretary Suzanne Hodgeman. Other “old-timers” who regaled us with stories of bygone SALALMs were Tom Niehaus and Glenn Read. Sra. Anunciada Colon de Carvajal Gorosabel, a direct descendant of Cristobal Colon, also joined in to celebrate our anniversary. I received several kind and informative letters from former members who could not attend: Juan Risso, Lee Williams, Peter de la Garza, David Lee, and Jared Lowenstein. There were at least twenty-three past presidents in attendance as depicted in a grand photograph by Claude Potts. During the course of this conference three well-deserving members were bestowed the status of honorary member: Jane Garner, Laura Gutierrez-Witt, and Peter T. Johnson.

Pamela F. Howard-Reguindin
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We owe a special nod of appreciation to the 50th Anniversary Task Force spearheaded by former president Gayle Williams. Many persons participated in this task force and contributed great ideas to make the conference all the better: the “Countdown Column” in the newsletter, special SALALM bibliographies compiled by Paul Bary and Nancy Hallock, Mark Grover’s history of SALALM presentation, special publicity in professional journals, souvenir gifts for attendees of black briefcase shoulder bags with the SALALM@50 logo in gold lettering and credit card-sized magnifiers with light for our aging eyes. Sharon Moynahan compiled two magnificent photomontages on CD from hundreds of historical photos contributed by the membership.

Once again, we were treated by the bookdealers to a rollicking dinner-dance party with a terrific band held in the Touchdown Terrace at the UF football stadium. We very much appreciate their generosity and boa vontade for this highlight of our annual meeting. They also sponsored a coffee break for attendees and several also sponsored ENLACE fellows.

We were fortunate to have such an experienced and willing local arrangements committee at the University of Florida, Gainesville. As chair, former president Richard Phillips not only brought his experience as a SALALM president to the local arrangements committee, but was absolutely unflappable and brimming with ideas to make it a successful meeting. Paul Losch tackled the website challenge with initiative and vigor while Peter Bushnell took charge of the registration procedures most admirably, in addition to entertaining us with an unforgettable flute performance at the UF Libraries reception. The University of Florida at Gainesville’s Center for Latin American Studies and Libraries were very generous in their support for the conference and our sincere appreciation goes to both Dale Canelas of the UF Libraries and Carmen Diana Deere of the Center for Latin American Studies. The UF underwrote the expenses for the keynote speaker, sponsored two receptions (one at the Harn Art Museum, one at Smathers Library), and suggested and supported two of the panels among other crucial support services. Closer to home, I am indebted to the Library of Congress Office, Rio de Janeiro staff, and particularly Valeria Cussa, who graciously suffered a year with a director there in body but elsewhere in spirit. Laura Gutierrez-Witt deserves a large gold medal for her years of service to SALALM (the last five of which she served on a voluntary basis.
as executive secretary), free advice to a revolving-door of novice SALALM presidents, and especially for not retiring from the executive secretary position under my watch and for waiting until the end of this conference to pass the scepter to Hortensia Calvo and Tulane University. But gold is *muito caro* and I trust she will be happy with the honorary membership status and brass plaque she was bestowed instead.

Finally, I am also indebted to Mark L. Grover and Shannon Thurlow for their able assistance in editing these papers and to the presenters who took up the challenge to share their research and experiences with us.
1. Matchmaker, Matchmaker: Of Collections in Search of Safe Havens

Ralph Della Cava

Happy birthday, SALALM! Yes, a happy fiftieth to every one of you—bibliographers, librarians, archivists, curators! Congratulations to all who over the past five decades have helped make the holdings of Latin Americana under your care rank among the richest, best organized, and most accessible in the world. Without you, no student of the region, nor any “Brazilianist” like myself, could ever before have dreamt of practicing his or her craft as effortlessly as one can and does today. You have rendered a yeoman’s service, and on behalf of all the beneficiaries like myself, I thank you.

But I am not here just to sing your praises, but to share a story. Whether it has a happy ending for anyone else besides me will likely depend on all of us. The story concerns a research collection—my own—and the search to find a safe haven for it. The story is perforce recounted here from the collector’s side of the endeavor. But it is best to think of it as a case study in the vicissitudes and joys of acquiring a collection as well as the perplexities and pain in taking leave of it. In that experience, to be sure, I am not alone.

Fortunately, in the last three years my collection finally found a permanent home—right here, in fact—at the Latin American library of the University of Florida. A good story! And, like any good story, this one has a beginning, a middle, and an end. It also has a coda—a call to action.

The beginning of the story stretches out longer than most; it in fact spans four decades—perhaps the time it may take most researchers to accumulate a sizeable treasure. Each treasure is as quirky and unique as its collector—an array of postcards mailed sporadically from stops along the road; or yellowed notations of one’s life and of the societies and times in which one took part or had made one’s own through study and reflection. Like most collections, this one is hardly comprehensive. The best that can be said for it is that over time it has come to offer an especially rich take on the workings of religion and society in contemporary Brazil and, in particular, of Roman Catholicism and national politics from about 1890 to 1990—a topic to which SALALM devoted its entire 1997 meeting.

The collection is comprised of four units, each representing a different but related phase of academic research. Only the first needs to be recounted, because it consists of extraordinary materials covering the life span of a popular religious movement. Sparked by an alleged miracle in 1889—a sanctified
host was said to have turned into the blood of Jesus Christ—the movement would suffer the wrath of the church, the wiles of the state, and the adulation of the common people. Its protagonist, the Catholic priest Fr. Cícero Romão Batista, pertinacious in his belief in the verity of the “extraordinary facts,” was summarily defrocked by Rome but protected, even if sometimes used, by Brazil’s political elite.

For a century now, he and his followers have often been tarred with the brush of fanaticism and insurrection. But, impoverished rural hands turned migrants and pilgrims have been fleeing for decades from drought-stricken regions of the Brazilian Northeast so as to converge by the thousands on the water-rich and fertile soil of Joaseiro. There, they hailed the embattled cleric simply as “meu Padrinho” (my godfather). Indeed, he was the one person who offered the newcomers what the powerful of this world would not: work with dignity, wise counsel, and the hope of a better life, here and in the hereafter.

When Padre Cícero died in 1934 at the age of ninety, some expected he would soon return, ushering in the millennium; today few still do so. But each year some two million devotees and religious tourists visit this once backland crossroads that they have helped transform into Ceará’s richest city—second only to the coastal capital of Fortaleza. Meanwhile the church, which once stripped him of his priestly offices, is now prepared to rehabilitate, if not beatify him.

No less exhilarating, and just as often frustrating, was the drama of finding the books and archives to tell this story (I have related it elsewhere at length). Suffice to say here that—thanks to the used bookstores of the region—hundreds of out-of-print classics filled the seven trunks I shipped back to New York City in late 1964. My doctoral advisor and one of my enthusiastic supporters, the late historian—and the “patron saint” of Latin American bibliographers, if there ever was one—Lewis Hanke, did his share: he had Butler Library purchase an additional sixty-seven books to complement mine. Before I set out for Brazil in the fall of 1963, only four titles on my topic had been available in New York City. Obviously, they alone could have never yielded the dissertation, which I defended at Columbia University in 1968 and which two years later was published as Miracle at Joaseiro.

As to the archives—the extant personal papers of Padre Cícero for one, and the official documents of the local diocese of Crato for another—well, that was an adventure in itself! Seemingly impenetrable obstacles to access gave way only in the last ninety days of my fourteen-month grant from the Ford Foundation. Then, with the help of a teacher from the Salesian high school in Joaseiro—where the cleric’s papers had been stored, helter-skelter in cardboard cartons, and where I also resided (there was no hotel in town at the time)—I hastened to organize my find. Alas, in the sertão—the interior of Ceará—no copying or microfilm machine was to be had. So I shot more than a thousand feet of film, page by page, and in the process managed to put out of commission three, top of the line, 35 mm cameras: a Zeiss Ikon, a Leica, and
a Yaschika. In the absence of an intercity telephone system, local ham radio
operators regularly gave me a patch between Joaseiro and Fortaleza via São
Paulo, so I could speak with my wife in the capital.

Olha, who later became a professional archivist and librarian, not only
cared for our two-year-old son and Brazilian-born infant daughter, but also
shepherded rolls of film, which I often sent with travelers, mostly total strang-
ers, to be developed in Fortaleza. She would then radio me with the results,
which more often than not obliged me to retake many a roll. When the last
camera finally gave out, my Salesian hosts magnanimously allowed me to cart
the uncompleted half of the archive off to Rio de Janeiro where the microfilm
division of the Biblioteca Nacional finished up the job. Yes, I returned every
last sheet of paper, but then had to spend more than a year in New York taping
the rolls together and once again reading over every frame.

The three remaining research projects never quite matched the sheer emo-
tional intensity of that maiden sally. But, taken together they would illumina-
te a wide range of chiefly contemporary, rather than historical, issues on
religion and society. For example, the conflict among the military regime, the
advocates of liberation theology, and the censors at the Vatican holds a privi-
leged place in the ideological tracts and factional journals that I collected from
the mid-seventies on. Internal conflicts within the Catholic Church during the
eighties—as reflected in the political activities of the progressive “base eccle-
sial communities” and the opposing conservative cadres of the Charismatic
Renewal movement—are well documented in several spiral-bound volumes
of photocopied press clippings, in extensive taped and transcribed interviews,
and in many no longer published texts for militants. Lastly, a U.S.-Brazil study
on religion and mass media, financed by five major foundations between 1985
and 1990, saw accumulated unique ephemeral items. Among these are data
comparing the two most powerful, and at the time politically polarized, Roman
Catholic archdioceses in Brazil, those of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, as well
as runs of publications on mass media by, and interviews with, leading media
personalities—at the Vatican, in international nongovernmental organizations,
and on Brazilian radio and television.

If the beginning of the story lauded the young researcher as a hero, the
middle of it portrays the old collector as a procrastinator. Nothing like an aging
researcher to delude him or herself into thinking that almost as many decades
will be added to the end of a career as there were leading up to it. As a result,
there is always that “just one more” essay, article, or book that can only be
written under the inspiring aura of his or her laden bookcases. Soon enough,
total wishful thinking takes over: it rests on the mistaken assessment that heirs,
auctioneers, and bookworms will be as solicitous of the collector’s treasures
as was the collector.

One librarian-archivist certainly was not. Known around our house as the
“Grand De-accessionist,” she unceremoniously warned that a dumpster, filled
to the brim, would make up the last carriage in my cortège. When a wife’s warning becomes a threat, it is time to act.

But even the most sympathetic librarians may simply not share the collector’s estimate of a collection’s worth or even of its presumed integrity. For example, one librarian agreed to accept all my materials on Brazilian society, but none on religion even though most of the books I possessed—to say nothing of good social science—do not separate the two. Another, however, did make my day by agreeing to take the whole kit and caboodle. But, as I was walking out the door, replying to his casual query about the collection’s principal language, he summarily retracted his offer: “Why, not in a million years will we have anyone around here, who reads Portuguese! So, thank you, but no thank you. Besides, it will take us at least a decade to catalog your gift and put it on the shelves—provided, of course, we ever get the money to do so.”

That dismissal would stand in sharp contrast to Richard Phillips’s acceptance. Olha and I made Richard’s acquaintance on our chance visit in 2001 to the Latin American library he directs in Gainesville. It set off an idea in Olha’s mind: why not donate your collection here? As a divisional library devoted to Latin America, books and ephemera might not so easily be dispersed. It would also get used: Florida was one of the great research centers on Latin America, with one of the more distinguished teaching staffs in the field.

Moreover, did not the library also house the collection of Charles Wagley? Florida’s late university professor, first director of Columbia’s Latin American institute, and the de facto “dean” of Brazilian studies in the United States during the 1960s, he was the only anthropologist with whom I had ever taken a course. As Olha also reminded me, as if that were necessary, Chuck Wagley was “the person who changed the course of our lives by insisting you go to Brazil rather than Argentina.” “Besides,” she mused, “short of heading for Rio de Janeiro, what’s so bad about doing research in Florida in the winter?”

Sensing how painful I found it to part with books as I find it to part with friends, Olha agreed to inventory every last item of the collection, thus assuaging my sense of loss. For his part, Richard pledged to catalog the books and get them into the stacks posthaste. Any duplicate, he added reassuringly, would be offered to another campus library, as state law requires, and only afterward be put on the block for students or jobbers to cash in on.

Richard has also been especially responsive to some of my other concerns, which, I suspect, might also be shared by other potential donors of specialized materials. Chalk it up, perhaps, to his stint many years ago with the Peace Corps in the Brazilian Northeast and from which his appreciation may have derived for this particular collection’s potential, if not exactly for its immediate worth. Nor has he hesitated for a moment to accept all the “gray materials,” the random issues and short runs of journals, the tapes and transcripts of interviews, the photographs, memorabilia, etc. In fact, he snapped it all up as if he were a chief archivist and they were the rare, just discovered papers of some
famous scholar instead of the sometimes random but necessary gatherings of an apprentice researcher. In addition, the thousand or more feet of microfilm I took is being reprocessed at considerable expense into a master negative. Some of my original rolls, from which a positive was never made, got bruised while using them as a service copy. Once the master is completed, two positives will be made: one of them will be donated in the university’s name to the Regional University of the Cariry, located in both Joaseiro and nearby Crato. Equally important, Richard also agreed to make the inventory of the entire collection accessible online. By late spring of 2004, its move to Gainesville was completed; then, on January 20, 2005, the first installment of Florida’s collection of Brasiliana was announced to the whole wide world and most fittingly via the World Wide Web!

“Now, isn’t that a happy ending?” you may ask. Ah, but, as I insisted at the start of this story, whether it turns out that way for anyone else will have to depend on all of us. I have in mind two issues that keep me from celebrating. The first one is “the Elgin monuments dilemma.” You are aware of the none-too-genteel debate over whether the British Museum should not return the Parthenon Marbles to Greece—whence they were surgically carved out and carted off in the nineteenth century by Lord Elgin out of less-than-noble motivations. I am, to be sure, in favor of their return. Now Florida’s newest collection is no “Elgin Marbles of Brazil” and, unlike Elgin’s, its acquisition was on the up-and-up.

But despite the sincere appreciation expressed everywhere for having finally wedded the collection to an eminently eligible, safe, accessible, state-of-the-art haven under the highest permanent, professional care, one Brazilian colleague reproached me. He asked, how come your collection is “up North” and not back here in Brazil (where, he implied, it belongs)?

In view of the Parthenon Marbles controversy, I consider his question absolutely fair and legitimate and demanding of a frank discussion. Truth be told, after my initial experiences stateside, I seriously if briefly entertained placing the entire collection at one of two centers in Rio de Janeiro where I had most often conducted research from the mid-1970s on. But the first center suddenly disposed of its own rich library soon after its other social enterprises flourished, thanks in no small part to substantial foreign funding. The second center, in contrast, simply closed shop after its foreign funding was cut off. Its magnificent library was split in two and shipped to institutes in two distant states.

If private entities are at the mercy of external finances, public institutions in Brazil, such as universities, their libraries and research nuclei, are particularly at the mercy of politics. Brazilian observers are better qualified than I to assess the roller-coaster ride of employee salaries and public subsidies that are there one day and gone the next.

Not surprisingly, then, even my critic confesses that he is desperate to find a suitable depository for his 17,000 books, as feasting bookworms begin
devouring the morsels. Another Brazilian colleague fears that precious documents regarding Joaseiro and the Brazilian Northeast, acquired by him over the last thirty years, may never find lodging in an institution in his own home state, capable of preserving his life’s work. His negotiations to do so over the last two decades have so far come to naught. Still a third friend, pressed for cash, inquired if I could not find a U.S. buyer for his run of a journal whose publication the military government finally ordered stopped. As their dilemmas and my own make clear, exactly what a Brazilian or a Brazilianist should do is not an open-and-shut case. To give a collection to an institution that is not one’s own alma mater, or to donate or sell it off out-of-state or abroad, is likely to be viewed as an act of lèse-majesté! To hand it over to incompetents and the unqualified simply puts it on life support until its irreversible demise is complete. To do nothing is to subject its fate to heirs, auctioneers, and those ever famished bookworms.

There is a second issue with which we must grapple: I refer to the money and universities, thanks to which librarians and bibliographers like you work miracles with research collections like mine. But cash is becoming harder to come by, while many universities and particularly their libraries and special collections have been put on a short leash, or sometimes and in some places, have simply ceased to exist. Indeed, those of you whose institutions depend on state legislatures for funds already know the bleak side of the story all too well. Those who have recently ordered serials or books from Europe also know just how deep a dent the devaluation of the dollar is making in your holdings.

On this score, I am convinced of two certainties. First, the halcyon days of the second half of the twentieth century are over. No longer can a Lewis Hanke check off—as I often saw him do in the early 1960s—every item in the Handbook of Latin American Studies that he considered essential for a teaching and research library and have Columbia buy all of them—just like that!

Second, the era of American prosperity is also over. During the coming decade or two it is sure to be shrunken further and faster. But I will spare you the rationale, my own and that of others, as to why this is inevitable. Of course, were we to stop spending taxpayers’ money on arms, wars, and “give backs” to people and corporations who do not need them, all of this might be a bit reversible. But, as the editor in chief of Library Journal already put it, “these are tough times” for librarians and teachers and, except for “round after bloody round” of cuts and firings, nothing good is coming our way soon.

How then might we deal with these two crucial issues—of collections and the limited resources to acquire and maintain them? That is where the coda comes in. In effect, it is a call to action. No, I need not suggest that librarians go out on strike or lobby their legislatures or, as the NYPL recently had to do, sell their artworks to raise cash to buy books—alas, librarians have already been doing this for too long, from Hawaii to Connecticut, from Alaska to Florida. My proposals are more modest. They focus mostly on collections, and they deal
only with the short run in the hope to secure the long. They number four—and could just as easily be rephrased as questions or appeals.

First, let us end the division, real or imagined, between collectors and librarians. As we face some of the same obstacles, let us engage each other more actively and interactively. To be sure, not every collector is fortunate enough to share a bed with a librarian with whom pillow talk may turn to dire warnings and threats to “de-accession.” But, could we not, as an admittedly second-best substitute, hook up together in a “lonely-hearts” website? There, in a sort of nonprofit “eBay” for researchers and librarians “goin’ a-courtin’,” might not the twain meet?: we, who are in search of safe havens, and those of you eager to provide them. Perhaps we need not even have to opt for such “high-tech” ventures as these. Why not, instead, simply institute regular joint sessions of librarians and scholars at our periodic meetings of SALALM, as will take place at BRASA (the Brazilian Studies Association), LASA (the Latin American Studies Association), and CLAH (the Conference on Latin American History of the American Historical Association)?

Second, what chance is there that your libraries might not actively begin to put out bids for collections of a like kind? I am aware of the difficulties posed to donors with deeply felt alumni or national loyalties and of host libraries’ concerns of not being viewed as overly competitive, or ending up thematically typecast. But, I know of at least four other collections bearing on themes like mine. Should their owners be persuaded to place them alongside Wagley’s and Della Cava’s, Florida at Gainesville would become overnight a major repository of treasures on the Brazilian Northeast.

Third, whether or not SALALM can or does move in the direction of the preceding suggestions, SALALM must continue to endorse—and beat the bushes for funds to promote—more of the marvelous projects that are already in place. One that I consider extremely useful to Brazilians and Brazilianists—of all specializations and from all parts of the world—is the online index to Brazil’s Popular Groups microfilm set. An initiative of the Library of Congress and a pet project of its Rio office director, Pamela Howard-Reguindin, this microfilm collection of serials, pamphlets, and posters since 1966 was “conceived as a means of documenting popular movements that came [into existence] during and after the end of Brazilian military rule.” As such, it is a model in the compilation and publicizing of specialized materials. Closer to home is the decision of the University of Florida’s Latin American library to make its newest collection accessible via the Internet to both colleagues here and in Brazil and to future generations of researchers.

Fourth and last, SALALM must not flag in strengthening its standing and operations as one of the foremost international organizations for promoting cooperation between researchers and librarians. That will be difficult in the decades to come for reasons already alluded to here, as well as because of the radical transformation, which is now underway, in the very organization
of our academic disciplines and the prevailing consensus about “knowledge” itself. If Immanuel Wallerstein, who has given the most thought to this new challenge, is correct, the task of restructuring both those domains will abound in struggles, but may also be replete with promise. For that reason, people like us should not sit on the sidelines, but instead take an active part.

The challenges are great, the obstacles many, but the collective talents of librarians and researchers are surely just as great and certainly as many.

So, have a happy fiftieth anniversary, SALALM. I wish you many happy returns of the day and many victories in the decades ahead. Both of us shall sorely need them, if stories like mine are to have a truly happy ending.
2. HAPI and SALALM: Thirty Years of Close Cooperation

Barbara G. Valk

The Hispanic American Periodicals Index (HAPI) was, quite literally, born out of fear. Shortly after I arrived at Arizona State University (ASU) in my first job after library school as a reference specialist for Latin America, Spain, Portugal, and Romance Languages in spring 1973, Bill Axford, the library director, announced that he planned to offer terminal contracts to anyone who did not come up with a creative project within the review period. What was I going to do?

For the first several months, I researched the collections and reference materials to determine what was available and turned my newfound knowledge into a series of “Pathfinder” study guides. In the process, I discovered that there was no current index for Latin American journals. The previous Index of Latin American Periodicals published by the Organization of American States since 1929 had ceased in 1969. “Aha!” I thought. “I’ll create an index of the most important Latin American studies journals received at ASU as a finding aid for our students.”

Since Bill Axford was also a leading, early proponent of library automation, I sought to find a way to construct my index using a computerized format. It turned out that someone had developed a rudimentary KWIC/KWOC (Key Word in Context/Key Word out of Context) index for organizing the library’s map collection. The system permuted all the key words in titles into indexing terms and also allowed for the inclusion of additional terms. The KWIC/KWOC indexes were terrible, producing enormous volumes of mainly useless headings. I discovered, however, that one could suppress the primary keyword-in-title feature and use only the supplementary out-of-context portion of the program to produce a more precise index. That is what I did, using index cards to develop a thesaurus based on Library of Congress subject headings.

After identifying about 125 appropriate journals and designing an indexing form, I convinced the director of the ASU Latin American Studies Center to fund a part-time graduate student to help me with my efforts. David William Foster, a professor of Latin American literature at ASU and confirmed bibliophile, also volunteered to do some indexing. Together, in 1974, we produced four quarterly cumulative issues, all keyed on punched cards, processed in the building-sized campus UNIVAC computer, and printed in 99-character, all-cap,
single-line entries. The final cumulation was photocopied, spiral-bound, and published by the Latin American Studies Center (fig. 1). Astonishingly, and despite a misspelling on the cover, more than 100 copies were sold to libraries in 1975. Rudimentary as it was, the index was the center’s best-seller that year, and, most importantly to me, it saved me from a potential terminal contract. Others were not so lucky.

**Enter SALALM**

Although I was not senior enough at the time to be given funding assistance to attend a conference, the Latin American studies cataloger did go to SALALM XIX in Austin, Texas, in 1974, and she reported on my project to the Committee on Bibliography. Who knew that SALALM had been seeking to establish a new periodicals index for Latin American materials after the OAS publication ceased? Within months of the meeting, I was invited by the chair of the committee, the venerable Margarita Anderson-Imbert of Harvard, to attend next year’s conference in Bogotá, Colombia. On the strength of her invitation, I was able to accumulate enough funding from various sources to attend.

Armed with my ridiculous publication, I showed up at SALALM, where the Committee on Bibliography welcomed me with open arms. They offered to help me expand the index, first by providing the list of journals included in

![Fig. 1. Cover of the first issue of HAPI.](image-url)
the annual Bibliography of Latin American Bibliographies (edited at that time by Daniel Raposo Cordeiro) and then by volunteering to index ten journals each from the list based on holdings in their institutional libraries. The ongoing collaborative nature of the project was established at that moment. I also met Larry Lauerhass, then the associate director of the UCLA Latin American Center, at the Bogotá conference, and he was excited about HAPI.

Later that summer, I saw a notice about a new “Research Tools” grant being offered by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). It was designed to fund basic reference sources such as mine. I immediately contacted Margarita Anderson-Imbert, suggesting that SALALM apply for the grant. She did not actually laugh, but she did make it clear that the proposal would have to come from me, although SALALM would support any application I might make.

I wrote the proposal and SALALM strongly endorsed it. Many months later, in the spring of 1976, I received a call from my funding officer at NEH. He told me that the reviewers had liked my proposal but had doubts about the ability of ASU to carry out the enlarged, improved version of the index that I envisioned, given the sample of the 1974 edition that I had enclosed.

Since Larry Lauerhass had been so enthusiastic about HAPI in Bogotá, I called him, explained the circumstances, and offered the project to UCLA. At the time, I was thinking of changing careers. Larry leapt at the opportunity to house the index and convinced the Latin American Center director, Johannes Wilbert, that it was a good idea. However, he insisted that I come to UCLA to direct it. Within days I was on a plane to Los Angeles, and in a weekend we revised the proposal, increased the budget by about one-third, and changed all references from ASU to UCLA. I resubmitted it and was told about three weeks later that my three-year grant for $400,000 had been approved. Officials at ASU had no trouble relinquishing copyright. Six weeks later I moved my son, his fish, my cat, and our plants to Los Angeles. HAPI as it is seen in print today was born on July 1, 1976.

SALALM has continued to be the backbone of the program ever since. The volunteers from the Committee on Bibliography continued to do their jobs while Larry and I looked for a computer system that could produce a professional-looking publication for foreign-language materials. That level of sophistication was unavailable at UCLA at the time, so we contracted an off-campus commercial vendor to do the work. HAPI 1975 was published in April 1977 and has continued annually thereafter. A second, two-year NEH grant followed the first one in 1979 as we worked on building a broader subscription base.

In 1981, I received yet another three-year NEH grant to produce a multi-volume retrospective index covering the years 1970–1974 to fill the gap between the cessation of the OAS publication and the “official” beginning of HAPI. At that time, we reexamined the computing situation at UCLA
and discovered that the campus mainframe system could now meet our needs. We were fortunate to find and hire a UCLA doctoral student in Library and Information Science who had worked on the Library of Congress’s automated cataloging system, SCORPIO, to write our new, campus-based programs. He completed them in less than a year, funded by the grant for the retrospective index. That system lasted until 1996, when we were forced out of the campus computing network by the university and into our own network-based PC system. The latter change was traumatic, but fortunately needed funds were available thanks to savings accumulated during five years of U.S. Department of State grants awarded to HAPI and two other databases (the Latin America Data Base and InfoSouth) from 1990 through 1994. Ultimately, the reprogramming allowed HAPI to go much further than before in providing up-to-date information, web-based searching, full-text links, and now open URL access.

Not insignificantly, the changeover to a PC-based system also allowed contributors to begin emailing their indexing to us, which saves an enormous amount of time and labor. HAPI is a very small organization. The staff presently consists of three full-time editors, three part-time programmers, and one part-time clerical assistant. The time of grants has now long passed, and the index receives only very modest institutional support from UCLA in the form of office space. HAPI covers nearly all of its costs, including salaries, through income generated from sales.

**Ongoing SALALM Support**

It is the ongoing support of SALALM and the tireless work of our volunteer indexers that keeps HAPI viable in today’s marketplace. Since early on, new contributors have been recruited through a published “want list” of titles needing indexers that appeared first in the quarterly *SALALM Newsletter*, and now in its listserv, LALA-L.

In 1979, HAPI was designated an official “affinity group” of the organization, enabling annual meetings at SALALM conferences to discuss procedural changes, indexing problems, and other relevant issues, as well as, most importantly, to personalize relationships.

All contributors are asked to analyze the articles appearing in the current issues of six to ten journals per year, available at their home libraries. This is not an easy task. The work requires strong bibliographic and cataloging skills, as well as a thorough knowledge of the multidisciplinary subject matter and an excellent reading ability in Spanish, Portuguese, and other western European languages. Indexers are also required to search the HAPI database and other online reference sources to verify names and subject headings. They receive a detailed instruction manual and a copy of the annually updated *HAPI Thesaurus* to guide them in their work. They also receive a template to download to their word processor, which serves as a data collection form for each
article. The indexing is emailed an issue at a time to the HAPI server for processing and is then carefully edited by the HAPI staff.

In exchange for their assistance, indexers receive recognition for themselves and their respective institutions on the HAPI website and in the prefatory pages of each annual printed index to which they have contributed. They also receive a personal password to the website and a copy of the printed books in which their names appear.

HAPI 2004 was represented by twenty-seven volunteers from the United States, Mexico, Argentina, and Spain. In the past, there have also been indexers from Denmark, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, and the United Kingdom.

While some people contribute for only a year or two, many others have been contributors for a long time. It is indeed an honor to thank the ten contributors who have indexed for HAPI for more than twenty years, including the retrospective volumes covering 1970–1975. The names in boldface identify the five contributors who continue to offer their services for the 2005 volume now in production (see appendix).

Please note especially that two people have contributed to HAPI for thirty years or more. Gayle Williams tops the list at thirty-four years. She began indexing for HAPI as a graduate student at the University of Texas at Austin and, after a brief break, is still with us. David William Foster, a professor of literature at ASU, helped me get the index started back in the early 1970s and continued his contributions through 1999. Other SALALM members who have indexed for more than twenty years and still going strong are Nelly González, Nancy Hallock, and Marian Goslinga. My heartfelt thanks go to all of you.

Another thirteen people indexed for HAPI for more than fifteen years. Although several of them are now retired, Paula Covington, Laurence Hallewell, and César Rodriguez are still active in SALALM, and Joseph Holub continues to offer his time and indexing skills (see appendix).

Twelve people have contributed to HAPI for ten to fourteen years, including five current indexers. Among this group, I would like to highlight especially SALALM members Jana Krentz and John Wright (see appendix).

And finally, it is a pleasure to honor the seven current volunteer indexers who have been with us for at least five years. I cannot thank every one of you enough for all your efforts on HAPI’s behalf (see appendix).

The development of HAPI has been a long, winding, wonderful road, evolving over the last thirty-plus years from a virtual Route 66 to the information superhighway it is becoming today with the help of an excellent staff and the unflagging support of SALALM. It has been a privilege and an honor to work with all of you, past and present, attendant and not. HAPI could not have made it to this point and cannot possibly continue in the future without you. Thank you very much for your support.
## APPENDIX

### HAPI Contributors of 20 Years or More

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>No. of Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norma Riddick</td>
<td>Vanderbilt University</td>
<td>1970–1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nancy Hallock</td>
<td>Harvard University</td>
<td>1982–2005</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marian Goslinga</td>
<td>Florida International</td>
<td>1979–1995; University</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine Nelson</td>
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### HAPI Contributors of 15–19 Years

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<tr>
<td>Paula Covington</td>
<td>Vanderbilt University</td>
<td>1970–1988</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose María Feria</td>
<td>Librería Linardi y Risso</td>
<td>1979–1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barbara Parker</td>
<td>U. Massachusetts</td>
<td>1977–1994</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugene Moushey</td>
<td>Western Illinois</td>
<td>1970–1974; University</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva Kronik</td>
<td>Cornell University</td>
<td>1970–1984</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>César Rodríguez</td>
<td>Yale University</td>
<td>1985–1999</td>
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### HAPI Contributors of 10–14 Years

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<tr>
<td>Shirley Ainsworth</td>
<td>UNAM, Cuernavaca</td>
<td>1992–2005</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paula Sullenger</td>
<td>Auburn University</td>
<td>1992–2005</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eileen Oliver</td>
<td>San Antonio College</td>
<td>1995–2005</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wright</td>
<td>Brigham Young U.</td>
<td>1996–2005</td>
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### Current Indexers Having 5–9 Years Service

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<th>Dates</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Silvia Mariscal</td>
<td>UCLA</td>
<td>1998–2005</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anne Barnhart</td>
<td>UC, Santa Barbara</td>
<td>1999–2005</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marianne Siegmund</td>
<td>Brigham Young U.</td>
<td>1999–2005</td>
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3. The Beginning of SALALM

Mark L. Grover

Introduction

In 1954 when Stanley West, director of the University of Florida Libraries, talked with Marietta Daniels at that year’s ALA meetings about the challenges his library was facing building a collection of Caribbean materials, she knew what to do, organize a meeting. For Marietta, the solution for many of the challenges facing libraries was not too complicated. The answer was to get together and talk. Marietta was part of a generation of academics and librarians who believed that many of the world’s problems could be solved. She was convinced the postwar battle with the communist world led by Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union was not about tanks and ammunition, but over the minds and hearts of the world. It was a conflict between democracy and oppression. It was a battle between poverty and development. It was about the right of every person to make choices because he or she knew his or her options. The horrors of World War II through which the world had just passed would not happen again if they could just get to the minds of the people. Marietta Daniels had chosen her battlefield, Latin America. She had selected her weapons, the book and the library.¹

The first Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM), held in June 1956, would be only one of several meetings Marietta would attend that year, but it turned out in hindsight to be the most important. In her position as associate librarian of the Pan American Union’s Columbus Memorial Library, she was developing a program whose purpose was to encourage the development of libraries throughout Latin America. Marietta believed in having meetings with librarians, educators, and administrators to talk and plan. In almost ten years at the Pan American Union, Marietta had hosted many of these types of meetings, so it was not difficult for her to organize another. Though this seminar would be focused on collections in the United States about Latin America, she saw this meeting as having the potential to bring American and Latin American librarians together. It is ironic that for a librarian whose fundamental work and focus was on the development and evolution of libraries in Latin America, her most notable accomplishment was her role in the genesis of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials, an organization whose primary purpose was the development of libraries in the United States.²

1
2
Early Developments

SALALM was the by-product of post–World War II United States academia and governmental concerns over inadequacies in the knowledge of the world held by American scholars and officials. SALALM’s foundation, however, came from a dynamic historical tradition of the study of Latin America in American universities that flowered prior to World War II, in part, because of influential academic personalities with interests in Latin America. This early development led Howard F. Cline, head of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress in 1967, to suggest that “the study of Latin American history has a relatively ancient and certainly respectable pedigree in the United States. No study of other than national United States history can claim much more than about seventy-five years of steady development.”

The analysis of Latin America in the United States began in the nineteenth century with a few key historians including William Prescott, who produced the well-known histories of the Spanish conquest; and Washington Irving, who wrote a biography of Christopher Columbus. By the end of the nineteenth century, other notable histories had been written, the most significant being those by Hubert Howe Bancroft. Bancroft’s histories that focused on Latin America were published between 1874 and 1890 and were extensions of his numerous regional histories of the western United States. His books examined the Spanish Empire in the New World with the primary purpose of understanding American history. At the same time some scholars such as Edward Gaylord Bourne and Herbert I. Priestley wrote about Latin America as part of the expansion of European colonies in the Americas. Early histories written by United States scholars about Latin America were primarily extensions of the history of Europe and the United States.

The study of Latin America as a unique region developed in the early-twentieth century. A number of young scholars trained at the beginning of the century developed an interest in Latin America as a separate field of study and instituted a curriculum in their universities that dealt specifically with Latin America. Their research and influence grew to the point that in 1918 they started a new periodical entitled the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. The publication of the HAHR was the pivotal event that indicated the emergence of a new discipline focused on Latin America. Though some critics suggested there were “not enough men or sufficient equipment in this country to provide first-class articles,” the editors did encounter enough quality research to sustain the periodical in its formative years. HAHR has continued to the present, with financial and institutional support from Duke University. The success of HAHR was a crucial factor in these scholars receiving formal (though ambiguous) recognition in 1928 from the Conference on Latin American History (CLAH), as an affiliate organization of the American Historical Association.

The 1930s, though a period of challenges and struggles, saw two contradictory forces that influenced the development of Latin American studies in
the United States. The depression seriously hampered academia and caused a serious reduction in the number of faculty and programs at universities. This retrenchment resulted in fewer Ph.D.'s being granted. That downward trend was counterbalanced by the influence of the New Deal and subsequent advent of the Good Neighbor policy, which focused attention on Latin America and encouraged cooperation in the Western Hemisphere. This emphasis encouraged the establishment of organizations and the development of tools related to Latin America, often funded and/or supported by philanthropic foundations or scholarly organizations, such as the Social Science Research Council and the Library of Congress. Of paramount importance was the beginning of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* in 1935, the first and most significant publication related to area studies in the United States. The vision of the small group of academics meeting in the offices of the Social Science Research Council who started the handbook was expansive and innovative. This event was probably the single most important occurrence in the evolution of Latin American studies in the United States.⁸

A second seminal event during this period was the establishment of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress in 1939. Dr. Herbert Putman, librarian of the Library of Congress, persuaded Archer Milton Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society of America, not only to finance the refurbishing of the Hispanic room, but also establish an endowment to support a new division of the library. This milestone occurred at the same time that the Department of State organized a new Division of Cultural Relations, which among other activities organized a series of conferences examining the culture of Latin America. These conferences occurred in Washington at the end of 1939 and combined with the activities of the Hispanic Foundation to raise the consciousness about Latin America throughout the United States.⁹ Consequently by the time conflicts in Europe became serious, a small but important foundation had been developed to support the development of Latin American studies in the United States. The activities and leadership of librarians and producers of bibliographies were pivotal in the development of national organizations concerned with Latin American studies.

World War II had a serious impact on all aspects of academia in the United States. As the realization of the inevitability of the conflict occurred, so did concern over relationships with Latin America. Academics with any knowledge of international affairs were brought into government service in a variety of ways and many stayed in the government beyond the war. Potential graduate students were serving in the military and most academic programs struggled. It was a period of misinformation and devastation to academic programs. Howard Cline saw it as a time of "superficial analyses by self-proclaimed 'experts' on Latin America, few of whom had historical training."¹⁰

Although there was concern for Latin America, because the two theaters of the war were in the West and the East, there was increased attention on
Europe, Asia, and even Africa to the detriment of Latin America. Bright students were persuaded to study these regions of the world and the number of Latin Americanists dwindled particularly after the war. Irving Leonard, in his 1943 survey of Latin American studies, stated the following:

There is a general lack of personnel in Latin American studies thoroughly equipped by mastery of the techniques of their discipline, adequate foreign residence, and sufficient command of languages. With notable exceptions, Latin American studies do not seem to have attracted scholars of first rate ability and equipment.11

Though Latin American studies struggled during the war and the immediate postwar period, once beyond the initial emphasis of the war period, the foundation that had been established in the 1930s provided the impetus to a resurgence in the 1950s. Organizations were functioning, publications occurring, and programs in place to provide the foundations for expansion. Assisted by help from philanthropic organizations, the scholarly infrastructure was strengthened and a focus on Latin America encouraged. Though the recruitment of graduate students to other world areas continued, there developed a small but committed group of young Latin American scholars who took advantage of foundational assistance to begin new studies of Latin America that were complex and challenging. A missing generation of Latin American scholars in the 1940s was replaced by a group of young academics who believed in the value of interdisciplinary studies of Latin America and approached their research differently from their predecessors. An important characteristic of these postwar scholars was an intentional focus on Latin America as an area unique and separate from the studies of the United States and Europe. They believed that to best understand Latin America an interdisciplinary approach was needed. Among these new scholars were many who believed in the importance of bibliographic production and the development of strong library collections. This was the state of the academic world when librarians and administrators met in 1956 at Chinsegut Hill to discuss ways to support the developing programs.

Libraries

The impetus to build library collections that supported postwar academic programs focused on the world resulted in significant changes and transformations unparalleled in the history of academic libraries in the United States. One change was the development of large collections that focused on non-U.S. publications. Parallel to the growth of collections was the emergence of librarians who were able to gain control over the academic content of libraries away from academic faculty and departments. Oversight of acquisition and academic library growth was controlled almost exclusively by professorial and research faculty until after World War II. Library budgets were allocated to university teaching and research departments, and decisions on
library purchases rested almost exclusively with nonlibrary personnel. The librarian's role in the process was as a technician whose responsibility was the acquisition, processing, housing, and referencing of the collection. This type of collection-development system was effective if the responsible faculty had a general adequate understanding of his or her discipline. Often, however, the faculty responsible for the library was more concerned about their own narrow research interests than a good general collection. The faculty representative who controlled the departmental library budget held a highly prized responsibility, which often went to the most productive and scholarly faculty.

A prominent positive example of this type of collection-development system for Latin America was the work of Herbert Eugene Bolton, professor of history at the University of California at Berkeley. His ability to attract funding and graduate students resulted in a significant growth of the collection on Latin America, which had its origin with the acquisition of the library of Hubert Howe Bancroft. With the help of a large number of graduate students, he successfully identified quality Latin American library materials, which were then purchased by the library. As a result, the University of California at Berkeley became a premier collection of such renown that one potential Ph.D. candidate in 1925 suggested, "Indeed, there was no place to go in 1925 for doctoral training except Berkeley where there were enough scholars and research materials for advanced study." Other university libraries were not so lucky to have someone of the vision and understanding of collection development as did Bolton.

Faculty control over collection-development budgets continued until after World War II. During the 1930s there had been a significant reduction of spending on library acquisitions and the war acerbated the problem. Librarians as well as teaching and research faculty were recruited into the war effort. Reference work and collection development in research libraries often focused on wartime needs. Some university libraries even sponsored specialized military training programs. Fewer students and faculty meant decreased library use. As one historian stated it was a time for librarians to "mark time, make do with less, be patient and plan, plan, plan."

Libraries changed after the war. The perceived inadequacies in an understanding of the world resulted in a general increased focus on the university community as an important agent of change. The university was believed to be an important organization that could be utilized to secure a peaceful world that would dissipate the evils that had been inflicted upon it. The increased emphasis on the university as an agent of change combined with an increase in the number of students attending college, the result of the GI Bill. Government and philanthropic foundations concentrated on universities with grants to support new enterprises and expansion of old programs. Libraries were recipients of increased attention at the university. As a result the vision and purpose of libraries changed. As the historian Arthur Hamlin suggested, "The watchword
was more money, more books and journals, more staff, more space, and more technology.” With this expanded vision and responsibility, libraries with traditional organizations had difficulty keeping up with the expectations created by the development of programs, research interests, and publications. The number of undergraduate students increased significantly, but more important to libraries was the growth in the number of graduate students in new programs that had to be supported by the library collection.14

Related to the expansion was the growth of universities that prior to the war had been small and primarily undergraduate institutions. It was universities such as Duke, Kansas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, Indiana, Michigan, and many more who became important in the evolution of international library collections during this period.

The inability of libraries to adequately serve all the needs of their patrons resulted in the development of a national program of cooperation in international collection development. Instead of all libraries purchasing in all areas—impossible if they were to be as comprehensive as desired—the solution was to assign geographic regions or disciplines to different libraries who then would have responsibility to purchase at a comprehensive rate in selected areas. The program that emerged in 1948, after several years of discussion, was a nationwide effort entitled the Farmington Plan, whose objective was to “make sure that at least one copy of each new foreign book and pamphlet that might reasonably be expected to interest a research worker in the United States will be acquired by an American library.” They also had responsibility to make the items accessible to the rest of the country by identification through proper cataloging and available through interlibrary loan. This revolutionary concept changed the acquisition and procurement of books worldwide in such a dramatic way that libraries had to adjust how they were organized.

No longer could collection development be left to the academic departments and individual faculty members because of the amount of time required to build a library. Librarians who had a general understanding of the disciplines and the publishing world were hired and became intimately and personally involved in all aspects of the identification, selection, and acquisition of books worldwide.15

The geographic focus on Latin America in the first phase of the Farmington Plan was limited. The expansion of the plan’s coverage for Latin America occurred in stages so that by the early 1950s eleven libraries had been assigned geographic responsibility for the major countries of Latin America. The assignments reflected geographic location and collection strength of the participating libraries, that is, the University of Florida, the Caribbean; the University of California and the University of Texas, Mexico; and Tulane, four countries in Central America. The assigned libraries also demonstrated the importance of undergraduate universities who were developing into large research universities during this postwar period. Harvard and Yale, for example, did not
initially participate in the Latin American segment of the Farmington Plan, but did participate in other subjects.\textsuperscript{16}

**University of Florida**

The experience of the University of Florida provides an example of the role the Farmington Plan played in the development of library collection. Because of its geographic situation, the library has always had a collection of materials from the Caribbean. The collection-development budget was controlled, however, by teaching faculty who built an uneven collection. When Stanley West was hired as university librarian in 1946, he became personally interested and involved in the development of the Caribbean collection. He immediately assigned a special budgetary allotment, which was controlled solely by the library, for the purchase of materials from the West Indies. With the Farmington Plan assignment of the Caribbean region to the university in 1951, he hired a bright and energetic librarian, Irene Zimmerman, to work half-time in the Latin American collection. One of Zimmerman’s first goals was to wrest away from the faculty control of collection-development monies, so she could build up a large enough budget under her direct responsibility to strengthen the weak areas of the collection. That was not an easy task and took time since the faculty jealously guarded those funds in order to ensure that publications supporting their own research were purchased.\textsuperscript{17}

Newspapers and periodicals took on added importance in 1952 when Farmington Plan II assigned responsibility for “all publications.” Zimmerman became interested in microfilming newspapers from the region and began to submit proposals to philanthropic agencies for funding to travel to the countries of the Caribbean to purchase materials as well as examine the possibility of microfilming the major newspapers in the area. A series of small grants from the Rockefeller Foundation were given to the library. One grant in 1956 provided funding for three staff members including Imogene Hixson, a cataloger who had lived in Brazil, to travel to the region and survey both the publication of monographs and serials as well as identify newspapers. Imogene visited Caracas, Venezuela, the Guianas, and the Netherlands Antilles. Her activities included visiting libraries, publishers, museums, and personal collections. She purchased numerous books and serials and established contacts with whom the library could work. She determined where collections of newspapers were housed. In her report she gave this commentary: “In the Caribbean, the patrons and staffs represent more races, colors, languages and religions . . . and there is a much greater need for more trained librarians and more books, particularly in schools and Public Libraries. . . . The coffee break is very popular; and there is never enough money, staff or time to do all of the necessary work.”\textsuperscript{18}

The outcome of these visits was a proposal to the Rockefeller Foundation to finance a microfilm crew, under the direction of Ada Corbeau, to travel to twelve different countries to film numerous titles that eventually resulted in
This project was the foundation of an important collection of microfilmed newspapers, gazettes, and periodicals at the University of Florida.\textsuperscript{19} The collection of microfilmed newspapers at the University of Florida has grown to more than seven thousand reels of microfilm masters, which in 2005 is part of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation funded Caribbean Newspaper Imaging Project to convert these newspapers to electronic images.\textsuperscript{20}

This project at Florida was only one of many similar undertakings occurring in libraries in the United States who had accepted responsibility under the Farmington Plan. Throughout the country library personnel with expertise in Latin America were being hired, budgets developed, and contacts made in an effort to meet assigned responsibilities. The challenges and struggles encountered encouraged the librarians involved in the Farmington Plan to gather and talk about their common endeavors.

The challenges faced in the Farmington Plan were not unique to Latin America but were occurring in all geographic regions of the world. Yet it was the Latin Americanist librarians who were the first to meet and organize. The explanation for the early activity is directly related to the personality of one dedicated, talented, and visionary librarian who loved meetings. The organization of SALALM in the time and place when it occurred was the creation of Marietta Daniels (Shepard) supported by a small but important group of talented librarians and administrators, such as Irene Zimmerman, Nettie Lee Benson, and Emma Simonson, who had a vision of what Latin American collections should be. Without Marietta Daniels Shepard, SALALM probably would have existed, but not in its present situation nor as strong as it is today. She became the leader of this group of librarians, primarily women, who exhibited great love of libraries and concern for Latin America. Had they been men in a male-dominated world in which they lived, they might have been corporate heads or university presidents. But in the world of the 1950s, they became librarians who would change the way librarians functioned in the United States. With Marietta Daniels leading the way, Latin American librarianship and all the activities associated with it became, in the words of the historian Richard Morse, “the most important American contribution to Latin American historiography.”\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Marietta Daniels Shepard}

Marietta Daniels was born into a traditional middle-class Mid-western family near Kansas City, Missouri, on January 24, 1913.\textsuperscript{22} As a young girl she loved the Kansas City Library, which she visited in the summers on Tuesday or Friday afternoons during the time her mother baked bread and rolls. She loved the books of Lucy Fitch Perkins and was infatuated with her volume on Latin America in the famous Twins series.\textsuperscript{23} A greater influence on Marietta was her father, who had a keen interest in the indigenous populations of Latin America, in part because of a religious belief common at the turn of the century, which
suggested they were the lost tribes of the Old Testament Israel. Marietta also read the writings of the Spaniard José Ortega y Gasset who was so pessimistic about the future of Europe that Latin America was more appealing to her.

Her interest in Latin America led to a Bachelor of Arts degree and a teacher diploma in Spanish from the University of Kansas in 1933. After graduation she took a job as an order assistant at the Kansas City Missouri County Library where part of her responsibility included the selection of books about Latin America. In 1938 she accepted a position as chief of circulation at Washington University in St. Louis. While at Washington, she earned a Master of Arts degree in Spanish. She also took time off to go to Columbia University in New York City to get her library degree, which she received in 1943. She then took a job as an English teacher and librarian at the Normal School in Santiago de Veraguas, Panama, where she worked from 1943 to 1946. During the war years, the area had thousands of American soldiers among whom were several G-2 Intelligence officers who, she believed, thought she was a spy for the enemy. My guess is that they were interested in a beautiful young teacher from the United States for other reasons beyond her political views. This experience in Panama greatly influenced Marietta in two ways. First, she improved her Spanish over what she had learned in Kansas classrooms. Second, she learned to love and appreciate Latin American culture and determined that she wanted to continue to work in Latin America. She appreciated the legend that suggests that if one drinks of the water of a spring in the village of Pononomé, Panama, sixty miles from the Panama Canal, one will return. From that time to the end of her life, there was not a year that she did not return to Latin America.

More importantly this experience in Panama shaped her ideas on the value and importance of books and reading in a society not accustomed to books. The village where she worked, Santiago de Veraguas, had one of the highest rates of illiteracy in Panama. She developed a strong conviction concerning the role books and libraries could have in improving the social and economic life of the community. Her experiences working with children were often emotional. She was able to see in practice what she had learned in books at Columbia. She saw examples that impressed her such as “Barefoot Indians pouring over one of these ‘cartillas’ with fine illustrations and text aimed at imparting important information on the need for pure water, soil conservation, the human values of men like Lincoln and Bolivar, or practical advice on how to build a latrine.”24 That faith in the ability of a book to change a society was to be a guiding principle for the rest of her life.

While in Panama, Marietta received a phone call from Carl Milam, the executive secretary of the American Library Association, asking if she would be interested in a short two-month opportunity teaching library science in Quito, Ecuador. In 1944 she accepted the invitation and went to Ecuador where she taught the classes without the advantage of having textbooks, which arrived shortly after the class ended. Her most notable challenge was that of teaching
the Dewey Decimal Classification system. The common problem Americans have with gender occurred when she taught the number 922.21. She suggested that it be used for biographies about *las papas*. After the laughter receded, she realized she had suggested that was the place for the biographies of potatoes instead of the popes (*los papas*), a common error by English-speaking librarians who are not gender conscious.25

**Assembly of Librarians of the Americas**

These two experiences in Latin America established Marietta as one of the few American librarians in the United States who was willing to travel for extended periods to Latin America. Not only was she willing, but her goal was to work in a position where she would be involved in the library world in Latin America. She was not particularly interested in working as an academic librarian, but wanted a position in which there would be involvement in the development of libraries in Latin America. When she was offered a job as a special assistant in the Library of Congress to manage a conference of North and South American librarians, she returned to the United States. This position more than any other job gave Marietta the experience, training, and love for organizations that would be so critical in the evolution of SALALM.26

In 1947 the Department of State’s Interdepartmental Committee on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation granted the Library of Congress funding to hold an “Inter-American Library Institute” for the leaders of libraries throughout the Americas. One of the goals of the meeting was to increase awareness and cooperation among the countries of Latin America by emphasizing the role libraries could have in maintaining a peaceful world after the war. The importance of this meeting was stated by David C. Mearns, then acting librarian of Congress: “The plan of this government to use books in its general program of cultural interchange with the peoples of the other American Republics can never be fully realized until an effective public library system is built up.”27

The plan of the conference was to invite for ten weeks close to 25 leaders of the library world in the Americas, primarily heads of the national libraries, to the United States. The first month would include a series of meetings in Washington, D.C., where they would discuss issues of concern for library development. The press release for the meeting stated, “this conference will give the Latin American librarians their first opportunity to meet together for the discussion of their common library and bibliographical problems.”28 One of the products of these meetings would be a series of resolutions to establish an Americas-wide plan for library development. After the meetings in Washington, D.C., the librarians would then be divided into different groups to travel across the country with different itineraries, visiting a variety of libraries and tourist attractions. The final destination of all librarians would be San Francisco where they would attend the annual conference of the American Library Association held June 29–July 5.
The conference was a complicated and ambitious experience for the organizers. Lewis Hanke, head of the Hispanic Foundation at the Library of Congress, summarized the challenges: "The problems are complex, a number of difficult personalities are involved, and it will not be easy to select the participants and prepare a suitable agenda." It was essential that a strong and dedicated person be the organizer for the institute. Marietta Daniels, who was working in a temporary position at the ALA International Relations Board Office, accepted the position and began working in September 1946. Francisco Aguilera, of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, was named the secretary general of the assembly with Marietta as his assistant.

It was a complicated undertaking and care had to be taken at all stages of the process. Proper invitations had to be made by and to the right persons. The librarian of Congress, Luther Evans, personally invited most of the directors of the national libraries including such notables as Rubens Borba de Moraes from Brazil, Enrique Uribe White from Colombia, Jorge Basadre from Peru, and Juan Silva Vila from Uruguay. Gabriela Mistral, the Nobel Prize winner for literature from Chile, also attended. Some letters were sent from the U.S. ambassadors addressed to the ministers of education, asking that they appoint the most qualified from their country. It was recognized that this letter had to be "so skillfully written that the Minister of Education will feel obliged to select the best man." In a couple of cases they did not want the director of the national library to be invited because of his or her lack of knowledge about libraries.

Marietta immediately began to plan the conference. Coordinating this kind of conference required the work of many, including significant help from the staff of the library, the State Department, and other organizations in Washington, D.C. Also involved was Dr. Ernesto G. Gietz, director of the Instituto Bibliotecológico de Buenos Aires, who helped develop the agenda for the entire conference. However, the organization and administration of the conference fell primarily to Marietta. As well as establishing who would attend, she developed plans for the conference, created the itinerary for the trips across the United States, and insured their participation in the ALA meeting. Conflicts surfaced and issues had to be resolved, and Marietta worked closely with Luther Evans to ensure that the conflicts did not seriously affect the conference. Dr. Evans referred to Marietta as his "Special Assistant in charge of plans for the Assembly."

Under pressure of time restraints, communication challenges, budget problems, and diplomatic conflicts, the Library of Congress under Marietta's direction was able to bring together all the elements for a two-month conference of 38 librarians from outside of the United States and more than 150 U.S. librarians who attended the conference at differing times. Between May 12 and June 6, they met twice a day in sessions and committee meetings exploring major issues of library development. The last week's meetings were held in New York City. Five working committees (combined with three coordinating committees)
established plans and made proposals in the following topics: education for librarianship, technical processes, acquisitions, bibliography, and library services and development. Each committee suggested resolutions that together totaled fifty-three (fifty-seven including gratitude resolutions) that covered a large number of issues related to library development in the Americas. The resolutions reflected the goals and activities that Marietta would later incorporate into her work with the Pan American Union/OAS and SALALM.

Many of the group had to return home but the remaining visitors divided into two groups and took tours of libraries throughout the country. Marietta was the guide for the southern group and as a result of this trip was referred to by many as *La Dictadora*. Arriving in San Francisco, the visitors attended many of the panels and meetings of the annual ALA conference. At the beginning of the conference, Rubens Borba de Moraes, director of the National Library of Brazil, represented the group by delivering a powerful message that emphasized the importance of libraries in a world only recently released from the grips of a war:

Unhappily we see today, after a terrible war from which man should have learned that fighting solves nothing, another terrible armament race. We live in an armed peace, a peace that is not real. . . . Is it possible for us librarians to stand with our arms crossed? To catalog our books while waiting for a bomb that will destroy our library? . . . We librarians, and all intellectual workers in general, have committed a great error. This error was to isolate ourselves in our work, to busy ourselves exclusively in the technical aspects of our labors. A book has come to be principally a problem of cataloging and circulation. We have not thought enough about the influence that these books might have in society.

He then made a challenge to librarians:

There is no room in the world today for the isolationist. No longer are we responsible only for what occurs in our own country. We have a direct interest in all the great problems of the world. . . . For the librarian of today, there is work calling for men of good will and faith—the politics of PEACE. We have today the mission of showing that various modes of life and thought can exist side by side peacefully.

The librarians returned to their homes and plans were made for the next conference. The importance of the conference in the evolution of libraries in Latin America is immeasurable. Dr. Gietz from Argentina suggested the value of the conference to the participants. “I do not hesitate to express my conviction that the Assembly of Librarians of the Americas will stand out as one of the most significant cultural events in the field of inter-American cooperation.” In Latin America many of the resolutions were realized and librarianship in many of the countries experienced a significant increase in activities and importance.
The conference influenced Marietta for the rest of her life. What she learned and experienced was to be important in what SALALM became in the early years. Marietta’s talents for organization and creativity were shown in the way the conference was run. In this conference she realized that she had a knack for organizing conferences and bringing about positive results from these meetings. Her love of resolutions, which were very prominent in the early SALALMs, was an important part of the conference. Resolutions were her way to attempt to affect change through the unity and influence of an organization of librarians. Marietta used meetings to the greatest extent possible to affect change.

It was also during this assembly that Marietta gained an appreciation of the value of librarians gathering and talking. She truly believed that those activities had an important function in affecting change. She got more out of meetings of this nature than any other librarian I have ever known. Her friend and colleague Susan Benson has suggested that Marietta was “an unchanging agent of change.”

She was a conference vampire. With each meeting and discussion her strength grew. By 3:00 a.m. her ability to draft resolutions was at its peak. While the weaker and younger around her drooped over typewriters or cut and pasted with unfocused eyes, she waxed eloquent. At 6:30 the next morning she was leading a heated discussion and so on through the week, eyes bright, mind aflame.36

Marietta in Cuba

Marietta received an additional contract of six months to finish the work of the conference. The papers of the assembly were edited, printed, and distributed by her and letters concerning the resolutions were sent out. Then, still without a job that satisfied her, she accepted a major challenge in 1948 when she was sent by the Library of Congress to Havana, Cuba, for six months to assist in the reorganization of the public library of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País. This 100,000-volume library, which first opened its doors to the public in 1793, had just moved into a new building and there was a serious need for organization. The collection was virtually uncataloged. Those who did not know Marietta were surprised that she was able to convince the president of the organization to close the library for three weeks, the first time that had happened since it opened at the end of the eighteenth century. During this time she was able to get all the employees of the library, including the janitorial staff, involved in getting the collection separated and ready for cataloging. Manuscripts and incunabula were identified and moved into a more secure place, serials were separated from the monograph collection, and the monograph and pamphlet collection was placed in alphabetical order by author so it could later be cataloged using Library of Congress printed cards. Marietta was actively involved in every aspect of the entire process. She stated:
For those allergic to dust from books, as I am, I strongly urge the use of Dr. Weaver’s Nasal Filter which, together with the Coca Cola plant across the street and a good constitution, was the most important factor in getting me successfully through those three back-breaking weeks.37

Pan American Union

After the experience in Cuba, she was offered the position as associate librarian of the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, eventually working with Dr. Arthur Gropp, who became the librarian in 1950. She was hired by Jorge Basadre, who had been Peru’s representative to the Assembly of Librarians of the Americas and had accepted a job at the Pan American Union. Her job was to run the library, “the only library I cared to administer.”38 But Marietta was not one to stay in the library and deal with administrative issues. Her desires to be out of the library and in Latin America created conflict with Dr. Gropp, whose own work was not directly related to the day-to-day workings of the library. His evaluations of her during these early years indicated frustration with Marietta. She wanted to be involved in library development in Latin America and saw this position as a way to do that more than she had done in the Library of Congress. In a 1951 list of her fourteen responsibilities, eight had nothing to do with the library.39 She stated:

I was loathe to leave a pleasant post in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress to enter what promised to be a difficult and uncertain field of activity in the Pan American Union. At this point my Scot Presbyterian upbringing, which all too frequently forces me to do what I don’t want to do but doesn’t always keep me from doing what I shouldn’t, took over and twisted the “no, thank you” which I had expected to say into a “yes, with pleasure.”40

This somewhat amusing description she gave of her activities in 1957 is a good indication of how she worked:

Time was, they tell me, when a bespectacled white-haired librarian sat behind a desk protected by a dour look and a large sign marked SILENCE, and read a book. There are times, indeed when this bespectacled and graying librarian is trying to finish a serious study in half an hour for presentation to the administration the next day, when four or five typewriters are hammering away in her crowded office, two telephones are jangling off their hooks amid the cacophony of parrots shouting infamies at over-enthusiastic tourists in the patio of the Pan American Union and tourists relating with their newly purchased maracas and castanets, and an important visitor from Latin America comes unwittingly into the ring, that I long for the ‘good old days’ of library history which I have never known.41

What she did was turn a position as librarian into what she called “an international civil servant and representative of the secretariat of the Organization of American States.” She made sure the library was functioning and then
sought out opportunities for international travel and activities. For example, in 1949 and 1950 she taught a seven-week course in library science at the National University of Panama for students from all over Central America. In true Marietta fashion it was a complicated course that involved librarians from all levels of expertise, taking different courses and divided also by country. She was proud of the results which she felt placed well-trained librarians in all of Central America. She saw several ways to improve library science instructions, but probably her biggest concern was over the lack of "professional literature and a working collection of library service textbooks. . . . It is essential that an adequate supply of study materials be secured so that the students may have the opportunity to become familiar with the field."42

She also initiated a large number of projects with the purpose of providing Latin American librarians with information and help in what she called the Program of Library Development and Bibliography in Latin America. She edited and translated a large number of manuals and help-aids that were distributed throughout the region. She organized conferences where American librarians would interact with Latin American librarians. She began her pet project, an inter-American library school in Medellin, Colombia, financed by foundation support. She traveled throughout the region and made contacts. Her assessment of the travel was "for nine long and eventful years, now, my superior officers at the Pan American Union have both protested and approved my travel requests for promoting library development in Latin America."43

**Organization of SALALM**

Marietta was doing what she loved when, during a 1954 meeting at the ALA, a suggestion was made in the International Relations Committee that a meeting of both American and Latin American librarians be held where they could jointly discuss issues related to the acquisition and distribution of library materials in the United States. This committee was the place where library issues related to Latin America were discussed. The committee had first been organized in the early 1930s under the name of the Committee for Library Cooperation with Latin America and later changed to the International Relations Committee. Marietta was always active in its deliberations and had been chair. Marietta’s interest was issues of acquisitions and library development and this type of a meeting was an extension of work she was already doing with the Pan American Union.44

A friend and classmate of hers at Columbia Library School, Stanley West, director of the University of Florida Libraries, was apprehensive about the university’s ability to fulfill his library’s obligation with the Farmington Plan. He was on the Farmington Plan’s Subcommittee for Latin America and acutely aware of the challenges many libraries were having acquiring materials from Latin America. He saw an immediate value for his library as well as other libraries connected with the Farmington Plan of such a meeting.45
West and Marietta had additional discussions about the possibility of the meeting during West’s visit to the Pan American Union in February 1955. He suggested that Marietta come to Florida where they could develop plans in greater detail. A formal invitation was extended to Marietta to make a presentation on the activities of the Columbus Memorial Library and the Pan American Union to the Florida Library Association meetings. She would also spend time evaluating the University of Florida’s program of Latin American acquisitions and exchange. On March 23, Marietta, West, and a few members of the library staff traveled to Chinsegut Hill where they had a discussion about the possible seminar and spent the night. Marietta was impressed with the setting. “This estate is to be used by the University for small conferences and for scholars who need to get away from the rest of the world for brief periods of time to finish some bit of research or writing.”

Chinsegut Hill was a large plantation with a large home situated approximately one hundred miles south of Gainesville near the town of Brooksville. In 1904 it became the property of Raymond Robins (Colonel) and Margaret Robins. Raymond made a large fortune in the gold fields of Alaska and returned to Florida to live. They both had active and colorful careers in politics and social movements. They deeded the property to the state and after Robins passed away in 1954, the house was made into a research library of the University of Florida and a librarian was hired to supervise the collection of over 8,000 volumes. It was used for conferences and made available to scholars as a place to research and write. It was later given to the University of South Florida and is used as a conference and retreat center.

The outgrowth of the Florida visit was an official proposal for a pre-American Library Association seminar to be held one week prior to the ALA meetings in Miami Beach, June 17–23. The conference would be attended by selected librarians nationwide who had responsibility for the procurement of library materials from Latin America. The meeting would be held at Chinsegut Hill and be jointly sponsored by the University of Florida, the Pan American Union, and the ALA.

After Marietta returned home she immediately contacted the ALA Board of Acquisitions for assistance and sponsorship but was told that though it was an excellent idea, they were not interested in being part of the meeting: “It would obviously be necessary to limit attendance severely. It was felt that an officially sponsored meeting should be open to all interested persons and that a limited meeting would be better sponsored by a non-ALA organization such as the University of Florida.” With such a weak excuse, there were obviously other unstated reasons for their lack of interest.

Without the help of the ALA, West became discouraged and suggested to Marietta that perhaps it was better to not proceed with the conference because of the amount of work that would be required by the University of Florida.
Marietta’s response was that they forget the ALA and continue with the planning. She suggested to West: “I think we should go ahead with the planning of the seminar on Latin American Acquisitions. Undoubtedly between our two institutions we can handle the preparatory work and if you and Curtis [Wilgus, chair of Latin American Studies at the University of Florida] can arrange for the administrative details of running the seminar, I am sure it can be done fairly simply.” She suggested that the Pan American Union run the conference and do most of the work of the meeting, including making the invitations and coordinating the working papers.49

Marietta had already been working, including writing an invitation to the meeting. The participants of the conference would be U.S. library administrators and librarians whose primary responsibility was the acquisition of library materials from Latin America. The purpose of the meeting would be to “discuss mutual problems, to pool information about bibliographical sources, trade channels and routines, in an effort to facilitate the flow of publications and information on Latin America to library users in the U.S.” The conference program would be organized by format of library materials: books and pamphlets, periodical and newspapers, official publications, and other materials. There would also be a discussion on the exchange of materials. Selected librarians would be asked to submit working papers on the various topics and the papers would be available to all participants.50

One issue that became a challenge was limiting the number of participants. The sleeping facility at Chinsegut Hill was limited to sixteen beds, though they did find additional motel space in the neighboring town of Brooksville. Marietta initially decided to limit attendance to sixteen participants from a select group of the most important libraries with extensive Latin American collections. Her first list included representatives from the Library of Congress, Columbus Memorial Library, University of Florida, New York Public Library, Yale University, University of Texas, University of California, United Nations, Vanderbilt, Duke, and North Carolina. There was interest, however, from other libraries and institutions and the list had to be expanded. Marietta also suggested they invite a representative of the book trade and someone from UNESCO. By August 15, formal approval to hold the conference was given by Eriço Verissimo, director of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union, and planning began in earnest.51

In December 1955, formal letters were sent to the heads of the designated participant libraries for the purpose of “alert[ing] you to the meeting and express[ing] the hope that you will be able to send a participant.” A tentative roster of presenters was developed and a possible list of topics was included in the letter along with an additional request for suggestions as to the content of the meeting. Each library director was asked to provide names of their staff who could prepare working papers, which were to be sent to Dr. West by the
first of May. The conference would last two days and cost twenty-five dollars for lodging, eight meals, transportation to Chinsegut Hill, and a copy of the working papers and final report. By this time, Brown University, Harvard University, the University of Miami, Tulane University, and a representative from the Farmington Plan had been added to the list of invitees.52

There were early challenges to be resolved. The first was to determine who would be invited. Those submitting working papers did not automatically receive an invitation to attend. Three librarians from the University of California submitted working papers, but Marietta had to reiterate to them that “there will only be one representative from the library at the seminar.”53 Some libraries such as Harvard decided not to participate. Their response was the following: “At the moment, I don’t think that we shall want to send a representative to the meeting as we are not concentrating on Latin American acquisitions.”54 An interesting personal conflict bubbled to the surface. Curtis Wilgus was adamant against inviting Ron Hilton as the representative from Stanford. Stanley West told Marietta, “Curtis seems to feel very strongly about Hilton; he said he would make absolutely no contribution.”55 Marietta agreed with that assessment but allowed Stanford to make its own selection. Hilton did not attend. Several other invited participants decided not to attend such as Josephina del Toro, librarian from the University of Puerto Rico, and Fermin Peraza, director of the Municipal Library of Havana, Cuba, though Peraza did submit a working paper.56

One interesting incident related to participation was that of Gertrude Schutze. In April 1956 Stanley West received a telegram from Ms. Schutze, librarian of the Grace Chemical Research and Development Company, indicating that she wished to attend, even though she was not a Latin American specialist. West responded that the number of participants was restricted and consequently they could not extend an invitation to her. She persisted suggesting that she may not fit the general criteria, but pointed out that she could represent special libraries, one area not covered by the invited participants. She did not give up and eventually West sent her an invitation. “I held her off until I was sure there was room enough after taking care of the institutional representatives, but wrote her yesterday that we could find a room for her in Brooksville.” She had graduated from Columbia and West felt she could make a contribution in the field of scientific books. She did attend.57

There were also challenges of money. The director of the Pan American Union, Dr. Erico Verissimo, decided not to finance the publication of the Final Papers and consequently, under some pressure, Curtis Wilgus agreed to fund this publication. West described his acquiescence: “The same old matter of money came up however, but he said he thought that could be overcome.” The nonparticipation of Hilton from Stanford was hinted as a factor in the allocating of the money.58
Conference

On the evening of June 13, 1956, the invited participants gathered at Chinsegut Hill for the conference. The group assembled was impressive and led Irene Zimmerman from the University of Florida to exclaim: "We [Zimmerman and Imogene Hixson] realize that we are to find ourselves in distinguished company. However, we shall do what we can to hold up our respective sections of the Florida end of the proceedings." There were twenty-six officially invited participants with six observers. Nine universities sent representatives: University of Miami (2), University of Texas, University of Florida (6), University of North Carolina (3), Yale University, Duke University, University of California, Tulane University, and Florida State University. There were four government libraries represented: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Library of Congress, Pan American Union (2), and the United Nations. The New York Public Library was the only public library represented and there were two private libraries, the librarian of the Chinsegut Hill Library and Gertrude Schutze of the Grace Chemical Research and Development Company Library. One bookdealer was in attendance, Dominick Coppola of Stechert-Hafner, Inc. Of the twenty-six participants only eight were practicing librarians, three were academic professors, and five were library administrators.

After the initial organizational meeting at 8:30 a.m. on June 14, the group focused on the challenges of the selection of library materials, including bibliographic sources. The working papers were not read, but the authors who were in attendance led a discussion on the main themes of the papers. There was significant frustration expressed by many of the librarians concerning all aspects of the selection process. There was irritation over budgetary control of university library budgets by teaching faculty and the limited influence by librarians in building collections. Considerable time was spent discussing the shortage of up-to-date bibliographies that would indicate what was being published in Latin America. Nettie Lee Benson, of the University of Texas, suggested that by the time libraries knew what was published, the item was already out-of-print. The most significant proposal to come out of this discussion was the need for a coordinated effort by a regional dealer or book company who could represent the libraries in the United States in purchasing books throughout Latin America.

The afternoon session focused on methods of acquisitions as well as issues related to the exchange of library materials. After a discussion about bookdealers in Latin America and the successes and failures of the Farmington Plan, it was suggested there was a need for further discussion in greater depth on issues related to the development of Latin American collections. At this point Dr. Howard Cline proposed a continuation of these discussions with an annual seminar that would approach the issues geographically rather than functionally as happened in this first meeting.
The evening meeting was a session on nonbook materials. This discussion included the least amount of deliberation, in part because of the nature of the working paper on maps by Arch Gerlach. The report of the meeting suggested that his paper "presented as comprehensive a picture as possible on map acquisition, and that the group had little to add in the way of specific experience or suggestions." The discussion quickly shifted to questions of microforms, specifically the need for some type of annual publication that listed nationwide acquisitions.63

The second day began with a lively session on serials led by Irene Zimmerman, who had recently finished her dissertation on the topic. The discussion focused on challenges identifying where serials were found in the United States and the inadequate indexing of major Latin American periodicals. The discussion focused on the role of the Handbook of Latin American Studies in indexing. It was mentioned that there were several indexing projects occurring throughout the country resulting in a problem of duplication. A recommendation was made that a separate seminar be held on the topic with the goal of establishing some type of cooperative system to index periodicals. The discussion ended with a significant examination of the need for microfilming of periodicals and newspapers.

The afternoon session focused on the publications of government and international organizations. This discussion was inclusive since the collecting levels of government documents of the different participating libraries varied greatly. A general consensus was reached on the need to increase the microfilming of government documents, particularly of official gazettes.

After dinner the concluding session was held where Dr. Howard Cline complimented the group and suggested that the announced purposes of the seminar had been achieved. The resolutions of the conference were voted upon and plans begun for the next seminar that would be held in 1957 in Austin, Texas.

This was a conference run by Marietta Daniels and consequently was not a time of rest and relaxation. The setting was comfortable but all participants left recognizing they had worked hard. This was uniquely stated by Stanley West twenty years later in describing the meeting:

Marietta brought to our first meeting at a kind of a sleepy southern university some Pan American Union standards, the Organization of American States way of doing things. It was probably good for us. It was rough. I remember the first night even then, we had to stay up at night doing the papers for the next day, things like that. This just hadn't happened at the University of Florida prior to that time.64

A conference like this had not happened at most institutions. Meetings were held in the mornings, afternoons, and evenings with limited free time, so the extra work for the conference had to be done between the meetings
and at night often extending into the early hours of the morning. Beyond the organizational activities, much of the additional work had to do with the resolutions. The international organization used resolutions to create a mechanism that allowed the participating members to apply pressure on groups and organizations to respond to the desires expressed at the meeting. It was also a way to attach emphasis and track what was happening. Marietta believed in resolutions and worked to ensure that what had been decided in the meetings was accomplished. Her legacy to SALALM was that suggestions made in the meetings were turned into resolutions, allowing for a method and system of tracking and measuring how well the recommendations of the organization were being achieved. Resolutions were often discussed for many years and activities related to those resolutions were published. As West stated aptly: “the standards of performance, the traditions, were established at that meeting and I think very largely influenced by Marietta.”

Eighteen resolutions were passed in the first SALALM. There were resolutions for each panel of the conference. The recommendations were specific enough that they identified the exact organization, group, or person that would be responsible for the recommendation. The resolutions of the first SALALM included recommendations for specific publications, indexing projects, microfilming undertakings, and expansion of ongoing projects to include Latin America. They were directed toward the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, U.S. Book Exchange, the Library of Congress, the National Archives, Pan American Union, research libraries, and UNESCO. Marietta maintained a careful, watchful eye over what was happening with the resolutions and required regular semiannual reports on the progress of projects. As a result, most of the suggestions in the resolutions eventually were fulfilled.

There were some thoughtful working papers. Most were attempts to provide basic information on the principles of identification and acquisition of library materials. Many described challenges and frustrations working in the Latin American book universe. Two papers were notable. The first was a paper by Emma Crosland Simonson from the University of California at Berkeley. Responding to negative complaints about the challenges collecting from Latin America, Simonson’s approach was to focus on the necessity of understanding Latin America and maintaining a positive approach to the process of acquiring materials. “There has been a long history of pessimism on the subject of Latin American purchases. It is customary to bewail the lack of selection tools, the non response from Latin American firms, and the large percentage of failure in receiving requested material.” She then suggested that the responsibility for a successful program of acquisition lies with the library. She believed that instead of complaining, three changes should be made in the library to improve the process: greater faculty-library staff cooperation, improved processing in the order department, and better relationships with Latin American firms. This
final suggestion was the most important. She recommended that a personalized relationship be developed with the booksellers and bookdealers. She strongly advocated that librarians who spoke Spanish and Portuguese and were familiar with the cultural history of the region go to Latin America on buying trips. “It will more than justify the expense involved. Aside from the economy in book costs, the increase in better relations for future activity will be worth this expenditure.” She suggested learning the culture of business in Latin America, conforming to their culture instead of expecting Latin Americans to change.

Finally, we too often forget that our dealings with Latin America is a two-way business. We tend to plan and think in our terms only. We cannot do that and succeed. We have to remember their problems, their lack of mass production methods, and most important of all, that their life is not geared to the cult of business efficiency.67

Simonson, during this first SALALM, offered sound advice that continues to be relevant today.

A second interesting paper was that written by Fermin Peraza. His purpose was to examine the role of agents or bookdealers in Latin America in the purchasing of materials for U.S. libraries. He began with a serious criticism of the historical Spanish influence in Latin America, including a negative reference to the Spanish-American War. He suggested that many Spanish cultural attributes that hindered Latin America did not disappear with independence but were strengthened by early Latin American leaders. These attributes seriously affected the academic community and consequently the book trade.

Most of the books printed in Cuba are of no interest to foreigners. Their local subject matter, mostly unimportant, limits the interest of these publications, they thus fail to be part of the universal culture; this we have pointed out above, is the reason why Latin American books have no readers.

His description of these cultural issues related to the book trade is then supplemented with an enlightened examination of the book trade and an evaluation of what gets published. He suggested cooperation between the Americas:

Looking toward the future, not heeding territorial frontiers, forgetting the differences of races and customs, we should like to see the Americas united in the aim of bettering their institutions; and . . . directing themselves especially towards Latin America; inviting it to take part in the paramount struggle for culture, and stop dying in its own blood, maddened by hate and local resentments.68

Conclusion

On June 16 all of the participants left Chinsegut Hill, most going south to attend the American Library Association Convention in Miami where Marietta was elected as a representative to the ALA Council.69 They had already determined a second SALALM would be held in a year where discussions would
continue. I doubt the participants had any idea this gathering would result in an organization that would be functioning fifty years later. SALALM was lucky to have strong-willed and influential librarians who believed in the importance of libraries, Latin America, and communication. SALALM was fortunate to have as its guide and mentor one librarian, Marietta Daniels Shepard, who would not allow the organization to fail. As a believer in the value of professional associations and meetings, she saw this type of gathering as a perfect way to help the library community in the United States as well as to promote the activities of the Pan American Union/OAS in Latin America. That joint purpose was part of the goals of the organization as set out by Marietta in the first report of the meeting. She suggested that SALALM would offer a forum “to provide an opportunity for those persons chiefly concerned with the selection, acquisition and processing of library materials from Latin American nations and dependent territories of the Caribbean to meet together to discuss these activities.”\(^70\) She strongly believed that the difficulties U.S. libraries were having acquiring materials from Latin America were linked to the problems of Latin American librarians and publishers. She suggested that the meetings of SALALM could provide a forum where representative librarians from both areas come together and find solutions to problems confronting the library world in all of the Americas. Librarians did come together under her guidance for more than fifteen years and discuss issues of mutual importance. As an aside, Pauline Collins from the University of Massachusetts was designated executive secretary in 1973.

SALALM is a unique library organization. There are no area studies library groups who rival it in size, strength, and influence. More than any other institution it is able to combine and unite into one organization the common interests of those who work in Latin American librarianship. Its success is due to the ability of the organization to communicate and cooperate. Historically, SALALM has focused on ensuring that information gets to all who need assistance. When projects were needed, the organization responded with cooperation at all levels that is seldom seen elsewhere in academia.

The key to that success is that the focus of SALALM has been on Latin America, libraries, and the means of communication—the book. The focus has never been on the organization or the members. As long as our passion and love continue to focus on Latin America and the role of the book, SALALM will continue to provide a service worthy of fifty years of history and existence.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida, and the Women’s Research Institute and Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University for financial assistance in this study.

2. For general discussions on the formation and development of the early SALALM, see the following: Glenn F. Read Jr., "SALALM: Thoughts on the Birth and Development of an

3. For a brief history of the evolution of area studies in general, written at the time, see Robert B. Hall, Area Studies: With Special Reference to Their Implications for Research in the Social Sciences (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), pp. 12–21.


14. Ibid., p. 68.


23. Marietta found out as an adult that some considered the books to be bad for children and “I must say that I am a living example!” Marietta Daniels, Courtesy Vita, 1957, p. 2, OAS Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as OAS Archives).

24. Ibid., p. 6.

25. Ibid.


29. Lewis Hanke to the librarian of Congress, July 19, 1946, HD Archives.

30. Francisco Aguilera to the librarian of Congress, September 11, 1946, HD Archives.

31. Luther Evans to H. Margorie Beal, no date, HD Archives.


34. Rubens Borba de Moraes, Speech to the Annual ALA Conference held in San Francisco, June 1947, HD Archives.

35. Ernesto Gustavo Gietz, Address before the International Relations Board of the American Library Association, July 3, 1946, HD Archives.


37. Marietta Daniels, Courtesy Vita, p. 11.

38. Marietta Daniels to Jorge Basadre, May 3, 1948, HD Archives.


40. Marietta Daniels, Courtesy Vita, p. 12.

41. Ibid., p. 16.

42. Marietta Daniels, Summer Course in Library Work at the National University of Panama, 1947–1950, OAS Archives.

43. Marietta Daniels, Courtesy Vita, p. 12. See a discussion of her ideas as they related to the Kennedy administration’s program, the Alliance for Progress, in Marietta Daniels, “Alliance for Progress,” Library Journal 86 (November 15, 1961): 3901–3907.


45. There had been several suggestions that a meeting of this type be organized throughout the fifties. See SALALM I, pp. i–ii. West’s professional relationship with Marietta was strong and they had been close friends for a long time. Shortly after he came to Florida he contacted Marietta for help in the development of the Florida Latin American collection. He was able to get a position in the library for a Latin Americanist and offered the job to Marietta. She responded, “Your letter with all your plans for the new library in the Latin American field is very exciting. I wish I could be twins so that one part, that which loves university library work and would be so happy in Florida, could take itself to Gainesville, and that part controlled by other forces (probably the influence of my Presbyterian aunts) could stay in Washington. But I’m afraid I can’t take your offer as pleasant an experience as I know it would be.” Marietta Daniels to Stanley West, August 18, 1950, Florida Archives.

46. Marietta Daniels to Erico Verissimo, August 3, 1955, Florida Archives.


49. Marietta Daniels to Stanley West, August 3, 1955, Florida Archives. Robert Vosper of the ALA indicated his support of the seminar even though the ALA was not interested in sponsoring the meeting. “It seems a very useful and fruitful idea. I am quite sure that all the members of the board on acquisitions felt that the idea was important, and as a matter of fact most of them felt that the interest would be rather large and that you would indeed have more applicants than you could handle. I think this is the hook on which they got caught. At any rate, you mustn’t take this vote as a pessimistic note.” Robert Vosper to Stanley West, July 29, 1955, Florida Archives.

50. Call to Propose the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Materials from Latin America, August 3, 1955, Florida Archives.
51. Daniels to Verissimo. Marietta Daniels to Stanley West, August 15, 1955, Florida Archives.

52. Marietta Daniels to Dr. Paul Buck, librarian at Harvard College, December 5, 1955, Florida Archives. The formal invitations went out the first week in May 1956.

53. Marietta Daniels to Donald Conely, no date but probably written in March 1955, Florida Archives.


55. Stanley West to Marietta Daniels, February 20, 1956, Florida Archives.

56. Telegram from Fermin Peraza to Stanley West, June 11, 1955; and letter from Thomas Hayas to Frederick Kidder, no date but probably June 1955, Florida Archives.

57. Schutze was active in special library organization and wrote several books including *Documentation Source Book* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1965). She did not attend SALALM again.

58. West to Daniels.

59. Irene Zimmerman to Marietta Daniels, March 12, 1956, Florida Archives.

60. *SALALM I*, pp. xii–xiii.


62. The description of each session is found in the “Summary Reports of the Seminar,” *SALALM I*, pp. 1–19.

63. Ibid., p. 9.

64. Stanley West in the panel discussion “Twenty Years of Latin American Librarianship,” held at SALALM XXXI, Bloomington, Ind., May 4, 1976, transcription made by and in possession of the author.

65. Ibid.


70. *SALALM I*, p. vi.
4. Recollections of SALALM Pioneers: Irene Zimmerman and Nettie Lee Benson

Neill Macaulay

Irene Zimmerman, Nettie Lee Benson, and "Jean" Hixson were all founding members of SALALM. Jean Hixson can speak for herself, but Irene and Nettie Lee are no longer here to defend themselves. Actually, Irene and Nettie Lee each left a tremendous legacy that requires no defense: it just needs to be pointed out from time to time to new generations of librarians and scholars. That is what I aim to do.

Nettie Lee Benson, the elder of the two, was born in a small town near Galveston, Texas, on January 15, 1905. In 1908 her parents took her to another small town, Sinton, in a citrus and vegetable-growing area, near Corpus Christi, where she grew up in a quasi-rural, bicultural setting. She graduated valedictorian of her class at Sinton High School in 1922 and went on to the University of Texas in Austin. She dropped out of the university after two years and, in 1925, at the age of twenty, took a job teaching Spanish and English at the Instituto Inglés-Español, a Methodist-run school in Monterrey, Nuevo León state, Mexico. After three years teaching in Mexico, she returned to Austin to earn a bachelor’s degree in history from the University of Texas in 1929.

Irene Zimmerman’s early life was a little different. Irene was born on February 23, 1907, in Idana, Kansas, a grain-loading train stop on a feeder line forty miles north of Junction City, on the main trunk of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. While Nettie Lee was growing up in subtropical South Texas, twenty miles from Corpus Christi, a gulf port of some 10,000 souls in 1920, Irene was spending her childhood on the windswept prairie of north-central Kansas, where the closest urban center was forty miles away in Junction City, population 5,000. At least Irene could dream of taking the train to the end of the line at Santa Fe. In any case, after graduating from the Idana public school in 1924, she majored in Spanish at the Presbyterian-run College of Emporia, in Emporia, Kansas. Upon receiving her B.A. in 1927, Irene, at the age of twenty, left Kansas for her first full-time job, teaching Spanish and history at Ray High School, in Ray, Arizona, a copper-mining town some one hundred miles north of the Mexican border at Nogales. So, in 1927, these two future founders of SALALM were each teaching in a secondary school within one hundred miles of the Mexican border—Irene north of the border in Arizona, and Nettie Lee south of the border in Nuevo León. At this time Irene
also embarked on her career as a librarian; in addition to teaching Spanish and history, she also served as the Ray High School librarian.

Irene worked ten school years at Ray High School, from 1927 to 1937. During summer vacations she traveled and took courses at the University of Mexico, the University of Hawaii, and the University of Chicago. After Irene left Ray for good in 1937, the town disappeared—literally. It no longer exists. The Ray Mining Company moved the people out and extended the mine under where the town had been. When the main copper veins were exhausted, they shut down the whole operation. Today, there is an abandoned mine shaft near where Ray High School once stood.

Irene received her M.A. in Spanish from the University of Chicago in 1937. She earned an M.A. in the teaching of history from Columbia University in 1939; a master’s in library science from the University of Michigan in 1951; and a Ph.D. in library science from Michigan in 1956. She also took summer courses during this period, at Cornell University, Middlebury College, and the University of Havana. Nettie Lee Benson, by contrast, received all her undergraduate and graduate education at one institution: the University of Texas. Nettie Lee earned her B.A. in history in 1929; an M.A. in Latin American history and government in 1935; and a Ph.D. in Latin American studies with a history major in 1949. She never took a degree in library science. But, as she once said, “I am sure I ultimately took every history course offered at the University of Texas.”

Nettie Lee and Irene supported their mostly part-time graduate study with full-time teaching. Nettie Lee taught fifth grade in Hartley, in the Texas panhandle, in 1931, but returned to the Corpus Christi area the next year to teach Spanish and English at Ingleside High School, a position she held for ten years. In 1941, on leave of absence from Ingleside High, Nettie Lee enrolled in some refresher courses at the University of Texas and, in 1942, was hired as assistant librarian and head of the university’s Latin American Collection. She remained on the library staff at the University of Texas until her retirement in 1975.

Irene’s employment history is somewhat more varied. From the ill-fated Ray, Arizona, she went to South Orange, New Jersey, to teach high school Spanish in 1938–1939; then to Spokane, Washington, where she taught history at Lewis and Clark High School from 1939 to 1941. Irene was an instructor of Spanish and the history of the Americas at Colby Junior College for five years beginning in 1943, and an assistant professor of Spanish at Bucknell University for two years, before accepting an appointment as assistant librarian of the Latin American Collection at the University of Florida in 1951. She remained on the library staff of the University of Florida until her retirement in 1977.

In 1941, when Dr. Carlos Eduardo Castañeda, historian and librarian at the University of Texas, offered Nettie Lee Benson the position of head librarian of the university’s Latin American Collection, she told him that “I knew absolutely
nothing about library science and that I had had no experience in working in a library.” Nevertheless, she agreed to try it for a year and take some courses in library science, before deciding whether to switch careers from high school teacher to university librarian. She decided to switch. She also decided, since she was going to be in permanent residence at the University of Texas, to work in her spare time toward a Ph.D. in Latin American history. Of course, her dissertation would be on Mexican history. She had written her master’s thesis on Venustiano Carranza, and had acquired a distaste for his era: the Revolution, the “Fiesta of Bullets”—too much irrational action, not enough thought. She preferred to study nonviolent political history, constitutional theory, the philosophy of government, and social history—how ordinary people lived and organized their lives and responded to political stimuli. She wrote her dissertation on representative government in the Mexican provinces under the liberal Spanish Constitution of 1812. Her dissertation, “The Provincial Deputation in Mexico, Precursor of the Mexican Federal State,” was accepted and she was awarded the doctorate in 1949. But that was a sideline; her main concern was Texas’s Latin American Collection.

The origins of the Texas collection go back to 1921, when the university purchased the library of Genaro García, a prominent Mexican bibliophile who died in 1920. The García library consisted of about 25,000 printed items and 400,000 pages of manuscripts. Subsequent acquisitions, of mostly Mexican materials, included 49 imprints and 18,000 pages of manuscripts, all sixteenth-century originals, and 400 bound volumes of newspapers, purchased in 1937; and the W. B. Stephens collection of 1,300 printed items and 20,000 pages of manuscripts, added in 1938. The next year, the Latin American Collection’s non-Mexican holdings expanded with the addition of rare books, maps, and manuscripts from Paraguay and the Río de la Plata area (the Gondra collection), and from Pacific-coast South America (the Toribio Medina collection). When Nettie Lee Benson took over in 1942, the Texas Latin American Collection consisted of 30,000 volumes; when she retired twenty-five years later, it had grown to more than 300,000 volumes.

Throughout her tenure as head of the Texas Latin American Collection, Nettie Lee pursued an aggressive acquisitions program. Her first big success was landing the Sánchez Navarro papers, the records of the largest and most powerful latifundio in north-central Mexico. In El Paso she located a huge batch of documents from Pancho Villa’s army and civil administration, just as they were about to be burned. She paid good money for old paper believed to be worthless. The word got out, and others came forward to sell the records of a Canadian railroad company that had operated in Mexico and to offer her stacks of old Mexican newspapers and boxes of discarded Mexican government documents. From the beginning, Nettie Lee realized the dangers of this approach: it was not inconceivable that greedy individuals would steal items from archives and libraries in Latin America to sell them in Texas. So she
insisted on clearing all prospective purchases with the appropriate authorities in the country of origin. She respected the *patrimonio nacional* of Mexico and other Latin American countries. It helped that she was not a hard-core bibliophile; her real interest was in research material, not rare books and ancient manuscripts. Later editions or copies of important books were fine with her, and she often chose microfilm over original documents, preferring that the latter be preserved in their natural context, in local archives or libraries. Her policy won her many friends among otherwise suspicious Latin American intellectuals, and it was cost-effective for the University of Texas.

At the University of Florida, the Latin American Collection grew out of the university’s Inter-American Institute, which was established in 1930. The institute sponsored annual Caribbean conferences at the university and supported library specialization in the Caribbean area during the 1930s and 1940s. Irene Zimmerman was hired in 1951 as assistant librarian and bibliographer for Florida’s growing Caribbean and Latin American holdings. In the early 1960s the Inter-American Institute disappeared and the new Center for Latin American Studies was established at the University of Florida; the annual Caribbean conferences became Latin American Conferences; and Latin American (including Caribbean) library holdings were organized as the Latin American Collection. The broader Latin American emphasis came with the National Defense Education Act, which made the University of Florida a major recipient of federal funding for graduate education in the Spanish and Portuguese languages and Latin American area studies. This included scads of U.S. dollars for library acquisitions. When Irene became head of Florida’s Latin American Collection in 1967, the golden age was in full swing.

At that time I was a new assistant professor of history at the University of Florida, and had the pleasure of working with Irene—along with Professor Al Hower of the Portuguese department and various other faculty members—to expand the Latin American Collection’s holdings on Brazil. Irene knew the business and was very professional. She ran an efficient operation at the Latin American Collection; she was attentive to the needs of faculty and students, and she found materials that were needed. Under Irene’s leadership the collection acquired sizeable holdings not only on Brazil, but also on the Andes and Southern Cone regions of South America, although Caribbean material remained the major component of Florida’s Latin American Collection.

At the University of Texas, Mexico remained the central focus of the Latin American Collection, though holdings in other areas grew significantly with the great infusion of federal funds in the 1960s. Early in the decade, Nettie Lee Benson’s career took a new turn when she taught her first graduate-level course, advertised as a history seminar in Latin American bibliography. It was that and much more. I was there. I was a graduate student in that legendary seminar in the fall of 1962. Miss Benson—that is what she was called when
she first appeared at the University of Texas in 1922, and forty years later, that is how students, staff, and many faculty colleagues usually addressed her—was her institutional name, not to be altered by a mere doctorate, and she was proud of it. Miss Benson seemed to expect the students in her seminar not only to learn the historical bibliography of all Latin America, but to produce a publishable research paper in Mexican history based on original sources in the Latin American Collection, to make progress reports on their research to the seminar every other week, to be prepared every week to critique the research reports of others (on a schedule rigorously adhered to), and to hand in a formal book report on a significant historical monograph every other week. I cannot remember how many students showed up for the first meeting of the seminar, but ten lasted to the end. One poor fellow, who was also working for Miss Benson as a graduate assistant in the Latin American Collection, had a nervous breakdown. Others came close. The stress was incredible; it was like boot camp. But the ones who survived learned a lot of Latin American bibliography, and acquired essential skills in researching and writing for academic publication. Eight students produced seminar papers that appeared in a book edited by Miss Benson and published by the University of Texas Press in 1966: *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810–1822: Eight Essays*. The book went through at least two printings in English, and was translated into Spanish and published in Mexico by the Mexican government.

Miss Benson was a hard taskmaster, but she went to great lengths to facilitate the work of her students. Her seminar was on Monday afternoon, inconveniently, since the Latin American Collection was closed for the weekend. So Miss Benson ordered copies of rare documents made on the collection’s primitive Xerox machine and allowed the students to check them out over the weekend, along with bound volumes of printed documents and reference works. But the students had an alternative to slaving away on the weekend on their seminar projects: they could play tennis with Miss Benson. Miss Benson was a ferocious tennis player; she regularly demolished male graduate students half her age. Afterwards they were invited to her house for all the cold water they could drink, and Miss Benson would fix them cups of delicious hot chocolate. The love of her life was Miguel Ramos Arizpe. The trouble with this affair was that he died sixty years before she was born. Miguel Ramos Arizpe was a liberal priest who was the father of the Mexican Constitution of 1824, a man of reason, energy, disciplined intellect, and great integrity—definitely Miss Benson’s type. She got the idea of writing a biography of Ramos Arizpe in her undergraduate years at the University of Texas, and persisted with the project throughout her career, but never completed it.

I met Irene Zimmerman shortly after I finished my graduate work at Texas and came to Florida as a postdoctoral fellow in 1964. I found her less exhausting than Nettie Lee Benson. I knew Irene as a colleague, and perhaps it was for that reason that her Latin American Collection was for me less stressful,
more pleasant to work in than Miss Benson’s. Beyond their respective libraries, however, the situation in Gainesville was more tense than the situation in Austin. Racial integration was well advanced at the University of Texas in 1962 when I arrived there, while the University of Florida was still lily white. Much of the city of Gainesville and most of the surrounding countryside was hostile to school integration on any level. Gainesville had a Goldwaterite mayor in 1964, when I arrived in town. By that time, Irene Zimmerman was prominent in the civil rights movement, not just at the university but in the Gainesville community at large. As the tide turned against segregation in the late 1960s, as blatant racism became socially unacceptable, many ex-segregationists found refuge in nativist populism: “Get the U.S. out of the U.N., and the U.N. out of the U.S.” They made a lot of noise and desecrated a few U.N. flags, but they could not intimidate the president of the Gainesville chapter of the United States Association for the United Nations, Dr. Irene Zimmerman. Irene and her troops not only held their ground against the barbarians, but went on the offensive and persuaded an uncertain city commission to establish the annual observance of United Nations Day in Gainesville.

In conclusion, Irene Zimmerman and Nettie Lee Benson were two tough librarians: two brave, strong-willed women who fought for the preservation and advancement of knowledge, for learning, and for civilization. They accomplished much, and we owe them much.
5. The Hispanic Division and the Scholarly Community: Then and Now, 1939–2005

Georgette M. Dorn

The Hispanic Division, established with a donation by noted philanthropist and bibliophile Archer M. Huntington, houses the oldest foreign-area reading room of the Library of Congress. It was on Columbus Day in 1939 that Lewis U. Hanke became director of what was then called the Hispanic Foundation, and when the Sala Hispana was officially opened to the public by Archibald Macleish, librarian of Congress. But the library’s interest in collecting Luso-Hispanic materials goes back almost to the founding of the institution, as the first books on Spain and Latin America arrived in 1815 when the library purchased the private collection of Thomas Jefferson.1 In 2005 the Library of Congress possessed nearly 11 million items pertaining to Iberia, Latin America, and the Caribbean including books, periodicals, newspapers, manuscripts, maps, motion pictures, prints, photographs, recordings, and even pre-Columbian artifacts from Mesoamerica. The latter arrived owing to a donation of an outstanding collection of manuscripts, maps, books, and artifacts assembled by philanthropist Jay I. Kislak from Miami Lakes, Florida.2

Cole Blasier often referred to the division as a “home away from home for Hispanists around the world.” When Blasier spoke about the division, he mentioned that it has a lot of worlds: it deals with the world of Congress and the executive branch, universities and centers for Latin American studies, and foreign governments and embassies. He also said that “the world of scholars, that’s the best. These are the people who are doing the most creative work.”3 The core missions of the Hispanic Division are developing the collections and assisting patrons to use them.

In 2004 the division celebrated its 65th anniversary.4 In remarks made on the floor of the House of Representatives on October 8, 2004, Congressman José Serrano (D-NY) celebrated the Hispanic Division and its staff for helping “patrons from all over the world, find books and other materials from the Library’s collections” and for overseeing the world’s most outstanding Hispanic collection.5 Central to the division’s anniversary commemoration was the Handbook of Latin American Studies, which is still being prepared in the division by a specialized staff and 160 contributing editors. To mark this anniversary the division organized a panel discussion to address “The Hispanic Division and the Handbook of Latin American Studies: Scholarship
and Technology.” Panel participants were Franklin Knight, Johns Hopkins University; Roberto González Echevarría, Yale University; Dan Hazen, Harvard University; and Peter T. Johnson, retired curator of the Iberian and Latin American collection at Princeton University. Each panelist discussed the handbook and some of the milestones and the many achievements of the division. Several panelists mentioned the importance to the scholarly community that the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* has been available online since 1990. The head of Hispanic Reference Service, Everette Larson, presented a PowerPoint demonstration of Luso-Hispanic materials from the Library of Congress available on the Internet.

Among some of the notable recent developments, in 2004 the Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS) Online became the first Library of Congress database to implement the “Open URL” protocol. Open URL provides a standardized mechanism for linking from citations and bibliographic records to web services such as full text, library catalogs, and web search engines. Institutions with local link resolvers—web linking software—may now link directly from HLAS Online records to the web resources of their choice. Volume 60 of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Humanities) was published in December 2004. Both the handbook’s and the Hispanic Division’s web pages have interfaces in English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

Lewis Hanke, the first chief, established the Hispanic Division as a center for Luso-Hispanic scholarship. He brought the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* and the network of contributing editors to the library in 1939.6 The center promptly became a magnet for scholars from all over the United States and from many foreign countries. The Hanke years (1939–1951) focused on acquisitions and scholarly pursuit of the arts and the humanities. The division continued developing a remarkable collection, which began to be assembled systematically in 1927 thanks to the establishment of the Huntington Endowment Fund (a gift of Archer M. Huntington, founder of the Hispanic Society of America). The fund also provided for a specialist in Hispanic culture. Juan Riaño y Gayangos, a former Spanish ambassador to the United States, was the first to fill that position (1928), serving only for a short time. He was followed by Fr. David Rubio, a professor of literature and a Spanish Augustinian monk, who worked at the library from 1931 to 1942.7 From the very beginning of systematically developing the collections, the library acquired books, periodicals, manuscripts, maps, prints, photographs, music, and other scholarly materials from and about the Luso-Hispanic countries. Francisco Aguilera, the second specialist in Hispanic culture (1942–1969) and assistant chief of the division (1942–1956), began developing in 1943 a unique resource, the Archive of Hispanic Literature on Tape. Today the archive contains recordings by 670 authors from Iberia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States. Authors who have been recorded include seven Nobel Prize winners, such as Octavio Paz, Juan Ramón Jiménez, and Gabriel García Márquez, as well as
luminaries such as Jorge Luis Borges, Mario Vargas Llosa, Nélida Piñón, Julio Cortázar, Nicolás Guillén, Carlos Fuentes, Isabel Allende, and Jorge Amado. Hanke was instrumental in inviting Brazilian artist Cándido Portinari to execute four remarkable murals in the foyer of the Hispanic Division. The project was financed by Nelson Rockefeller and the Brazilian government and completed in 1942. Hanke was a pioneer in developing Latin American studies in the United States and fostered cooperation between the Hispanic Division and other research centers. He collaborated with Marietta Daniels Shepard, head of the library of the Organization of Latin American States and the founder of SALALM, to send Library of Congress catalogers to Latin America. He also sponsored a symposium on Luso-Brazilian studies at the library in 1948. Lewis Hanke left the library in 1951 and went on to another impressive career teaching at various universities including Columbia, the University of Texas at Austin, and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

Howard F. Cline, who served as chief from 1952 until his death in 1971, concentrated on the social sciences. He supported SALALM, worked closely with Marietta Daniels Shepard, and supported her in founding SALALM. Cline attended the organization’s first meeting at the University of Florida and presented a paper about Latin American studies in the United States. Subsequent chiefs and staffers of the Hispanic Division who regularly participated and current staff who still participate in the organization’s annual meetings include former chiefs Howard Cline, Mary Kahler, William Carter, Cole Blasier, and Francisco Aguilera; assistant chiefs Earl J. Pariseau, Donald Wisdom, and John Hébert; and handbook editors Dolores Moyano Martin, Donald Stewart, Lawrence Boudon, and more recently, Georgette Dorn, Katherine McCann, Tracy North, and Barbara Tenenbaum. In fact, the chief and staff of the division continue actively collaborating with SALALM by presenting papers and serving on committees.

One of the SALALM projects, which Cline helped to bring to the Library of Congress, is the Latin American Microfilming Project (LAMP). Donald Wisdom, assistant chief of the division, and the Council for Research Libraries, and after 1990 Edmundo Flores, then a member of the Hispanic Division (and now head of Hispanic Acquisitions in the European and Latin American Acquisitions Division), established systematic microfilming of Latin American reports and memorias (reports by government ministries).

Cline secured numerous grants from private foundations and the U.S. government to prepare research guides and other materials. The more than twenty-five publications by the division during the Cline years include Historians of Latin America; two editions of the National Directory of Latin Americanists; Cuban Acquisitions and Bibliography; Latin America in Soviet Writings; Ladino Books in the Library of Congress; Proceedings of the International Colloquium of Luso-Brazilian Studies; and two editions of Latin America,
Spain and Portugal: An Annotated Bibliography of Paperback Books, among others, some of them published by university presses. Cline was keenly interested in Hispanic manuscripts and hired scholars to compile four notebooks listing the library’s Hispanic manuscripts. He spearheaded the publication of several guides to manuscripts holdings, such as The Harkness Collection: Mexico and A List of Spanish Residencias in the Archive of the Indies, 1516–1775. Literature was not neglected during the 1950s and 1960s. Cline contracted Doris Dana, executrix of the papers of Gabriela Mistral, to prepare an inventory of the collection and a bilingual edition of Mistral’s poems.

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) was founded in the Hispanic Division by Howard Cline, Cole Blasier, Richard Morse, Kalman Silvert, and other scholars. The organization’s headquarters were located in the Hispanic Division until 1971. Today LASA is a thriving organization of more than 4,000 members. The secretariat is now located at the University of Pittsburgh. The Conference of Latin American History was also located in the Hispanic Division from 1961 to 1971. Heeding suggestions by Cline, the library decided to open a field office in Rio de Janeiro to improve the library’s receipts of Brazilian materials. The first director was Earl Pariseau. During his tenure the library began collecting literatura de cordel, as examples of Brazilian popular culture. Today the field office covers, in addition to Brazil, Uruguay, Guyana, Surinam, and the French Overseas Department of Guiane.

Cline developed the field of ethnohistory with a group of scholars from around the country. They pioneered the preparation of the Handbook of Middle American Indians in 1964 (published by the University of Texas Press and has sixteen volumes, including the supplements). He invited numerous scholars to the library and sponsored various delegations of Soviet researchers, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. In 1964 the Handbook of Latin American Studies, having grown exponentially, began to be published as separate volumes for the humanities and the social sciences.

Historian Mary Ellis Kahler headed the division from 1973 to 1978 and paid particular attention to the library’s growing Portuguese and Brazilian collections. During the Kahler years, the office in Rio de Janeiro began recording Brazilian authors for the archive at the U.S. Consulate in Rio de Janeiro. The division published The Archive of Hispanic Literature on Tape: A Descriptive Guide, a guide to the Hans P. Kraus Collection (manuscripts), Las Casas as Bishop (manuscript), and Portuguese Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, among others. Kahler encouraged this writer, who served as specialist in Hispanic culture from 1969 to 1993, to arrange for recording Luso-Hispanic writers at U.S. embassies in Iberia and Latin America and to travel to conferences to record writers. Handbook editor Dolores Moyano Martin made great strides to include more items in the bibliography and to expand coverage.

Kahler was followed by anthropologist William E. Carter, who, during his tenure from 1978 until his death in 1983, began a systematic series of
public events, including a celebration of “A Thousand Years of the Spanish Language” and the 400th anniversary of the foundation of the city of Buenos Aires. He paid particular attention to the Andean areas and ensured that the most important scholarly contributions produced in those areas would appear in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. The division published a massive third edition of the *National Directory of Latin Americanists*, financed by the Tinker Foundation. The Hispanic Division completed cataloging the Gabriela Mistral papers and published a guide to the collection. They also published *Human Rights in Latin America*.

Literary scholar Sara Castro Klárén, chief from 1984 to 1986, spearheaded a major international symposium and exhibition commemorating the 400th anniversary of Cervantes’ *La Galatea*. The division also concentrated on displaying books in the foyer of the reading room. Taking a special interest in the archive of literary recordings, Castro Klárén recorded many young writers for the collection. She left the library to become a professor of literature at Johns Hopkins University.

A political scientist and specialist in U.S.–Latin American relations, as well as Latin American–Soviet relations, Cole Blasier served as chief from 1988 to 1993, having just retired from the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, which center he had founded. His ties to the division go back a long way, as he served on the Advisory Board of the handbook since 1974. Blasier hired two specialists, Iêda Siqueira Wiarda for Brazil and Barbara Tenenbaum for Mexico. He encouraged the full automation of the handbook, which thanks to Dolores Martin and Sue Mundell, in 1989, was the first library bibliography to become available electronically through MUMS (the library’s automated system until the 1990s). An expert in international relations, in addition to bringing many foreign scholars to the library, Blasier also initiated a program to invite Latin American and Iberian librarians for internships in the Hispanic Division.

Appointed chief in 1994, Georgette M. Dorn spearheaded the publication of *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1922–1995*, which was mounted on the Internet a few years later. Tracy North, assistant editor of the handbook and its webmaster, continues to update this site, adding the more recently elected members. The Hispanic Division completed several digitization projects in the 1990s, such as *The Spanish American War* (1998) and *The Portuguese in America* (1996). In 2004 James Billington, the librarian of Congress, and Pedro Corrêa do Lago, president of the National Library of Brazil Foundation, launched the first phase of a collaborative website with the National Library of Brazil, titled “The United States and Brazil: Expanding Frontiers, Comparing Cultures.” The site includes rare books, manuscripts, maps, prints, and photographs from the collections of the Library of Congress and the National Library of Brazil, illustrating themes from the history of both countries. Another collaborative website called “Parallel Histories: The United States, Spain, and the
American Frontier” is a joint bilingual digitization project with the National Library of Spain, begun in 2000. This project illustrates the history of the frontiers in what is today the United States from the sixteenth to the early-nineteenth century through rare books, maps, manuscripts, and illustrations from the collections of both libraries. During the 1990s the Hispanic Division’s web page has been made available in Spanish and Portuguese in addition to the English-language interface. Head of the Hispanic Reading Room and webmaster Everette Larson is currently planning Spanish translations for the Library of Congress’s main website, as online customers today expect a multilingual interface for national libraries.

By 1990 the current volumes of the Handbook of Latin American Studies became available online. During the 1990s Dolores Martin and her staff undertook the retrospective conversion of the first fifty volumes of the handbook, with seed money from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the generous collaboration of the MAPFRE (now MAPFRE TAVERA) Foundation of Spain, who carried out digitizing the volumes in varying typescripts and published by three different university presses (Harvard, Florida, and Texas) through five decades. The first CD-ROM was completed in 1995 and shown to a gathering of scholars during the Latin American Studies Association’s meeting in Washington in October 1995. In 1996, HLAS CD-ROM-1 received SALALM’s José Toribio Medina Award at the organization’s annual meeting at New York University. Within a year MAPFRE added five more volumes and completed the second compact disk, HLAS/CD-ROM-2, which covers the first fifty-five volumes. Lewis Hanke’s two sons and two daughters funded mounting the CDs with the first fifty-five digitized volumes on the HLAS website. Since 1996 the entire handbook, the retrospective published volumes as well as the volumes in preparation, are available on the Internet. HLAS Online has its own website with a trilingual interface.

New staff members hired during the last decade include the division’s first French and English Caribbean specialist Joan F. Higbee; Lawrence Boudon, Katherine McCann, and Tracy North, all who prepare the handbook; and reference specialists Juan Manuel Pérez, Carlos Olave, and Fernando Alvarez. In 1993 John R. Hèbert, former Hispanic Division assistant chief and coordinator of the library’s Quincentennial Project (1989–1992), compiled, with the help of division staff, an illustrated guide to the Hispanic and Portuguese collections.

In recent years, the Hispanic Division hosted Brazilian, Chilean, and Argentine librarians sponsored by the Brazil’s Vitae, Chile’s Andes, and Argentina’s Antorchas Foundations. The Brazilian fellows assisted Ieda Wiarda with selecting items for the U.S.-Brazil digitization project. Other fellows worked on the Iberian, Latin American, and Caribbean “Portals” project under the direction of Everette Larson. The division offers two junior fellowships to recent college graduates or graduate students. Fellows from Spain in the
last three years were Lucía Acín and Jesús Alonso. The division also accepts nonsalaried academic interns.

Scholars who use the Hispanic Reading Room are often supported by foundations or by research grants from their institutions. Recent readers of note were Mario Vargas Llosa, who received the Cervantes Prize, and former president of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso and his wife, Ruth Cardoso, who were Kluge Center fellows at the library. Barbara Tenenbaum was a Rockefeller grantee (she is now the division’s specialist in Mexican culture) when she undertook the preparation of the award-winning *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture* in 1989 in the Sala Hispana. The five-volume work received SALALM’s José Toribio Medina Award at the annual meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1997. Researchers who come to the division are helped by Everette Larson, head of the Hispanic Reading Room (and webmaster of the division’s web page), and by the other area and reference specialists, as well as the handbook staff.

The division is currently undertaking measures to fulfill the new needs of researchers in the twenty-first century. They are paying close attention to the integration of analog and digital collections. The library is digitizing many primary sources, including nonbook formats (maps, prints, photographs, music scores, films, recordings), guides, and bibliographies for a wider public, accessible on the Internet. The handbook staff is implementing full-text retrieval for journal articles. The trilingual interface of the Hispanic Division’s web pages has proven to be very popular. The division also offers electronic reference service in English, Spanish, Portuguese, and French. In the words of Blasier, the Hispanic Division’s major function continues to be “to shape the collections at the beginning of the Library’s process and make them available at the end.”

**NOTES**


9. Ibid., p. 301.


Abraham K. Parrish

The Vieques interactive mapping site was started with an Electronic Library Initiative grant through the Yale University Library in September 1994. The purpose of the grant was to provide electronic library resources for specific courses in American studies. The Geographic Information Systems service located in the Yale Map Collection was tapped to produce an interactive mapping website for Professor John Wargo’s “Environmental Politics and Law” course as well as his associated “Research Methods for Environmental Studies” course, both of which were scheduled for spring semester 2005. The cornerstone of these courses would be political and environmental aspects of a small island off the southeast coast of Puerto Rico called Vieques. This island had been used for several decades by the United States Navy as a bombing range. Coincidently, there was a sizable Puerto Rican population concurrently living on the island. The purpose of the courses was to provide case histories to teach the relation between science and law. The goal was to have students evaluate the effectiveness of law and how its implementation was affected by science and politics.

I had already completed two previous interactive mapping websites for courses and research at Yale, so I had much of the infrastructure and expertise needed to build the site when the Vieques project was started. Building such a site required several pieces of hardware and software. Two different servers, a transparency scanner, and a large format scanner for hardware were used. Yale had a site license for Environmental Systems Resource Institute’s ArcGIS suite of software. From this suite, I used ArcGIS Desktop, ArcInfo Workstation, ArcSDE, and ArcIMS. In addition, an ArcIMS extension called Maplicity by Telemorphic was used. One server contained Microsoft SQL Server relational database with ArcSDE and all the vector and raster spatial data layers. The other contained Microsoft IIS with ArcIMS and Maplicity, which served the interactive mapping site.

Collecting, processing, and posting the website took several months to complete. I collected a total of nineteen vector layers and sixty-eight raster
layers for the island of Vieques. The vector layers included places, five-meter contours, reserve boundary, roads (U.S. Census and National Geospatial Intelligence Agency), streams, trails, 2000 Census blocks with various attributes, fish and wildlife area, ocean features, geology, habitats, land cover, populated places, sea floor cover (National Oceanic Service), ocean, soils, and vegetation. The sixty-eight raster layers were condensed into fifteen layers. These included eighteen air photo color diapositives taken in 2000 that were scanned, geo-referenced, and put into a single mosaic layer, as well as thirty-eight monochrome air photos from 1936 and ten monochrome air photos from 1994 that were processed in the same manner. The additional raster layers were comprised of ten scanned and geo-referenced Environmental Impact Statement maps, a 1982 scanned and geo-referenced topographic map, and a 1999 color mosaic air photo of Vieques.

These data layers came from many different sources. Many of the vector layers were downloaded from several online sites that included the U.S. Census Bureau and the EROS Data Center. Several significant layers came from a CD acquired by Professor Wargo from the United States Navy. Most of the air photos came from the Puerto Rico Department of Transportation. The ten 1994 air photos came from the EROS Data Center. Several of the scanned maps came from the Yale Map Collection. The Environmental Impact Statement maps were acquired though interlibrary loan. Originally, these EIS maps made up about forty sheets, but only ten out of the set were scanned and used for the website.

Processing for the vector layers mostly included reprojecting the layers. All layers were set to State Plane projection and coordinate system for Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands using the North American Datum of 1983. The raster layers from the Puerto Rico Department of Transportation took much more time to process because the actual photo diapositives had just been ordered. However, this gave me the flexibility to scan them at the desired resolution on a transparency scanner. Given that the eighteen color diapositives for 2000 were about nine by nine inches and scanned at 1,200 pixels per inch, this gave me a resolution of approximately one meter for each air photo. A similar process gave me about two-meter resolution for the monochrome 1936 air photos. The comparative significance of these two air photo layers is that in 1936 the navy had not started bombing the island and 2000 was about the time they discontinued bombing.

After geo-referencing (fitting the pixels into a projection and coordinate system) each tile of the air photos using ArcGIS, I separated the red, green, and blue bands and used ArcInfo Workstation to clip excess pixels around the edge of each tile, before merging the bands back together. ArcSDE was then used to mosaic all the tiles together into one layer for each date, resulting in a single layer for 1936, 1994, and 2000. ArcSDE creates a compressed TIF format for mosaics. The 2000 mosaic alone was about 1.5 GB. The advantage of storing
air photo mosaics in a relational database with ArcSDE is that instead of having to access eighteen different layers (in the case of the 2000 air photos) on the interactive website, the user only has to access one. In addition, ArcSDE provides ArcIMS with seamless tiles that will only draw the particular area to which the user is zooming or panning. This means it does not have to redraw the entire mosaic every time the user changes the view of the layer, which results in a fast display of imagery and a simplified table of contents.

Once the layers were posted on ArcSDE and linked to ArcIMS, the Vieques website was ready for use. It was used during spring semester 2005 by approximately 115 students in the “Environmental Politics and Law” course and by about 10 students in the “Research Methods for Environmental Studies” course. I gave two presentations to the later course on the full array of tools that could be used on the site since it was a more in-depth seminar. The ArcIMS website allowed students to pan, query, edit the legend, measure distances, turn layers on and off, zoom in and out, draw their own graphics, and export custom-made maps. The added Maplicity extension also allowed them to compare four raster maps at the same time in a quad viewer and compare two raster maps using swiping and morphing tools.

By providing a customized collection of spatial data on a specific site that was accessible with a simple web browser, I saved a lot of time for myself as well as for the students. Typically, I get students that come in on a one-on-one basis requesting data for their research or course work. This takes up much time for me dealing with individual students and much time for the students since they have to set up appointments for reference interviews and wait for their customized data sets. I coordinated with the professor of the course beforehand and set up a wide variety of data sets that were easily accessible, so the students were able to get right to work performing analysis directly from the Internet with little or no training. They did not have to purchase, install, and learn complex hardware to access the spatial data.

In the future, I plan to provide access directly to the ArcSDE relational database where the data is stored as another option for advanced students and researchers who need to perform higher levels of analysis. The spatial data layers can be accessed using the ArcGIS Desktop software. Permissions could even be set for each user so some could just read the data, while others could edit existing layers or create their own layers. This is especially useful for researchers who work in groups or are continuing a long line of progressive research. Professor Wargo also plans to take some students down to Vieques for field research. The spatial data could be accessed on a network or from portable storage on portable computing devices fitted with Global Positioning Systems to track their location in relation to the spatial layers as they perform analysis and collect additional data. Future interactive mapping sites could include other materials such as spatially referenced documents, photographs, and other digital media to provide a richer environment in which to discover
new information. To conclude, I believe the library collections of the future will be not so much about what is in the collection, but how it is put together and accessed. Geographic Information Systems will be a significant tool in this regard.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

7. Celebration and Protest: New Archival Collections at the Benson Latin American Collection

Ann Hartness

Archival materials have always been an important part of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, beginning with the very first purchase in 1922 that laid the foundation of the library: the private library of Genaro García, a Mexican bibliophile, lawyer, and historian, which library was put up for sale upon his death. In addition to 25,000 books, it included 250,000 pages of manuscripts on Mexican history, education, and law.

That first collection of manuscripts was followed by the acquisition of many others through purchase or donation over the ensuing eighty-three years. They are comprised of a variety of materials: manuscripts, photographs, videos, audio tapes, realia such as campaign buttons and protest banners, and ephemera such as broadsides and political campaign handbills. Many of them have become very well known, attracting an international clientele of students and scholars eager to use them in their research. In the past thirty years, the scope of the collecting efforts has broadened to include archival collections related to Latinos in the United States, and they have become a very important, fast-growing, and heavily used part of the collections. But the focus of this paper is on selected collections related to Latin America added to the Benson Collection from 1990 to 2005. The title of this paper, “Celebration and Protest,” reflects aspects of some of the new archival materials.

The nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries are represented in new archival collections that are of interest to musicologists; political scientists; social scientists; art historians; and political, economic, and cultural historians. Latin America as a whole, Central America, and seven specific countries—Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil—are the primary foci of the collections to be discussed, but aspects of many other countries are represented in these topically diverse collections.¹

The collection of ephemera related to the La Marcha por la Dignidad of the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN), February 25–March 22, 2001, documents the most recent historical event, and it most certainly falls into the portion of the title labeled “protest.” It was gathered by the Colectivo Zapatista División del Norte, a group of students from the University of Texas
at Austin and the National University of Mexico (UNAM) at the stops of the EZLN delegation along their route from Chiapas to Mexico City, and at rallies supporting their cause in Mexico City. It includes a total of eighty-seven documents, broadsides, pamphlets, magazines, and books representing the views and goals of the participants and their allies, including the EZLN, the Third National Indian Congress, Mexico’s National Commission on Human Rights, the P’urhépecha Nation, university organizations, and political groups.

Guatemalan and Central American political, economic, and diplomatic history is documented in the Roberto Carpio Nicolle Papers as reflected in the extensive political career of its namesake: a former vice president of Guatemala (1986–1991), a founder of that country’s Christian Democratic party (1957), a member of Congress (1974–1978), a copresident of the National Constitutional Assembly (1984–1986), and the first president of the Central American Parliament (1992–1996). The Carpio papers offer unique coverage of the writing of the 1986 Guatemalan constitution that structured the transition from a military to a civilian government. They also include extensive documentation of Guatemala’s economic development efforts and administrative reform from 1986 to 1991. They contain a series of Central American presidential agreements for political and economic cooperation, and provide great detail on the creation and early operations of the Central American Parliament. Peace discussions with guerrilla groups, political campaigns and elections, and border negotiations with Belize are among the many topics of continuing interest covered in these papers. The Carpio collection complements another significant collection on twentieth-century Guatemala located at the Benson, the large Taracena Flores Collection of broadsides, clippings, books, and serials, which cover the 1920s through the mid-1960s, with an emphasis on 1944–1964.

The politics of twentieth-century Panama are well represented in the Brittmarie Janson Pérez Collection of materials on the day-to-day history of Panama under the dictatorships of General Omar Torrijos and General Manuel A. Noreiga, from the military coup staged against President Arnulfo Arias in October 1968 to shortly after the U.S. invasion in December 1989. Focused on opposition to the military dictatorships, the collection is comprised of Panamanian newspapers, photographs, clandestine pamphlets, videotapes of political protests, samples of the regimes’ propaganda, and tape recordings of radio commentary and television programs. Additional material includes 800 books by Panamanian and foreign scholars, and a sample of Panamanian newspapers and other publications from 1991 to 2001 that will be cataloged. Brittmarie Janson Pérez, a Panamanian who earned a Ph.D. from the University of Texas in 1993, collected this material with the assistance of many of her compatriots.

It should be noted that this collection complements important data on Panama available at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum located
on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. The first serious international crisis faced by Johnson after he assumed office in November 1963 involved widespread and violent protests against U.S. control of the Panama Canal in early 1964. In the same year, President Johnson concluded that the United States and Panama should work together to draft a new treaty on the canal, a process which culminated in the transference of the canal to Panama in 2000.

Organized opposition to another military dictatorship, the one that controlled Brazil from 1964 to 1985, is documented in the Eduardo Sarno Clandestine Political Parties of Brazil Collection (17 linear feet). Although the earliest material in it dates from 1961, most of it originated in the 1970s and 1980s. Eduardo Sarno, a political activist, collected materials relating to leftist political parties and other groups, including the Partido dos Trabalhadores, the Partido Comunista do Brasil, and various *sindicatos*. The collection contains many internal documents pertaining to the intellectual discussions and operations of political parties, and printed materials and clippings on the Brazilian political and economic situation. Many of the printed materials are rare ephemeral serials and pamphlets published by now defunct organizations; these have been cataloged and are accessible through the online catalog of the University of Texas Libraries. An example of the variety of material found in this collection is the message of Dom Hélder Câmara, a religious leader and social activist, upon the occasion of his installation as archbishop of Recife in 1964.2

The period of Argentine history roughly paralleling the Brazilian military dictatorship is represented in photocopies of case transcripts by 828 witnesses at the 1985 trial of 9 Argentine military commanders. The 7,630 sheets of testimony, chiefly by released prisoners such as Jacobo Timmerman, document instances of kidnapping, illegal detention in clandestine centers, systematic torture, coerced collaboration, and death under torture.

The transcripts were copied by an Argentine reporter/editor during the brief time that they were available to the public. Fearing problems if he kept them, he sent them to the Benson Collection by way of the luggage of a traveler between Buenos Aires and Austin. After the election of Carlos Menem, the originals were closed to public access.

Economic integration is the focus of the Mexico-U.S. Business Committee Archive (33.5 linear feet). It is comprised of a large body of material collected by several American members who were part of a team working on negotiation and building political support for NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Association). The archive contains such items as reports and written statements from the hearings and investigations conducted in the United States on the potential effects of NAFTA on American industries, the viewpoints of a variety of businesses providing input for government decision making on the organization and shape of NAFTA, records of the activities and discussions of the
committee itself, and clippings from the U.S. newspaper and periodical press during the time when the political debate about NAFTA was most intense.

Mexican economic history, as represented by mining, came to the Benson Collection in the form of the Alan and Lillie M. Probert Collection. Alan Probert, born in England in 1901, was a mining engineer who spent thirteen years in Mexico with the Compañía Real del Monte y Pachuca and five years with the U.S. Bureau of Mines in Mexico and Washington, D.C. While employed in Mexico, he developed an intense interest in Mexican mining history with a focus on the state of Hidalgo. He researched and collected materials on mining in Mineral del Monte, focusing on the period of early British involvement in the years 1824–1829, but original materials from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries are also found in the collection.

The Ignacio L. Vallarta Papers at the Benson cover the latter part of this nineteenth-century Mexican leader’s active life that encompassed many roles: soldier, politician, public servant, judge, and lawyer with a private practice. It is a collection of approximately 18,000 letters and documents received or sent by Vallarta between 1870 and 1890. The papers are divided into three groups of similar size. The first group, dealing with Jalisco state internal affairs (1871–1875) during his term as governor, documents in detail elections; official misconduct; political party activities; challenges of governing; peacekeeping efforts against outlaw bands; political control and appointments; and federal-state disputes over taxes, state boundaries, and local military. The second group is devoted to national politics and international relations. As a political ally of President Juárez and later foreign minister under Porfirio Diaz, Vallarta was intensely involved in the factional struggles of liberal leaders in Mexico City and throughout the country. While he was foreign minister, his correspondence and reports from New York, Washington, and consulates along the U.S. border reveal details of foreign debt payments, U.S. recognition of the Diaz government, demands of U.S. investors, and Texas-Mexico border problems. The third group deals with Vallarta’s private law practice, which focused on representing both Mexican and foreign client interests before federal government agencies.

Significant collections related to the plastic arts and to music have come to the Benson Collection since 1990. Two related to the broad panorama of Latin American art are notable additions: the Barbara Duncan collection and the José Gómez Sicre Papers.

The Barbara Doyle Duncan Papers (37.5 shelf feet) were the gift of the New York collector, scholar, promoter, and donor of Latin American art for whom it is named. The Duncan papers, encompassing the years 1954–2001, include correspondence, notebooks, photographs, slides, biographical files, exhibit documentation, and auction records. Content includes such things as original notes from interviews and visits to artists’ studios, and records of exhibits that Duncan helped to organize, among them exhibits featuring the
works of Joaquín Torres García, Gunther Gerzso, and Xul Solar. Among the
800 books in her library are many exhibit catalogs and other scarce publications
that have been cataloged. Their bibliographic records can be found in
OCLC.

The José Gómez Sicre Papers are those of a key art historian of Latin
America who headed the art program of the Pan American Union in Washing-
ton, D.C., an important venue for Latin American artists. The Cuban-born
Gómez Sicre (1916–1991) was the primary promoter of the work of the
Mexican draftsman, printmaker, and painter José Luis Cuevas (b. 1932) and
other artists of the New Figuration movement. His collection consists of more
than 2,500 letters, manuscripts, photographs, and exhibit catalogs from the
1940s to 1991. Cuevas and Mario Carreño (1913–1999), a Cuban painter who
eventually settled permanently in Santiago de Chile, are among the many art-
ists represented in the correspondence in this collection.

In addition to these collections amassed by two individuals, the Benson
Collection has an extensive vertical file containing about 2,200 pieces of
ephemera related to Latin American art: announcements of art exhibits, flyers
that include brief biographical data, etc. It was begun many years ago, but is
constantly updated as current material is received. It is an excellent source
of information about lesser-known artists of the past, or contemporary artists
whose names are not yet found in reference sources and who may not have
their own websites. And of course, art exhibition catalogs of substantial size
and content are added to the library’s online catalog.

Twentieth-century Brazilian music is the focus of two collections added
since 2000. The Appleby Brazilian Music Collection was amassed over a
period of many years by Dr. David P. Appleby, whose collection of Brazilian
musical scores dated from his first piano lessons as a child living in Brazil
and continued throughout his career as a professional pianist and professor of
music at Eastern Illinois University and into his retirement. It consists of about
2,000 musical scores both manuscript and published, representing more than
120 composers, including many active in the twentieth century. In some cases,
the manuscript scores by contemporary composers are the only written sources
for music that has been recorded. The collection also includes correspondence
with composers, photocopies of manuscripts, concert programs, and news-
paper clippings.

Dr. Marion Verhaalen, a member of the School Sisters of St. Francis of
Milwaukee and faculty member of the Wisconsin Conservatory of Music,
gathered the materials that form the Marion Verhaalen Collection on Camargo
Guarnieri and Twentieth-Century Brazilian Music over a period of thirty years
during visits to Brazil. Although it focuses on the well-known composer
Camargo Guarnieri (1907–1993) with an extensive collection of the scores
of his works, it also contains scores by 55 other Brazilian composers, chief
among them, Francisco Mignone. The collection also includes Verhaalen’s
correspondence with Francisco Mignone, with Guarnieri and his wife from 1969 through the 1990s, and with more than 100 young Brazilian composers whom she contacted in preparation for a book on contemporary Brazilian music. The latter group also contributed CDs, which comprise part of the collection.

In the realm of Latin American literature, materials related to two important poets have come to the Benson Collection since 1990, supplementing earlier archival material related to them.

Gabriela Mistral (1889–1957) is represented by eight letters to Antonio Borquez Solar, written 1911–1923, supplementing three bound books of letters to Guillermo de Torre and Norah Borges, encompassing the years 1936 to 1947. The books of letters also contain two carbon copies of literary typescripts: “Respuesta a un manifiesto de españoles” and “Calpe-Argentina y el libro español en las Américas”—the latter unpublished.

The Magda Portal Papers, covering 1930–1989 (6.7 linear feet), document the life and work of the Peruvian poet, journalist, political activist, and feminist born in 1901. It consists of clippings; published and unpublished literary manuscripts; and correspondence with literary and political figures from 1931 to 1966, among them Gabriela Mistral, Rómulo Betancourt, and Victor Raul Haya de la Torre.

Four bound scrapbooks of letters and clippings comprise the José S. Alvarez Literary Papers related to the writer (1858–1903) who used the pseudonym Fray Mocho, among others. They are related to four of his works: En el mar austral (Buenos Aires, 1897); Esmeraldas (Buenos Aires, 1884?); Misterios de Buenos Aires (1897); and Un viaje al país de los matreros (Buenos Aires, 1897). Correspondents include Robert J. Payró, Miguel Cane, Roque Saenz Pena, and Carlos Guido y Spano.

Photographs are an integral part of the library’s archival collections, and two collections of images added during the time period under consideration are discussed here.

“The Essence of Mexico Project” images were made by photographer George O. Jackson, who devoted the decade of the 1990s to making a visual record of the important festivals of more than sixty indigenous Mexican cultures. He traveled throughout Mexico, photographing more than 200 community festivals in twenty-eight states and the Federal District. The result was about 50,000 35 mm slides, which he donated to the Benson Collection along with his notes on the festivals and their participants. This collection has recently been processed under archival standards with the assistance of Jackson.

Daily life in a Mexican ranching village, San Carlos, Chihuahua, twenty miles south of the Rio Grande below Terlingua, Texas, is the subject of a smaller collection of images by photographer Larry G. Humphreys. Images from the Humphreys collection and the Zapatista March collection mentioned earlier are represented in online exhibits that can be accessed through
the home page of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/benson/.

The primary source material to be found in the archives has always been an integral part of the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, and its archival holdings will increase as it moves forward into the future. The library’s strong and ever-growing collection of printed sources complements and supports the use of its archives, making it a treasure trove for research.

NOTES

1. The portions of this paper describing individual collections are based upon written reports and descriptions by some of my past and present colleagues at the Benson Collection: Donald Gibbs, bibliographer; Christian Kelleher, archivist; and Adán Benavides, librarian for research programs; and Ann Hodges, currently at the University of Texas at Arlington.


3. In addition to the donation of her library and papers to the Benson Collection, Duncan (1921–2003) and her husband, John, donated more than 300 works of Latin American art to the Jack S. Blanton Museum of Art of the University of Texas at Austin, providing a strong foundation for its Art of the Americas Collection.
8. Conmemoraciones de la libertad: el 13 de mayo en el discurso varguista

Luis Armando González

Las conmemoraciones nacionales tienen por objetivo registrar en la memoria colectiva acontecimientos y personajes del pasado que expresan valores caros para unos actores sociales. Por consideraciones sociales, ideológicas, éticas o políticas, ciertos acontecimientos y figuras del pasado logran ocupar un lugar de peso en la formación de una identidad nacional. Las conmemoraciones cumplen así el complicado propósito de identificar un elemento fundacional en el pasado y de proyectarlo hacia el presente como fenómeno representativo de la nación. Esas aspiraciones universalistas pueden suscitar disputas, si se piensa que los diversos actores sociales no suelen compartir una misma visión del pasado. Desde esta perspectiva, las conmemoraciones se convierten en instancias públicas donde afloran las disputas y conflictos por los sentidos del pasado. Esos conflictos en torno al significado de las conmemoraciones se desenvuelven en planos históricos concretos que ponen de manifiesto las preocupaciones sociales, culturales, ideológicas y políticas del momento que se vive.¹

En 1938 Brasil se aprestaba a conmemorar el cincuentenario de la abolición de la esclavitud. Con el decreto firmado por la Princesa Regente Doña Isabel el día 13 de mayo de 1888, éste vendría a ser el último país del hemisferio en abolir el sistema esclavista. Acto de un impacto histórico profundo, la fecha se convirtió en un registro o marca en la memoria social de amplios sectores de la sociedad brasileña, particularmente entre los afro-descendientes. Desde entonces, como parte de los actos conmemorativos, se realizaban eventos cívicos, culturales, religiosos y deportivos en todo el país.

La coyuntura cultural y política de 1938, sin embargo, le imprimió un sentido particular a los actos de recordación y de conmemoración de la efeméride. En la década de 1930, los círculos intelectuales y políticos emprendieron una revaloración del mestizaje y del lugar de lo negro en la formación racial brasileña.² En un giro inusitado, el Estado asumió la tarea de hacer público el debate sobre el tema racial destacando la centralidad del afro-brasileño en la historia nacional. En mayo de 1938, con el patrocinio del Ministro de Educación Gustavo Capanema, se efectuaron actos oficiales de recordación sobre un tema que pasó a considerarse como asunto clave no tan sólo del pasado histórico nacional, sino particularmente del proyecto de construcción de nación propuesto por Getulio Vargas.³
En el marco del Brasil de los años treinta, se desencadenaron fuertes enfrentamientos políticos en torno al ejercicio de las libertades y de los derechos sociales, civiles y políticos. Los acontecimientos políticos de la coyuntura de 1937/1938, en particular, le confirieron un matiz bastante polémico a los festejos del cincuentenario. En víseras de las conmemoraciones oficiales del 13 de mayo, una facción de la extrema derecha aglutinada en torno al Integralismo, un movimiento de inspiración fascista, perpetró un ataque en contra del Presidente Getúlio Vargas y de varias figuras de la cúpula militar. El llamado putzch integralista ocurrió en la fecha en que se conmemoraba un acontecimiento reciente no menos impactante: los primeros seis meses de la instauración del Estado Novo, hecho acaecido el 10 de noviembre de 1937.

En el día consagrado para conmemorar las gestas de la abolición los brasileños se deparaban ante un nuevo desafío que, como en el pasado, les exigía discernir entre múltiples caminos y, sobre todo, escudriñar el sentido de la idea de libertad. Ese día se convocaron manisfestaciones populares en repudio al ataque integralista y en respaldo a Vargas y se profirieron discursos en los cuales se vinculaban las luchas del presente a las del pasado en torno a un mismo ideal —la libertad.

El ensayo toma la conmemoración del 13 de mayo de 1938 —cincuentenario de la abolición— como puerta de entrada al plano de las representaciones de la nacionalidad y a los conflictos en torno a su construcción en la época de Getúlio Vargas. Dada la importancia histórica del mestizaje en la formación racial del Brasil, el ensayo aborda la manera cómo el discurso nacionalista del Estado varguista encaró la cuestión racial, particularmente durante la vigencia del Estado Novo (1937–1945). Asimismo, se discute cómo el discurso varguista re-semantiza los conceptos de libertad, ciudadanía y democracia.

**Cuestión nacional + cuestión social + cuestión racial, o el problema de cómo se construye una nación**

A partir de 1930, bajo el mando de Getúlio Vargas, el Estado brasileño se embarca en un proyecto centralizador, autoritario y modernizador, que se caracterizaba por la implantación de políticas económicas, políticas y culturales de sesgo nacionalista. El poder central se fortalece a la vez que se redefinen los canales de participación y negociación política con las oligarquías regionales. Con Vargas, la injerencia del Estado se expande a dominios que no habían merecido suficiente atención por parte del poder público anteriormente. Es así cómo se crean agencias y otros órganos reguladores de una amplia gama de actividades agrícolas, industriales y comerciales. Asimismo, una de las primeras medidas tomadas por Vargas en 1930 fue, justamente, la creación de dos dependencias nuevas, el Ministerio del Trabajo, Industria y Comercio y el Ministerio de Educación y Salud, por medio de las cuales se trataría de incorporar políticamente a las capas sociales excluidas del juego de poder. La reglamentación de las relaciones laborales, así como la organización del sistema
de instrucción pública, pasan a ser asuntos prioritarios de política pública. Los trabajadores y las clases populares se vuelven en el blanco predilecto de las nuevas políticas sociales instituídas por Vargas.

Si, por un lado, las políticas laborales y educativas implantadas por el Estado varguista son un ejemplo manifiesto de cómo se atendieron, en el plano político institucional, los reclamos de la clase trabajadora, es importante recalcar, por otro, que dichas políticas tuvieron una dimensión cultural no menos elocuente. Tanto en el ámbito laboral como en el educativo, la política pública varguista incidió de forma decisiva en la forjación de un proyecto cultural ambicioso cuya finalidad era definir lo que constituía ser brasileño.4

Las coordenadas políticas y culturales del régimen varguista cobran mayor sentido a la luz del pensamiento social conservador que le antecede. En efecto, desde fines del siglo XIX, la intelectualidad brasileña se había preocupado por entender las razones del atraso social, político y económico del país al igual que los dilemas que la diversidad territorial, social, cultural y racial representaban para un país que imaginaba un progreso y modernización conforme unos modelos eurocéntricos. En la opinión de muchos pensadores, el problema central de la nación radicaba en su configuración racial. Estos creían que los índices altos de mezcla racial propendían a la degeneración de la población. Imperaba cierta visión negativa de la mezcla de razas, del mestizaje, al cual se le adjudicaba buena parte del lastre social, desde la pobreza hasta la criminalidad.5

Aparte de las inquietudes acerca de la cuestión nacional—la viabilidad de una nación dividida por los regionalismos y el mestizaje—las movilizaciones del proletariado se convirtieron en fuente de nuevas preocupaciones para las elites políticas e intelectuales. Las imponentes huelgas de fines de la década de 1910 que paralizaron a Río y São Paulo y que afectaron también a otros grandes centros urbanos del país y el surgimiento de un movimiento obrero fuerte y organizado hicieron de la cuestión social un asunto de gran actualidad política en cuanto a la amenaza directa que le planteaba al orden oligárquico establecido. Una manera de responder al desafío del proletariado fue la aprobación de leyes que le proveían cierta protección al trabajador. La respuesta más común, sin embargo, fue la represión del movimiento, tal como lo expresara una frase apócrifa de la época: “La cuestión social es cuestión de policía”.6

En el marco de los años treinta, una serie de reflexiones acerca del porvenir de la nación se entrecruzaron generando discusiones y propuestas políticas concretas que establecían vínculos entre la cuestión nacional, la cuestión social y la cuestión racial. Le correspondió al Estado varguista articular esas preocupaciones en un proyecto de construcción nacional que apuntaba hacia la incorporación política de una clase trabajadora, que no sólo poseía una tradición de lucha, sino también una herencia social y cultural híbrida. No es de extrañar, entonces, por qué trabajo y raza sean dos de los pilares del imaginario político del varguismo.
1888: la jornada abolicionista

El 13 de mayo de 1888 fue la culminación del gradual y dilatado proceso de emancipación de los esclavos en Brasil. En un principio, los esfuerzos abolicionistas se enfocaron en suprimir el tráfico transatlántico de esclavos. Esto condujo a un acuerdo diplomático con Inglaterra, pactado en 1830, medida que tuvo poca efectividad. Con el mismo objetivo, en 1850 se aprobó la Ley Eusébio de Queirós, la cual suprimió definitivamente el comercio de esclavos hacia territorio brasileño. Tras un lapso considerable, en 1871, la lucha abolicionista obtuvo una conquista importante con la aprobación de la Ley Río Branco, mejor conocida como la Ley de vientre libre, que establecía la libertad para los hijos de esclavas nacidos a partir de esa fecha. A esta importante medida se siguió años más tarde la Ley Saraiva-Cotegipe, o Ley de los sexagenarios, aprobada en 1885, que le otorgaba la libertad a los esclavos mayores de sesenta años. Cuando se abole finalmente la esclavitud por medio de la Ley Aurea de 1888, unos 723,000 seres humanos, cifra equivalente al cinco por ciento de la población total, vivían en condiciones de cautiverio en suelo brasileño.

En su fase inicial, el proceso abolicionista se condujo por los canales parlamentarios de negociación política, pero a partir de 1880 esos canales parecieron agotarse ante la radicalización del movimiento antiesclavista. Las acciones extra-legales tomaron primacía. Las fugas y sublevaciones de esclavos, que en muchos casos, forzaron a los hacendados a pactar y a conceder la manumisión de sus dotaciones, contribuyeron a desestabilizar el sistema. La lucha antiesclavista se propagó a nivel de la sociedad civil, atrayendo una participación amplia de los más diversos sectores. La prensa fue un baluarte del movimiento emancipador. Los cuerpos de la policía y la judicatura, por su parte, abonaron a la causa haciendo cumplir las leyes que le brindaban protección al esclavo. El estamento militar incluso se pronunció en contra de perseguir a los esclavos prófugos.

Entre fines de 1887 y principios 1888 la agitación abolicionista y las fugas continuas se habían apoderado de todo el país. En vísperas de la abolición, el orden esclavista se encontraba en franco colapso. Muchos hacendados y propietarios de esclavos se alarmaron por la fuerza y eficacia de la movilización popular y temían que se suscitaran conflictos raciales. Ante la presión de la opinión pública y la determinación de la Princesa Isabel, quien se inclinaba a una abolición inmediata, el parlamento aprobó unánimemente el proyecto de ley de la abolición. El 13 de mayo de 1888, ante una multitud jubilosa congregada frente al Palacio Imperial en Río, Doña Isabel ratificó con su firma el decreto de libertad, que entró en vigor de inmediato.

En su fase radical, el abolicionismo se transformó en un movimiento de amplia base popular. Inspiró un alto grado de movilización popular, tanto de los mismos esclavos y libertos, como de sus aliados de las más variadas procedencias y capas sociales, incluyendo a estudiantes, periodistas, abogados, intelectuales, empleados públicos, trabajadores y mujeres. Como movimiento
que se fraguó en oposición a los intereses oligárquicos, el abolicionismo fue un fenómeno insustituto en la historia brasileña. La conjunción de ideales humanitarios y de justicia que promovía el abolicionismo y la presencia de actores sociales de la más diversa extracción social en un movimiento que, además resultara victorioso, no tenía precedentes en la historia de la nación. Medio siglo después, la gesta abolicionista seguía siendo recordada como “la más bella campaña cívica brasileña”.10

El desenlace feliz de la campaña abolicionista generó también un regocijo popular pocas veces visto. Figuras notables que presenciaron los sucesos, tales como el novelista Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis, sobrecogidas por la manifestación del delirio popular, declararon nunca haber sentido algo así.11 Transcurrido medio siglo, el Conde Afonso Celso, uno de los únicos dos ex-parlamentarios de la época de la abolición que aún restaban vivos, rememoraba la intensidad con la que se vivieron los acontecimientos en una entrevista concedida a la prensa carioca: “Nunca vi cosa igual en mi país. El entusiasmo de la Abolición tiene algo de prodigioso y divino”.12 En fin, fue la más grande fiesta que jamás se haya celebrado en Brasil; una gran catarsis colectiva, como para librarse de una pesada culpa, según la apreciación elocuente de un connotado estudioso del tema.13

El regocijo se extendió por todos los confines del imperio a través de grandes festejos populares.14 En Rio, sede de la corte, los festejos mantuvieron a la ciudad en estado de bulla por espacio de una semana. Aparte de las paradas cívicas, procesiones religiosas y misas campales, se realizaron bailes y se tocó música en las calles y plazas públicas, especialmente de samba y de ensordecedoras baticadas; hubo corridas de toro, competencias de hipismo y funciones de teatro gratis para el público y hasta regatas en la Bahía de Guanabara. Al caer la noche, el destello brillante de los fuegos artificiales alumbraba las noches cariocas. Es que la gran fiesta no era sino la antítesis del mundo rutinario, opresivo y disciplinado que había representado la esclavitud.

**El 13 de mayo: los sentidos de una fecha**

En pleno delirio y tal vez propiciado por la catarsis de las fiestas de la abolición de mayo de 1888, comenzó a gestarse la idea de que la esclavitud apenas había tenido pocos adeptos en Brasil. Un espíritu de fraternidad se había apoderado de la sociedad brasileña. “Everybody is Abolitionist Now”, reportaba The Rio News, el rotativo citadino de lengua inglesa.15 Otras fuentes de la misma época hacen el mismo punto, señalando que buena parte de los hacendados habían libertado voluntariamente a sus dotaciones de esclavos y que la proclamación de la abolición no provocó mayor resistencia entre éstos. Al mismo tiempo, alentado por partidarios de la monarquía, se difunde entre las clases populares y los ex-esclavos un aprecio profundo por Doña Isabel, quien pasaría a ser conocida como la Redentora y su decreto de libertad como una dádiva.16 Eran las expresiones en cierres de la idea, que muy pronto se
popularizaba, de que la abolición había sido un proceso pacífico, armonioso, incruento; en unas versiones, como obra de la fraternidad del pueblo, en tantas otras, como obra de la magnanimidad de la corona, de la Princesa Isabel, la Redentora. De una forma u otra, estas ideas contribuirían a borrar de la memoria de la abolición las experiencias de lucha de los mismos esclavos.17

Con el fin de la esclavitud en Brasil, se activan los mecanismos de la memoria, mediante su intrincado juego de recuerdo y olvido de los sucesos y procesos del pasado. Estas operaciones toman lugar en contextos históricos particulares que inciden sobre las prácticas de conmemoración efectuadas por los diversos actores sociales.

En efecto, la abolición desestabilizó el poder monárquico, generando una crisis política que demsebocaría, en noviembre de 1889, en la caída de la monarquía y en la instauración de la Primera República, dirigida inicialmente por un gobierno provisional dominado por militares. La sacudida política provocada por la abolición le confirió un tono polémico al recuerdo de la esclavitud, al legado abolicionista y al tenor de las conmemoraciones futuras en una época marcada por profundas agitaciones políticas.18

Contrario al delirio festivo del momento original, el primer aniversario de la abolición en mayo de 1889 tuvo lugar en medio de un ambiente político polarizado por la pugna violenta entre monarquistas y republicanos. De hecho, un proyecto de ley que proponía convertir el 13 de mayo en día de fiesta nacional no obtuvo su aprobación en la legislatura, debido a la firme oposición de los diputados representantes del sector cafetalero. Ante el acoso republicano, los actos conmemorativos promovidos por las autoridades imperiales se enfocharon más bien en exaltar la figura de la Princesa Isabel.19

El clima político convulsionado afectó también a las conmemoraciones populares con motivo del primer aniversario de la Ley Aurea. Tanto en la corte como en la provincia de Río de Janeiro, se escenificaron disturbios y agrias disputas en torno a los derechos del liberto, todo lo cual ensombreció el espíritu cívico festivo. Aquellos hacendados y ex-propietarios perjudicados por una abolición sin indemnización gravitaron hacia el Partido Republicano. Por su parte, los ex-esclavos y las clases populares se arremolinaron junto a la monarquía.

Dicha polarización política se manifestó de varias maneras. En varios pueblos del interior fluminense, los libertos se rehusaban a trabajar para aquellos hacendados simpatizantes del Partido Republicano. Asimismo, facciones monarquistas crearon la notoria Guardia Negra, unas partidas compuestas de *capoeiras* y malandros, con el objetivo de proteger a la monarquía del asedio republicano. El bando republicano obró de igual modo movilizando sus propias turbas. La presencia de células de la Guardia Negra en ciudades importantes, incluyendo a São Paulo, Recife, Salvador y Porto Alegre, entre otras, contribuyó a que la ola de violencia se esparciera por buena parte del territorio nacional.20
En mayo de 1889, las autoridades de São Paulo, foco fuerte del movimiento republicano, decretaron un estado de sitio. Pensaban de ese modo poder disuadir las manifestaciones populares, especialmente las de la población negra, a quienes veían con sospecha por sus inclinaciones pro-monarquistas. Aún así, se registraron algunos incidentes de violencia en varios puntos del estado. En Jundiaí, en una actividad de la organizacón negra Club 13 de Mayo se reportaron confrontaciones entre correligionarios monarquistas y republicanos. Asimismo, en Araraquara, la policía irrumpió en una fiesta de libertos. Se efectuaron arrestos y se desalojaron los presentes del local de la fiesta.21

Un acto notable de recordación tuvo lugar fuera de Brasil, específicamente durante la Exposición Universal de París en 1889, actividad organizada con motivo del primer centenario de la Revolución Francesa. Brasil fue uno de los pocos países latinoamericanos que enviaron delegaciones oficiales a la Exposición de París.22

Desde sus inicios, las ferias y exposiciones internacionales aspiraban a desplegar un espectáculo de la modernidad, es decir, a destacar el progreso político, cultural y material alcanzado por los pueblos. El símbolo de la Exposición de París fue la Torre Eiffel, monumento de ingeniería especialmente construido para la ocasión y que proyectaba el ideario progresista del país sede.

El gobierno brasileño no escatimó esfuerzos en erigir un vistoso pabellón para albergar una exposición en la cual se haría alarde de su naturaleza exuberante. Pero las aspiraciones brasileñas al sueño de la modernidad no se circunscribían exclusivamente a ostentar o lucir sus amplias riquezas naturales. En 1889 era importante noticiar ante la gran vitrina parisina que Brasil había abolido la esclavitud. Esa era la misión que le había sido confiada al Barón Frederico José de Santa-Anna Nery, escritor y alto representante de la delegación brasileña ante la Exposición de París.

Planteaba Santa-Anna Nery que, al librarse de la mancha negra de la esclavitud, Brasil ingresaba con paso firme al mundo civilizado. El trabajo libre hacia del Brasil un país progresista, moderno, civilizado. Afirmando también que el fin de la esclavitud había sido un hecho transcendental en la historia patria, equiparable al episodio fundacional de la Toma de la Bastilla, ya que se establecía un nuevo orden jurídico y social en su tierra. Acotaba, no obstante, que lo que distinguía y ennoblecía a la hazaña brasileña era que la abolición había sido un proceso incruento—“sin que corriese la sangre, como en Estados Unidos”, en la declaración ufanista del Barón de Santa-Anna Nery.23 La abolición se representa como un momento civilizado porque no hubo derramamiento de sangre. Por todo esto, el fin de la esclavitud constituía, según el representante brasileño, el más grande espectáculo que Brasil podía ofrecerle a los pueblos civilizados que se habían congregado en París para festejar la modernidad.

El ufanismo desplegado por la delegación brasileña en la Exposición de París contrastaba con el clima polémico prevaleciente en Brasil. Las disputas
y conflictos entre ex-esclavos, monarquistas y republicanos, que se suscitaron en el período comprendido entre la abolición y la proclamación de la república, incidieron sobre la memoria de la abolición politizándola. Como movimiento intelectual y cruzada civil, el abolicionismo representaba ideales modernos y democráticos que apelaban tanto a faacciones monarquistas como a republicanas. Ciertamente, el abolicionismo había sido una causa popular entre ciertas faacciones del republicanismo. Pero la abolición había sido obra de la monarquía, lo que le permitía a ésta apropiarse de la idea de la abolición como bandera de lucha en un vano empeño por afianzarse en el poder.

El nuevo régimen republicano asume una postura ambivalente con respecto a la conmemoración del 13 de mayo. Si, por un lado, la república ennobleece la fecha de la abolición convirtiéndola en día de fiesta nacional, por otro lado, no fue muy adepta a fomentar los actos públicos de recordación. En su empeño por desligarse y distinguirse de la depuesta monarquía, el nuevo Estado republicano no pierde tiempo inventando tradiciones y un imaginario político que legitime y consolide su poder. En enero de 1890, a escasos dos meses del golpe, el gobierno militar emite un decreto que establece un calendario festivo oficial, en el cual se incluye por vez primera al 13 de mayo como efeméride (ver cuadro 1).24

De las nuevas fiestas oficiales creadas inicialmente por el gobierno republicano provisional, cinco se refieren propiamente a hechos y personajes de la historia nacional, y, que, en su mayoría, son alusivas al ideal de fraternidad. Ninguna de las fiestas es de naturaleza estrictamente religiosa, con la posible excepción del 2 de noviembre, día consagrado a la conmemoración de los muertos. La inspiración intelectual de las fiestas republicanas es de matriz comteana y sus temas son cómplices con el lema de libertad, igualdad, fraternidad del movimiento republicano. La paternidad intelectual del decreto que instituyó los feriados nacionales ha sido atribuida a Raimundo Teixeira Mendes, filósofo, matemático, antiguo líder abolicionista e ideólogo consumado del positivismo ortodoxo, quien gozaba de enorme reconocimiento a nivel internacional.25

A pesar de que el 13 de mayo constaba entre las nuevas fiestas del calendario republicano original, su significado había sido modificado. En vez del día conmemorativo de la abolición, la fecha será conocida como el día consagrado a la fraternidad de los brasileños. Lo que se celebra son los valores cívicos y libertarios del pueblo brasileño. El régimen republicano se reconoce heredero y portador de los altos ideales cívicos y progresistas del abolicionismo, en franco desafío a cualquier reclamo por parte de los adeptos al monarquismo. Trata así de restárselo cualquier protagonismo a la monarquía, desligando el triunfo del abolicionismo del curso de acción tomado por la Princesa Regente Isabel. La monarquía no detenta más el monopolio del imaginario abolicionista. Del mismo modo, se silencian los conflictos inherentes al proceso abolicionista, principalmente en lo que respecta a las luchas populares y a la acción de los mismos esclavos en su libertación.
Cuadro 1: Feriados nacionales brasileños

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<tr>
<th>Primera República</th>
<th>Revolución de 1930</th>
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<td>1 de enero</td>
<td>1 de enero</td>
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<td>Fraternidad universal</td>
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Esta postura se refleja muy bien en Festas nacionais, obra escrita por Rodrigo Octavio de Langgaard Meneses, el destacado jurista, escritor y miembro fundador de la Academia Brasileña de Letras. Su obra ofrece una interpretación del proceso abolicionista en la que prima la acción del procerato abolicionista y del ejército, restándole mérito no sólo a la acción de la Princesa Isabel como a la de los mismos esclavos.26 El texto cuya primera edición data
de 1893, fue adoptado como texto didáctico de nivel primario por los consejos de instrucción pública de varios estados de la unión, incluyendo el del sistema educativo del Distrito Federal.\textsuperscript{27}

Los actos oficiales de conmemoración de la abolición caen en desuso en los primeros años del régimen republicano.\textsuperscript{28} Pero al margen de la oficialidad, las fiestas del 13 de mayo cobran más bien un carácter social, cívico y cultural de profundo arraigo entre las clases populares, principalmente, aunque no exclusivamente, entre los afro-brasileños.\textsuperscript{29} Desde muy temprano en la década de 1890, tal como puede colegirse en la prensa paulista, los antiguos esclavos se congregaban en la Calle de la Libertad de São Paulo para celebrar con mucha juerga y bailes callejeros, al ritmo de samba y batuque, la fiesta de la abolición.\textsuperscript{30}

Con el transcurso del tiempo, las hermandades religiosas laicas negras así como las asociaciones cívicas y sociales fundadas por los mismos negros se encargaron de preservar la memoria de la abolición a través de celebraciones cívicas a nivel comunitario. En Rio y São Paulo, respectivamente, entidades religiosas y cívicas, tales como la Hermandad de la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Benito de los Hombres Prietos, la Hermandad de la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, el periódico \textit{O Clarim d’Alvorada} y el Frente Negro Brasileño, le imprimieron un sentido digno y edificante a las conmemoraciones del 13 de mayo.\textsuperscript{31} La Hermandad del Rosario fue fundada por esclavos y negros libres en Rio durante el siglo XVIII y estuvo muy comprometida con la causa de la libertad.\textsuperscript{32} La Hermandad de los Remedios de São Paulo también jugó un papel crucial en la lucha abolicionista en esa región.\textsuperscript{33} Fundado en 1924, \textit{Clarim} se convertiría en un vocero clave del movimiento negro paulista. En sus páginas, se reflexionaba sobre la historia de los afro-brasileños y sus editores solían sacar una edición especial en el mes de mayo para conmemorar la fecha de la abolición.\textsuperscript{34} El Frente Negro, por su parte, se fundó en 1931 como una organización política de la clase media negra con el propósito de promover reformas sociales y educativas en beneficio de los afro-brasileños.\textsuperscript{35}

Estas organizaciones negras solían promover un variado programa de actividades cívicas, culturales, religiosas y recreativas, que incluía, entre otras, discursos y conferencias sobre la campaña abolicionista; conciertos, lecturas de poesía, programas especiales de radio, funciones de teatro, bailes y certámenes de belleza; develaciones de estatuas y entregas de retratos en homenaje a la Princesa Isabel y a los líderes abolicionistas, así como misas y romerías a los sepulcros de los próceres abolicionistas.\textsuperscript{36} En regiones como São Paulo, donde prevalía la segregación de razas en el deporte, se pautaban también partidos de balompié entre los seleccionados negro y blanco. Dichos encuentros deportivos, que se originaron a fines de los años veinte, llegaron a gozar de mucha popularidad.\textsuperscript{37}

El 13 de mayo se había convertido también en una fecha idónea para reflexionar y obrar sobre las desigualdades sociales, particularmente sobre los elevados índices de analfabetismo imperantes en el país. Combatir el analfabetismo
era la bandera de lucha de la Cruzada Nacional de Educación (CNE), entidad filantrópica independiente creada en 1932 con el propósito de promover la educación primaria. Por su simbolismo, el 13 de mayo había sido escogido por la CNE como la fecha en que festejaba la inauguración de escuelas primarias por todo el país. El estado que más escuelas primarias instalase era homenajeado ese día con la entrega de una bandera nacional.38

Una Princesa Redentora, un Presidente Bienhechor y una raza de héroes

En el entramado político de los años treinta, la conmemoración del 13 de mayo vuelve a ser objeto de las preocupaciones políticas del Estado. El golpe de 1930 liderado por Getulio Vargas derrocó a la Primera República. Junto a las reformas políticas y administrativas, Vargas implanta un proyecto cultural con el claro propósito de desplazar el imaginario construido por el régimen depuesto. Con tal objetivo, tras apenas seis semanas de haber asumido el mando como presidente provisional, Vargas modifica sustancialmente el calendario festivo republicano, eliminando seis de los doce feriados existentes. No crea ningún feriado nuevo y de los seis feriados que decide preservar del régimen anterior sólo dos tenían que ver expresamente con la historia patria. Como puede colegirse del cuadro 1, el 13 de mayo fue una de las seis fechas conmemorativas que fueron anuladas por la Revolución de 1930.39

En la escueta exposición de motivos del nuevo decreto sobre los feriados, se declara que la razón principal para reducir los días festivos era evitar que se afectara el trabajo nacional, es decir, la producción, la economía del país. En su opúsculo Os feriados da República, el periodista e historiador Francisco de Assis Cintra ofrece una interpretación más elaborada acerca de las razones que pesaron sobre la modificación del calendario republicano. Las razones que ofrece atañen principalmente a la fidelidad histórica de los acontecimientos y al valor histórico y pedagógico de los hechos que se conmemoran.

El feriado del 21 de abril se refería a los movimientos precursoros de la independencia, simbolizados en la figura de Joaquim José da Silva Xavier (Tiradentes), mártir de Inconfidencia Minera de 1789, movimiento de ideas republicanas. Según Cintra, la efeméride quedó excluida porque ésta era un absurdo, un contrasentido. La fecha, en efecto, marcaba el día en que Tiradentes había sido ejecutado por las autoridades coloniales portuguesas. Además, el virrey había decretado esa fecha como día de regocijo público por haber sido suprimida la conjura. Por todo esto, Cintra alegaba que el feriado no tenía mérito alguno, ya que se trataba de la muerte ignominiosa de un brasileño perpetrada por el poder colonial. Era el natalicio de Tiradentes, no su muerte, lo que ameritaba celebrarse.40 En cuanto a la eliminación del 13 de mayo, las explicaciones de Cintra se ciñen a razones de sentido moral y pedagógico. La esclavitud había sido una gran vergüenza, un hecho infame en la historia brasileña, motivo por el cual no ameritaba recordarse.41
Aunque el arraigo popular del 13 de mayo era lo suficientemente firme como para resistir el embate de la nueva política en torno a los feriados, esto no impidió que las organizaciones negras dejaran de pronunciarse en contra de las medidas impuestas por Getúlio Vargas. A través de telegramas dirigidos al presidente y de comunicados en los diarios, varias agremiaciones afro-brasileñas le manifestaron su inconformidad e indignación al jefe de Estado, planteando, entre otras razones, que dicha medida “contrariaba las tradiciones históricas del país y el sentimiento nacional”.

A lo largo de la década, otras voces prominentes, incluyendo a Evaristo de Morais y Jaime Pombo de Brício Filho, refrendaron tales reclamos, lo que condujo a que el congreso brasileño tomaría la decisión de reestablecer el feriado del 13 de mayo en el calendario de fiestas oficiales. Dicha medida, sin embargo, quedó sin efecto, cuando la legislatura fue suspendida por el auto-golpe que instituyó al Estado Novo en noviembre de 1937.

Esta postura ambivalente del nuevo régimen en cuanto al carácter oficial del 13 de mayo no hizo más que crear controversia, sobre todo por la gran expectación que suscitaba el quincuagésimo aniversario de la abolición. A pesar de la censura impuesta sobre los medios de comunicación, varios órganos de la prensa escrita hicieron llamados a que se decretara el día 13 de mayo como día de fiesta. Aún el Jornal do Brasil, diario capitalino que mantenía una postura conciliatoria hacia el régimen, no dejó de pronunciarse sobre el discutido tema. En un editorial sugerentemente titulado É ou não é? (¿Es o no es?), pedía cuentas sobre si habría o no feriado ese año.

Las efemérides de la abolición y de Tiradentes fueron eliminadas del calendario festivo, pero no por eso perdieron su significación en el imaginario varguista. Varias iniciativas del Ministerio de Educación trataron de abrirle espacio a la recordación de ambas fechas. En 1936, a petición del Ministro Gustavo Capanema, Getúlio Vargas firmó un decreto autorizando la repatriación de los restos del poeta Tomás Antonio Gonzaga y de los otros incondicionantes que habían sido deportados a las colonias portuguesas en África. Del mismo modo, por intermedio del Ministro de Educación y con motivo del cincuentenario de la abolición, Vargas emitió un decreto ordenando la repatriación de los restos de Doña Isabel y de su esposo desde Francia a suelo brasileño. El referido decreto respondía también a los reclamos de que se reinstalara el feriado del 13 de mayo, estableciendo que la jornada de trabajo de los empleados públicos sería de mediodía. Por último, el decreto instruía a que las escuelas y centros de enseñanza dedicaran tiempo a la reflexión sobre las grandes figuras que tuvieron papel de relieve en la campaña abolicionista.

Medidas como éstas denotan que el proyecto cultural de Vargas no se circunscribía únicamente a reformular la política de los feriados nacionales. Por el contrario, el ambicioso proyecto cultural abarcaba múltiples facetas de la vida social y cultural del pueblo brasileño, adentrándose en áreas tan variados como la propaganda doctrinaria, la escuela y los museos, el deporte, la medicina,
el teatro, la música y el carnaval, los famosos cantos orfeónicos, las paradas y desfiles, así como el arte, los monumentos y la arquitectura.48

No es casual, entonces, que en 1938, bajo la tutela del Ministerio de Educación dirigido por Gustavo Capanema, el Estado Novo se esmerara en organizar solemnidades especiales con motivo del cincuentenario de la Ley Aurea. Entre los múltiples eventos artísticos y culturales, se destaca un magnifico espectáculo de música, canto y danza que tuvo lugar en la noche del mismo día 13 de mayo en el legendario Teatro Municipal de Río, ante la presencia del Presidente Vargas, de su gabinete y de figuras prominentes vinculadas al arte y la cultura.49

La gran velada musical en el Teatro Municipal tenía como propósito evocar “un alto sentimiento de brasileñidad” “bajo un cuñó altamente cultural y de buen gusto”, según notició uno de los principales diarios capitalinos.50 El repertorio musical consistía de piezas de música erudita y popular de compositores brasileños que incorporaban ritmos africanos o que expresaban temas alusivos al sacrificio del esclavo. En el género clásico, los números escogidos provenían tanto de compositores consagrados como de la promoción modernista de origen más reciente. La variante popular fue ofrecida por el compositor y músico pernambucano Lourenço da Fonseca Barbosa (Capiba), autor de sonados éxitos en los géneros maracatu y el frevo, ritmos carnavalescos típicos del Nordeste. El espectáculo de danza estuvo a cargo de Eros Volúsia, coetánea de Carmen Miranda, quien se había destacado por incorporar a la coreografía erudita bailes populares, tales como el samba, algunas danzas rituales del candomblé y varios ritos amerindios.51

Del insigne compositor Carlos Gomes (1836–1896) se interpretó un aria de su ópera Lo schiavo (El esclavo), obra que fue muy bien recibida cuando se estrenó originalmente en Río en 1889.52 Batuque fue otro de los números principales del repertorio. Su compositor, Alberto Nepomuceno (1864–1920), fue una figura clave en el surgimiento del nacionalismo musical brasileño. La pieza formaba parte de la sinfonía Série brasileira (c. 1897), obra que retraía aspectos típicos de la vida del brasileño nutriéndose directamente de elementos de la música popular. El último movimiento de la sinfonía, titulado Batuque, adopta los elementos rítmicos de la danza afro-brasileña del mismo nombre. Batuque se convirtió en la pieza más popular de Nepomuceno.53

Luciano Gallet y Lorenzo Fernández fueron dos de los exponentes del nacionalismo modernista representados en el concierto conmemorativo del 13 de mayo. Junto a la figura emblemática del movimiento modernista, el escritor y etnomusicólogo paulista Mário de Andrade, Gallet fue de los primeros compositores que se dedicó de lleno a realizar investigaciones sobre la música popular brasileña. Sus composiciones para piano se inspiran en el género popular.54 Las obras de Fernández se basan también en el folclore nacional, haciendo acopio no sólo de melodías y temas, sino de instrumentos de percusión procedentes de la música tradicional indígena, cabocla, y afro-brasileña.55 En el
Concierto se interpretaron tres de sus piezas para canto y piano, destacándose, entre éstas, la más conocida de sus canciones, *Toada p'ra Você* (*Tonada para usted*), basada en un texto de la autoria de Mário de Andrade.

Asimismo, bajo el patrocinio del Ministerio de Educación, se planearon conferencias, exposiciones, lanzamientos de libros, y el montaje de un drama cívico-histórico titulado *Raça de heróis* (*Raza de héroes*). El conocido dramaturgo de Río, Alceu Fayão de Abreu Gomes, tuvo el encargo de escribir esta pieza original para estrenarse como parte de los actos conmemorativos.

*Raça de heróis* explora la memoria histórica de Babá, una anciana negra quien había sido esclava doméstica alfabetizada y que ahora se dedicaba a cuidar los nietos de su antigua dueña. Instigada por las preguntas a veces ingenuas, a veces agudas, de los niños acerca de cómo era la vida en cautiverio, Babá hilvana un relato en el que sobresale la entereza de carácter del esclavo. Hace un recuento de la presencia del negro en episodios clave de la historia brasileña, incluyendo las guerras contra los invasores holandeses en Pernambuco (1630-1654) y la guerra del Paraguay (1864-1870). Estos episodios revelan el sentimiento patriótico del esclavo que, según Babá, se desvela por proteger su tierra. El esclavo, no obstante, anhela también la libertad y por eso protesta contra los atropellos de los señores. La resistencia, por ende, ocupa un lugar importante en el recuerdo de Babá y nada lo ejemplifica mejor que el espíritu indómito de los cimarrones, especialmente de las mujeres y hombres del *quilombo* de Palmares y de su líder Zumbi, quienes prefirieron morir antes que rendirse.

Pero la memoria de Babá no sólo registra los grandes episodios. En su narración, se destaca lo cotidiano también y es en ese plano donde yacen las dos contribuciones fundamentales del negro a la sociedad brasileña: el trabajo y el mestizaje. A Babá no le quedaba duda de que el trabajo esclavo había sido la base de la riqueza del país. Del mismo modo, creía que lo que definía al pueblo brasileño era el mestizaje.

Aparte de los festejos oficiales promovidos por el Ministerio de Educación, la efeméride fue conmemorada por una amplia gama de entidades religiosas, cívicas, culturales, educativas, sindicales y filantrópicas. En Río, la Hermandad del Rosario organizó una serie de actos religiosos que culminaron con un solemne Te Deum en la noche del 13 de mayo. Las academias y las sociedades doctas auspiciaron sesiones solemnes de recordación, rindiéndole homenaje, como fue el caso de la Academia Brasileira de Letras, al ex-diputado Afonso Celso. La Asociación Brasileña de Prensa tomó la ocasión para homenajear a los periodistas que se destacaron en la lucha por la abolición, entre éstos al insigne abolicionista negro José do Patrocínio (1853-1905) y a Jaime Pombo de Bricio Filho, quien al igual que Celso, era uno de los pocos abolicionistas aún vivos. El Instituto Histórico y Geográfico Brasileño, con sede en Río, y sus homónimos de São Paulo, Pernambuco y de otras localidades, efectuaron charlas y exposiciones en torno a los temas de la
esclavitud, la abolición y las contribuciones del negro a la cultura brasileña. En Pernambuco se colocaron placas conmemorativas en las casas natales de los próceres abolicionistas Joaquim Nabuco y el Barón de Cotelge.63 Líderes del Frente Negro Brasileño participaron también en el ciclo de conferencias auspiciadas por el Departamento de Cultura de la Prefectura de São Paulo.64 La Facultad de Derecho de la recién creada Universidad de São Paulo (1934) presentó al eminente jurista Evaristo de Morais quien disertó sobre el tema del régimen esclavista ante el derecho civil y penal brasileños.65 El investigador francés Roger Bastide, quien comenzaba a ejercer la cátedra de sociología de la Universidad de São Paulo, impartió una conferencia en la que comparó a las sociedades esclavistas a través del tiempo.66

Doña Isabel y Vargas fueron figuras conspicuas en los actos de recordación pautados para el cincuentenario de la Ley Aurea. La memoria de la Princesa Isabel fue evocada en una ceremonia en la que se develó una placa con su efígie. La misma fue colocada en el antiguo Palacio Imperial, donde medio siglo antes, la Princesa había firmado el decreto de libertad de los esclavos. A la nutrida ceremonia comparecieron la primera dama de la nación, Darci Vargas, la primera dama capitalina, Cecy Dosdworth, el Príncipe Don Pedro, hijo de la Princesa Isabel, varias figuras políticas, y dos notables escritoras, Rachel Prado y María Eugenia Celso, ésta última hija de Afonso Celso, quien habló acerca del papel de Doña Isabel en la campaña abolicionista.67 Por su parte, la Cruzada Nacional de Educación ofreció un almuerzo a un centenar de antiguos esclavos, muchos de ellos envejecientes, y a un número igual de niños que se habían beneficiado de la campaña educativa fomentada por la Cruzada. La escritora Carolina Nabuco, hija del prócer Joaquim Nabuco, participó en el acto atendiendo a los invitados como parte de una comitiva de damas de la alta sociedad. La actividad, que tuvo lugar en los predios del Palacio do Catete, sede del gobierno, culminaría con la entrega de un pergamo al Presidente Vargas concediéndole el título de Gran Bienhechor.68 Asimismo, varias organizaciones sindicales habían planificado una gran marcha de apoyo al presidente Vargas por su legislación laboral, particularmente por haber establecido recientemente una política de salario mínimo.69

Entre los homenajes a una Princesa Redentora y a un Presidente Bienhechor, se abre un espacio público significativo para elogiar y revalorar a la raza de héroes de Babá, al afro-brasileño. Por vez primera, desde inicios de la Primera República, el Estado se dispone a conmemorar públicamente la gran efeméride. El enfoque de los festejos oficiales, sin embargo, se caracterizó por ser más reflexivo que ufanista. No era para menos. Conmemorar el 13 de mayo implicaba reconceptualizar el pasado, examinar críticamente una narración histórica que negaba lo negro, insertando al afro-brasileño en la historia de la nación.

Al médico y antropólogo Artur Ramos (1903–1949) le correspondió realizar esta importante misión. Ramos fue el intelectual designado por el Ministro Capanema para que organizara el programa conmemorativo que su ministerio
habría de auspiciar. Ramos se desempeñaba como catedrático en la facultad de derecho de la Universidad de Río de Janeiro y dirigía también el programa de tratamiento psiquiátrico del Departamento de Educación del Distrito Federal. Se había destacado por sus investigaciones etnográficas sobre la religión y el folclore afro-brasileño. A su estudio *O negro brasileiro* (1934), que trata de las religiones afro-brasileñas, le siguieron *O folklore negro do Brasil* (1935), donde explora los bailes, la música y los cuentos tradicionales, y *As culturas negras no Novo Mundo* (1937), trabajo comparativo donde hace acopio de las investigaciones más importantes acerca de las contribuciones culturales y sociales del negro a las sociedades del hemisferio. Su giro progresivo hacia las interpretaciones culturalistas le permitieron superar postulados centrales del racismo científico, particularmente la idea de la inferioridad de la raza negra y la creencia de que el mestizaje propiciaba la degeneración social.70

Las preocupaciones intelectuales de Artur Ramos no se circunscribían tan sólo a idear un programa de exposiciones, conferencias y actos artísticos, es decir, a enfocarse meramente en el aspecto público de la conmemoración oficial.71 Más que planificar unos festejos públicos, lo que motivó a Ramos a colaborar con el Ministerio de Educación fue la oportunidad de poder institucionalizar los estudios sobre el negro brasileño como un campo legítimo de investigación. En Brasil, la antropología era todavía una disciplina en cierres; de modo que Ramos aspiraba a fundar un saber que, centrado en los planos sociales y culturales, superase los enfoques racialistas predominantes y generase conocimientos científicamente validados, desmitificadores, acerca de las poblaciones negras. Como estudioso, creía que un saber antropológico como éste resultaría en un conocimiento más completo, depurado y fiable del afro-brasileño como ente integral de la nacionalidad. Veía a la ciencia antropológica como instrumento capaz de desmentir concepciones falsas sobre el negro. Como reformador, le interesaba traducir ese saber en políticas educacionales e higienistas concretas que contribuyeran a abordar más efectivamente la cuestión racial. No era el determinismo racial, sino los condicionantes históricos y sociales lo que explica el atraso o marginalización de ciertos grupos sociales, problemas éstos que podrían resolverse mediante políticas públicas adecuadas.72

Su proyecto intelectual de fundar un nuevo campo de estudios se concentró en fomentar investigaciones rigurosas sobre el lugar del negro en la sociedad brasileña.73 Este plan de trabajo incluiría la publicación de una obra enciclopédica sobre el negro y la creación de centros especializados de investigación sobre temas afines. Todo este trabajo no tenía otro fin sino calibrar tanto la experiencia del negro bajo el régimen esclavista como su contribución decisiva en la formación de la nacionalidad brasileña. Ramos veía la aculturación del negro como resultado de un proceso histórico y, por lo tanto, creía que era preciso remontarse al pasado esclavista para comprender las vicisitudes de las poblaciones negras en el presente.
Para Artur Ramos, el cincuentenario se presta para reflexionar sobre las marcas de la esclavitud en la sociedad brasileña. Su preocupación por recuperar la dimensión histórica de la experiencia del afro-brasileño explica la orientación temática de su proyectada Enciclopedia del negro brasileño. La obra comprendería dos grandes temas, a saber el problema de la esclavitud y el abolicionismo y la influencia del negro en la vida y la civilización brasileña. Cada tema, a su vez, se dividiría en los más diversos asuntos, abordando aspectos del tráfico y de la trata de esclavos, de las etnias africanas, de la vida cotidiana del esclavo y de sus luchas, del proceso abolicionista, así como del influjo del negro en la economía, la música, las artes, la religión, el folclore y en todas las manifestaciones culturales y sociales del pueblo brasileño.

Para llevar a cabo este ambicioso proyecto, Ramos reunió a un equipo selecto de colaboradores del porte de Gilberto Freyre, Mário de Andrade, Edgar Roquette Pinto, Evaristo de Morais, Edison Carneiro, Rodolfo García y Josué de Castro, entre otros. Se trataba de estudiosos e intelectuales interesados en el tema negro, algunos de los cuales habían participado junto a él como ponentes los Congresos Afro-brasileños de Recife (1934) y de Bahía (1937). Como director de la colección Biblioteca de Divulgación Científica de la prestigiosa editorial Civilización Brasileira, Ramos se había encargado de publicar a buena parte de estos autores, difundiendo sus investigaciones históricas, sociológicas, etnográficas, etno-musicológicas, lingüísticas, artísticas y literarias en torno a la figura del afro-brasileño.

Valorar una raza y reescribir una historia nacional era lo que proponía realizar Artur Ramos a través de los actos conmemorativos del cincuentenario de la abolición. Su coetáneo Gilberto Freyre (1900–1987) había abierto ya esa senda con su singular Casa-grande y senzala (1933). En el panorama intelectual y político de la época, las propuestas revisionistas de Ramos y Freyre se eran en contraposición a ciertos discursos descalificadores del afro-brasileño. A la imagen del negro como objeto de conmemoración se contraponía la del negro como objeto de seguridad pública, como ente marginal, afectado por ataísmos raciales y culturales.

Al igual que Ramos, buena parte de los exponentes de estas nociones se habían formado en la Escuela de Medicina de Bahía y pasaron a ser funcionarios de agencias del Estado a cargo de la formulación e implantación de políticas públicas en el área de criminología y administración de la justicia. Muchos de sus antiguos colegas, imbuidos en las teorías neolombrosianas, se especializaron en medicina legal y antropología criminal, tomando al negro como objeto de estudio. Es notable, sin embargo, que muy pocas de estas figuras fueron escogidas por Ramos para componer su equipo de investigadores. Las dos figuras más elocuentes de estos enfoques, Júlio Afrânio Peixoto y Leonídio Ribeiro, vinculadas al Instituto de Identificación, entidad dedicada a los estudios biotipológicos con el objetivo de formular criterios de identificación criminal, no fueron convocadas a colaborar en su proyecto. Como
bien señala Olívia Maria Gomes da Cunha, no era la marginalización social del afro-brasileño lo que pretendía recordarse en 1938, sino, por el contrario, rescatar la historia de un pueblo que había sido borrada de la narración oficial.79

1938: ciudadanía, trabajo y libertad

Si en 1938 los actos oficiales de recordación de la abolición aspiraban a convertir la efeméride en instancia de diálogo sobre lo que constituía la nación, el ataque integralista contribuyó a darle nuevamente relieve al tema de la libertad. Alegando que el país se encontraba en estado de emergencia nacional debido a la demagogía de los políticos y a la infiltración comunista, Getúlio Vargas procedió, con el apoyo de las fuerzas armadas, a declarar, el 10 de noviembre de 1937, el establecimiento de un nuevo orden político, el Estado Novo, bajo el cual asumiría amplios poderes dictatoriales. Bajo el nuevo régimen, el congreso fue disuelto, las huelgas y las agremiaciones prohibidas y la censura impuesta sobre los medios de comunicación. Estos poderes no podían ser revocados por los tribunales.80

El auto-golpe de 1937 no conllevó grandes movilizaciones ni suscitó tampoco actos mayores de repudio o de resistencia. La conspiración golpista contó con la anuencia de la derecha, incluyendo, inicialmente, a la agremiación política Acción Integralista Brasileña, dirigida por Plínio Salgado.81 Pero las nuevas restricciones impuestas a los partidos-políticos afectaron de plano a la colectividad, lo que condujo a un atolladero entre el gobierno y el alto liderazgo integralista. Inconforme con la postura represiva del régimen, Salgado se dio entonces a la tarea de conspirar contra Vargas. Como el integralismo contaba con adeptos entre los oficiales de la Policía Militar del Distrito Federal, la Marina y el Ejército, el dirigente integralista puso en manos de los militares la organización del movimiento armado.82

La primera manifestación de rebelión tuvo lugar en marzo de 1938 en los cuarteles de la Marina en Río. La intentona, sin embargo, fue frustrada por la acción eficaz de la policía. A pesar de las sospechas que pesaban sobre Salgado, éste no sufrió prisión. Los conspiradores no se amedrentaron y siguieron tramando una acción militar que tendría como objetivo principal tomar por asalto al Palacio de Guanabara para apresar a Vargas. Uno de los conspiradores pertenecía a la guardia de fusileros navales, cuerpo que estaba encargado de proveerle vigilancia a la residencia presidencial. El plan conllevaba, además, atrapar a los miembros del gabinete y de la cúpula militar, tomar instalaciones militares y de los cuerpos de seguridad, apoderarse de varios navíos y aviones de combate, interrumpir el servicio telefónico y tomar estaciones de radio. Se pensaba también provocar incendios en varios puntos de la ciudad para generar pánico entre la ciudadanía.

Este era el plan que se pensaba poner en marcha en la madrugada del 11 de mayo.83 El mismo, sin embargo, fue infructuoso, debido a serias fallas organizativas, a la inacción de buena parte de los oficiales que se habían comprometido
con la causa, y a la lealtad de muchos regimientos que rehusaron adherirse al movimiento golpista. Dentro del Palacio de Guanabara, se encontraba Vargas junto a su esposa Darci, sus hijas Alzira y Jandyra, dos parientes, y un puñado de funcionarios, quienes, defendiéndose con unos revólveres, repelieron el ataque. Cerca del amanecer, fuerzas leales al régimen tomaron control del Guanabara, poniéndole así fin a la sublevación.

Ante los estremecedores acontecimientos, la gran marcha convocada originalmente por los sindicatos para homenajear al Presidente Vargas en la fecha del 13 de mayo ganó contornos distintos. Junto a los trabajadores, una multitud compuesta de estudiantes, políticos, profesionales y gente de pueblo acudió al Palacio de Catete a manifestarle su solidaridad y respaldo al mandatario. En su interior, el Catete estaba abarrotado de autoridades civiles y militares al igual que de importantes figuras de la política, de la prensa, de los círculos empresariales y de personalidades de destacas de la sociedad. La prensa periódica da cuenta del fervoroso ambiente de fiesta y entusiasmo cívico que se escenificó esa tarde en la ciudad. Expresiones tales como “manifestación memorable” y espectáculo de “impressionante belleza cívica” acapararon los titulares de las planas de los principales diarios. Innumerables bandas de música amenizaban los actos y las incidencias estaban siendo transmitidas por cadena nacional de radio. Mientas la muchedumbre enarbolaba banderas nacionales, desplegaba pancartas con consignas de apoyo y daba vivas al jefe de Estado, éste los saludaba desde el balcón del Catete. De temperamento sereno y reservado, Vargas debió haberse impresionado por la magnitud de la manifestación, el calor de las aclamaciones y el sentir patriótico de la concurrencia, puesto que, en la entrada de su diario correspondiente a los sucesos de ese día, asentó que ésta había sido una de las manifestaciones más concurridas, fuertes y entusiasticas que jamás hubiera presenciado.

En representación de los sectores laborales y empresariales, varios oradores se dirigieron a los manifestantes. Los trabajadores estuvieron representados por la Unión General de los Sindicatos de Empleados del Distrito Federal y la Federación de los Marítimos de Rio de Janeiro. Por parte del empresariado, comparecieron la Asociación Comercial de Rio de Janeiro y la Confederación Industrial de Brasil.

El hilo temático común de los cuatro discursos fue la condena al atentado, el elogio a la valentía y heroísmo del gobernante y la profesión de confianza en sus cualidades como líder para dirigir los destinos del país. Hubo, sin embargo, diferencias sustanciales entre el mensaje de los empresarios y el de los trabajadores. La oratoria de los líderes empresariales se caracterizó por las referencias religiosas y la valoración del mantenimiento del orden como ideal prioritario. En su visión, Vargas era el salvador de la patria, quien velaba por el bienestar moral, económico y social del Brasil. Expresaron que dicho bienestar podría lograrse solamente bajo un régimen de orden, objetivo por el cual estaban dispuestos a colaborar con el gobierno.
CONMEMORACIONES DE LA LIBERTAD

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Ya en los discursos proferidos por los líderes sindicalistas salen a relucir otras preocupaciones. Luiz Augusto França, presidente del gremio de empleados de la capital, quería manifestarle al presidente su apoyo incondicional en reconocimiento a su política laboral. Fue el único de los oradores que aludió expresamente a la fecha del 13 de mayo al paso que construye una narración histórica que identifica al Estado Novo como la culminación del proceso largo y atribulado de libertación del pueblo brasileño. França establece así un puente entre las fechas de 1888 y 1937, dándole sentido nuevo a la efeméride del 13 de mayo. La primera, en su opinión, representaba la conquista de la libertad política; la segunda, la conquista de la libertad económica. Afirma que las dos fechas se complementaban, ya que el bienestar económico permitía y garantizaba el pleno disfrute de los derechos políticos obtenidos hacia medio siglo. Vargas, el Gran Brasileño, el Gran Jefe, había sabido interpretar las esperanzas del trabajador, implantando una legislación social que respondía a sus reclamos, a sus necesidades. Esta gran obra, por lo tanto, le aseguraba al gobernante un lugar de honra junto a las figuras gloriosas del pasado, según la apreciación del líder sindical.

La prensa informa que Vargas tomó la palabra en medio de las más vibrantes aclamaciones de la multitud que se había congregado frente al palacio de gobierno. Abrió su discurso valiéndose del vocativo—“Trabajadores de Brasil”, la peculiar frase que empleaba para interpelar a sus interlocutores. Tras agradecer las muestras de solidaridad, trató de poner en perspectiva el porqué de la manifestación. La misma—señala—tiene lugar en la fecha conmemorativa de la abolición, cuando se evocan las figuras notables de la campaña abolicionista, y—prosigue—ocurre tras un ataque mediante el que que pretendía subvertirse el régimen e implantarse el peor de los cautiverios, por tratarse de la subordinación de los intereses colectivos a los intereses individuales.

Tanto el discurso del sindicalista como el del jefe de Estado enuncian conceptos clave del imaginario varguista: trabajo, justicia, derechos sociales y tutela del Estado. El proyecto político del Estado Novo aspiraba a construir un concepto nuevo de democracia y, por consiguiente, trató de redefinir lo que se entendía por las libertades y deberes que conforman los derechos del ciudadano.

Los ideólogos del régimen de Vargas acuñaron el concepto de democracia social como alternativa a la democracia liberal. Consideraban que el postulado fundamental del liberalismo—la idea de la igualdad de todos los ciudadanos ante el derecho—era una falacia, puesto que la igualdad jurídica, circunscrita al plano de los derechos políticos formales, no se traducía en justicia, es decir, en una distribución más equitativa de la riqueza. Afirman que, dentro de la ortodoxia liberal, igualdad y justicia eran conceptos antagónicos. Del mismo modo, alegaban estos artífices que el Estado liberal, centrado en los principios del laissez-faire, generaba profundas desigualdades sociales, para lo cual las libertades formales no ofrecían soluciones adecuadas. Esto hacía que el ideal
igualitario de la democracia se desvaneciera y que fuera necesario plantearse qué sentido podría tener la libertad en un mundo lleno de desigualdades. Por lo tanto, no era la conquista y protección de la libertad, conforme la definición política de democracia (un régimen electoral), sino de justicia, lo que debía ser la aspiración máxima de un orden político que se digne llamar de democrático. Así pues, el fin de un orden verdaderamente democrático consistiría en atender la cuestión social, abordando el problema de las desigualdades sociales y fomentando mayor equidad entre la ciudadanía.

En la doctrina estadonovista, como puede apreciarse, la libertad formal, jurídica e individual pierde primacía, quedando supeditada al ideal de justicia, del bien colectivo, ideal que se materializa en una legislación social que valore al trabajador, al productor de la riqueza. El trabajo es el principio cardinal del imaginario varguista que explica la razón de ser del concepto de democracia social (justicia). En el pasado, el trabajo fue sinónimo de esclavitud, por estar sujeto a las veleidades del mercado. Al coordinar la distribución de la riqueza, el Estado intervencionista permite que el trabajo se dignifique, se humanice, transformándolo en vehículo de emancipación del ciudadano-trabajador. El pleno ejercicio de los derechos sociales, garantizados en la legislación social, es lo que define al ciudadano-trabajador de la democracia social del Estado Novo, fundada por Getúlio Vargas. El Estado Novo se presenta como un orden superior al de la democracia liberal, donde los valores de igualdad jurídica y justicia eran incompatibles.

Los discursos proferidos por los líderes sindicalistas y por el mismo mandatario tienen como referente concreto la redefinición discursiva de los conceptos de libertad, ciudadanía y democracia propuestos por el Estado Novo. Es un discurso que redime al trabajo de categoría dagradada, transforma al trabajador en baluarte de la nación y lo valora como colaborador estrecho del Estado en la consecución del bien común.

Consideraciones finales

En 1938, la conmemoración del cincuentenario de la abolición de la esclavitud encontró un Brasil sujeto a un proceso de cambio en los más diversos planos—sociales, culturales, intelectuales, económicos y políticos—que permitió que el 13 de mayo recobrara su importancia como una fiesta de proyección nacional. La efeméride resurge de los márgenes del discurso público para reinsertarse en el centro de las grandes disputas en torno a la construcción de la nación. Raza y trabajo fueron asuntos dominantes en el debate político-ideológico de los años treinta. Las conmemoraciones públicas del cincuentenario de la Ley Aurea no trataron al afro-brasileño ni como elemento del pasado ni como figura marginal en la historia de Brasil. Por el contrario, los actos de recordación celebraron la centralidad de la esclavitud en la formación de la sociedad brasileña.
En una sociedad que, hasta ese momento, se había regido por unos modos culturales elitistas y eurocéntricos, negando, de paso, su pasado esclavista, conmemorar el 13 de mayo significó un reencuentro y también un acierto de cuentas con un pasado que no separa, sino que unifica y dignifica. De esto da cuenta la elevación del samba, de las baianas y de los trabajadores mulatos en la pintura de Cándido Portinari a símbolos consagrados de la identidad nacional brasileña. No es casual que la imagen de un Brasil mestizo se forjara justamente en la década del treinta, en tiempos de Getúlio Vargas.

NOTAS


2. La obra señera de Gilberto Freyre, Casa-grande y senzala, publicada en 1933, impulsó el proceso de revaloración del afro-brasileño, como lo plantea Dain Borges en “Como e por que a escravidão voltou à consciência nacional na década de 30”, en Ethel Volfonz Kosinsky, Claude Lépine, y Fenanda Aréas, orgs., Gilberto Freyre en quatro tempos (São Paulo: Editora UNESP, 2003), pp. 205–222.


5. Para una discusión más amplia acerca de estos asuntos, véase Lúcia Lippi de Oliveira, A questão nacional na Primeira República (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1990); Octávio Ianni, A idéia de Brasil moderno (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1992); y Monica Velloso, Que cara tem o Brasil?: as maneiras de pensar e sentir o nosso país (Rio de Janeiro: Ediouro, 2000).


27. Ibid., pp. 9–11.


36. _O Estado de São Paulo_, 12, 13, y 14 de mayo de 1918; 11, 13, y 14 de mayo de 1930; 13 y 14 de mayo de 1931; 13 de mayo de 1932; 14 y 15 de mayo de 1935; 13 de mayo de 1936; 13 y 14 de mayo de 1937; _Folha da Noite_, 13 de mayo de 1932; _A Voz da Raça_ (São Paulo), 28 de abril de 1934; mayo de 1937; Andrews, _Blacks and Whites_, pp. 213–215; y Butler, _Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won_, p. 79.


41. Ibid., pp. 13–14.

42. _O Estado de São Paulo_, 13 de mayo de 1931. Ver también _A Voz da Raça_, 28 de abril de 1934.


44. _Jornal do Brasil_, 13 de mayo de 1938.

45. _Jornal do Brasil_, 11 de mayo de 1938. La política editorial de este periódico se discute en _Diccionario histórico-biográfico brasileiro_, s.v. “_Jornal do Brasil_”.

46. La medida conllevaba también la construcción de un mausoleo y la publicación de los expedientes del juicio a los inconfidentes. Un buen análisis del decreto de repatriación de los inconfidentes así como de la polémica en torno a la construcción del monumento en su memoria se encuentra en Williams, _Culture Wars_, pp. 129–133.

47. _Jornal do Commercio_, 13 de mayo de 1938; _Jornal do Brasil_, 13 de mayo de 1938; _O Estado de São Paulo_, 14 de mayo de 1938. Según Afonso Celso, repatriar los restos de Doña Isabel para depositarlos en el Mausoleo Imperial de Petrópolis sería el más justo acierto de cuentas con la Princesa. Véase su artículo “A Redentora”, _Jornal do Brasil_, 14 de mayo de 1938.

49. *Jornal do Brasil*, 8, 11, 12, 13, y 14 de mayo de 1938; *Jornal do Commercio*, 10, 11, y 12 de mayo de 1938.


53. Ibid., s.v. “Nepomuceno, Alberto”.

54. Ibid., s.v. “Gallet, Luciano”.

55. Ibid., s.v. “Fernández, Oscar Lorenzo”.


59. Ver Alceu Fayão de Abreu Gomes, *Raça de heróis* (Niterói: Gráfica Vasconcellos, 1940). La pieza de tres actos contaba con la ejecución de bailes y música afro-brasileña entre los actos y cuadros; incluía la declamación de versos del famoso poema *Navio negreiro* de Antonio de Castro Alves y concluía con un movimiento de la ópera *Lo schiavo* de Carlos Gomes.

60. *Jornal do Commercio*, 13 de mayo de 1938.


68. *Jornal do Brasil*, 6, 13, y 14 de mayo de 1938.

69. *Jornal do Brasil*, 8 y 12 de mayo de 1938. Durante la conmemoración del 1º de mayo de 1938, Vargas firmó un decreto instituyendo el salario mínimo. Véase *Jornal do Brasil*, 1 y 3 de mayo de 1938; *O Estado de São Paulo*, 1 y 3 de mayo de 1938; y *Jornal do Commercio*, 3 de mayo de 1938.


76. Skidmore, Black into White, pp. 190–192; Borges, “Como e por qué”.

77. Las políticas educativas, inmigratorias y criminológicas del Estado Novo se nutren de corrientes de pensamiento eugenésicas. Los siguientes trabajos arrojan luz sobre este asunto: Dávila, Diploma of Whiteness; Giralda Seyfert, “Os imigrantes e a campanha de nacionalização do Estado Novo”; Marcos Chor Maio, “Qual anti-semitismo?: relativizando a questão judaica no Brasil dos años 30”, ambos textos aparecen en Pandolfi, org., Repensando o Estado Novo.


79. Ibid., pp. 258–259.


81. Las doctrinas y trayectoria políticas del Integralismo y de su líder máximo Plinío Salgado se exponen en Dicionário histórico-biográfico brasileiro, s.v. “Salgado, Plínio”.


84. Jornal do Brasil, 14 de mayo de 1938; Jornal do Comercio, 14 de mayo de 1938; Monitor Campista (Campos), 14 de mayo de 1938. Sobre la participación de sindicatos del interior fluminense, ver Monitor Campista, 12 de mayo de 1938.

86. *Jornal do Brasil*, 14 de mayo de 1938.


9. Making the Invisible Visible: Bibliographical Sources on Africans in Mexico and Argentina

Jesse Hingson
Roberto Pacheco

Social scientists commonly refer to the boundaries of “Afro-Latin America” as the Atlantic coastal region stretching from the Caribbean archipelago and Central America to the northern half of South America. Within this area, slave traders forcibly imported the largest number of African slaves to work in the agricultural, mining, and ranching economies of the Western Hemisphere, and their descendents continue to live in these regions today. Likewise, most of the scholarship on the African diaspora in the Americas concentrates on these regions and the theme of slavery. On the extreme “edges” or “frontiers” of Afro-Latin America, however, Africans also once constituted a significant proportion of the population. On the northern “edge,” Mexico imported more African slaves until 1640 than any other part of the Spanish-American Empire, and many of their descendents today continue to inhabit small villages near Veracruz and along the western coast. In Argentina, Negros and mulattos constituted almost 34 percent of Buenos Aires’s population in 1852, and thousands of African-descended people lived and worked within the interior provinces during the colonial and early national periods. What is fascinating, moreover, is the fact that these countries experienced the near total assimilation of their African populations.

In this paper, we argue that the scholarship on the African diaspora in Mexico and Argentina has evolved significantly over the course of the last few decades and that it deserves special recognition for its contribution to a broader understanding of Africana studies in the Americas. While scholars pay more attention to slavery than to other historical themes, they have explored the diverse contributions of Africans to literature, art, music, politics, labor, and, in some of their most profound work, the development of the nation-state. Indeed, many of these have added greatly to the understanding of various theoretical discussions, such as the influence of African culture in the development of the Americas; the importance of race, class, ethnicity, and gender in social rank; and the multiple meanings of race and ethnicity. The amount of scholarly literature accumulated in the past fifty years suggests that they are
not forgotten; rather, like the African populations in Mexico and Argentina, we argue that much of this scholarship goes unnoticed: it is, in effect, invisible.

A “Forgotten” Object of Study

One of the most fundamental reasons why scholars characterize the scholarship on Africans in Mexico and Argentina as forgotten is that much of the primary and secondary materials about these Africans have not been properly located, compiled, and arranged. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán noted that “it is really strange that investigators of our history and of our ethnography only in rare occasions show the existence of Africans in Mexico.” Indeed, not long ago, the list of historical works on the African diaspora in Mexico and Argentina amounted to a few titles. In a compilation in 1977 on the scholarship on Africans and their offspring in Latin America, Timothy Harding and others included more than twelve hundred unannotated references arranged by country, and among these, only a handful related to Africans in Mexico and Argentina. The vast majority was dedicated to Brazil, the Caribbean, Central America, and northern Spanish South America, coinciding with the traditional boundaries ascribed to Afro-Latin America. The variety of reference tools published about the history of Africans in the Americas has dealt exclusively with the literature relating to Africans in Brazil, Cuba, and the Caribbean. Furthermore, despite the appearance of a number of theoretically sophisticated works, reviews of scholarly publications rarely incorporate works about blacks in these regions.

The most prominent publication venues for Afro-Latin Americanists also tend to adopt a narrow vision of the African diaspora. After we completed a bibliometric survey of the leading interdisciplinary, English-language Latin American and Africana studies journals from 1980 to 1995 on Africans and their descendants in Latin America, our research reveals that the scholarly vision of the African diaspora is spatially (geographically), temporally (historically), and thematically (historiographically) limited and narrow. Latin Americanists and Africana studies specialists were concerned with only a few countries, for example, Brazil and Cuba; time periods, the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; and themes, slavery and abolition. Moreover, given the importance and circulation of the journals surveyed (for example, the Latin American Research Review and Black Studies), the vision of the Africa diaspora is myopic and needs correction to include more studies on blacks in places like Mexico and Argentina, regions not traditionally included in discussions of Afro-Latin America. Searching through the indexes of these important Afro-Latin American studies journals in English, one could get the wrong impression that blacks in Mexico and Argentina remain unstudied and that there is little to be said about their postemancipation experiences in the New World.

Another problem lies in the fact that many researchers depend entirely too much on flawed bibliographical gathering tools and methods for their
needs. After a recent search on a “certain library program,” one scholar incorrectly lamented that “few scholarly works” existed on Africans in Mexico. A growing number of students and scholars alike rely more on these electronic reference tools, such as computerized library packages or Internet search engines, to satisfy their research needs. There are obvious benefits to searching electronically. Researching authors, titles, or subjects on a computer is easier, faster, and more efficient than looking through old-fashioned library card catalogs or printed periodical indexes, especially since electronic collections are typically cross-listed. Indeed, many libraries have abandoned the use of card catalogs altogether. Even the best electronic research tools have their flaws. Computers cannot discern sources that pertain to race mixture or mestizaje but may nevertheless relate to Africans and their New World descendants. Employing the subject key words “black” or “African” and “Argentina,” for example, in any given computerized library catalog and/or other electronic research tool will not yield much, considering that the vast majority of studies on Africans in Mexico and Argentina relate to the history of race mixture or slavery. Depending on such tools, therefore, neglects a significant body of scholarly literature and gives the wrong impression that blacks in Mexico and Argentina are understudied or not studied at all.

At the same time, electronic research tools, including the Internet, may enhance bibliographical yields by allowing researchers and students access to library collections in foreign countries. Over half of the scholarship on Africans in Mexico and Argentina has been published by scholars from these nations. Indeed, the early specialists (that is, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán from Mexico and Vicente Rossi from Argentina) have published their research almost exclusively within their native countries. Unfortunately, their works are too often unavailable in libraries in English-speaking countries (but with most libraries now participating in interlibrary loan programs, this problem is easily solved). Electronic resources complement printed materials and classic printed reference tools, including the Handbook of Latin American Studies and the Hispanic American Periodicals Index (HAPI), which are also now available in electronic formats (online and CD-ROM).

Better still, numerous primary and secondary materials concerning Africans in Mexico and Argentina have been located and compiled. While not exhaustive and now somewhat dated, Miguel Acosta Saignes’s little-known but important article, published in América Indígena (1969), presents an impressive survey of archival holdings on Africans throughout Latin America. He and his collaborators organized a vast array of primary sources for researchers to access and study, but this article remains largely unnoticed. In addition, Emma Pérez-Rocha and Gabriel Moedano Navarro’s survey of newspaper, magazine, and periodical collections contains important information on primary and secondary sources on Afro-Mexicans. Published bibliographies on Africans in Argentina are incomplete and/or outdated, but they
provide a good starting point for anyone working on this theme. Jorge E. Gallardo, for example, provides an adequate bibliography on the history of Afro-Argentines in Evolución de las Ciencias en la República Argentina, 1872–1972. Certainly, updated compilations and arrangements are needed; however, the few reference tools just mentioned does not warrant scholars’ persistent claims that Africans in Mexico and Argentina remain neglected.

“Forgetting” in Nation-Building

It is little surprise that modern scholars view the African pasts of Mexico and Argentina as something exotic. Many have commented on the practice among colonial and early national authorities of Mexico and Argentina of disregarding (and in some cases condemning) the historical contributions of African-descended peoples to the nation-state. In the case of Mexico, Frederick Bowser decries that “the person of African descent . . . has very nearly been denied living proof of his historical importance.” Likewise, historian Peggy Liss argues that “Blacks and part-Blacks, excluded from Mexican society under Hapsburg rule, have since been assimilated into it but largely ignored as a component of its population and an element in its history.” These and other scholars repeatedly suggest the invisibility of blacks in national histories and current projects. Thus, in what many scholars refer to as their national “guiding fictions,” the first historians and intellectual nation builders of Latin America during the nineteenth century chose to glorify an alternative view of the past, emphasizing the achievements of preferred racial groups as symbols of nationality, while excluding or condemning all African elements of their colonial past. The first national historians of the nineteenth century (for example, Lucas Alamán in Mexico and Domingo F. Sarmiento and Bartolomé Mitre in Argentina) saw their countries’ African populations as a liability for progress. Moreover, twentieth-century intellectuals, such as Jorge Luis Borges, also claimed in an interview that Africans made no significant difference in the history of Argentina. Indeed, Argentina has promoted itself as and is considered today the most European of all the nations in Latin America, while Mexico is recognized for its glorious mestizo or indigenous past.

However, it was not enough to write off Africans and their descendants from official history books. Scholars also point to an overwhelming amount of evidence confirming that colonial and national authorities attempted to eliminate the existence of Africans from their government or public records. Ecclesiastical and colonial government authorities in Mexico, for instance, intentionally undercounted Africans in their official documents in order to show outsiders that no Africans existed to revolt against authorities, a fear at the time. Recent research illustrates that elite Mexican families altered their genealogies whenever African ancestors were discovered. In the case of Argentina, George Reid Andrews, one of the most well-known North
American scholars on blacks in Argentina, suggests that the presumed disappearance of blacks in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires represented more the wishful thinking of nation builders, who preached the blanqueamiento or "whitening" of the nation’s population through massive European immigration, than it did the city’s demographic reality. Scholars often claim that because little or no trace of an African population exists today, Africans remain "unimagined" in the collective consciousness or imaginario social of ordinary Mexicans and Argentines. Andrews, for example, begins his dissertation by quoting a porteño: "no hay negros en Buenos Aires," implying that Afro-Argentines were "gone" in modern times and from the historical imagination. For the few descendants of Africans that remain in Mexico today, many argue that their "denied" existence has made them forget their own place in Mexican national life, culture, and history.

Therefore, scholars see fit (as one of their tasks) to rescue or recover an "ignored" history. In her justification to write the history of Afro-Mexicans, Luz María Martínez Montiel asserts: "The study of African contributions in Mexico and the dynamics of their integration might also contribute to a cultural need: a more complete knowledge of the process by which the Mexican nationality was formed and of the elements that compose it." According to this perspective, ignoring Africans made the formation of Mexican national identity incomplete. By restoring Africans and their descendants to their respective national histories, Martínez Montiel argues that scholars contribute to the construction of a more pluralized national identity. Of course, this process seems to be already moving forward with the explosion of historical and even juvenile literature in Mexico and Argentina that feature prominent black historical figures as discoverers, explorers, soldiers, and national heroes.

While nation builders often rejected the African element of their respective country’s heritage, it is not universally true that they ignored or forgot this element of their past. If nineteenth-century intellectuals in Argentina wanted to eliminate blacks from national histories, how does one then explain Bartolomé Mitre’s "fabrication" of "Falucho," a slave soldier who supposedly died defending the nation’s flag, as a symbol of patriotism? In fact, a statue dedicated to the gallant Falucho in Buenos Aires’s Barrio Palermo confirms the state’s desire to commemorate the sacrifices of its African citizens. On the other hand, to the extent that most residents of the capital city stroll past this national monument without noticing that it is dedicated to the "sacrifice" of Afro-Argentines in the independence war perhaps also symbolizes their invisibility. But why would so many other contemporary observers, including General José de San Martín, praise in prose and poetry Afro-Argentine contributions to independence? And what of Domingo F. Sarmiento’s descriptions of the black Colonel Lorenzo Barcala as a paragon of manliness and "civilization"? Would it not have been more ideologically convenient for this quintessential nineteenth-century positivist and racist to forget or not even mention
the virtues of “El caballero negro”? Why not simply lump Barcala in with the blacks depicted in José Mármol’s Amalia or Esteban Echeverría’s El matadero, two canons of Argentine literature negatively portraying African slaves and free blacks in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires? In fact, even negative or stereotypical characterizations of blacks in these and other national classics (and in some pioneering studies of Afro-Argentines) do not necessarily constitute forgetting on the part of nation builders.

In addition, numerous collections of plays, poetry, and prose also demonstrate that blacks have been present in the literary consciousness of Mexico. Written early in the nineteenth century, José Joaquin Fernández de Lizarrí’s national classic El Periquillo Sarniento tells the story about an educated Afro-Mexican who defends his race in a debate with a British official, who is convinced that whites are superior to all other races. Not only is this work one of the earliest literary pieces produced about the treatment of blacks in Mexican society during the early national period, but it is considered to be the first antislavery tract in the Americas. Numerous collections of poetry demonstrate that blacks have long been present in the colonial and early national literary consciousness of Mexico.

Paintings and photographs are visual reminders that blacks have not been entirely forgotten in the collective consciousness of nation builders in Mexico and Argentina. Numerous casta paintings in colonial Mexico, for instance, depict blacks (albeit in fictional scenes) participating in a variety of tasks in everyday life, even as royal authorities actively altered genealogical documents. If national authorities in Mexico and Argentina wanted so badly to eliminate entirely the existence of blacks from their national histories, as so many authors claim, why did they not simply destroy or alter this visual evidence? We certainly do not answer all these queries to our satisfaction, much less to that of a learned audience; however, we believe that these questions should be raised and the contradictions in the academic literature on this subject exposed in order to encourage further discussion and debate.

Remembering What Is and Is not “African” Culture

In their now classic work, The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective, Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price argue that “assumptions, no matter how innocent, about what does and doesn’t look (or does and doesn’t feel) culturally ‘African’ continue to bedevil Afro-American studies, sometimes with a rather bizarre twist.” Mintz and Price were responding to the claims of Melville Herskovits and Roger Bastide, among others, who referred to the putative survival of African cultural traits (despite the horrors of the slave trade and slavery) in the New World. In reality, this problem is evident in subsequent discussions about how much “African” culture remains in Mexico and Argentina after hundreds of years of slavery and race mixture. Scholars often identify populations of African-descended people as “Afro-Argentines/African
Argentines” or “Afro-Mexicans/African Mexicans.” At face value, these terms suggest the existence of a homogenous African culture that descended directly from the first generation of Africans who arrived in these regions. However, scholars are reexamining the overwhelming amount of evidence that there was no one ethnic group of Africans in these countries, and assimilation into the dominant population and culture occurred continuously throughout their history. Furthermore, as Herman Lee Bennett admits for colonial Mexico, even the notion of a common racial or African “corporate consciousness” is debatable.36 In reality, the hyphenated “Afro” followed by a particular nationality is more often applied to groups whose genealogies merely include Africans and/or Indian and mestizo backgrounds, which are often mistaken for one or the other.

Scholars are beginning to realize that the existence of a “pure” African racial group is not viable. The scholarly debate over the origins of Argentina’s signature dance and music, the tango, engages its African, indigenous, and Spanish roots. The practice of placing too much emphasis on the Afro-hyphenated elements of people who were, in fact, casts ignores other racial elements in the historiography of race in Latin America and paradoxically reinforces the view that blacks in the Americas remain invisible. Researchers need to treat Africans as a racially mixed group rather than as homogeneous, especially since repression against Africans and their descendants was often accompanied by generalized discrimination against all subaltern groups.

One “bizarre twist” that Mintz and Price refer to evidences the ways in which scholars influence how black groups today perceive their own culture. According to an article in the Los Angeles Times, contemporary Afro-Mexicans in the Costa Chica region are now “rediscovering their ancestry” because of contact with a growing number of anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and photographers who are traveling and researching in the region. Shortly after first contact, few Afro-mestizos recognized “their own African ancestry.” Now local villagers are claiming that African culture exists where none had before. One man noted: “You see African influence in round houses like mine. . . . People here carry everything on their heads. . . . It’s in the way we talk, the way we gesture.”37 As already mentioned, contemporary scholars understand very well how colonial and national authorities invented racial types and categories to exclude and exploit Africans and other ethnic groups in the Americas. However, they are just beginning to recognize how African-descended peoples themselves distorted their own pasts for a variety of reasons. This practice dates to colonial times, when many blacks misled census takers in order to rank higher in the social order. As Gary B. Nash points out: “A powerful theme in American history [has been] largely hidden—that people of many kinds . . . have found loopholes in the ruling system of racial division and classification.”38 In the Los Angeles Times article already cited, when asked about the origins of his village, one elder exclaimed, “Who knows . . . I don’t care about
these things." In the absence of a written past, some elders "have invented mythology to fill the void." Indeed, how Afro-Latin Americans attempt to alter the way in which they are perceived presents one of the most difficult challenges facing those wishing to study and remember them.

Conclusion

What most concerns us in this essay is what scholars imply when they claim that Africans in Mexico and Argentina are "forgotten" or "invisible." In terms of bibliography and historiography, they maintain that very few primary and secondary materials exist on the subject. This complaint is usually leveled by and against the scholarly community. In light of the production of published and unpublished materials during the past fifty years, however, we doubt the validity of this assertion today. A slightly more persuasive argument that researchers put forward assumes that the guiding fictions of early Latin American nation builders eliminated blacks as national actors, claiming that they made no historical difference or that only European and/or indigenous populations mattered in these national histories. This perspective is unacceptable for the majority of Afro-Latin Americanists studying these countries today; thus, they seek to correct a perceived historical injustice. However, to argue that Africans were entirely deleted from official histories, thereby creating an imaginario social devoid of (people of) color, is problematic and only partially true. We believe that there is much evidence concerning the national representations of blacks in the art, music, and literature of Mexico and Argentina.

Finally, there is the thorny issue of how to remember an "invisible" or "forgotten" social group when considerable ambiguity exists about what exactly constitutes "African" culture at all. Because biological race mixture accelerated and cultural assimilation proceeded so quickly during the colonial and national periods, the application of racial categories describing Africans and their descendants remains as much a problem for social scientists today as it did for colonial and national authorities in prior centuries. In one's efforts to remember something "African," one must not forget that these people also have indigenous and European ancestries. Ignoring these various elements of Latin American heritage would be just as harmful as obscuring their African heritage. In reality, many of the authors cited in this bibliography recognize this fact.

Although we argue that scholars have made great strides in researching the frontiers or edges of the African diaspora during the last few decades, we would also advocate the need for further investigations on the history of blacks in these countries. The body of work produced will perhaps never achieve the depth or intensity of discussions generated among scholars concerned with other regions traditionally associated with Afro-Latin America, especially Brazil, Cuba, and the circum-Caribbean. As the following bibliography affirms, however, we are closer today to such discussions as the volume
of scholarship accumulates, the quality of research questions improves, and research methods become more sophisticated. How these theoretical and methodological challenges are engaged and resolved today are critical to the content and focus of future studies, and to a proper understanding of the African experience in Mexico and Argentina.

NOTES


2. Numerous comparisons have been made between the northern and southern “edges” or “frontiers” of the Spanish-American Empire. For the conceptualization and importance of the study of the “edge” of Spanish America, consult Donna Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan, eds., *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edge of the Spanish Empire* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998).


7. Timothy Harding et al., *Black Latin America: A Bibliography* (Los Angeles: California State University, 1977). This work was published as the result of a course taught by Timothy Harding and Donald Bray in the spring of 1973 at the University of California at Los Angeles in anticipation of the First Congress of Black Culture in the Americas at Cali, Colombia.


18. Nicolás Palacios, La raza chilena: Libros escrito por un chileno para los chilenos (Santiago: Ediciones Colchagua, 1987).


20. For a salient discussion of race and national identity in postindependence Latin America, see Peter Wade, Race and Ethnicity in Latin America (London: Pluto Press, 1997), pp. 80–94.


28. Martinez Montiel calls for history books in Mexico to be rewritten to include more about the contributions of blacks. See her article “Un imperativo para la educación: Reescribir nuestra historia cultural. La pluralidad del mestizaje,” in III encuentro nacional de afroamericanistas, ed. Luz María Montiel and Juan Carlos Reyes García (Colima, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Colima, Consejo Nacional para la Cultural y las Artes, 1993), pp. 20–39.

29. A debate exists as to whether or not Falucho actually existed. For two contrasting positions, see Marcos Estrada, El Cabo Segundo Antonio Ruiz (a.) “Falucho” (Buenos Aires: Talleres Gráficos Julio Kaufman, 1964); and Pedro Olgo Ochoa, “El Invento de Falucho,” Todo es Historia 4, no. 41 (September 1970): 32–39. What is significant is that the founder of Argentine historiography, Mitre, selected an Afro-Argentine as a symbol of heroism and national pride.


32. For example, see Mónica Mansour, La Poesía negrissa (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1973); and José Luis González, Poesía negra de América (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1976).

33. Casta paintings have been the subject of numerous discussions on the Latin American history Internet discussion group called H-LATAM. For a collection of these paintings from all over colonial Latin America, with an emphasis on Mexico, see Ilona Katzew, curator, New World Orders: Casta Paintings and Colonial Latin America (New York: Americas Society Art Gallery, 1996).


10. Invisible but Not Forgotten: Afro-Platines and Their Historiography

Roberto Pacheco

It is often asserted in the academic literature on Argentina and Uruguay that the presence and role of blacks in the development of these nations is overlooked. However, Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans contributed greatly to their respective national economies, societies, and cultures. First, they were the slaves, artisans, and peons whose toil allowed for the region’s economic development from colonial backwater to metropolitan entrepôt. Second, they were the soldiers whose blood and sacrifices forged independent nation-states from colonies of Spain. Third, they were the musicians, writers, and artists whose works enriched, enlightened, and entertained both countries’ citizens. Moreover, even the symbols of nationhood in the Río de la Plata, namely the gaucho and the tango, were influenced by the genius of Africans and their American offspring.

Perhaps the most often asked question by Argentines (and to a lesser extent Uruguayans), foreigners, and scholars alike is what happened to blacks in the River Plate? Given their historical presence dating to the conquest and colonization and their significant numbers until well into the nineteenth century, how did they “disappear”? Another question involves the basis for their disappearance. Did a racist and hegemonic state undertake a genocidal policy aimed at the destruction of the black communities of Argentina and Uruguay? Also, did the writers of “official” history simply eliminate them from the historical record as a means of eliminating them from the imaginario social of the nation? In short, was history (and historiography) “whitewashed”? Are Platine intellectual nation builders and subsequent historians guilty of committing a kind of “cultural genocide” aimed at finishing off the work of racist social theorists and politicians? These questions are central to understanding the black experience in Argentina and Uruguay from the sixteenth century to the present.

The gradual disappearance of blacks, especially in Argentina, during the nineteenth century reflects a complex interaction of historical processes. The statistical demographics are well known by scholars: in 1778, Afro-Argentines represented 29.7 percent of the population of the city of Buenos Aires, or a total of 7,236; by 1827, although their numbers increased slightly to 8,321, they made up 19.5 percent of the city’s inhabitants; in 1887, as a result of
massive state-sanctioned European immigration, blacks accounted for just 1.8 percent of the population, although their numbers from 1827 to 1887 remained around 8,000.¹ No single explanation suffices to account for the displacement of a once demographically and socially viable (and visible) segment of the population of Buenos Aires and Argentina’s littoral.

The most common reasons cited by social historians to account for the elimination of Afro-Argentines (and to a lesser extent Afro-Uruguayans) are the early termination of the slave trade, which limited new African arrivals; the high mortality rates suffered by Afro-Argentines, as a result of military deaths and disease among adults and infant mortality; miscegenation, which gradually whitened the population and allowed some blacks to “pass” for whites; and acculturation and/or assimilation, which “whitened” blacks socially and complemented (and completed) biological assimilation. Of these factors, the last two (and the mistaken idea that Afro-Argentines were used as carne de cañón [cannon fodder] on the battlefields of Argentina and Uruguay) are the most often cited by academics and Argentines. Others favor the interaction of these factors; for instance, the dearth of black males as a result of military deaths left black women no suitable mate alternatives than the poor European males arriving in Buenos Aires and Montevideo at the end of the nineteenth century, hastening the process of miscegenation.²

However, George Reid Andrews, an expert on the social history of Afro-Argentines, argues that while there is a germ of truth to all these different explanations for the disappearance of blacks in Buenos Aires in particular (and the River Plate generally), he maintains that the elimination of African Argentines was in fact a chronicle of a death foretold, a part of a nation-building strategy aimed at forgetting nonwhites and their contributions to the nation-state. Andrews’s argument essentially revolves around the twin concepts of “passing” and historical “forgottenness.” On the one hand, he asserts that blacks did not in fact disappear over the course of the nineteenth century, rather census takers and state officials undercounted blacks on purpose to artificially whiten their population. In addition, blacks themselves often passed for white or trigueño (literally meaning wheat-colored or bronzed skinned) as a means of escaping the bondage of blackness. On the other hand, the state and its intellectual architects eliminated Afro-Argentines from the history books or represented them in negative ways aimed at their historical marginalization. For instance, Andrews suggests that historians have either ignored or misrepresented the contributions of black soldiers. Therefore, the effect of these individual decisions and collective programs was to eliminate Afro-Argentines from the national consciousness or imaginario nacional and perpetuate the myth of Argentina as a white and European nation.³

Andrews is certainly correct in emphasizing the role of the state in constructing “whitened” discourses of race and nation, especially in the formative nineteenth century. The seminal studies of Winthrop R. Wright on Venezuela,
Thomas E. Skidmore on Brazil, and Peter Wade on Colombia examine the constructions of race and national identity in these countries, concentrating on the role of intellectual elites in their forging. Literacy scholars, moreover, have credibly established the role of “foundational fictions” in inventing national identity in Latin America. In Argentina, as Marta B. Goldberg shows, depictions of Afro-Argentines range from the heroic to the barbaric. The writings of the Argentine Generation of ’37 and Generation of ’80, however, were the most severe in their portrayal of blacks. Blacks, for example, are characterized as spies for caudillo Juan Manuel de Rosas by José Mármol in Amalia and as butchers (of Unitarists) and offal collectors in Esteban Echeverría’s El matadero. Echeverría condemned “esa base humana degradada en la que la tiranía de Rosas asentaba su poder.” Afro-Argentines were intimately associated with Rosas’s federalist dictatorship, which forced into exile Echeverría and Domingo F. Sarmiento, among others. These nineteenth-century liberal and positivist ideologues conceived of an Argentine nation that would progress socially and economically only by remaking itself in the image of Great Britain or France (although Sarmiento most admired the United States). Blacks by way of their inferior race and political affiliation to the dictator Rosas and federalism, according to Andrews, Graebner, and Aline Helg, were written out of the nation-building project. This accounts for their supposed disappearance and absence from the collective memory of the Argentine nation.

Andrews’s hypothesis, while innovative and challenging, fails to account for the pace of race mixture in Argentina well before the period of massive, state-sanctioned European immigration at the end of the 1800s and the almost ubiquitous references to blacks in contemporary historical documents and subsequent historiography. As Emiliano Endrek shows for Córdoba and Tucumán, race mixing was well under way by the end of the colonial period. However, the most serious critique of Andrews’s hypothesis comes from Lowell Gudmundson. He notes the gradual whitening of the black populations of Argentina and Costa Rica in the first half of the nineteenth century. Essentially, Gudmundson posits that notwithstanding the positivist, racist, and social Darwinist ideologies of nineteenth-century nation builders, the blanqueamiento or whitening of blacks in Costa Rica and Argentina did not in fact necessitate massive European immigration. He demonstrates that in the case of Buenos Aires, Argentina, miscegenation was accelerating by the start of the nineteenth century, before the end of the colonial period and long before the Generation of ’37 came into power. “Clearly,” comments Gudmundson, “the earlier nineteenth century process of assimilation had been nearly completed, so that the role of Italian immigrants was neither really critical nor much resented.” This argument is seconded by the distinguished Uruguayan Marxist scholar Carlos Rama, who asserts that the breakdown of the colonial system of castes and the rise of capitalism accelerated the acculturation of Afro-Uruguayans by the early national period.
Another difficulty with Andrews’s thesis is his use of the term “trigueño to almost universally mean black, mulatto, or colored. While it is true that trigueño was and is used as a euphemism for black, the term itself is or was not necessarily racial. Trigueño could in fact mean dark-skinned white, and is used as such throughout Spanish America and Spain. Andrews and Francisco Morrone provide evidence of Afro-Argentine officers, for example, who whiten ed themselves or their offspring, passing socially for white. Interesting, however, is the mention of both trigueños and pardos in the same military units and companies, clearly suggesting a social distinction between trigueño (white) and pardo (mulatto or black). At what point did trigueños become white or at least not black? Andrews’s essentialist definition of blackness, going so far as to describe Bernardino Rivadavia as black, would seem to go against the prevailing social science notion that race, far from a biological or genetic phenomenon, is in fact a social construction, molded by time and place. Certainly, Dr. Rivadavia was not generally considered, nor did he consider himself, an Afro-Argentine. Although his political enemies referred to him as “Dr. Chocolate,” this was in fact more of a political smear than an objective statement of his race and as such should not be accepted uncritically, as Andrews does. Even the blonde, blue-eyed Juan Manuel de Rosas was often called a “mulatto” by Unitarist political rivals. 9

Andrews also seems to miss the inherent contradiction of a racist and color-conscious society in which blacks can easily pass as whites. He characterizes black ancestry as a “heavy cross to bear” in nineteenth-century Buenos Aires. Therefore, he reasons, only a rare person of color would pass on the chance to pass for white. However, Malcolm Deas notes, “only a rare heavy cross can quite so easily be shrugged off.”10 If Andrews is correct, then blackness was not as heavy a burden as he intimates, since many nineteenth-century Afro-Argentines easily passed as whites.

Furthermore, the claims by Andrews and others that blacks have been forgotten for ideological reasons of national identity are somewhat overstated.11 Ironically, Andrews juxtaposes the following contradictory observations. Writing on the contributions of Afro-Argentines in the military, he accurately notes that to recognize black participation in the making of the nation entitles them to equality as citizens, which is “obviously undesirable in societies [such as Argentina’s] dedicated to maintaining racial inequality.” Curiously, within one sentence, Andrews admits that “few Argentine historians have failed to mention the importance of black soldiers in the nation’s military past.”12 In reality, the sacrifices of African Argentine soldiers were regularly lauded by their contemporaries. For example, La Gaceta Mercantil—one of Buenos Aires’s most important dailies in the colonial and early national periods—in 1836 published a moving funeral ode to Colonel Manuel Barbarín, the gallant black officer and hero of the defense of Buenos Aires against the British in 1807: “Pues hoy la patria en luto infortunado / Se dispone a cantar el triste
himno / Con que distingue al hijo denodado / Que de tal nombre mereció ser digno / Sin reparar de clase o condición / Si sostuvo sus leyes y opinión.” In fact, the role of black Argentines in founding the nation has been recognized since the beginning of the nineteenth century, quite contrary to Andrews’s asseverations.

Pantaleón Rivarola dedicated a moving paean to the slaves who defended Buenos Aires against the British in 1806–1807, “Romance de la defensa.” Recalling the heroism of Pablo Jiménez, Rivarola writes: “Pablo Jiménez, esclavo pardo . . . / He killed, by himself, two Englishmen, / battling body to body / and saved his poor brother.” What of Juan Bautista Alberdi’s laments for the heroic sacrifices rendered by black infantrymen? Whether or not Bartolomé Mitre invented the character of Faluco (a.k.a. Antonio Ruiz) as a symbol of black patriotism or whether the slave recruit in fact existed is not as meaningful as his inclusion in the pantheon of national heroes. That the father of the Argentine nation and its historiography would devote so many eloquent pages to a black slave is in itself an act of commemoration. What should scholars make of Sarmiento’s descriptions of the black Colonel Lorenzo Barcala as a paragon of manliness, virtue, and “civilization”? Would it not have been more ideologically convenient for this quintessential nineteenth-century positivist to forget, or at least ignore, “El Caballero Negro’s” virtues? Why not simply lump Barcala in with the blacks depicted in Mármol’s Amalia or Echeverría’s El matadero? In fact, even such negative or stereotypical characterizations of blacks in Mármol and Echeverría and other national classics do not necessarily constitute forgetting on the part of nation builders or subsequent historians.

Ironically, by the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, Afro-Argentines (and gauchos) were reinvented by right-wing nationalists as symbols of argentinidad or Argentine national identity. Whereas nineteenth-century liberals generally depicted blacks and gauchos as forces of cultural and political barbarism and backwardness, later nationalists including Leopoldo Lugones, Ricardo Rojas, and Manuel Gálvez resurrected them from their historically despised position and exalted them as paragons of national virtue. The new Argentine elite no longer needed to fear the gaucho or the Afro-Argentine by the end of the nineteenth century. The new enemies of the then nascent Argentine state were the Europeans (many of them central and eastern European Jews) and their radical social and political ideologies, including socialism, Marxism, and anarcho-syndicalism. Blacks and gauchos were now viewed with a certain nostalgia by national elites as loyal and faithful, true Argentines as opposed to foreigners. Víctor Gálvez (pseudonym for Vicente Quesada), writing in 1883, even asserted the racial and intellectual superiority of Argentine blacks over Africans: “La raza negra que se conocía en estas provincias y especialmente en la capital, era de tipo superior á la deforme raza negra de Dakar.” Notwithstanding his social Darwinist ideas and paternalism,
Gálvez’s attitude reveals that far from overlooked, blacks in late-nineteenth-century Argentina were remembered nostalgically as beloved (if socially inferior) members of the nation.  

In Uruguay, the loyal blacks who followed their leader José Gervasio Artigas into exile, especially Ansina, are also remembered as patriots, as are the blacks who fought with the “Immortal 33” against the Brazilian invasion of the Uruguayan nation. Black troops fought for independence from Spain, on both sides of the Uruguayan civil war, against the Brazilian Empire, and against their cousins in Paraguay during the infamous War of the Triple Alliance or Paraguayan War. The death of former Uruguayan president Manuel Oribe in 1857 produced a letter signed by several “hombres de color que habían sido sus soldados” to his widow:

¡Nuestro sentimiento, Señora, es muy grande!! Vd. ha perdido un esposo, la patria uno de sus hijos más acérrimos defensores, los hombres de nuestra estripe un padre, un protector y un benévolo amigo. . . . Los hombres de color lo lloran y lo lloraran mientras vivan y su alma recibirá allá, sí allá, la recompenesa debida a su mérito; pero vive . . . vive sí, para Vd. y para su respetable familia y en el corazón de los verdaderos Orientales amigos de la patria. . . . Consolaos, Señora, mientras nosotros los hombres de color, reprimimos en nuestros agredidos corazones el dolor que nos lacera.

Blacks in the River Plate, furthermore, have been remembered not only for their military sacrifices to the nation-states of Argentina and Uruguay, but also for their contributions to the culture of the region. Africans and their descendants shaped the language and speech, music and dance, and popular religion and folklore of the Río de la Plata countries. Similar to what Robin Moore has discussed with popular (that is, Afro-Cuban) music in early-twentieth-century Havana and labeled as the “nationalizing of blackness,” John Chasteen recently writes that by the 1920s, tango became recognized as an “unofficial national symbol” in Argentina. What is significant here is Chasteen’s timing of tango’s “nationalization” to the 1920s.  Rather than ignoring the tango’s African heritage, as early as 1926, Vicente Rossi was already affirming and defending the black contributions to this “national” musical genre’s birth and evolution. Consequently, Narciso Binayán Carmona reminds his compatriots, “toda definición de argentinidad implica también una de negritud.”

Rather than forgotten historically and/or historiographically, African Argentines and Uruguayans have been victims of their own successful integration into national society, persistent problems with racism and discrimination notwithstanding. Blacks in Argentina and Uruguay were in reality subjected to demographic and social pressures that favored their biological and cultural assimilation. In fact, blacks in the River Plate were rendered practically invisible as a result of centuries of miscegenation and acculturation, in the process evidencing the “double consciousness” of nationality and race so common
among blacks in the New World described by W. E. B. Du Bois. In his seminal Morenada, Lanuza writes that blacks in Argentina and Uruguay “acabaron por disolverse en ella [la sociedad] como . . . canela en el tazón de arroz con leche.” The rich and diverse academic and popular literature on slavery and blacks in the River Plate in fact belies the notion of “forgottenness.”

In a recent survey of academic literature on Afro-Platines (published between 1999 and 2003), more than one hundred titles were found. Fields of study included history, literature and cultural studies, religion and folklore, and music and the arts. Most of the titles were written in Spanish, and the majority was published in Argentina or Uruguay. Most of these sources proved difficult to retrieve. This has consequences for what scholars have labeled as the “production of knowledge.” Equally important, however, is the distribution or dissemination of knowledge. Often, scholarship produced in developing regions and in languages other than English (the lingua franca of academia) tends to be overlooked (not even appearing in comprehensive databases like those noted below) by academics in Europe and the United States. This has led some to believe that Afro-Platines have been ignored or forgotten when in fact, with a little “old-fashioned” research, a treasure trove of titles on their history and culture is available to the scholar assiduous enough to dig for it. But dig he or she must. This scholarship is, then, much like blacks in the River Plate, generally invisible.

To recognize black participation in building the nation is to acknowledge contributions entitling African Argentines and African Uruguayans to civil rights and full equality with whites, thereby ending their invisibility. One need not belittle the historical or current plight of blacks in the River Plate by appreciating both the quantity and quality of research devoted to their history and culture. Instead such scholarship serves to highlight their importance to the nation-states of Argentina and Uruguay, and therefore the debt owed them by their governments and fellow citizens. Therefore, while Afro-Argentines and Afro-Uruguayans may be invisible, they are, regardless of Andrews’s assertion, certainly not forgotten.

NOTES


19. Narciso Binayán Carmona, “El negro,” *Todo es Historia* 21, no. 242 (July 1987): 60. See Vicente Rossi, *Cosas de negros; los orígenes del tango y otros aportes al folklore rioplatense* (Córdoba, Argentina: Imprenta Argentina, 1926). Rossi has been unfairly and anachronistically attacked by recent scholars as a racist for employing the derogatory phrase “cosas de negros” in his title. By projecting their own contemporary and politically correct values on Rossi, these academics overlook his valorizing of black culture in the River Plate.


11. América Latina en centros de estudios internacionales españoles: líneas de investigación y publicaciones

Jesús Alonso-Regalado

Introducción

La existencia de centros de estudios internacionales no es algo nuevo en el ámbito español. La actualidad y complejidad de las relaciones internacionales han sido objeto de especial atención por parte de centros tales como institutos afiliados con universidades, organismos que forman parte de estructuras gubernamentales, fundaciones privadas, asociaciones profesionales, grupos de interés, institutos próximos a partidos políticos e instituciones dependientes de organismos internacionales.

Este artículo pretende ofrecer un panorama general de las líneas de investigación y publicaciones sobre América Latina en estos centros. Asimismo, se hace especial hincapié en los recursos documentales que distribuyen a través de sus sitios web y en su utilidad como fuente de información en el ámbito académico.

Líneas de investigación sobre América Latina

En las últimas décadas se han producido importantes transformaciones políticas y económicas en América Latina debido en gran medida a los procesos de globalización. Esta nueva realidad determina las líneas de trabajo de los centros de estudios internacionales españoles. La integración económica, las transformaciones políticas, las relaciones América Latina-España y América Latina-Europa se perfilan como algunos de los temas más recurrentes.

El mundo académico no ha sido ajeno a estas transformaciones. Nuevos campos de investigación han aparecido en nuestras universidades que se han denominado de distintas maneras: estudios globales, internacionales y transnacionales. En este contexto, los estudios regionales (area studies) se han tenido que redefinir a la luz de los procesos de globalización. Los programas académicos reflejan esta nueva situación que provoca una creciente perspectiva interdisciplinaria y transcultural. Desde nuestras bibliotecas universitarias, ¿cómo podemos apoyar a la investigación y la docencia? ¿Qué tipo de fuentes de información se pueden ofrecer a la comunidad universitaria que reflejen los continuos cambios que se producen a nivel mundial?
Publicaciones de centros de estudios internacionales: posibilidades de uso en universidades

Imaginemos que un usuario potencial esté interesado en analizar la situación actual de la política exterior de Venezuela desde una perspectiva diferente a la ofrecida por los Estados Unidos.

Libros y publicaciones periódicas: este es el binomio básico que sugeriríamos a cualquier usuario que esté realizando una búsqueda genérica sobre un tema. Ante preguntas más específicas, podríamos referirlo a recursos tales como publicaciones oficiales, bancos de datos, recursos audiovisuales y bases de datos como Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO). Esta base de datos nos facilitaría algunos informes y documentos de trabajo pertinentes pero no sería una fuente exhaustiva porque sólo recoge de manera muy selectiva documentos en inglés.

Otra de las posibilidades sería remitirle a diarios de ámbito nacional e internacional pero este tipo de fuentes, aunque incluyen información de actualidad, apenas ofrecen análisis en profundidad. El usuario ha intentado localizar fuentes de información en la web a través de motores de búsqueda pero duda de la calidad de las fuentes. Llegados a este punto, ¿qué tipo de recursos de información podemos sugerirle?

Los centros de estudios internacionales ofrecen fuentes de información que contienen información actualizada y analítica sobre la actualidad y los estudios internacionales (economía, política, seguridad, cooperación y desarrollo, terrorismo, demografía, etc.). Estas publicaciones no son sólo de utilidad para cuestiones concernientes al presente. Sus análisis en muchas ocasiones tienen un carácter prospectivo que permite vislumbrar las tendencias de investigación en el futuro. La existencia de este tipo de centros en numerosos países permite que se difundan otras perspectivas sobre las relaciones internacionales. Desde un punto de vista didáctico, estas fuentes de información ofrecen innumerables posibilidades para desarrollar en las aulas: debates, presentaciones, etc.

Gracias a las nuevas tecnologías de la información, estos centros ofrecen una extensa variedad de publicaciones (análisis, documentos de trabajo, obras de referencia, encuestas, etc.) a través de sus sitios web. El usuario podrá acceder así de manera rápida a fuentes de información que apoyen su investigación. De todas formas, un análisis crítico será siempre necesario a la hora de dilucidar el carácter y los propósitos de la entidad que publica. Hay que tener en cuenta que muchos centros de investigación se decantan por una línea de pensamiento determinada.

Como ayuda al usuario, resultaría de gran utilidad incluir los enlaces a estos centros de estudios internacionales en los sitios web de nuestras bibliotecas donde se puedan añadir anotaciones precisando la misión y objetivos de cada centro.
Centros de estudios internacionales españoles

En España hay un número creciente de este tipo de centros. Su audiencia es muy diversa: políticos, profesionales del servicio exterior, consultores, medios de comunicación, el mundo académico, el sector económico y el público en general. Estos centros llevan a cabo investigación, generan propuestas de acción y estimulan el debate sobre temas de ámbito internacional.

Especial atención se presta a la difusión de sus publicaciones a través de sitios web con versiones tanto en español como en inglés. Asimismo, estos centros distribuyen información y enlaces a los textos completos de sus nuevas publicaciones por medio de suscripciones electrónicas a sus boletines. Algunas de sus publicaciones también están disponibles en formato impreso. Hay que señalar este tipo de publicaciones se encuentran mínimamente representadas en las bibliotecas universitarias estadounidenses.

América Latina es una de las áreas de investigación más comunes en los centros de investigación españoles no sólo por un pasado histórico en común sino también por los lazos culturales, sociales, políticos y económicos que nos siguen uniendo y que seguirán presentes en el futuro. Por motivos de brevedad, me voy a centrar en dos centros españoles que incluyen a América Latina como una de sus áreas de investigación prioritarias.

Real Instituto Elcano de Estudios Internacionales y Estratégicos

El Real Instituto Elcano (RIE; http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org) es una fundación privada e independiente cuyo objetivo consiste en estudiar los intereses de España en el contexto internacional. El instituto comienza su andadura en el año 2002. A pesar de su corta vida, se ha convertido en un foco muy activo tanto en la generación de investigaciones y su distribución como en la organización de actividades relacionadas con los estudios internacionales y estratégicos.

Desde sus comienzos, el Real Instituto Elcano ha apostado decididamente por las posibilidades que ofrecen las tecnologías de la información. A este respecto, el sitio web del instituto se ha convertido en el principal medio de distribución de su investigación. Todas sus publicaciones están disponibles gratuitamente a través de su sitio web y únicamente una selección de las mismas se distribuye también en papel. El instituto también incluye enlaces externos a documentos relacionados con temas afines al instituto (conocidos como materiales de interés). De especial utilidad son los enlaces a documentos primarios tales como discursos políticos, planes estatales, resoluciones y protocolos.

América Latina es una de las áreas prioritarias de trabajo en el instituto. Los temas en los que se trabaja con especial atención son: relaciones bilaterales España-países de América Latina, relaciones América Latina-Unión Europea, Integración (MERCOSUR, ALCA), conflicto colombiano, transición en Cuba, la lengua española en la política regional, hispanos en los Estados
Unidos y cooperación española en los procesos de consolidación democrática. Fruto de este interés por América Latina, se ha creado un grupo de trabajo que recientemente ha presentado un informe sobre la política española hacia América Latina. Este informe incide en la idea de primar lo bilateral para ganar lo global. Pretende ser una mirada al futuro de las relaciones entre España y los países latinoamericanos en el que se sugiere una serie de recomendaciones.

El análisis y discusión en el área de investigación de América Latina se traduce en una amplia variedad de documentos publicados por el instituto. Se producen dos tipos básicos:

- **Los Análisis del Real Instituto Elcano (ARIs)**, estudios breves que tratan cuestiones de máxima actualidad en el campo de las relaciones internacionales.

- **Los Documentos de Trabajo (DT)**, estudios académicos extensos que exponen temas en profundidad.

Otras publicaciones de gran interés que produce el instituto para todos aquellos interesados en América Latina son:

- **Anuario Elcano América Latina** (bienal). “Dividido en dos secciones: política y económica, reúne las colaboraciones de destacados autores que a través de análisis regionales y nacionales, dan cuenta de los cambios ocurridos en la región en los últimos años así como de la evolución de las relaciones entre España y América Latina. Además, el Anuario incluye también un Anexo de fichas país en las que se recogen los datos políticos y económicos de cada país”.

- **Barómetro del Real Instituto Elcano** (BRIE). Se trata de una encuesta cuatrimestral sobre las opiniones y actitudes de los españoles en cuestiones relativas a las relaciones internacionales y la política exterior española. Con respecto a América Latina, el barómetro ha incluido hasta ahora preguntas sobre las inversiones españolas, los efectos del ALCA, la cooperación, y la imagen de Argentina, Brasil, Chile y México.


Brevemente, me gustaría destacar que el RIE está desarrollando un buscador semántico especializado en los estudios internacionales. A diferencia de buscadores que recuperan documentos que incluyen una serie de palabras clave, el buscador semántico proporciona respuestas precisas a preguntas específicas. Preguntas como cuáles son los ministros de México o a qué organizaciones internacionales pertenece Argentina serán recuperadas automáticamente por el buscador semántico sin necesidad de navegar por una serie de documentos de los cuales desconocemos su fiabilidad y actualización.
Centro de investigación, docencia, documentación y divulgación de relaciones internacionales y desarrollo (Fundació CIDOB)

El CIDOB (http://www.cidob.org/) se crea en el año 1973, como una organización no sólo centrada en la investigación, análisis y divulgación en el campo de las relaciones internacionales sino que también presta una especial atención a la docencia. En colaboración con universidades catalanas ofrece programas de posgrado, diplomaturas y cursos especializados.

La fundación cuenta con un programa especializado en América Latina cuya misión es “contribuir a fortalecer las capacidades de Cataluña y España para hacer aportaciones a los procesos de desarrollo social y económico y de consolidación democrática”.5

La línea general de trabajo durante el período 2005–2007 es “Modelos de Estado, Actores y Globalización”.

Dentro de esta línea general se incluyen distintos temas:

• Configuración del estado (construcción, descentralización territorial y política de gestión de los recursos humanos en el sector público)
• Control del territorio y políticas de seguridad
• Globalización económica: comercio exterior, innovación, e integración regional
• Democracia, gobernabilidad y participación social

Estos temas se desarrollan en la fundación a través de la investigación y su difusión en debates, conferencias y publicaciones. Asimismo, los programas docentes en los que participa el CIDOB incluyen cursos relacionados con ellos.

Las publicaciones del CIDOB sobre América Latina están íntimamente relacionadas con las líneas de investigación planificadas para un periodo determinado. Se organizan en las siguientes series y/o tipologías:

• Serie Documentos CIDOB—América Latina. Actualmente incluye varios documentos de trabajo sobre temas relacionados con la política, la economía internacional y los movimientos indígenas. Disponibles en formato PDF a través del sitio web del CIDOB.


• Anuario internacional CIDOB (1989–). Publicación dirigida a investigadores interesados en los estudios internacionales. El contenido se estructura en tres grandes apartados: relaciones exteriores de España, la nueva Europa y coyuntura internacional, cada uno de los cuales está formado por artículos y anexos complementarios que proporcionan un balance económico y político del año. Cada anuario incluye siempre información sobre América Latina organizada en las distintas secciones del mismo. Disponibles en formato PDF desde el año 1994.

Con respecto a recursos electrónicos accesibles a través del sitio web del CIDOB, es digno de mención el directorio Biografias de Líderes Políticos http://www.cidob.org/bios/. Incluye información sobre líderes políticos organizados alfabéticamente tanto por nombre como por país. De especial utilidad es el apartado dedicado a dirigentes en ejercicio.

NOTAS

1. La terminología para denominar a este tipo de centros es muy variada. En Latinoamérica, se les suele conocer como centros de pensamiento. En los Estados Unidos, es bastante frecuente la utilización de la expresión think tank. En Europa, los términos más frecuentes son: centro (o instituto) de estudios internacionales o asuntos internacionales o relaciones internacionales y/o estratégicos.

2. Para localizar información sobre centros de estudios internacionales, se sugieren las siguientes fuentes accesibles en la red (abril 12, 2005):


• NIRA's World Directory of Think Tanks (Cobertura: Internacional), http://www.nira.go.jp/ice/nwdtt/.

• Political Science Resources: Think Tanks (Cobertura: Fundamentalmente EE. UU.), http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/psthink.html.

• The WWW Virtual Library: International Affairs Resources (Cobertura: Internacional), http://www2.etown.edu/vl/research.html.
• EINIRAS Members (European Information Network on International Relations and Area Studies), http://www.einiras.net/about/members/members.htm.


12. Rol de la mujer mapuche en su comunidad

Marta Domínguez Díaz

"Yo soy india—dijo en una oportunidad Gabriela Mistral a Ciro Alegría—pero a mucha gente no le gusta que lo diga". Para ella, el origen étnico-racial concentra la memoria histórica y la identidad del continente americano. El indio simboliza la esencia de la raza indoespañola, es el comienzo del mestizaje y parte inicial del patrimonio cultural de América.

Refiriéndonos en particular a Chile, Gabriela jamás negó sus raíces. Ella representa el arquetipo del mestizo que se siente cómodo con su indio personal y es el mejor ejemplo del injerto racial en el Chile indoespañol, producto del descubrimiento, conquista y colonización española.

Considerando que para el historiador francés Marc Bloch, "es necesario comprender el presente por el pasado", comenzaremos con un poco de historia.

Sabemos que casi la totalidad de los primeros 100 años, desde el arribo de los españoles a Chile (1536), fueron de guerra entre éstos y los pueblos autóctonos, especialmente con el pueblo “mapuche”, palabra del mapudungu que significa hijos de la tierra. Tras este periodo, comenzaron a aparecer los primeros planes de paz y en el año 1641 se reunieron por primera vez españoles y mapuches en las Paces de Quilín. En este Parlamento, España se compromete a respetar como frontera entre ambas naciones al río Bío-Bío y reconocer la autonomía e independencia del territorio mapuche o Araucanía, que compromete las tierras al sur del Bío-Bío hasta el río Toltén. Sin embargo, este Parlamento y otros posteriores no fueron respetados plenamente por los soldados virreinales que comenzaron a apoderarse de tierras indígenas. No obstante, los mapuche lograron permanecer independientes de España por espacio de 260 años. Sin embargo, tras un periodo de paz inestable y como consecuencia de la rebelión indígena de 1793, la usurpación de tierras se agudiza, con la imposición a los caciques mapuches huilliches de un tratado de paz, mediante el cual se les obliga a ceder territorio y someterse a la jurisdicción de la Corona. Se inicia así, un agresivo plan español para poblar los terrenos indígenas, obtenidos por el tratado de paz, o bien, por adquisición de ellos, pese a las prohibiciones establecidas en el mismo tratado. La concentración de tierras fue tan grande que el entonces gobernador de Chile, Ambrosio O’Higgins declaraba en 1801: “los españoles se han dedicado con porfía a comprar potreros . . . no quedan ya en poder de los indios más que las tierras necesarias para su precisa subsistencia".
Luego de la declaración de la independencia de Chile (1810), Bernardo O’Higgins dicta un decreto por medio del cual se “transforma a los indígenas en ciudadanos chilenos de pleno derecho”.6 Este instrumento fue válido para los indígenas del norte (picunches), que fueron reducidos a pueblos de indios, rematadas sus tierras y luego absorbidos por el sistema de haciendas, tanto que, a mitad del siglo XIX, nada los diferenciaba del resto de los campesinos chilenos. Sin embargo, en el territorio mapuche del sur, el decreto fue impracticable y posteriormente, sólo dio origen a disputas por tierras.

Terminadas las guerras de la Independencia, con un gobierno chileno abocado a consolidar el país en el centro del territorio nacional, se deja pendiente “la cuestión mapuche”, lo que trae durante cuarenta años, más tiempos de paz que de guerra al pueblo mapuche. Poco a poco, avanza la economía agraria desde el centro del país hacia el sur y se va gestando una suerte de “colonización hormiga” que penetra las tierras indígenas: numerosos colonos traspasan “pacíficamente” el Bío-Bío para asentarse en territorio mapuche. Éste es, por una parte, el periodo de mayor florecimiento de la ganadería mapuche, el tiempo de riqueza que recuerdan las familias mapuche; las fronteras se mantienen abiertas al comercio y éste se realiza a gran escala.

El Estado pone en marcha una política de consolidación territorial, a través de instrumentos legales, como los Títulos de Comisario y los Títulos de Merced. Los primeros disponían que “lo actual poseído, según ley por los indígenas, se les declare en perpetua y segura propiedad . . . y que las tierras sobrantes se sacarán a pública subasta”.7 Estos títulos permitieron entregar a colonos alemanes, llegados a la zona de conflicto en 1558, las tierras no tituladas que fueron consideradas fiscales. Los segundos títulos, o de Merced, se dictaron como parte de la llamada Política de Radicación que consistía en fijar en un lugar determinado a las familias indígenas locales o comunidades, es decir, circunscribirlas a espacios predeterminados y reducidos, que sólo permitían la agricultura. A partir de la primera Ley de Títulos de Merced (1866) se vislumbran las características que tendrá más tarde toda la legislación indigenista chilena: el carácter enajenable de la tierra indígena; la no priorización de las comunidades frente a los títulos individuales; la posible división de las comunidades y el nombramiento, por parte del Estado, de un intermediario, llamado Protector de Indígenas, que generalmente será un colono, defensor de sus propios intereses.8 Al respecto, el actual Consejo de Todas las Tierras declara: “Con la entrega de estos títulos, comenzó la división de tierras. El Estado chileno se ha diferenciado del resto de los Estados latinoamericanos porque no ha permitido el reconocimiento constitucional de las tierras colectivas, entendiéndolas éstas como un espacio de unidad colectiva de un conjunto de familias que están reguladas por sus propios patrones culturales”.9 Esta unidad colectiva o Lof constituye el pilar de la identidad social (Kupalme o tronco familiar) y territorial (Tuwun o lugar de origen) de cada integrante del Lof, dándole el derecho a
la tierra o Walmapuché, territorio en donde nace y se funda la cultura mapuche y donde tiene vigencia el Mapudungu (habla de la tierra).

"Claramente, las medidas de radicación de las comunidades obedecían a un plan de división, de resquebrajamiento de la unidad comunitaria, mediante la imposición jurídica, durante la República, de los títulos de merced a cada Lof mapuche, apoyado por medidas militares de invasión territorial aniquilantes de los Lof".10 Las políticas de colonización territorial con extranjeros significaron el poblamiento de ciudades que comenzaban a nacer al interior del territorio mapuche, con el respaldo del Ejército chileno. La guerra civil de 1851, nuevas luchas electorales hacia el año 1859, un nuevo intento de revolución en las provincias del sur y, por sobre todo, los conflictos provocados por los nuevos colonos, llevaron a un alzamiento mapuche, que destruyó varias ciudades al sur del Bío-Bío. A partir de entonces, se determina la ocupación de la Araucanía, lo que significó 15 años de cruientes guerras, que culminan con la pérdida de los territorios independientes mapuches (1881) en Arauco. Tras varios enfrentamientos posteriores, marcados por el horror, la masacre y la ocupación definitiva de la Araucanía, "la derrota transforma a los mapuches en campesinos minifundistas y pobres del campo, los más pobres de Chile, quizá".11

Los interesados en la ocupación rápida de los territorios buscaban la dispersión y aislamiento de la población mapuche. Para ello, se decreta la "Araucanía Pacíficada" como propiedad fiscal, y se colonizan las tierras para ponerlas a producir, conforme a las necesidades del centro del país. El Estado intenta una rápida política de integración de los indígenas a la sociedad chilena y todos discuten la manera más eficaz para repartir tierras a los mapuches. Surge así la reducción, formada por la familia del cacique principal, sus allegados, vecinos y familias que vivían en el sector asignado. Mediante esta fórmula, los mapuches serán sometidos al rigor de la llamada "civilización".

Este sistema reduccional, no conocido sino hasta entonces por los mapuches, significó un desafío a la preservación de su cultura, una transformación socio-económica: sus espacios de producción y reproducción disminuyeron significativamente, y debieron cambiar sus costumbres, hábitos productivos y alimentación. Quedaron convertidos en pequeños campesinos pobres, con cultivos menores y una ganadería, exitosa en tiempos pasados, reducida a pequeña escala. La agricultura y cría de animales pasaron a ser —y lo son hasta hoy— sólo su base de subsistencia.

La sociedad mapuche del siglo XX será una minoría, encerrada en sus reservaciones, marginada por la chilena que, para no desaparecer, instituye entonces un "sistema de herencia de las tierras, siguiendo sus tradiciones, lo que le permite mantener la continuidad familiar sobre los terrenos de cultivo. Ésta es la base de la sociedad agrícola y campesina mapuche del siglo XX".12

Vemos, entonces, que este pueblo muestra gran versatilidad en la defensa de lo suyo. A través de 400 años, pone en juego sus habilidades negociadoras,
su capacidad de adaptación y su gran fuerza de resistencia, para mantener la vigencia de su estirpe y cultura.

A lo largo de la historia de Chile, nunca los mapuches han sido reconocidos constitucionalmente. La Constitución de 1980 hace un reconocimiento individual y no colectivo, por temor a tensiones políticas y constitucionales que provocarían “la consagración individualizada de colectivos sociales en la Constitución”. “Si bien es cierto que nuestra Carta Magna reconoce colectivos, como son los partidos políticos, la diferencia entre éstos y los ‘pueblos’ indígenas radica en que, los primeros, están sometidos a reglas abstractas y formalizadas. En cambio, los segundos son solamente ocho etnias y sus reglas no están formalizadas, al ser consuetudinarias”.

A partir del cambio de régimen político en 1990 con el advenimiento de la democracia, se crean nuevas institucionalidades: la Ley Indígena Nº 19.253, “consagra la protección, fomento y desarrollo de este sector de la población nacional para lo cual dispone la creación de la Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI), como servicio público, descentralizado, encargado de coordinar y ejecutar la acción del Estado a favor integral de las comunidades indígenas”. Para ello, “se dispuso en 2003, según la Ley de Presupuesto, 20 mil millones de pesos (el presupuesto destinado al Servicio Nacional de la Mujer), SERMAN, es poco más de 5 mil millones y el al Instituto Nacional de la Juventud cuenta con 2 mil millones de pesos”. Se crean otros instrumentos de reconocimiento y reconocimiento de los indígenas: la Comisión Especial de Pueblos Indígenas (CEPI), 1993; el Fondo de Desarrollo Indígena, 1993; la Oficina de Asuntos Indígenas con sede en la Región Metropolitana, Isla de Pascua y Punta Arenas; el Archivo General de Asuntos Indígenas; la Comisión Asesora en Temas de Desarrollo Indígena, Decreto Supremo Nº 122, 1999; el Grupo de Trabajo para los Pueblos Indígenas, Palacio de Moneda, 2000; y la Comisión de Verdad Histórica y Nuevo Trato, presidida por el ex-presidente Patricio Aylwin Azócar, 2001. Esta última instancia es creada por el Gobierno de Ricardo Lagos, mediante Decreto Supremo Nº 19, de 19 de enero de 2001, con la misión de elaborar un Informe que de cuenta de la historia de las relaciones entre el Estado y los indígenas chilenos, y sugiera propuestas y recomendaciones para una nueva política de Estado que permita avanzar hacia un nuevo trato entre el Estado, los pueblos indígenas y la sociedad chilena toda. En el mes de octubre 2002, la Comisión entregó al Gobierno su Informe, texto que puede consultarse en www.gobierno.cl/verdadhistorica/presentacion.html y que contempla la idea del reconocimiento constitucional de los pueblos indígenas, es decir, se reconocerían colectivos sociales y no individuos de origen indígena.

Hoy en día, el Estado de Chile reconoce como principales etnias indígenas del país a la Aymara, Atacameña, Quechua, Colla, Rapa Nui, Mapuche, Kawashkar y Yagan, mediante la Ley Indígena Nº 19.253. Son aymaras los indígenas pertenecientes a las comunidades andinas ubicadas principalmente en la I Región del país. Son atacameños los indígenas pertenecientes
a las comunidades existentes en los poblados del interior de la II Región de Atacama. Otras comunidades indígenas del norte son los quechuas y los collas. Los mapuche se encuentran repartidos por todo el país, pero preferentemente en las regiones VIII, IX y X, siendo su ciudad capital, Temuco. Son rapa nui o pascuenses, los miembros de la comunidad originaria de Isla de Pascua. Son indígenas de los canales australes, los yámanas o yaganes y los kawashkar o alacalufes.

Según el censo de 1992, de los trece millones trescientos cuarenta y ocho mil cuatrocientos un habitantes de Chile (13,348,401), un total de 998,385 personas mayores de 14 años reconocen pertenecer a alguna de las ocho etnias indígenas del país. De ellas, poco más de un 90% son mapuche, y de ellos, 357,330 son mujeres mayores de 14 años.16

Las cifras anteriores reflejan que casi un 26% de la población mapuche corresponde a mujeres que comenzarán un nuevo ciclo de fertilidad, “que se inicia cuando la niña llega a la pubertad. Este hecho, en la cultura mapuche, se celebra con el ritual de iniciación de la mujer, llamado Katan pilun”.17

En esta ceremonia la joven recibe, de su madre, la vestimenta mapuche y los lóbulos de sus orejas serán perforados para recibir su primer par de aros, adorno significativo entre los mapuche y que simboliza el inicio de su vida como mujer y el asumir un nuevo rol en la comunidad.18

Entonces, la mujer podrá contraer matrimonio, y pasará a ser un factor de unión entre los linajes, esto es, descendientes de un mismo ancestro, parientes y familias emparentadas. Hasta hoy en las comunidades más antiguas, las personas que allí viven tienen el mismo apellido o uno semejante que recuerda al antiguo linaje prereeducacional.19

En consecuencia, en términos históricos, la estructura social mapuche es un tejido de linajes patrilineales, es decir, la descendencia es por vía paterna, que se vinculan entre sí, mediante el intercambio de mujeres. “La exogamia (casamiento fuera del linaje) y la patrilocalidad (residencia de la mujer en la tierra del esposo) implica que ellas se movilizan de su familia de origen a la del marido”.

La mujer así, se convierte en nexo que une a los diversos agregados (alianza parental y alianza política, profusión de bienes y parición de hijos que dan potencia al linaje). De este modo, un hombre rico (ulmen), un cacique jefe (lonko), lo era, generalmente por medio de la poligamia, de preferencia sororal (matrimonio de un hombre con varias hermanas), pues el casarse con varias mujeres trae como correlato el bienestar, a través del trabajo femenino, y el poderío, mediante hijos que engrosarían los guerreros (konas) de una familia, y se reproduciría física y socialmente la raza. Por otro lado, el linaje de la mujer recibe dones, a cambio de sus hijas. De este modo, el segmento femenino mapuche es una parte esencial de la cohesión social de la etnia.20

Recordemos que, cuando los guerreros fueron vencidos, la sociedad mapuche se vio acorralada, reducida, obligada a vincularse con el huinka (extranjero,
no mapuche) en la desigualdad. No obstante, el ser mapuche comenzará a expresarse nuevamente en la resistencia, la identidad resurgirá en la reducción mapuche y su fuerte expresión será pertinencia de la mujer. Ella insistirá en hablar mapudungu (lengua de la tierra) a sus hijos, irá a los mercados locales a vender sus productos vestida de Chamal adornado de trarilonkos, curará a su familia con las medicinas del campo, rezará sus oraciones al Chao (Dios) y practicará otros aspectos de su cultura.

En consecuencia, el proceso reduccional agrega nuevos elementos a la posición de la mujer mapuche; ella continuará siendo la visagra que une a los distintos grupos sociales, ahora en una situación de desaparecimiento de la poligamia (la escasez de tierras y riqueza la fueron anulando), pero dentro de la estructura de parentesco patrilineal y patrifocal.

La mujer mapuche no abandona el rol cotidiano doméstico y familiar, labrar la tierra, criar ganado, fabricar las vestimentas, ser artesana y productora agrícola, modelar utensilios, criar y educar a los hijos, ser guía espiritual, recolectar yerbas para la salud, plantas silvestres y frutos para la alimentación, tales como el piñón—cuya harina es base de la nutrición mapuche—fruto de la Araucaria (árbol sagrado araucano).

Entre las mujeres, la abuela, madre sustituta de los hijos de la mapuche que emigra a la ciudad,

ocular un lugar simbólico: representa la tradición, el regazo y además la reproducción, en el sentido de que posibilita la sobrevivencia de los otros, los alimenta, los sostiene. En el mundo mapuche, en el aymara y en el campesino, la abuela ocupa un lugar importante. Reúne todos los atributos femeninos y suma a ellos, la experiencia y la sabiduría, por lo tanto su poder es mayor y merece gran respeto.21

Junto a la madre que da la vida, existe la partera, que es la que trae los niños al mundo y que aún existe en reducciones muy aisladas.

La cosmovisión mapuche otorga un lugar singular a lo femenino, una ubicuidad doble: puede estar tanto en el bien como en el mal. En el bien, en tanto las mujeres como chamanes (machis) son las depositarias del saber medicinal y mágico que entrega la divinidad para curar a los enfermos. En el mal, en tanto las mujeres pueden llegar a ser kalku (bruja), poseedoras de un conocimiento malévolo entregado por los espíritus malignos para dañar a las personas.

Lo anterior refleja que la mujer desempeña un rol importante en la religiosidad mapuche:

será la Machi, la líder ceremonial, portadora actual oficiante de las creencias y prácticas ancestrales en la comunidad campesina mapuche. Es también una persona dotada de poderes espirituales especiales, que le permiten contactarse con el mundo “del más allá”, (donde están sus hermanas machis muertas), y comunicarse con los dioses de la vida, la creación y el amor (Ngenechen) y con Wekufu, dios de la muerte y la destrucción.22
La Machi también se encarga de la liturgia de acción de gracias y rogativa (Nguillatún) y su función principal es actuar como mediadora influyente en las relaciones internas de la comunidad, promoviendo la unidad, la hermandad, la solidaridad y otros elementos que ayudarán al bienestar colectivo. También fomenta las relaciones de amistad y parentesco entre individuos de diferentes comunidades, ayudando a la supervivencia cultural del pueblo.

Las permanentes crisis económicas y la reducción tienen un efecto directo en la mujer, debido a su estado de vulnerabilidad frente a la pobreza. La pérdida de sus tierras, su flora y fauna autóctona, la falta de agua, son generadoras de un fuerte proceso migratorio de hombres y jóvenes a las ciudades, quedando, por largos períodos, la mujer sola en el campo a cargo del sustento del hogar y de las labores productivas. También, se producirá la migración femenina a las urbes. El empleo doméstico será, mayoritariamente, el espacio que la mujer mapuche poblará en la ciudad. Allí, discriminada y con relaciones de patronazgo con los/las huincas, raramente perderá los lazos con su familia natal. En el trabajo urbano, ya sea en el servicio doméstico, comercio, industria y agricultura, la mapuche debe afrontar una gran diferencia en salarios e ingresos y trato con respecto al varón mapuche y con mayor razón, frente al winka u hombre blanco. Aún cuando el empleo doméstico es una actividad escasamente valorada, le permite a la mujer mapuche una cierta libertad en el espacio urbano y además, ayudar con especies o dinero a su familia que permanece en el campo.

Por otro lado, se encuentran las mujeres mapuches profesionales o técnicas insertas en distintas disciplinas o trabajos, que han logrado mayores niveles de escolaridad y formación profesional, quienes han asumido roles importantes y un alto compromiso en el desarrollo de su pueblo y la preservación y transmisión de su cultura.23

“El rasgo basal que asumirá la mujer mapuche en el proceso de inserción en la sociedad chilena, será sin duda, el de la mantención del discurso cultural. Su ser madre, socializadora, transmisora de los valores que hacen posible reproducir la diferencia, la colocan en un lugar estratégico dentro de la resistencia social y cultural del pueblo mapuche”.24

Es interesante escuchar a las mujeres mapuche, a través de sus propios testimonios: Alicia Maribur, casada, 40 años de edad, nos dice:

pero es difícil la vida de la mujer mapuche porque cuesta insertarse en lo social. . . . Me molestan cuando salgo con mi vestimenta y me miran como para adivinar lo que soy. Es tal el desconocimiento que la sociedad chilena tiene de nosotros, los mapuche. . . . A la mujer chilena le es difícil aceptarnos y eso se vió en una Asamblea cuando les costó mencionarnos. Pero a nosotras también nos cuesta insertarnos, porque somos distintas.25

Millaray Painemal Morales, casada 35 años, profesora de Historia y de Lengua Mapuche, en la actualidad Vice-presidenta Nacional de la Asociación Gremial de Mujeres Rurales e Indígenas (ANAMURI) dice:
Me incorporé al trabajo de mujeres, cuando comenzó la Cumbre de los Pueblos de América en Santiago. . . . Participar en ANAMURI ha sido un proceso de aprendizaje mutuo y de compartir nuestra ruralidad. Para nosotros los mapuche, la tierra es parte de uno, no sólo para sacarle provecho, sino por algo más profundo. . . . En ANAMURI no me he sentido discriminada, pero sí he advertido que las mujeres no indígenas tienen poco conocimiento de nuestro mundo, y la idea nuestra es que ellas aprendan a aceptarnos como un pueblo distinto al chileno, con una cultura propia. . . . Nuestra principal demanda hoy día es la recuperación de las tierras que históricamente nos han pertenecido, el derecho al agua y el derecho a la naturaleza que nos rodea, porque es la razón de nuestra existencia. Sin aquello, como mapuche (gente de la tierra), seríamos sólo che = gente. . . . En nuestra cultura, hay muchos conceptos distintos a los de la cultura occidental. La forma de entender la naturaleza es diferente, nosotros respetamos los espacios naturales; por ejemplo, si se va a sacar una planta medicinal, no llegamos y la arrancamos para llevarla a la casa, ya que primero se hace una rogativa a esa planta porque tiene un dueño y se debe dejar en pago un hilito rojo y unas monedas. Para nosotros es muy importante la reciprocidad.26

Juliana Marca Díaz, 47 años, representante en ANAMURI del escondido y distante pueblo de Chapiquiña en la Primera Región, nos dice:

yo cursé hasta séptimo básico, después trabajé como empleada doméstica y durante los 24 años posteriores, como trabajadora textil. Salir de mi zona a los Encuentros que tenemos en ANAMURI es muy importante, pues así llevo información a la gente de mi comunidad que no puede salir nunca, porque tiene animales que alimentar y chacras comunitarias que mantener, en las que deben turnarse para regar y recibir el agua que se nos entrega por turno; por eso nuestra principal demanda es la tierra y el agua. Hoy día el problema más importante que tenemos es con las empresas mineras que están ocupando nuestra agua. Yo digo: si quieren agua, que la saquen del mar; si van a ganar tanta plata, procesen el agua de mar, pero no se la quiten al pueblo aymara.27

Para desarrollar su rol en el medio urbano, la mujer mapuche urbano-migrante trata de participar en Encuentros y Congresos de las comunidades indígenas que se realizan, ocasionalmente, en la ciudad. En el Encuentro “Mujer, migración, desarraigo y pobreza”, convocado en diciembre de 1998 por ANAMURI y la Asociación de Mujeres Mapuche Rayen Voygüe, cuarenta delegadas, de distintos pueblos indígenas, reflexionaron sobre su identidad; lo que son y lo que hacen; los problemas que las afectan en tanto mujeres tres veces marginadas: por indígena, por mujer y por pobre, y discutieron sobre su rol en el desarrollo, tanto como embajadoras de la transmisión de su cultura como en la defensa de su territorio ancestral y de los recursos naturales propios de su hábitat originario. También consideraron la importancia de formar parte de distintas redes de mujeres rurales indígenas y no-indígenas; establecieron luchar por hacer participe a la mujer joven en el desarrollo, para quebrar la discriminación; generar instancias de formación y capacitación en liderazgo
de la mujer, sobre todo, de las mujeres jóvenes; aprender a enfrentar el desafío que significa experimentar el desarraigo, el adaptarse a nuevas culturas y su interrelación con los huinka u hombres blancos. Se fijaron la tarea de generar propuestas propias de desarrollo y participación ante los organismos del Estado, organizaciones internacionales y organizaciones no gubernamentales (ONGs); hicieron críticas a la política del Estado chileno hacia las etnias aborigenes, canalizada a través de la Corporación Nacional de Desarrollo Indígena (CONADI) y plantearon la necesidad urgente de crear una organización paralela a ésta que resguarde, en forma verdadera, sus intereses, o en su defecto, que los miembros directivos de CONADI sean elegidos directamente por las comunidades indígenas.

“En el ámbito del trabajo, dice Barrera, el momento de mayor actividad laboral de la mujer mapuche se ubica entre los 15 y los 29 años de edad; más tarde, los índices decrecen”.28

Entre la Población Mapuche Económicamente Activa, la mujer representa, en el área urbana, un 31.56% y los hombres un 68.44% del total de 394,288 indígenas. En el sector rural, las mapuche representan el 10.05% de las 83,390 personas económicamente activas y el hombre el 89.95%. La mayoría de las mujeres mapuche asumen que sus salarios son muy inferiores a los de las mujeres no-mapuches. El promedio de ingreso mensual por el trabajo doméstico, puede alcanzar hasta 66 horas semanales, es de 80,774 pesos chilenos, si trabaja “puertas afuera” y de 99,033 pesos chilenos, si trabaja puertas adentro, situación esta última, que permite una mayor explotación de ellas. A pesar de que siguen manteniendo contacto con su familia de origen, se produce la consecuente masculinización de las familias y comunidades. Se les hace sentir una diferencia que las afecta emocionalmente y que termina en desarraigo y soledad. Aliadas con sectores sindicales, pudieron realizar el Primer Congreso de Trabajadoras de Casa Particular, el que tuvo tanto eco en la prensa y en las ONGs, que cambió un poco la realidad étnico-laboral en Chile. La primera ventaja obtenida fue la Escuela para Trabajadoras de Casa Particular en la Universidad, de la que ya han egresado las primeras diplomadas.

A los problemas propios de la migración, como falta de vivienda y desadaptación, deben sobreponerse a la discriminación y a la falta de especialización en materia laboral.

En el terreno socio-cultural, la mujer expresa su situación de desmedro en el contexto de la modernidad y la extranjerización de su cultura y su patrimonio. “En nombre de dicha modernidad la mujer mapuche ha perdido sus ámbitos de competencia y la valoración de su rol como transmisora de su cultura tradicional, sus prácticas tradicionales de salud como la medicina andina y su práctica de ‘machi’. Además ella promueve el fomento de la artesanía creando ferias y actividades a nivel del turismo”.29
También en este sentido, advierte que, las plantas silvestres, los vegetales y los frutos que sirven para la alimentación y sobrevivencia de las familias más pobres, y que ellas cultivan en sus huertos familiares, especialmente en los viveros orgánicos, están siendo requeridos para una exportación indiscriminada. Frente a los organismos estatales, como el Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario del Ministerio de Agricultura (INDAP) y el Programa de Desarrollo de la Mujer (PRODEMU), luchan por obtener subsidio de producción; una reparación a los campesinos mapuches expulsados de la Reforma Agraria; a las mujeres viudas y a las abandonadas por sus maridos. Además reclaman el control de las empresas que ocupan su mano de obra como temporeras de las plantaciones fruteras, empresas que proliferan en los campos, y las someten al despojo de leyes y garantías laborales, como a desventajosos contratos de trabajo y despidos injustificados; deficientes normas de seguridad frente al uso excesivo de plaguicidas, sobre todo para la mujer embarazada; exigen también la protección legal a las viudas sobre el derecho de tierra que ancestralmente pertenece al hombre. Asimismo, solicitan la comercialización de sus productos en los mercados nacionales e internacionales y por último, que se vele por su situación frente a la tenencia de la tierra, derechos de uso, litigios de tierra, títulos de dominio y las relaciones de propiedad y trabajo.

En el ámbito educacional, se nos dice que la niña mapuche creció escuchando los relatos míticos, las fábulas y las leyendas mapuche en su idioma propio, el mapudungu, más o menos hasta los cinco años. Como en el país no existe una educación intercultural bilingüe dentro del sistema de educación formal, inclusión que ellas demandan con mucha fuerza, sólo un 14% de la población mapuche habla el mapudungu, un 13.8% lo entiende y un 72.2% no lo habla, como resultado de su ingreso a la enseñanza básica y media donde es obligatoria la enseñanza del castellano. El bajo nivel educacional de la mujer mapuche en general, les impide acceder a un mercado de trabajo más importante. El cuadro siguiente nos muestra el nivel de instrucción de la población femenina indígena rural de 5 años y más (ver cuadro A).

Sus relaciones con las ONGS que aprecian sus particularidades en forma más integral y que las apoyan con herramientas que les permiten descubrir sus capacidades y valorar sus roles sociales y de género, han sido positivas, lo que no les ocurre a las mujeres que quedan en el campo, donde la mayoría sigue aceptando, al interior de la familia y de la comunidad, su sumisión al hombre mapuche y la subvaloración de sus aporte económicos la comunidad. La idiosincrasia aguerrida y belicosa de la mujer mapuche, así como su rol actual en la lucha frente a la arremetida de los proyectos hidroeléctricos, forestales, madereros, turísticos, carreteros y pesqueros, resultantes de la política estatal de protección a la inversión capitalista nacional y extranjera ha despertado el apoyo de sectores y grupos ecologistas nacionales e internacionales. Por la revindicación de sus territorios, han encabezado marchas a pie desde sus comunidades hasta el Palacio de la Moneda en Santiago y al Congreso Nacional, en
Valparaíso, para parlamentar airadamente con senadores y diputados representantes de sus distritos. Después de una década de conflicto entre ENDESA y las familias mapuche-pehuenches del Alto Bio-Bio, que se resistían la construcción de la Central Ralco, se firmó un acuerdo definitivo, llamado Acuerdo Ralco, por el que, en lo que se refiere a la mujer, ENDESA entregará a la "Ñañas", Berta Quintremán, Aurelia Marihuán, Mercedes y Rosario Huenteao, las más férreas opositoras a dicho proyecto, 77 hectáreas similares a las que se permutan y una suma de 200 millones de pesos (335 mil dólares), además de otras sumas para atender a las necesidades sociales en el lugar de los predios, y otros compromisos que asumirá el gobierno, para zanjar el conflicto generado. En este punto cabe destacar la lucha constante contra este proyecto de las dos hermanas Quintremán que, por ser viudas son dueñas de sus tierras. Una de ellas aceptó la expropiación, pero la más anciana se negó a abandonar su tierra ancestral, sus símbolos y sitios sagrados donde celebra sus rituales; sus Rewes o escaleras desde donde la "Machi" atiende la salud, la espiritualidad y la preservación de la cultura autóctona de su gente; sus cementerios ancestrales, exponiendo de este modo su territorio a la inundación.30

Cuadro A: Nivel de Instrucción de la población Indígena femenina rural de 5 años y más

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Nunca asistieron</td>
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Para terminar, acudimos nuevamente a Gabriela Mistral, quien escribe: "La india camina a pie descalzo con un ritmo graciosos de verla y seguirla, con un verdadero ritmo racial. . . . La india, a menos que se la exponga a trabajos muy brutos que le deformen las manos, tiene unas manos preciosas, unas manos de flor".31
NOTAS


5. Raúl Molina, Territorio mapuche huilliche de Osorno y legislación (historia de un despojo) (Santiago: Centro El Canelo de Nos, 1990), p. 87.


7. Consejo de Todas las Tierras, El pueblo mapuche, su territorio y sus derechos (Temuco, Chile, 1997), p. 53.


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13. Afro-Bolivians in the Mosaic of Bolivian Identity

Nelly S. González

In Latin America, African ancestry and the African diaspora have suddenly become the hot topics for study and debate. The black population is clamoring for recognition, both for their past deeds and for their current contributions. A recent symposium stated: “the study of people of African descent in Latin America has become a virtual growth industry. It seems that new scholarship on blacks in Latin America promises to change the way we think about colonial and postcolonial Latin America, the African Diaspora, African American history, and the histories of race, gender and class throughout the Americas.”

This new movement for recognition is closely tied to other social movements, including social conflicts and even violence that the region is presently experiencing. These social problems have their roots in the awakening of an ethnic group that was, until recently, being ignored. Although the new republics were born with altruistic programs, indigenous groups continued to be oppressed and had to fight for their rights. While the large majority of the Andean countries are comprised of the indigenous Aymara and Quechua populations, there is also a large black population that today is gaining more attention and becoming a force with which to reckon.

From where did Afro-Bolivians come? According to Alberto Crespo, most of the slaves that came to Charcas (Bolivia) during the colonial period were from Angola and the Congo. Africans were brought to work in the mines of Potosí or the households of the conquistadores.

Unfortunately for the Spaniards, Potosí’s altitude of 13,700 ft. (4,176 m) above sea level and its cold weather created a very inhospitable place for work in the silver mines. Elías Pérez Soza, writing about the “Cerro Rico de Potosí” called it “el cerro que llora plata.” He goes on to say:

La Casa de la Moneda de Potosí, es también casa del dolor. Negros esclavos adquiridos en África queman sus vidas en los vastos hornos de fundición, van y vienen por las fenomenales galerías con sus cargas de piñas de plata o mueven las monstruosas dentadas ruedas de las máquinas de laminación. La corona es insaciable. Los negros cuestan mucho y rinden poco, los doscientos pesos pagados por cada infeliz presume despilfarro. Se redoblan los castigos. Algunos escapan, el trabajo torturante les insta a escoger otra clase de muerte. No conocen descanso. Aun los domingos y fiestas de guardar se
les atranca bajo la llave en las covachas deparadas por vivienda para que no provoquen escándalos.3

Some scholars postulate that the slaves brought to work in the mines escaped the hard work conditions and settled in the subtropical areas in the Andes slopes called Yungas where they dedicated themselves to agriculture. Pizarroso Cuenca, however, claims that Andrés de Santa Cruz, president of Bolivia from 1829 to 1839, brought many slaves for his haciendas in Yungas, where they worked without any compensation.4 Black men in this region were usually sold at the average price of one thousand pesos while black women were sold at half the price of the male slaves. Blacks could also be donated to friends or relatives.

Black women in the haciendas of the Yungas region generally worked in the production of coca leaves and were in charge of “quichir,” part of the production similar to pinching the coca leaves. It was very common for an owner of women slaves to rent them to another hacienda to work in agriculture. They also worked in the households of haciendas performing domestic labor and sometimes even nursing the children of their owners. Some of the white women were too ill or lacked the desire to nurse their babies, thus the task would fall to their slaves. Girls born to slaves were often assigned to work in the households.

According to Eugenia Bridikhina, the Bolivian black woman:

ha sido sacada de su hábitat natural, traída con métodos bárbaros hacia las costas de América, soportando los terribles caminos hasta la Audiencia de Charcas, (hoy Bolivia) donde se incorporó a la economía colonial como sirvienta doméstica, trabajadora en las haciendas o jornalera. Junto con la mujer indígena ha ganado un espacio económico dentro de la sociedad colonial.5

The black population was clearly an important part of Bolivian society. In the census of 1611, Potosí had 160,000 inhabitants, 6,000 of whom were “negros, mulatos y zambos.”6 Blacks were also clearly important enough to include in the legal code, as evidenced by the following entry in the Actas capitulares de la ciudad de La Paz from 1548 to 1562:

Que se pregonen en las carnicerías y penas para los negros . . . y mandaron que esto se entienda así que negro ni negra libre ni cautivo, no pueda vender entraña alguna so pena de cien azotes atado al rollo y pérdida de la carne y, si los azotes quisiere redimir pague diez pesos de pena para obras públicas las dos terceras partes y la otra tercera parte para el alguacil o persona que lo denunciara y mandaron pasado el dicho domingo no habiendo ponedor se pregone el dicho rastro.7

In the same Actas there was another entry stating: “prohibido en La Paz que las ‘negras’ amasaran pan, estableciendo las penas pertinentes para las infractoras.”
Furthermore, Modesto Chávez Franco goes on to say that blacks were the real “conquistadores” because they are the ones that

fecundaron y sometieron la tierra y la selva, luego durante la colonia fueron los mineros, agricultores, peones, matarifes, carpinteros de rivera, navieros y calafates, construyeron los fuertes en los puertos, compartieron a los piratas, apagaron los incendios, pavimentaron las calles; las negras cosían, lavaban, cocinaban, fueron niñeras, crianderas, reposteras, tamaleras, parteras, cigarreras, bordadoras y aun, ellos y ellas, se dieron tiempo, para darnos sus bailes, sus cantos, su música, su frenesi, su cálido afecto de mujeres, y aun la ternura de las bisabuelas, con sus hijos mulatos, sus nietos cuarterones y sus bisnietos blanqueados por el tropel de otras sangres.

Yet despite their apparent import, it is difficult to research Afro-Bolivian and their specific contributions to their society. Crespo, author of *Esclavos negros en Bolivia*, explains that during his research on the subject, he contacted historian Magnus Mörner and received a bibliography of more than one hundred entries of which he found only a few works in the libraries of La Paz. Mörner’s work *Approaches to the History of Black Slavery in Latin America* is impossible to locate (perhaps it was never published) and therefore it is impossible to tell if it contained works specific to Bolivia. In articles written by Mörner, there is an abundance on Latin American history, but not specific to blacks in Bolivia. Crespo admits that his research for *Esclavos negros en Bolivia* is lacking in information that an in-depth study with the appropriate bibliography could bring to light.

Today’s black Bolivian population is congregated in the Bolivian Yungas of La Paz. They share a geographical space with the Aymara indigenous group and they call themselves Afroaymara since they have assimilated much of the Aymara indigenous culture, language, and agriculture techniques. In fact, a census in 1900 showed almost 4,000 black Bolivians in the country, while the census in 2001 did not even have a separate category for them, choosing instead to count them along with the Aymaras.

It is not surprising that Afro-Bolivian women dress like the Aymara women, including the traditional braids, although the short curly hair of the Afro-Bolivian women makes for somewhat shorter braids than those of their Aymara counterparts. When they migrate to the cities, however, they usually change their “pollera and manta” attire for a dress just like the women in the city.

There has been a recent push for greater acknowledgement of Afro-Bolivian contributions to their culture and society. In the fall of 2003, *Raíces: Revista Boliviana de la Fundación de Afro Descendientes* was first published in La Paz. This illustrated journal is unique. Juan Angola Maconde, its editor, has this to say about the publication:

Nosotros los Afro-descendientes somos sobrevivientes en la Bolivía multiétnica y pluricultural y formamos parte de la nacionalidad, aunque el Estado
boliviano hasta el presente nos haya aplicado epítetos de recalcitrante racismo, iguiendo en un cerco discriminatorio en nuestro entorno. . . . Somos parte de la Bolivia multiétnica y pluricultural.11

Raices contains articles about Martin Luther King, Angela Davis, and others, as well as a commentary on William Faulkner’s novel Absalon, Absalon, where it is noted that in the United States a person who is one-eighth black cannot marry a white person.12 The magazine also contains an interview with Roy Guevara, an Afro-Honduran and the secretary general for Latin America and the Caribbean (Afroamérica XXI). During his visit to Bolivia, Guevara found it full of racism and discrimination. He went so far as to say that in Bolivia there exists a covered slavery.13

A great deal of work has been done to bring to light the African roots of the Bolivian black population. Scholars range in focus from anthropology and popular culture to history and literature.

The literary writers throughout the century, having a substantial Afro-Hispanic element in their population, depicted characters representing their ancestral culture. Many novels were written during the twentieth century focusing on the late 1920s and 1930s where the black population was portrayed as being the victim. This was also fostered by the abolitionist movement and the humanitarian and moral questions flourishing at the time.

One particularly strong scholarly focus is on ethnomusicology, which concentrates on the music and dance of African influence that continues to flourish among the Afro-Bolivians. Their cultural reclamation and artistic interpretation via dance and music played an important role in bringing to light their African roots.

Afro-Bolivian music success has allowed the art to develop and even extended their songs to Africa. The French Embassy in Bolivia, together with the Alliance Francaise (an educational institution to further the teaching of the French language) and the City of La Paz, coordinated a project titled “De ida y vuelta,” which brought artists from Cameroon and Morocco to promote musical understanding between Afro-Andeans and Africans. This project is regional and will organize meetings in various countries during the next three years. A significant part of this encounter will be the workshops and playing music together.

Through literature, music, and other vehicles, black identity became relevant and helped to situate the black population in the social context of their nations. For centuries they have experienced violent conflicts in their cultural contacts, and were being nullified in their memory and capacity for resistance. Peoples without history cannot plan a future, thus the importance of this renaissance of their heritage pride.

As of today, the Afro-Bolivian population is minuscule compared to what it was during the colonial period. While several theories of their whereabouts exist, Crespo offers this explanation:
que fué de ellos? Alguna vez he pensado que un día los esclavos de Potosí hicieron un último forrado en el techo de la Casa de Moneda, dejaron sus grilletes al lado de las hornazas y se perdieron por las calles de la Villa; los de las vegas y cañaverales de los Yungas tomaron la ruta extraviada de la selva, donde ya no podían alcanzarles sus amos y capataces, y que llegando todos juntos a la orilla del mar, esta vez sin pedir permiso a nadie, se embarcaron en naves silenciosas y sin volver la mirada abandonaron para siempre América.14

There is still much room for serious and detailed studies of the Bolivian black population. The subject is virgin soil, as it were, and provides a great opportunity for young scholars to get involved. Included here is a select bibliography to help scholars on the way towards a better understanding of the black Bolivian peoples.

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NOTES


13. Raíces.

14. The Código Brasiliense Website at the John Carter Brown Library

Valéria Gauz

The Código Brasiliense in the John Carter Brown Library (JCB) is a collection of government documents on paper pertaining to the years 1808–1822. The website of those documents, created in 2001, is intended to help cataloguers, paleographers, and researchers identify specific copies of the numerous documents contained in the Código Brasiliense, and similar documents found elsewhere whether in bound collections or as loose pieces. The main goal of this work is to provide documentary material for future studies, as well as to contribute to the online version of the Latin American Microfilm Project (LAMP) at the Center for Research Libraries (CRL), funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. In this project, Brazilian government documents from 1821 onwards were digitized and can be researched on the Internet.

The JCB three-volume set of the Código Brasiliense, all in folio, was acquired in 1970. Volumes 1 and 3 are bound in calf, with a printed index at the beginning of each volume. The spine title for volume 1 reads: LEYS DO P. REG (leis do Príncipe Regente, or leis do período regencial, i.e., the Prince’s laws or laws of the royal period, possibly)—TOM VIII.—1805 (or 1806)—1810 and includes items from 1808 to 1810. Volume 2 is unbound, and the only one with a title page; it includes items from 1811 to 1816. The spine title for volume 3 reads: LEYS DO S.D. JOÃO VI. TOM X. 1816–1822; it includes items from 1817 to 1822. The third volume includes an index for 1817–1818 only. It is known that, at the end of the nineteenth century, the Brazilian government published a collected edition of the laws beginning with the year 1831 and worked backwards (so that the volume for 1808 was published last in 1891). That would explain the bindings of the collection and the variety of printing layouts for the first years, when it might have been difficult to find copies from the same run.

In the holdings of the JCB, as in any other library, there are certain documents that require more than a database search in order to be properly identified. Documents that share similar physical characteristics for instance, or documents for which edition or place of publication cannot be determined with precision, may need to be physically examined and compared by librarians and researchers. Visual access can considerably improve the quality of the search, and it allows careful comparison among different copies held by various libraries.
This is the case with the JCB copy of the Código Brasiliense, ou Coleção das leis, alvarás, decretos, cartas régias, &c. promulgadas no Brasil desde a feliz chegada do príncipe regente N. S. a estes estados com hum índice cronologicó (Rio de Janeiro: Na Impressão Régia, [1811–1822?]; 3 vols., 30 cm., fol.). In addition to those documents, the library also possesses similar/variant copies of some of the same documents, with other typographic characteristics, in loose leaves (unbound). These copies may have the same text, but in a different layout.

In the course of preparing cataloguing records at the JCB, aside from differences between editions, a controversy arose over whether some of the documents had been printed at the Impressão Régia in Rio de Janeiro or in Lisbon, since both cities had royal printing presses with the same name during the same period of time. This question was suggested by differences in typefaces, and in particular by the characteristics of the initial letter E in some documents. The speculation was based on a study by Stephen Ferguson, assistant bibliographer at the library when the collection was acquired, who published the article “The Código Brasiliense: Brazil’s first official legal code” (Inter-American Review of Bibliography 24, no. 2 [April–June 1974]: 129–134). Ferguson also identified the differences in the initial E found in the documents from the Impressão Régia in Rio de Janeiro (initials in documents 9 and 14, from the year 1808, are slightly different, for instance).

Ana Maria Camargo, in her introduction to Bibliografia da Impressão Régia do Rio de Janeiro, stresses that

it is necessary to take notice that the short imprint, with no place of publication in it—which was typical of the official documents printed at the Impressão Régia of Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon—makes it impossible to assure precision in determining a correct place of publication in this bibliography. The only clue to avoid confusion is very limited: the presence (not exclusive, unfortunately) of the carolingian S among the type faces used by the Impressão Régia in Lisbon in the first years of our [Brazilian] period. As other evidence is lacking, the best thing to do is to trace the history of the documents, before they got to archives and libraries.

Related correspondence can be found in the JCB Library archives, including letters about other copies in the United States, such as those at the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, Yale University, University of Illinois, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Organization of American States/Pan American Union, and Harvard University.

A search on WorldCat at the time the Código website was created also showed other libraries in which the subject Brazilian laws published from 1808 can at first be found (yet to be verified), such as SUNY at Stony Brook, Indiana University, Stanford University Libraries, University of California/UL, Oliveira Lima Library/DC, Florida State University, University of Florida, University of Miami, Tulane University, University of Minnesota, Washington
University, Duke University Library, University of North Carolina, Columbia
University, University of Pennsylvania, Vanderbilt University Library, University
of Texas at Austin, University of Texas/Tarlton Law Library, and University
of Wisconsin/Madison.

Outside the United States, other copies can also be found at the Biblioteca
Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, Biblioteca José Mindlin,
Biblioteca Pública Mário de Andrade in São Paulo, and Biblioteca Nacional
in Lisbon, just to cite some institutions. It is expected that at least one of the
institutions cited above owns the original collection.

Thomas Adams, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library in 1969, stated
in a letter in July 1969 to Richard Wormser: “Indeed, this collection presents
some fascinating problems that some day must be worked out.”

The collection has recently been microfilmed and digitized. All of the docu-
ments will be available on the Internet by December 2005. The website also
includes a bibliography on the Imprensa Régia do Rio de Janeiro.

The John Carter Brown Library is an independently administered and
funded center for advanced research in history and the humanities, founded in
1846 and located at Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island) since 1901.
Housed within the library’s walls is an internationally renowned, constantly
growing collection of primary historical sources pertaining to the Americas,
both North and South, before ca. 1825.

The library has been collecting books relating to Portuguese expansion
across the Atlantic for over one hundred and fifty years. As early as 1865,
when the first printed catalogue of the library appeared, there was already
a copy of the Itinerarium Portugallensium e Lusitania in Indiam et inde in
Occidentum et demum ad Aquilonem (Milan, 1508) in the collection, which
is one of the earliest printed accounts of Portuguese voyages of exploration,
translated into Latin from the original Italian of Fracanzano da Montalboddo.

The John Carter Brown has at present approximately 1,500 Portuguese-
language titles printed before ca. 1822, all with contents that pertain, to some
degree, to the history of Portuguese expansion to the West. It is probably the
greatest concentration of such books in North America.
15. The Internet in Latin America: Development and Reference Sources

Molly Molloy

The Development of the Internet in Latin America

Information does not exist in isolation from the individual, organization, or other entity that creates it. Researchers need to know about the dynamics of information production and dissemination in their disciplines and in the countries or regions that they study. In the interdisciplinary field of Latin American studies, librarians must be aware of how academic publishing functions in the region; the characteristics of the book trade; and how to obtain materials or provide access to information produced outside of the commercial realm by governments, educational institutions, and the nongovernmental organization (NGO) sector. Librarians must understand how mass media operate in different countries and how to obtain newspapers so an archive will exist for future historians. Latin Americanist librarians have been engaged in these activities for many years and their efforts have created excellent research collections that have fostered the growth of new knowledge.

My career as an academic librarian began at the same time that the Internet became accessible to more than just the techies and geeks in higher education. From my perspective as a specialist in Latin American area studies, it seemed that researchers should take advantage of this new tool for information dissemination to break through some of the barriers of time, distance, and economics that made access to information from Latin America difficult. As the Internet became an important tool for scholarly communication and research and entered the information universe in Latin America in the 1990s, academic librarians recognized the need to use the Internet to increase access to traditional sources of information (online newspapers, academic journals, newsletters, etc.) and to take advantage of the production and dissemination of new sources of information.

Long before traditional published sources appeared on the Internet, scholars, activists, journalists, and others were creating and disseminating unique information from and about the region to the rest of the world, often information produced by groups and individuals excluded from the commercial or traditional academic information world, such as activist groups, guerrilla organizations, and other minority or marginalized sectors of the population (Cleaver 1998; Molloy 1998). The Internet is a medium of communication
and a vehicle for the formation of community. It is a “network of networks” of people keeping each other aware of events and sharing information to solve problems, to publicize situations requiring action, and to facilitate the creation of new knowledge. The Internet can create communities of affinity without geographic limitations.

In a previous paper, I explore in some detail the development of the Internet in Latin America within the framework of several interrelated themes: the use of Internet communication for development and democracy; the influence of entertainment and commerce; and the economics of the gap in access to information technologies in Latin America (Molloy 2000). Although universities, international organizations, governments, and private businesses played an important role in institutionalizing Internet communications in Latin America, it should be noted that NGOs took on much of the earliest technical, educational, and outreach work in the late 1980s and early 1990s to bring Latin America online. Social change activists—often members of local groups dealing with human rights, environment, peace, labor, or other issues—recognized the potential of new technologies to enable them to connect with people in other parts of the world who were working on similar issues or who had an interest in receiving information about their activities (Lane 1990; Keck and Sikkink 1998).

In the pre-Internet era, beginning as early as 1985, the Association for Progressive Communications (APC) provided access to electronic mail for many groups involved in progressive social movements in Latin American countries—the earliest NGO networks in the region were in Nicaragua and Brazil (Frederick 1993; Association for Progressive Communications 2004; Pasch and Valdés 1997). It can be argued that the conjunction of Internet communication and the growth of civil society in Latin America created a synthesis such that

Throughout Latin America and the Third World . . . such groups (grassroots NGOs) have risen to prominence in the last ten to fifteen years—thanks in no small measure . . . to their ability to creatively use new information and communication technologies—exerting their influence all the way from the struggle to redefine (and democratize) daily life to the realm of international relations. (Norsworthy 1997, 268)

Optimism about the social benefits of Internet connectivity in Latin America prevailed throughout the 1990s; however, the more recent boom fueled by online entertainment and commercial applications and the growth of private Internet service providers took away much of the vanguard status that progressive organizations had acquired (Gomez 1998). The commercial boom enabled many more people in Latin America to obtain access to the Internet, but as Gomez (2000) points out, the Latin American Internet became a “hall of mirrors” reflecting, and in some ways exacerbating, huge inequalities already present in these societies.
The 1999 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Program focuses on the contradictions of globalization: a world in which the benefits of growth and prosperity have become ever more unevenly distributed. Thirty years ago, the income ratio of the richest to the poorest countries was 30-to-1; by 1999 it had grown to 74-to-1. The report details the “double-edged sword” potential of the Internet to break down barriers and facilitate social change and/or to reinforce the inequalities of access to the Internet in rich and poor countries. “Those with income, education and—literally—connections have cheap and instantaneous access to information. The rest are left with uncertain, slow and costly access. When people in these two worlds live and compete side by side, the advantage of being connected will overpower the marginal and impoverished, cutting off their voices and concerns from the global conversation” (6).

There is no lack of literature on the general problem of the “digital divide” in Latin America (Panos Institute 1998; Hamelink 1998; Haymond 1998; Carty 2000; Everett 1998). Margaret Everett examined the position of aid agencies in funding information technology as a tool for promoting economic development and political reform, but found that “the Internet is far from being the free and open exchange that the advertisers and other enthusiasts claim. In terms of both content and accessibility it reflects the same inequalities of race, class, gender and the global order which exist in the ‘real world’” (392).

By 2003 most Latin American governments had articulated policies aimed at promoting Internet access and connectivity and thus working toward the alleviation of inequalities (Summits of the Americas 2004). A recent study (Hawkins and Hawkins 2003) looked at the connections between government policies and Internet access in Latin America. This study’s data show that the level of Internet use is strongly associated with the overall wealth of the countries and the corresponding development of the telecommunications infrastructure (659). The only government policy shown to have a significant impact on the level of Internet access was the implementation of changes in telecommunications tariff structures (660).

The Internet, like so many technologies before it, is not being introduced onto a tabula rasa; rather, it is inserted into an existing set of highly unequal social and economic relations. In the case of Latin America, it is not even a static situation of inequality—the period of the 1990s, when the Internet was introduced in the region, was one of growing inequalities in distribution of wealth and resources. However, there is the potential, thanks to private investment, government policies, and the continuing efforts of progressive communities, to create the space for activism, education, research, and other socially beneficial activities. Critical and well-informed users and producers of information may, in the long run, be much more important than hardware, infrastructure, and commercial investment.

In 2004 Tim Berners-Lee, credited as the inventor of the World Wide Web, received a $1.2 million Millennium Technology Prize in Helsinki, Finland.
In his acceptance speech, Berners-Lee said that if he had patented his ideas and demanded royalty fees, he would never have succeeded in creating and implementing the communication protocols and markup language that have become essential to what became the open and interoperable World Wide Web, accessible through any computer platform anywhere in the world. His statement emphasized the Internet's "spirit of openness and sharing" as an essential catalyst to creativity and invention (Shannon 2004).

The recent trend toward "harvesting" metadata from archives of open-access scholarly information sources and making these archives accessible to web searchers through deep indexing is one way that the Internet may be moving toward fulfilling the dreams of its founders and the "access is power" optimists of the 1990s: that useful and reliable information would become freely available to all—not just to those in wealthy countries or to the privileged few in poorer world regions like Latin America. Librarians and other information scientists are finding evidence to show that open-access sources do have a greater impact on the research community than articles published in journals that are only accessible by paying high subscription fees (Antelman 2004).

Eugene Garfield, the citation database pioneer and founder of the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), has speculated that open access may improve readership and citation impact (quoted in Antelman 2004, 372–373). ISI's Journal Citation Reports (JCR) are used extensively in academia to determine the relative research impact of a select list of journals across disciplines. ISI currently monitors the presence of open-access journals in their citation databases to determine if open access increases research impact. The most recently published study, released in October 2004 and based on the 2003 Journal Citation Reports, concludes that while "more of the currently available open access journals rank in the lower half of their subject category," there are some open-access titles in the top ranks (McVeigh 2004).

It is important to note that the JCR methodology focuses on a measurement of the research impact of journals, not individual articles (Antelman 2004, 373). ISI's October study points out the complexity in evolving open-access distribution models, including the fact that many publishers permit self-archiving of individual articles by authors, that these archives are increasingly available through web searching, and thus the availability of articles outside the "package" of the published journal may also affect research impact. The ISI reports note the important role of regional journals in open-access publishing, specifically the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO), which encompasses a growing list of Latin American titles (Thomson ISI 2004).

Annotated Guide to Reference Sources for Latin American Studies

The resources listed here provide access to scholarly literature, news and news archives, periodicals, statistics, and government information focused specifically on Latin America. I have included a few general sources that may be
especially relevant to Latin American studies. Some sources mentioned are very specific and are provided as examples of the kind of unique and useful information that is available via the Internet; however, this list is not intended to be comprehensive. Directory sites such as the Latin America Network Information Center (LANIC) provide the best access to the constantly changing array of sites in the region. These online resources will provide a variety of information including complete bibliographic citations and abstracts and/or full text. In some cases, the database will provide external links to the full text of articles or documents. Access to full text depends on whether the end user is willing to pay for documents or whether the source material is provided through a paid subscription maintained by the library or other institution providing the database access. For all resources listed, I indicate whether access is open or via subscription.

**Americas Program.** http://www.americaspolicy.org/. Open. The Americas Program website provides policy briefs and analysis from the Interhemispheric Resource Center (IRC) (http://www.irc-online.org) on topics such as U.S. policy; economic integration and sustainable development; and Latin American political, social, and economic affairs. The site includes data and reports on current U.S.-Mexico border issues (http://www.americaspolicy.org/index/usmex/index.php) and an archive of published policy papers and newsletters back to 1995 (http://www.americaspolicy.org/clearinghouse.html). The IRC is a non-profit research and advocacy organization located in New Mexico.

**Biblioteca Virtual de Ciencias Sociales de América Latina y el Caribe, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO).** http://www.clacso.org/wwwclacso/espanol/html/biblioteca/fbiblioteca.html. Open. This site from CLACSO provides free access to more than 4,000 full-text books, periodical articles, reports, and conference papers by social sciences researchers in Latin America and the Caribbean.

**CIAONET:** Columbia International Affairs Online. http://www.ciaonet.org. Subscription. Columbia International Affairs Online (CIAO) is a comprehensive source for theory and research in international affairs. CIAO provides full text of working papers, reports, and articles from international relations research centers and think tanks and full text of books published by Columbia University Press. Latin American countries and issues are well represented in CIAO content. For access and subscription information, see http://www.ciaonet.org/frame/subscribefrm.html.

**CLASE/PERIODICA.** http://www.oclc.org/support/documentation/firstsearch/databases/dbdetails/details/ClasePeriodica.htm. Subscription. OCLC FirstSearch provides access to these two periodical databases produced by the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). CLASE indexes documents published in Latin American journals specializing
in the social sciences and humanities; PERIODICA covers sciences and technology. Together the databases provide more than 300,000 bibliographic citations to articles, essays, book reviews, conference proceedings, and technical reports published in more than 2,600 journals from twenty-four different Latin American countries. These databases do not provide links to full-text articles. Access to database producers is available from the Dirección General de Bibliotecas at UNAM (http://dgb.unam.mx).

Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. http://www.dallasfed.org/index.html. Open. The Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas is an excellent source for economic information on the U.S.-Mexico border region and Latin America. It provides full-text access to economic data, reports, and analysis. The Center for Latin American Economics (CLAE; http://www.dallasfed.org/latin/index.html) is a research institute attached to the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas. CLAE focuses its research efforts on issues of particular concern in Latin America and provides full-text access to working papers, research reports, statistics, and other documents via this website.

*Handbook of Latin American Studies* (HLAS). http://lcweb2.loc.gov/hlas/. Open. The *Handbook of Latin American Studies* is produced by the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress and is provided free of charge to web users worldwide. HLAS provides abstracts and complete bibliographic information for published materials and online resources from and about Latin America on a wide range of topics in the humanities and social sciences, selected and annotated by specialists in the field. HLAS has been published since 1936 and the print volumes constitute a comprehensive and growing bibliography of the scholarly literature in Latin American studies. The online database contains more than 80,000 citations and grows at the rate of about 10,000 citations annually. HLAS includes citations to books, journal articles, theses and dissertations, online resources, and materials in other formats such as CD-ROMs. For more information on the history and content of this resource, see http://lcweb2.loc.gov/hlas/sal alm.html.

Hemeroteca Digital de Chihuahua. http://www.inpro.com.mx/english/index2.html. Subscription. The Hemeroteca Digital de Chihuahua, provided by Información Procesada (INPRO), contains full-text articles from Mexican newspapers and magazines from and about the state of Chihuahua and the U.S.-Mexico border region. Most of the information in the database is in Spanish, although it does contain articles from some regional U.S. publications that cover the border region. In addition to local papers from Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua, the database contains articles that pertain to Chihuahua and the northern
border region from many other Mexican publications. Time coverage: 1976 to the present. This database is very specific, but it is an excellent example of a regional information provider developing unique archival content of use to serious researchers. For more information about access to this database, email informes@inpro.com.mx.

_Hispanic American Periodicals Index_ (HAPI). http://hapi.gseis.ucla.edu. Subscription. HAPI provides access to the contents of more than 500 social sciences and humanities journals from and about Latin America with coverage from 1970 to the present. HAPI is a source for authoritative, worldwide information about Central and South America, Mexico, the Caribbean basin, the U.S.-Mexico border region, and Hispanics in the United States. Subject coverage ranges from current political, economic, social, and business issues to Latin American arts and letters. HAPI Online contains complete bibliographic citations to articles, book reviews, documents, original literary works, and other materials. HAPI provides coverage of many regional journals that are not included in other online databases. Produced by the UCLA Latin American Center, HAPI includes more than 210,000 citations, and grows at the rate of about 8,000 records a year. Beginning in 2003, HAPI provides links to articles that are available in full text through several commercial sources and through journal web pages. For more information, see http://hapi.gseis.ucla.edu/hapi/html/free/about.shtml.

_Independent Media Center—Indymedia_. http://www.indymedia.org. Open. The Independent Media Center is an excellent example of social activists taking advantage of the Internet to disseminate alternative news from many different world areas. Indymedia describes itself as “a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage.” Latin American news is posted to Indymedia from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, and Uruguay. It is an excellent source for current news coverage from an alternative perspective.

_InfoLatina: ISI Emerging Markets_. http://www.securities.com/corp/infolatina.html. Subscription. InfoLatina provides current and archival access to the full text of a large array of Mexican publications, including newspapers, magazines, government documents, legislation, and jurisprudence. For some publications, the archive goes back to the early 1980s. The commercial service Internet Securities acquired the InfoLatina database in 2000 and merged the content with other global and Latin American news and business sources provided through the website. Trial subscriptions are available. For more information on subscriptions and access, see http://www.securities.com/corp/infolatina.html?ms=0&section=contact.
INFO-LATINOAMERICA: Latin American Information System. http://www.nisc.com. Subscription. Produced by the National Information Services Corporation (NISC), INFO-LATINOAMERICA covers regional business, economics, politics, and social issues. This database began as Info-South from the University of Miami’s North-South Center and coverage goes back to 1988; content is updated weekly. INFO-LATINOAMERICA includes abstracts of Latin American newspaper and journal articles; most content from 1996 forward is full text or includes links to full text on the Internet. Coverage tends toward English-language news and business sources from more than 1,500 international newspapers, journals, news magazines, newsletters, media broadcasts, conference proceedings, and other print publications. English translations of foreign media broadcasts are provided by the World News Connection (see below). See http://www.nisc.com/factsheets/qila.htm for more information.

INFORME—Revistas en Español. http://www.galegroup.com/servlet/ItemDetailServlet?region=9&imprint=000&titleCode=INFO1&type=4&id=172023. Subscription. INFORME is provided by the Thomson/Gale Group. The database provides full-text access to more than 140 Spanish and bilingual academic and popular periodicals. Archival coverage is not consistent, but full text for some titles is included back to the mid-1990s. Subject coverage includes news, politics, arts and letters, social sciences, as well as popular entertainment, sports, and fashion magazines. INFORME is one of the first products from a mainstream, commercial information provider to include significant Spanish-language and Latin American content to nonspecialized academic and public libraries. The INFORME title list is available at http://www.galegroup.com/tlist/sb5022.html and a fact sheet at http://www.gale.com/pdf/facts/inform.pdf.

J-STOR. http://www.jstor.org/. Subscription. J-STOR is a membership organization providing a full-text archive of the complete runs of several hundred major academic journals in the sciences, social sciences, and humanities. Some journal archives cover more than one hundred years of research. Latin American studies titles in the current J-STOR collections include Hispanic American Historical Review, Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, Journal of Latin American Studies, Latin American Perspectives, and Latin American Research Review. Inclusion of archival Latin American content in J-STOR should continue to grow and will make it possible for many small college and university libraries to provide access to specialized journals that are not part of their print holdings.

Latin America Data Base (LADB). http://ladb.unm.edu/. Subscription. The LADB has been published by the Latin American and Iberian Institute
at the University of New Mexico since 1986 and at that time it was one of the first online databases for Latin American research, disseminating weekly bulletins of news and economic and political analysis via email and providing access to an online archive via a telnet connection. LADB currently produces three weekly electronic news bulletins about Mexico (SourceMex), Central America and the Caribbean including Cuba (NotiCen), and South America (NotiSur). These are available on the Internet and/or by email with a subscription. LADB’s searchable archive of over 24,000 articles since 1986 is updated weekly. This is a unique, content-rich archive and current awareness source for economic and political information on Latin America. See http://ladb.unm.edu/info/prices/ for prices and trial account information. Email: info@ladb.unm.edu.

Latin American Network Information Center (LANIC). http://lanic.utexas.edu. Open. LANIC is headquartered at the University of Texas at Austin and is the premier Internet directory for Latin American information. LANIC provides links to thousands of information resources from and about Latin America. Many LANIC projects continue to provide full-text access to archival materials of use to researchers. The following are examples of LANIC resources and projects.

- Association of Research Libraries Latin American Research Resources Project (ARL-LARRP). http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/arl/. In addition to the LAOAP and the Presidential Messages database, LANIC and ARL have collaborated to create a database of the tables of contents (LAPTOC) of more than 800 humanities and social sciences journals published in Latin America. The journals covered in LAPTOC are specifically chosen because they are not likely to be included in other databases (such as HAPI). Indexing is provided by Latin American specialists at participating ARL libraries; members facilitate interlibrary loan of articles to other participating libraries.

- Electronic Text Collections. http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/. The database includes full texts of presidential messages from Mexico and Argentina dating back to the mid-nineteenth century; translations into English of more than thirty-seven years of Castro’s public speeches, interviews, and press conferences; and archives of several Latin American journals and conference proceedings.

- Latin American Open Archives Portal (LAOAP). http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/laoap/. LAOAP (under development) uses the Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting (OAI-PMH) to develop a database to provide access to social sciences “grey literature” (working documents, preprints, research reports, statistical documents) produced...
by Latin American research institutes, NGOs, and some government agencies. It is anticipated that the repositories indexed by the LAOAP will be integrated into other open-access archives to facilitate access via open web search engines.

• Selection of other LANIC pages:
  Academic Journals: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/journals/
  Government: http://lanic.utexas.edu/subject/government/
  Human Rights: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/hrights/
  Journalism: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/journalism/
  LANIC Newsroom: http://lanic.utexas.edu/info/newsroom/
  Libraries and Reference: http://lanic.utexas.edu/subject/libraries/
  Magazines: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/epub/
  Maps: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/map/
  Media and Communication: http://lanic.utexas.edu/subject/media/
  Newspapers: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/news/
  Photography: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/photography/
  Statistics: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/statistics/
  U.S.-Mexico Border: http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/mexico/usmex/

LatinFocus. http://www.latin-focus.com/. Open. LatinFocus, “the leading source for Latin American economies,” contains data from government sources, economic forecasts, market analysis covering economic performance, political risk assessments, and financial market developments. LatinFocus includes full-text documents providing economic indicators (GDP, unemployment, CPI, stock market, exports, imports, etc.) from 1995 onward for Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, and Latin America as a whole. The database also includes recent news articles and commentaries, fact sheets, charts, economic briefings, and related links for individual countries. LatinFocus sells publications and some specialized services via subscriptions, but the free resources on the website are an excellent research tool.

Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe. http://www.lexis-nexis.com/universe. Subscription. This general database for news and legal research is available through many U.S. academic libraries. It includes full-text access to thousands of news sources, including several dozen Spanish-language titles. The best segments for Latin American news are “North/South
American News” and “Spanish Language News.” Searches can be restricted to these sets of publications. Lexis-Nexis provides access to several specialized publications such as the Latin American Weekly Report, Latin American Newsletters, Latin American Regional Reports, Latin American Economy and Business, and Latinnews Daily, as well as information on the region from thousands of daily newspapers and other periodical sources.

National Security Archive. http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/. Open. The National Security Archive is an independent nongovernmental research institute and library located at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. The National Security Archive collects and publishes declassified documents acquired through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Complete collections are available for purchase in published and microfiche formats and online via subscription, but the website provides selections of full-text primary research collections online in a section entitled Electronic Briefing Books (http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/index.html). Latin American topics available online include Argentina’s Dirty War; CIA in Latin America; Contras, Cocaine and Covert Operations; the Tlatelolco Massacre; Human Rights and the Dirty War in Mexico; Kennedy and Castro; Chile Intervention; Oliver North File; War in Colombia; U.S. Policy in Guatemala; and many other topics.

OAIster. http://www.oaister.org. Open. OAIster is an open-access archive project of the University of Michigan Digital Library and provides a searchable database of more than 4.7 million articles, documents, graphics, photographs, sound recordings, videos, and other digital objects made freely available on the Internet by more than 390 institutions and organizations including many university special collections and archives. OAIster encompasses as broad a collection of resources as possible in many formats and with no restrictions on subject parameters. It is also possible to restrict searches to specific collections included in the database. OAIster is accessible to the entire Internet community. While OAIster does not focus specifically on Latin America, sample keyword searches reveal significant Latin American content. Examples: Latin America* restricted to image format = 108 items; Mexico images = 8,969; Mexico and all document types = 15,332; Nicaragua and all document types = 305 items.

Political Database of the Americas. http://www.georgetown.edu/pdba/. Open. The Political Database of the Americas is produced at Georgetown University and provides political documents and data for all countries in the Western Hemisphere, including texts of constitutions and laws, electoral systems and historical election data, political party platforms and histories, judicial information, and more.
Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y el Caribe (RedALyC). http://www.redalyc.com/. Open. The Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y el Caribe, España y Portugal provides full-text access to more than 130 journals in social sciences and humanities published in many Latin American countries, Spain, and Portugal. RedALyC is conceived as an open-access portal for academic information produced in the region. Using the slogan *La ciencia que no se ve, no existe* (Science that is not seen does not exist), RedALyC has taken a giant step forward in providing access to academic research produced in Latin America. It is anticipated that the visibility of the full text of these journals will increase the citation rates and global research impact of Latin American scholarship.

SciELO. http://www.scielo.org/. Open. The Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) is a vanguard open-access digital library of full-text articles from science and social science journals from Latin America and Spain. The original SciELO project was developed by a consortium of Brazilian research institutes and has developed as a model for cooperative electronic publishing of scientific journals on the Internet. SciELO was designed to meet the scientific communication needs of developing countries, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean. Current projects exist in Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Spain, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Costa Rica, and Venezuela. SciELO content is especially strong in the fields of public health, agriculture, biomedicine, and allied health sciences. SciELO titles feature prominently in the ISI research impact studies of open-access journals and are accessible via Google Scholar (http://scholar.google.com).

SCIRUS. http://www.scirus.com. Open. SCIRUS is a comprehensive science-specific Internet search engine that provides access to scientific, scholarly, technical, and medical data on the Internet. Like Google Scholar, SCIRUS provides links to open-access scientific information as well as links to articles that may be available via purchase or subscription. It is included in this list because keyword searches yielded many relevant articles and sites with Latin American content, including links to open-access archives such as SciELO.

Sistema de Información sobre Comercio Exterior/Foreign Trade Information System (SICE). http://www.sice.oas.org/. Open. SICE is the Foreign Trade Information System of the Organization of American States. The web page contains full text of official documents and other information relating to trade agreements and treaties; intellectual property rights organizations; investment treaties; a glossary; and related links to other websites, arranged by topic and by country concerning trade in the Western Hemisphere. Most of the documents available via SICE are
provided in English and Spanish and portions of the site are available in English, Spanish, French, and Portuguese.

World News Connection. http://wnc.fedworld.gov. http://wnc.dialog.com/. Subscription. World News Connection (WNC) provides access to a wide array of news articles, conference proceedings, television and radio broadcasts, periodical articles, and other publications. Translations of foreign-language broadcast and print sources are provided by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) and produced by analysts at the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), a subagency of the CIA. WNC provides English translations of news broadcasts worldwide, with extensive coverage from more than twenty-five Latin American and Caribbean countries. News stories and translations are generally available online within 24–72 hours of broadcast. Online archival coverage goes back to 1995. Although the database content is created and maintained by NTIS, online subscription access to WNC is provided through DIALOG (http://wnc.dialog.com/). For more information on subscribing, contact customer@dialog.com.

Conclusions

I began writing about the development of the Internet in Latin America in 1994 and have posted various chronologies and resource lists online (Molloy 1999). Until recently, the Internet as a reference source for Latin American studies was a way to access gigabytes of information on the latest events (daily newspapers, current issues of popular magazines, travel and tourism information, political and human rights alerts, basic government information) but provided only limited access to deep news archives or scholarly resources. As can be seen from the selective list of reference resources above, this broad but shallow information pool is changing and growing with the most interesting and substantive advances coming from scientific journal publishers, research centers, and NGOs in the region.

The current challenge for librarians and scholars is to find meaningful ways to participate in the evolution of the Internet from a communication tool into a functioning virtual library. While the Internet does not provide the kind of controlled subject access and the bibliographic or inventory control that exists in a research library, new digital projects using the Open Archives Initiative Protocol for Metadata Harvesting (OAI-PMH) are creating online access to large repositories of quality research information. Regional electronic publishing initiatives such as the Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) and the Red de Revistas Científicas de América Latina y el Caribe (RedALyC) now provide free, open access to the full contents of hundreds of academic journals published in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Spain. Advanced Internet search engines such as Google make it possible to find quality information on the open web. New relationships between Google and
global academic publishers, including those from Latin America (launched as Google Scholar in late November 2004), are creating the beginnings of a real virtual library for academic research in Latin American studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Adán Benavides

The University of Texas at Austin has regularly collected Mexican newspapers, especially since the Mexican Revolution, which ended in 1917. The purchase of the formidable Genaro Garcia Collection in 1921 brought to the university scores of what were already then, and are especially now, very rare nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century newspapers. Other collections acquired since then by the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection also contained Mexican newspapers. Over the years, several former students and faculty members of the university have contributed newspapers as well.

Benson Collection Microfilming Projects

The report that follows is based on extensive analysis of Mexican newspapers held by both the Benson Collection and other United States libraries that participated in two microfilming projects funded in part by the U.S. National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and, in the case of the nineteenth-century newspapers, by the Latin American Microfilm Project (LAMP), a collaborative program of the Center for Research Libraries. Both projects were conceived and administered by Benson Collection staff. The first project, which was carried out from 2000 through 2002, resulted in a microfilm publication entitled Revolutionary Mexico in Newspapers, 1900–1929. The second project is entitled Independent Mexico in Newspapers, the Nineteenth Century; it began in 2002 and filming terminated in March 2005. These projects were among the first to preserve and catalog foreign newspapers in the United States with National Endowment funding. This paper is a description of the process of preserving certain Mexican newspapers. It is not intended to be a discussion of the subject, content, or publishers of the various newspapers.

The two projects had three basic goals:

• to preserve the original paper copies,

• to microfilm the papers, and

• to catalog both the paper and microfilm copies of the papers.
In these three areas, best practices and latest standards were employed. All microfilm was produced according to the standards, procedures, and recommended practices specified for microfilming newspapers by the American National Standards for Information and Image Management (1994). In addition, the latest versions and updates of all standards (ANSI/AAIM, ANSI/PH, and ANSI/IT) were met in production, testing, and storage of project film. The microfilm technicians conducted quality checks and maintained records recommended in the RLG Preservation Microfilming Handbook. New cataloging records followed the Anglo-American Cataloging Rules, 2d edition (latest revision), for descriptive cataloging and all relevant CONSER (Cooperative Online Serials Program) standards for serial and microfilm cataloging. Names and subject headings matched authoritative forms found in OCLC Online Authority Files, and all bibliographic records were authenticated full MARC records.

Criteria used to select newspapers for the projects included the following:

1. All Mexican newspapers held by the Benson Collection were considered for the project.

2. Other libraries were asked to lend issues lacking from Benson Collection runs.

3. Other libraries were asked to lend titles based on Steven Charno’s Latin American Newspapers in United States Libraries: A Union List Compiled in the Serial Division, Library of Congress. Once contacted, the libraries also offered other titles for consideration to be included in the projects.

4. Titles that had already been microfilmed according to contemporary microfilming standards were excluded. Thus some long-running titles like El Universal and El Siglo Diez y Nueve are not represented in these projects.

5. Titles were included as long as at least one whole issue could be cataloged.

6. Newspaper titles had to conform to a working definition of a newspaper (see appendices 1 and 2). These definitions allowed some flexibility to include satirical publications that commented on political events of the day and to include publications that were forerunners to the newspaper format as it developed throughout the nineteenth century.

7. In the first project, issues for newspaper titles that began in the nineteenth century and that continued beyond 1929 were also filmed.

The newspapers were grouped by place of publication, state and city followed those published within the Federal District, and then alphabetically by
title thereafter. In preparation for filming, all newspapers were flattened and received minimal preservation cleaning and repair. After filming, all loose newspapers were stored in acid-free folders and archival boxes. Large format items and those composed of especially acidic, brittle paper were stored in a state-of-the-art long-term storage facility. Thus, users are encouraged to rely on the microfilm copy, unless there is a compelling research need to see the original.

The microfilm conforms to the most advanced standards for preservation microfilming, consisting of an original negative, a negative print master, and positive service copies as needed. Service copies are available through interlibrary loan and are available for purchase. As of this writing, complete sets of the 345 reels that comprise Revolutionary Mexico in Newspapers are available at research libraries in Boston, Chicago, Albuquerque, Mexico City, and Washington, D.C., in addition to Austin, Texas. By the end of summer 2005, copies will also be available in Berlin, Germany, and New Haven, Connecticut; and another set will be available in the near future in Monterrey, Mexico, in a new research center sponsored by the Nuevo León state government. A descriptive catalog of all microfilmed titles and their issues is available in print and online. A similar catalog will be available for the current nineteenth-century Mexican newspaper project; see http://www.lib.utexas.edu/benson/independentmexico/independent-mexico-guide.pdf.

The principal reason to undertake these reformatting projects was because time was seriously eroding the usability of many newspapers. This is particularly true of the newspapers published after about 1872, which were published on very acidic paper. Virtually all of the 560 titles in the first project, dated from 1900 through 1929, were printed on acidic paper. In addition, at least 173 titles (30 percent) of the 579 nineteenth-century works included in the second microfilming project were on acidic paper. Moreover, improper housing, by today's preservation standards, had weakened bindings and accelerated the deterioration caused by chemical changes from glues and cardboard covers.

In the late 1960s, a comprehensive list of Latin American newspapers at the University of Texas was created. That information was incorporated into what became the standard bibliography of Latin American newspapers available in the United States: Steven Charno's Latin American Newspapers in United States Libraries. At that time, all University of Texas newspapers were held in a single collection. When the Latin American Collection moved to its present quarters in January 1971, Latin American titles were separated from the general collection and moved to the Benson Collection's new building. Since then, the growth of the Benson Latin American Collection, which more than doubled between 1980 and 2000, demanded that newspapers older than three years be housed off-site. Cataloged newspapers (a small minority of the total number) could be stored in an off-site storage facility with optimum environmental controls, while uncataloged newspapers were housed at
a building that contained infrequently used library materials. Exceptionally rare cataloged newspapers were retained in the Benson Collection and handled through its rare books unit.

By the late 1990s, an assessment of the Benson Collection newspapers revealed the following:

1. Approximately 1,000 Mexican titles existed, over half of which were dated from 1900 to 1929.

2. Approximately 1,000 non-Mexican Latin American titles existed.

3. The vast majority of all titles lacked cataloging.

4. The 1960s list of Latin American newspapers was out-of-date and contained notations that some titles could not be found.

5. Environmental control varied considerably among the three buildings in which they were stored.

6. The materials most at risk were those printed on acidic paper, most dating from about 1872 forward.

A 1999 proposal to the Access and Preservation Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities successfully attained funding to catalog and microfilm approximately 550 Mexican newspapers held by the Benson Collection and whose runs included issues from 1900 to 1929. Thus, some newspapers beginning in the late 1800s and continuing past 1900 could be included in the project. The proposal and associated costs were based solely on Benson Collection materials. In the course of the two-year project (2000/2002), an attempt was made to borrow as many newspapers as possible, especially to complete runs already held by the Benson Collection. While this proved successful, it also led to unexpected expenses. More newspaper issues meant more original filming. The more libraries that participated, the more service copies of selected reels had to be made and given to the lending libraries. Significant quantities of additional issues and new titles were lent by the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) and the Latin American Library at Tulane University (New Orleans, La.). The Harvard College Library not only lent issues but donated the paper originals to the Benson Collection for long-term storage in exchange for the microfilm version. The Boston Public Library also lent materials to the project. In sum, the first project’s success is demonstrated in table 1.

Table 2 indicates unique titles contributed by the cooperating libraries and indicates the number of pages borrowed to expand Benson Collection runs.

The interest generated in the course of filming the early-twentieth-century papers encouraged the Benson Collection staff to apply for a second grant from the National Endowment to catalog and film Mexican newspapers for
the whole of the nineteenth century. While the number of titles (350) in the Benson Collection was fewer than in the first project, extensive research and planning went into gaining cooperation from other libraries prior to submission of the grant in 2001. In addition to 125,000 pages estimated from its own holdings, Benson Collection staff estimated that at least 20,000 pages would be borrowed from other libraries. Ultimately, eleven libraries participated in the second project and have collectively lent over 70,000 pages for microfilming (see table 3).

### Table 1: Revolutionary Mexico in Newspapers: General Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles from Federal District</th>
<th>Titles from States</th>
<th>Total Titles</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Reels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>326 (58%)</td>
<td>234 (42%)</td>
<td>560 (100%)</td>
<td>227,930</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Titles from 60 cities in 28 states.

### Table 2: Revolutionary Mexico in Newspapers: Titles and Pages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Borrowed from Participating Libraries</th>
<th>Benson Collection</th>
<th>Library of Congress</th>
<th>Tulane University</th>
<th>Harvard University</th>
<th>Boston Public Library</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titles</td>
<td>489 (87%)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementary</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title totals</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>209,959</td>
<td>3,145</td>
<td>3,035</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>216,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementary</td>
<td>7,546</td>
<td>1,939</td>
<td>2,160</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>11,791</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Page totals</td>
<td>209,959</td>
<td>10,691</td>
<td>4,974</td>
<td>2,160</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>227,930</td>
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<tr>
<td>(92%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(1%)</td>
<td>(0%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Number of complementary titles included in total unique titles.

### Table 3: Independent Mexico in Newspapers: General Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles from Federal District</th>
<th>Titles from States</th>
<th>Total Titles</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Reels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>280 (48%)</td>
<td>299 (52%)</td>
<td>579 (100%)</td>
<td>192,527</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Titles from 58 cities in 26 states.

Table 4 indicates unique titles contributed by the cooperating libraries and indicates the number of pages borrowed to expand Benson Collection runs.
Table 4: Independent Mexico in Newspapers: Titles and Pages Borrowed from Participating Libraries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Benson Collection</th>
<th>Library of Congress</th>
<th>Yale University (Sterling)</th>
<th>Tulane University</th>
<th>University of Connecticut</th>
<th>Others(^a)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Titles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>565(^b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14(^c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title totals</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique</td>
<td>119,990</td>
<td>15,994</td>
<td>5,930</td>
<td>1,848</td>
<td>4,472</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>149,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>13,804</td>
<td>10,490</td>
<td>8,412</td>
<td>5,070</td>
<td>4,867</td>
<td>42,643</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page totals</td>
<td>119,990</td>
<td>29,798</td>
<td>16,420</td>
<td>10,260</td>
<td>9,542</td>
<td>6,517</td>
<td>192,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(62%)</td>
<td>(16%)</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(5%)</td>
<td>(3%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington Library; DeGolyer Library, Southern Methodist University; Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin; Harvard College Library, Harvard University; Boston Public Library; New York Historical Society; and Boston Athenaeum.

b. Unique titles are those provided only by one of the participating libraries.

c. Complementary papers are those titles provided by at least two participating libraries combined to complete runs, which total 14, and issues which supplement unique titles held by the Benson Collection. Some libraries lent issues that were not filmed and therefore not counted in the table.

The coverage of the nineteenth century is demonstrated in table 5.

Table 5: Independent Mexico in Newspapers: Newspaper Titles by Start Date

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Start Date</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-independence period</td>
<td>1807–1820</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence period</td>
<td>1821–1900</td>
<td>559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early period/Texas Question</td>
<td>1821–1845</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican War and aftermath</td>
<td>1846–1857</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juárez/Reform/French Intervention</td>
<td>1858–1876</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Porfiriato</td>
<td>1877–1899</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total titles</td>
<td></td>
<td>579</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both of these projects resulted in impressive gains for the bibliographic universe as electronic bibliographic records were created for both the original paper and its reformatted microfilm copy. Combined statistics from both projects are given in table 6.

Additionally, the newspapers were rehoused and received minimal cleaning and preparation prior to cataloging and filming. At the time of cataloging,
every attempt was made to flatten them and wrap them in acid-free folders. After filming, Benson Collection papers were boxed in acid-free containers, while borrowed newspapers were returned to their library flattened and in acid-free folders along with a copy of the OCLC record that had been created. The Benson Collection's large-format papers were stored in a state-of-the-art off-site storage facility with optimum environmental controls. Most early-nineteenth-century newspapers, however, remained in the rare books unit of the Benson Collection.

Table 6: Mexican Newspaper Projects, 1807–1929: Combined Statistics (629 reels)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Benson Collection</th>
<th>Yale (Sterling)</th>
<th>Tulane University</th>
<th>University of Connecticut</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unique titles</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>329,931</td>
<td>41,198</td>
<td>16,455</td>
<td>14,991</td>
<td>9,590</td>
<td>8,761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(78%)</td>
<td>(10%)</td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(4%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
<td>(2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evaluation of the Microfilming Projects

Table 7 demonstrates a significant increase in the number of pages microfilmed as opposed to those projected in the proposals: a 23 percent increase in the first project (185,000 to 227,930 pages) and a 33 percent increase in the second project (145,000 to 192,996 pages).

Table 7: Mexican Newspaper Projects, 1807–1929: Projections and Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Benson Collection</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Benson Collection</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Projected</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th-Century:</td>
<td>(87%)</td>
<td>(13%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique Titles</td>
<td>185,000</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>209,959</td>
<td>17,971</td>
<td>227,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>(92%)</td>
<td>(8%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th-Century:</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique Titles</td>
<td>(52%)</td>
<td>(48%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th-Century:</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>145,000</td>
<td>119,972</td>
<td>73,024</td>
<td>192,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pages</td>
<td>(62%)</td>
<td>(38%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first project, although finished as projected within two years, ran into cost overruns that were absorbed by the University of Texas Libraries. The
second project will finish as budgeted, in spite of finishing six months after its two-year projected length. This anomaly can be explained by several factors.

- First, the proposed budgets were based on the cost of filming one page per frame. In actuality, many newspapers could be filmed two pages per frame at no extra cost. This point is especially true for early-nineteenth-century newspapers, many of which were printed in quarto sizes. Thus many thousands of pages beyond those projected in the second project could be added to it without additional cost.

- The first project, moreover, contained page estimates that were substantially in error. For example, one long-running newspaper was thought to contain eight pages per issue when, in fact, it had sixteen. These kinds of mistakes were eliminated in the second proposal by an actual hands-on review of titles for which the Benson Collection had long runs.

- The major factor in cost overruns in the first project was that no provision had been made to include borrowed newspapers. The addition of nearly 18,000 pages from four libraries added substantially to the cost of the project. The Benson Collection staff, however, argued successfully that the borrowed newspapers would add significantly to the completeness of the project. Tulane University’s Latin American Collection greatly enhanced the project with the addition of 63 newspaper titles from southern Mexico (Chiapas, Tabasco, and Yucatán mostly) while the Library of Congress lent many issues to existing Benson runs, especially for Mexico City publications.

Table 7 also demonstrates a significant shift in the number of Benson Collection titles and pages in the nineteenth-century project relative to that of the twentieth-century project. This is true whether one looks at titles or pages contributed. Looking at titles, for example, 87 percent came from the Benson Collection in the first project, while 52 percent of the titles came from it in the second project. This is logical since a concerted effort was made to borrow more titles and issues from any library known to have newspapers that could be incorporated into the project.

The drop in projected Benson Collection titles as compared to the number included in the project needs to be explained. Projections for the microfilming proposals were made on serial titles thought to be newspapers using an early newspaper list made in the 1960s. At the time of cataloging, however, some titles were determined not be newspapers as defined for the project. Gazettes or official government publications were sometimes encountered, and these were clearly not newspapers as defined for the purposes of the project. Other publications were cataloged as periodicals, not newspapers. Perhaps more disturbing was the number of newspapers not located. Twenty titles could not be located for the first project and 19 for the second. Most papers not located were
single issues or very short runs, although one run was for several years. No one knows what happened to these papers.

The participation of eleven libraries in the second project was gratifying, particularly since it represented a variety of U.S. research libraries. Public and private university libraries and public and private research libraries all contributed. But mention should be made about who did not participate. Some university libraries could not participate because of restrictions in lending materials for any reason: thus, two prominent U.S. libraries having significant Mexican materials, the Beinecke Library at Yale University and the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley, were unable to contribute. In addition, while the University of Connecticut, Storrs, contributed substantially to the nineteenth-century Mexican newspaper project, the fragility of many of the papers held by the Babbage Library could not be sent to Austin. These observations are made to underscore the point that more needs to be done to locate and preserve Mexican newspapers in U.S. research institutions. While the Benson Collection projects were highly successful in goals and outcomes, there remains much good work to be done to locate, reformat, and catalog Mexican newspapers in the United States. Additionally, mistakes were found to exist in the Charno guide. One library noted that they had never had the newspapers in question. Another library had dispossessed itself of its newspapers without good records of where the papers now existed. Yet another library (that of the American Antiquarian Society) had transferred all of its Latin American titles to the University of Connecticut, Storrs. A third of the latter newspapers were loaned to the Benson Collection project.7

It should also be mentioned that the National Endowment grants could only be used to support the preservation microfilming and cataloging of library materials that existed in and belonged to U.S. libraries. Thus, it is logical to ask how the Benson Collection’s projects compare to existing collections in Mexico itself.

No doubt, the most important repository of Mexican newspapers is the Hemeroteca Nacional in Mexico City. Two research trips were undertaken in 2002 and 2004 to compare Benson project newspapers to catalog descriptions available at the Hemeroteca Nacional; no attempt was made to compare the holdings of other institutions in Mexico, however. These comparisons have not been tabulated, but general impressions can be presented at this time.8

- First, there is overlap in holdings in both of the Benson Collection projects. The overlap appears to be more generally true for the nineteenth-century project than for the twentieth-century one. Nonetheless, the overlap does not exceed 50 percent of the material for either project. For papers dated from 1900 to 1929, it probably does not exceed 30 percent. Moreover, little overlap occurs for newspapers published outside of the Federal District in either project.
• As one would expect, both of the Benson Collection projects reflect the preponderance of Mexico City publications just as do the holdings of the Hemeroteca Nacional. It is evident that collecting materials published outside of Mexico City is more difficult than collecting those from the metropolitan capital.9

Newspaper collecting, cataloging, and preservation are challenging, demanding, and frustrating. Handling the physical paper object whether by library stack personnel or the user frequently leads to misshelving and damaged items. Microfilm, a proven archival reformatting alternative, was the preferred medium for the Benson Collection projects given the exigencies of time and funds. While digitization of the material was considered in the early stages of the proposals, the expense was prohibitive relative to that of microfilm. Whatever difficulties were encountered in having newspapers sent to Austin, Texas, were well worth resolving given the greater depth and breadth to both of the microfilming projects. But film offers little ease in adding missing issues to existing runs. Digitization and the creation of virtual newspaper runs is the wave of the future, but one must wait for continued technological advances and reduced costs in creating the images to make them widely available. The film produced in these two projects, however, is of high quality and is organized with the potential for digitization at a later time.

It should be underscored that the cataloging of 1,142 newspapers in these projects will help to create a union list of Mexican or Latin American newspapers in the United States. This is a goal that has long been wanted since the publication of Charno’s guide—after more than three decades, still the definitive holdings list of Latin American newspapers in the United States. The number of newspapers cataloged by the Benson Serials Unit represents nearly 20 percent of all Latin American titles reported by Charno. Even more importantly, these projects have cataloged almost all of the Mexican newspapers published through 1929 listed by Charno. The cataloging of over 1,100 Mexican newspapers resulting from these two projects represents a bibliographical tour de force by the Benson Serials Unit.

Laudable as these efforts may be, librarians are left with a daunting task. How do librarians locate and preserve disintegrating newspapers, which must surely exist in private and regional collections, in Mexico as well as throughout Latin America? This is the challenge that remains for solution today and tomorrow.

APPENDIX I

Definition of a “Newspaper,” Revolutionary Mexico in Newspapers, 1900–1929 (1999 NEH Proposal)

In selecting titles to be included in this project, the General Libraries follows the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) definition of a newspaper: a serial
publication which contains news on current events of special or general interest, whose parts are listed chronologically or numerically and appear usually at least once a week. Newspapers usually appear without a cover, with a masthead, and are normally larger than approximately 12 by 17 inches in size. For present purposes, the definition is understood to include:

- General interest newspapers mainly reporting events that have occurred within the 24-hour period before going to press.
- Non-daily general interest newspapers (for example, local and neighborhood newspapers) that provide news covering a longer period of time, and also serve their readers as a primary source of general information due to their local origin.
- Newspapers that contain news of special interest, in addition to general information, targeted to clearly identified groups, such as ethnic or racial groups, labor unions, farming community, religious or political groups.

APPENDIX II

Definition of a “Newspaper,” Independent Mexico in Newspapers, the Nineteenth Century (2001 NEH Proposal)

In selecting titles to be included in this project, the General Libraries has followed the precedent set in the Charno guide: “it became evident that the basis of selection should be broadened beyond the somewhat rigid definition originally suggested, in order to provide more comprehensive historical coverage” (p. xi). As a basis, then, the following “rigid definition” follows the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) definition of a newspaper:

A serial publication that contains news on current events of special or general interest, whose parts are listed chronologically or numerically and appear usually at least once a week. Newspapers usually appear without a cover, with a masthead, and are normally larger than approximately 12 by 17 inches in size.

For present purposes, the definition is understood to include:

- General interest newspapers mainly reporting events that have occurred within the 24-hour period before going to press.
- Non-daily general interest newspapers (for example, local and neighborhood newspapers) that provide news covering a longer period of time, and also serve their readers as a primary source of general information due to their local origin.
- Newspapers that contain news of special interest, in addition to general information, targeted to clearly identified groups, such as ethnic or racial groups, labor unions, farming community, religious or political groups.
- Publications “with the look and feel of newspapers,” that is, printed on newsprint, formatted in a manner similar to dailies, and that comment, sometimes in a satirical way, on contemporaneous events.
- Publications that were forerunners of newspapers and display all the characteristics in the ISO definition save size.
NOTES


2. See http://www.lib.utexas.edu/benson/about.html for information about the Benson Collection, which is a specialized research library focusing on materials from and about Latin America, and on materials relating to Latinos in the United States. Today, it has about 900,000 books, periodicals, and pamphlets as well as extensive research materials in other formats.

3. These acquisitions include the Alejandro Prieto Library, purchased in 1941, which is particularly rich in Tamaulipas newspapers; and the Miguel Bolaños Cacho Papers, acquired in 1986, which contains newspapers from Oaxaca and Baja California.


7. Acknowledgement is hereby made to the Latin American Microform Project at the Center for Research Libraries, Chicago, Ill., for having helped underwrite the cost of filming the large number of papers borrowed from the University of Connecticut Library, Storrs, Conn.

8. Tabulation of the comparison of holdings will be available after the completion of the nineteenth-century project in March 2005.

17. El Curso de Investigación Documental en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades: experiencias y retos de la Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas de El Colegio de México

Carmen Yasmina López Morales

Introducción

En el año 2002 quedó constituido el Grupo de Formadores de la Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas. Durante los 3 años de su existencia, algunos de sus integrantes han cambiado, pero todas las tareas de planeación y resultados siguen siendo, como se pensó, resultados del trabajo grupal. Este grupo, está formado por bibliotecarios profesionales, la mayoría con estudios de postgrado. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo explicar el contexto, desarrollo, estado actual y retos de la formación de usuarios en la Biblioteca.

Entorno institucional

El Colegio de México es una institución pública, dedicada a la investigación y a la enseñanza superior, fundada el 8 de octubre de 1940. Tiene como objetivos organizar y realizar investigaciones en algunos campos de las ciencias sociales y humanidades; impartir educación superior para formar profesionistas, investigadores y profesores universitarios; editar libros y revistas sobre materias relacionadas con sus actividades y colaborar con otras instituciones nacionales y extranjeras para la realización de objetivos comunes.

Está integrado por siete Centros de Estudios, a saber:

1. Centro de Estudios Históricos, imparte el Doctorado en Historia
2. Centro de Estudios Lingüísticos y Literarios, imparte el Doctorado en Lingüística, el Doctorado en Literatura y la Maestría en Traducción
3. Centro de Estudios Internacionales, imparte dos licenciaturas, una en Administración Pública y otra en Relaciones Internacionales
4. Centro de Estudios de Asia y África, ofrece maestría y doctorado en Asia y África con las siguientes especializaciones: África, China, Corea,
Sur de Asia, Japón, Medio Oriente (Asia occidental y norte de África) y Sureste de Asia

5. Centro de Estudios Económicos, imparte una maestría en Economía y un doctorado en Economía con cinco especialidades: Desarrollo Económico, Economía Industrial, Economía Internacional, Economía Pública y Macroeconomía

6. Centro de Estudios Demográficos, Urbanos y Ambientales, imparte dos maestrías, una en Demografía y otra en Estudios Urbanos y dos doctorados, uno en Población y el de Estudios Urbanos y Ambientales

7. Centro de Estudios Sociológicos cuenta con un Doctorado en Ciencia Social, con especialidad en Sociología

La Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas (BDCV)—que imparte una Maestría en Biblioteconomía—es considerada una Unidad de Apoyo al igual que la Dirección de Publicaciones y la Unidad de Cómputo.

La mayor parte de los programas de El Colegio de México están incluidos en el padrón de excelencia del Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología. En promedio, El Colegio de México cuenta con 250 estudiantes y una cantidad similar de profesores-investigadores.

La formación de usuarios en la Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas

La educación de usuarios es uno de los temas con más larga tradición en las actividades de la Biblioteca y podemos distinguir claramente tres etapas:

a. Curso de Técnicas de Investigación en Ciencias Sociales. Como su nombre lo indica, el contenido y alcance de este curso es mucho más amplio que la formación de usuarios, simultáneamente a la impartición de estos cursos, su responsable escribió varias de las ediciones de su libro homónimo.

b. Sesiones de inducción a la Biblioteca. Incluyan siempre una visita guiada y después sesiones relativas al uso del catálogo, página web y bases de datos. Las sesiones tenían sobre todo un carácter demostrativo, pero también incluían la explicación de algunos conceptos necesarios para la búsqueda de información, así como ejercicios y prácticas.

c. A principios del año 2002, la Biblioteca se planteó la posibilidad de tener una participación más activa en la formación integral de los estudiantes de El Colegio de México y le propuso al Coordinador Académico de El Colegio y a los Coordinadores de los Centros que se impartiera un Curso de Investigación Documental dirigido a todos los estudiantes de nuevo ingreso.
Cuadro 1: La formación de usuarios en la BDCV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Período</th>
<th>Impartido por</th>
<th>Objetivos</th>
<th>Duración</th>
<th>Centros que recibieron el curso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Técnicas de Investigación, 1968–1988</td>
<td>El director de la Biblioteca con apoyo de las referencistas</td>
<td>Iniciar al estudiante en el estudio y el empleo de los procedimientos y recursos básicos para la investigación. Promover el aprovechamiento de las colecciones y servicios de la Biblioteca.</td>
<td>Un semestre como asignatura</td>
<td>Centro de Estudios Internacionales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curso de Investigación Documental en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 2002–a la fecha</td>
<td>Personal académico de la Biblioteca (Procesos Técnicos y Servicios) que integran el Grupo del Curso</td>
<td>Que los participantes conozcan y desarrollen las etapas de la investigación documental necesaria para sus trabajos escolares, usando los recursos de información a los que tienen acceso mediante la Biblioteca.</td>
<td>30 horas</td>
<td>Siete (7) Centros de Estudios de El Colegio y estudiantes de la maestría en Bibliotecología</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De las sesiones de inducción al curso de investigación documental

Las sesiones de inducción a la Biblioteca se impartieron de 1997 al 2001. Consistían en cinco sesiones—normalmente una semana—de dos horas con los siguientes temas:

1. Visita guiada a la Biblioteca y presentación de su página web
2. El catálogo de la Biblioteca
3. Bases de datos generales
4. Bases de datos especializadas
5. Sitios especializados en Internet

Estas sesiones se habían desarrollado también por asignación a diferentes miembros del personal académico, en un principio y una vez definidos los contenidos de cada sesión, el bibliógrafo responsable de la atención al Centro de Estudios era también responsable de la actualización de los recursos que se presentaban así como de impartir el curso.

Como parte de los cursos de actualización profesional, en el año 2002, se impartió en la Biblioteca el curso *Formadores de Formadores*, impartido por algunos miembros del personal académico de la Biblioteca cuya especialidad era la *Formación de Usuarios* y también profesores invitados. Las diferencias en la experiencia docente y visión de los miembros del grupo frente a la formación de usuarios, llevaron a fuertes discusiones respecto a los contenidos y planteamiento de las sesiones, dando como resultado el replanteamiento de los cursos.

**El Curso de Investigación Documental en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades**

Las discusiones iniciadas en el marco del *Curso de Formadores* llevaron al grupo de bibliotecarios interesados en el tema, principalmente los Bibliógrafos de cada centro a decidir que era necesario un cambio en los cursos, sin embargo, no era claro hacia dónde tenía que dirigirse, por ello, fue necesario la designación del miembros del grupo con mayor experiencia y formación pedagógica como responsable de planear y coordinar las tareas del grupo, cuyas tareas fueron no solamente se han orientado a los contenidos del curso, sino también a la necesidad de contar con principios pedagógicos básicos que coadyuven en la impartición de los cursos.

Las reuniones periódicas que se llevan desde entonces en el *Grupo del CIDCSH* han permitido el desarrollo colectivo de los contenidos del curso, la socialización del curso cada vez que se integran nuevos miembros, ha creado un espacio para compartir experiencias y ha permitido también la mejora permanente en la impartición de los cursos.

**El modelo para resolver problemas de información**

El liderazgo de uno de los miembros del grupo fue fundamental para transformar, a partir de las opiniones y comentarios del grupo, un consenso y por tanto, la decisión de cuál sería la visión para el Desarrollo de Habilidades informativas de la Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas.

La primera tarea consistió en revisar los modelos para resolver problemas de información existentes, lo que nos serviría como base para definir
los nuevos contenidos del curso. Se revisaron particularmente dos modelos, resultado investigaciones empíricas.

Según Carol Kuhlthau, quien estudió el comportamiento de estudiantes universitarios, pueden identificarse siete etapas en el proceso para resolver problemas, las cuales pueden combinarse mientras los estudiantes están en el proceso:

1. Inicio del proyecto de investigación. Los estudiantes son informados acerca del proyecto o tarea de investigación. En esta etapa se enfocan en entender cómo se relaciona el proyecto con otros trabajos realizados anteriormente. Sienten incertidumbre porque no saben exactamente cómo empezar.

2. Selección de un tema. La tarea durante esta etapa es identificar el tema general de investigación. Generalmente los estudiantes se sienten optimistas una vez que han seleccionado su tema y probablemente lleven a cabo una búsqueda de información preliminar y hablen con otros sobre el tema elegido.

3. Exploración en los recursos para enfocar el tema. Esta es la etapa más difícil del proceso porque muy probablemente los estudiantes no tengan suficientes conocimientos como para formular inmediatamente una hipótesis y buscar documentos para sustentarla. Los estudiantes tratan de buscar e incorporar la información encontrada con lo que ellos saben sobre el tema. Este proceso de integrar nuevo conocimiento con lo que ya se sabe puede causar mucha confusión porque cada documento aborda el tema con una perspectiva diferente.

4. Delimitación del tema. Los estudiantes revisan sus notas, escriben y hablan sobre su tema. El enfoque o delimitación del tema se va conformando poco a poco en la medida en que los estudiantes analizan la información encontrada y pueden determinar los aspectos más importantes del tema. En esta etapa ellos han “construido” suficiente conocimiento, lo que les permite integrar nueva información sin confundirse. Emocionalmente se sienten mucho más confiados en que pueden completar la tarea.

5. Selección de información. En esta etapa los estudiantes pueden explicar con claridad cuál es su tema de investigación y saben con exactitud qué información necesitan para fundamentar sus trabajos. Pueden interactuar con los sistemas de información de una manera efectiva porque conocen la relación entre los conceptos y la terminología apropiada para representarlos.
6. Conclusión de la búsqueda. Los estudiantes sienten que cuentan con la información suficiente para completar su proyecto. Tienen organizadas sus ideas y experimentan alivio.

7. Redacción final del documento. En esta etapa los estudiantes incorporan la información que consideran más valiosa al texto final. Dependiendo de los resultados del proceso se sienten satisfechos o insatisfechos.

David Ellis, Deborah Cox y Katherine Hall, quienes se enfocaron al proceso de investigación documental de investigadores.6

A partir de sus hallazgos han establecido ocho categorías para describir estas tareas:

1. Inicio: Actividades realizadas por el investigador para iniciar la búsqueda de información, por ejemplo, preguntar a algún colega o buscar en sus archivos los artículos o autores clave que le permitan empezar la búsqueda.

2. Búsqueda de citas: Revisión de notas y referencias de los documentos con los que inició la búsqueda; esto le permite localizar obras relacionadas. Búsqueda de documentos en índices, catálogos y otros recursos de información.

3. Exploración: Búsqueda intuitiva de información en el área de interés, por ejemplo, visitar las librerías o revisar la estantería de la biblioteca para localizar artículos o libros interesantes.

4. Actualización: Revisión permanente de fuentes de información especializadas para mantenerse al tanto de los avances en el área o disciplina; mantener contacto con colegas.

5. Diferenciación: Detección de diferencias entre las fuentes de información localizadas con el objeto de determinar su naturaleza y calidad.


7. Verificación: Revisión de la exactitud de la información.

8. Fin: Actividades realizadas al concluir un proyecto, por ejemplo, búsqueda final de información para asegurarse de que se han considerado todas las referencias importantes y la preparación de documentos para su publicación o presentación.

El curso de investigación documental está basado en este último modelo, representado como sigue:

De acuerdo al modelo, el programa del curso quedó formado por los siguientes temas:

1. Los Sistemas de Información (Bibliotecas, Archivos, Hemeroteca, Bibliotecas digitales)
2. La Biblioteca Daniel Cosío Villegas (Portal, Colecciones, Servicios)
3. Obras de Consulta
4. Publicaciones seriadas
5. Bases de datos (Estructura, Elementos de los registros bibliográficos, Vocabulario controlado, Enlaces hipertextuales)
6. Estrategias de búsqueda (Puntos de acceso, Operadores boléanos, Comandos de búsqueda, Búsqueda por campos, Búsqueda en índices)
7. El Catálogo de la Biblioteca (Opciones de búsqueda, Opciones para ver y enviar resultados, Ayudas, Enlaces hipertextuales, Verificación de préstamos)
8. Localización y Obtención de documentos (Biblioteca, Bibliotecas digitales, Servicios comerciales)
9. El proceso para resolver problemas de información
10. Definición del problema de información (Definición del tema, Fuentes de consulta)

11. Recursos generales (Ciencias sociales y humanidades)

12. Recursos especializados por materia

13. Recursos en Internet (Buscadores en la web, Estrategias de búsqueda, Evaluación) de la información

14. Análisis y evaluación de la información (Evaluación de los resultados, Evaluación del proceso de búsqueda)

15. Organización de la información y publicación (Citaciones y normas bibliográficas, Manuales de estilo, Manejadores de referencias bibliográficas [Procite, Refworks], Publicación en revistas especializadas)

Si bien, desde el curso original estaba contemplada una sesión optativa de herramientas de cómputo, en el curso 2004 se hizo un cambio que llevó a que en vez de darse en una sola sesión, dichas herramientas se vieran como parte complementaria dependiendo de los objetivos en cada tema.

1. Identificación del problema de información (Correo electrónico, mensajería instantánea, grupos de discusión, videoconferencia)

2. Definición del problema de información (Programas para la elaboración de mapas conceptuales, administrador de proyectos)

3. Selección de fuentes (World Wide Web)

4. Desarrollo de estrategias de búsqueda (Bases de datos, Internet)

5. Localización de documentos (Telnet, File Transfer Protocol [FTP], Portable Document Format [PDF], programas para la compresión de archivos, herramientas para la administración de carpetas y archivos)

6. Análisis y evaluación de la información (Hojas de cálculo, programas para manejo de estadísticas)

7. Organización bibliográfica y publicación (Procesadores de palabras, programas para presentaciones, editores de páginas web, programas para captura de imágenes, programas para el manejo de referencias bibliográficas)

**El seminario del curso de investigación documental**

El hecho de que las reuniones del curso se sigan llevando a cabo de manera regular, con mayor frecuencia durante los periodos de clase ha asegurado la consolidación de un grupo que comparte la visión sobre el curso de investigación documental y pretende facilitar la incorporación de nuevos elementos,
ya sea, por cambio de asignación de tareas del personal académico, o bien, por la incorporación de nuevo personal a la Biblioteca.

Además, ha facilitado que, independientemente de la asignación de un bibliógrafo por centro, en los casos en los que hay ingresos de más de un programa por centro, se cuente con un grupo de profesores capacitados para impartir el curso en todos los niveles y a todos los centros.

El contar con un espacio para compartir experiencias e ideas también ha sido fundamental para enriquecer la práctica docente de los miembros.

**Evaluación del curso**

Desde el curso de *Formadores de Formadores*, la evaluación, fue contemplada como un elemento para la mejora continua, los aspectos que se evalúan en cada curso son:

- Trabajos y ejercicios de los alumnos (aprendizaje)
- Cuestionario para alumnos (curso, profesor y autoevaluación del alumno)
- Observación (desempeño del profesor)
- Entrevistas con alumnos, profesores, coordinadores (curso)
- Medidas indirectas: estadísticas de uso de recursos (impacto)
- Autoevaluación del grupo de formadores

Los resultados hasta ahora, han sido buenos, en los cursos presenciales se han atendido a 190 estudiantes de prácticamente todos los Centros de Estudios, la evaluación positiva por parte de los alumnos respecto al curso, ha tenido como consecuencia el fortalecimiento de las relaciones de la Biblioteca con los Centros de Estudios. Si bien, hasta ahora solamente dos centros (Demográficos, Urbanos y Ambientales, y el de Asia y África), consideran este curso como parte de la curricula, algunos centros que se habían negado a incluirlo por cuestiones de horarios, han accedido a que se imparta a partir de este año.

Adicionalmente, se ha observado un incremento en el uso de los recursos de la biblioteca, así como en el nivel de complejidad de las preguntas a bibliógrafos.

**Retos**

Los esfuerzos del grupo del CIDCSH están orientados a lograr que el curso sea obligatorio para todos los estudiantes de El Colegio y que forme parte de la curricula.

Llevar la práctica exitosa en clases presenciales al ambiente electrónico a través del *Tutorial del Curso de Investigación Documental* que se imparte por primera vez este año; si bien, por tratarse de la primera experiencia en este año, hay mejoras que hacer, este es el primer paso para lograr una aceptación más
amplia de la comunidad, brindandonos un espacio para acercarnos a los estudiantes de licenciatura, los profesores-investigadores de El Colegio a quienes no hemos llegado hasta ahora, así como a la comunidad bibliotecaria mexicana.

NOTAS


8. Definidos por Pilar María Moreno, Coordinadora Académica de la Biblioteca, Coordinadora desde el 2002 del Curso de Investigación Documental en Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades.
18. Information Literacy and How Library Students Are Being Taught to Teach

Paloma Celis Carbajal

The information presented in this paper has been gathered from three different sources: (a) articles in journals; (b) interviews with SLIS (School of Library and Information Studies) faculty members that teach the IL (Information Literacy) courses, with students that have taken one of these courses, and with graduate students in the Spanish and Portuguese department; and (c) the syllabi of the IL courses taught at SLIS and the university’s Library and Information Literacy Instruction Program.

UW (University of Wisconsin) SLIS’ Vision and Mission Statement from 2002 highlights the fact that during the last decades the basis for relevant transformations within the library and information professions has been the increasing number of technological changes. Areas that were not considered to be librarians’ core responsibilities have emerged from obscurity and “have forced professionals to redefine or reclaim their jurisdictions, reexamine specialties, and develop new areas of practice” (School of Library and Information Studies 2002, 2). Libraries currently have to confront new issues such as how to support distance education, how to deliver materials electronically to their users, how to maximize and add value to information in research and development, as well as how to provide for the information needs of those without access to information technology (Grassian and Kaplowitz 2001, 7).

The School of Library and Information Studies at UW-Madison offers two graduate programs, a M.L.S. and a Ph.D. Its curriculum includes a total of fifty-seven courses. Besides the brief knowledge about information literacy provided in the basic reference course, two courses are entirely devoted to information literacy.

Since 1988, SLIS has offered the course “Field Project in Library and Information Agencies: Library and Information Literacy Instruction” (LIS 620), which has eight credits—in contrast with the normal three-credit courses. This course has been taught by a SLIS professor with the support of teaching librarians and the information literacy coordinator of UW’s General Library System.

The field project course includes a 120-hour field placement for each student. The bulk of that time is spent with the students doing hands-on practice with the multiple communication arts courses that the campus libraries
teach each semester to the undergraduate students. This course is “intended to provide an experience that is much like actual professional practice, but that also provides a ‘safe’ environment for learning under the direction of a professional” (Besant 2005, 1).

The undergraduate communication requirement includes two courses. Except for the small percentage that tests out, all incoming freshmen at the university are required to take Course A of the communication requirement within their first year. This course includes information components, as well as instruction in written and oral communications. The information literacy component, taught by campus teaching librarians, is designed to guide students in the campus library system and to introduce them to the basic information-seeking skills and strategies needed to find books and journal resources. The module consists of two parts: an online tutorial called CLUE (Computerized Library User Education) and a classroom session in an electronic classroom of one of the campus libraries. Course B also includes an information literacy component. Generally, B courses are discipline- or subject-specific classes for seniors. The practicum SLIS students observe and assist in Course A classes or Course B sessions. This experience gives the SLIS students the opportunity to observe a variety of teaching styles and classroom arrangements as well as experience with one-on-one teaching. The students also teach or team-teach a session of the online catalog workshops from a prewritten script with the idea of acquiring teaching experience without having to create the class content.

All thirty-five campus libraries can provide practice opportunities for the field project course, so the spectrum of practicum positions offers multiple possibilities of instruction that range from the humanities, arts, and social sciences to the hard sciences. The SLIS student’s experience will depend on the library he or she picks for the field placement. Some libraries have high-tech projects where SLIS students will work on online tutorials and online courses through Learn@UW instead of assisting librarians in the library instruction sessions. At the Memorial Library (Humanities and Social Sciences library), SLIS students have done more traditional teaching like helping multiple sections of Psychology 225 students work through a tutorial and library assignment, teaching a journal database or online catalog workshop, and in some cases working on web pages for course-related instruction.

There is a teaching preparation class before the students start the practicum in which the professor and the students study and discuss different types of teaching and learning techniques, and receive practical training on how to teach. Throughout the semester, the professor and the coach librarian meet regularly to go over the student’s progress on his or her project. During the practicum, the coach librarian assesses the student on his or her teaching before the workshop.

The primary value of this course is that SLIS students can claim real-life experience with library instruction when they start job hunting, besides the fact
that the coach librarian could be called upon as a reference and can speak to that real, practical experience.

The most recent course on information literacy that SLIS offers is the three-credit LIS 640, “Topics in Library and Information Studies.” This course was conceived to fulfill the state certification requirement for school librarians, and for this reason it was originally intended for SLIS students in the school librarianship track. In the fall semester of 2004, the first time it was taught, the professor realized that there was also student interest in the academic librarianship track and is now incorporating content on adult teaching theories. The purpose of the LIS 640 course is to introduce students to the concept of information literacy and its relevance for the practice of librarianship in any library setting: academic, public, or school. In comparison with LIS 620, this is a more theoretical course because there is no hands-on practice. This course analyzes the history and the concept of information literacy. Nevertheless, each student is required to design and teach a library instruction session to their peers who will provide feedback about his or her teaching technique and style (Klais 2004, 1).

The former LIS 620 students with whom I spoke agreed that this has been one of the most useful courses for their future career as librarians, because of the great demand in the job market for librarians with experience in library instruction. One of the students, Eliot Finkelstein, now works at the College Library of UW-Madison and co-teaches this same course with SLIS. He commented that the experience he had acquired in the LIS 620 course was one of the determining factors for him to be selected for the position. As an example of this great demand, many position announcements posted on the American Library Association website require qualifications such as the following: demonstrated teaching/instructional experience and strong instructional design skills to support classroom and computer-based learning environments, and advanced training or degree in the use of instructional technology.

When speaking with the graduate students in the Spanish and Portuguese department, they all agreed that not only is it necessary to include library instruction in the undergraduate courses, but that there should be an introduction course or workshop for the incoming graduate students because they come from diverse academic backgrounds where they may or may not have received this type of instruction. They are simply shuffled into the library to do research for their papers all the while ignoring the enormous possibilities offered by the library system such as the electronic databases and software like RefWorks. To this day, there has been no special library instruction session required by a professor for his or her Spanish or Portuguese graduate students. Luis Villar, the former Ibero-American bibliographer, proposed starting a workshop specifically designed for Spanish and Portuguese graduate students, but, to date, this has not occurred. Some professors limit their library instruction in class to
comments such as “I can’t believe you don’t know, as graduate students, how to use our library!”

Interestingly enough, in a user’s needs survey I administered to the Spanish and Portuguese faculty, I received the following observation: “There is extensive information on the web and in printed format. Perhaps what it is needed in addition to keep the library up-to-date is to train/guide people in how to make good use of its resources for research and instructional purposes.” So, why is there hesitance to include information literacy components in the graduate Spanish and Portuguese curricula?

As Curt Asher emphasizes, is what we have to offer superficial? It is no less superficial than learning to write a paragraph or factor a polynomial. All are practical skills that, once mastered, allow learners to apply them in new ways to new needs. If students can learn the basic skills a librarian can teach them, superficial or not, they will find themselves swimming forever in a river of ideas, and that is what lifelong learning is all about (Asher 2003, 54–55).

APPENDIX

List of Interviewees

The date in parentheses refers to the day of the interview. Thanks to all of them.

SLIS Professors and UW GLS Librarians

Helene Androski, Senior Teaching Librarian (February 28, 2005)
Michele Besant, LIS 620 Professor (February 23, 2005)
Elliot Finkelstein, Academic Librarian (March 2, 2005)
Madge Klais, LIS 640 Professor (March 3, 2005)
Abigail Loomis, Coordinator of the Library and Information Literacy Instruction Program (March 15, 2005)

Former LIS 620 Students

Todd Bruns (March 3, 2005)
Kyle Fingerson (March 1, 2005)
Emily Frigo (March 3, 2005)

Graduate Students of the Spanish and Portuguese Department

John Burns (March 24, 2005)
Maria del Rocío Ramirez Cornejo (March 26, 2005)
Michael Rueter (March 24, 2005)

BIBLIOGRAPHY


19. Chronicling the Cuban Exodus through Cuban Exile Periodicals, 1959–2005

Esperanza Bravo de Varona

"Chronicling the Cuban Exodus through Cuban Exile Periodicals, 1959–2005" offers an overview of the Cuban Heritage Collection’s Cuban Exile Periodicals Collection and examines how these periodicals, or periodiquitos, help to capture the Cuban exile experience.

When Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba in 1959, a mass exodus of Cubans left the island for political reasons with hopes of returning in the near future. Miami’s geographic location made it the logical point of entry into the United States for most Cubans at that time.

As soon as the refugees were able to regain their former occupational status, many set up professional businesses and practices in Miami, thereby contributing to the economy of the community. Businesses thrived, which generated revenue, which in turn was invested, for the most part, back into the community. Unlike other ethnic or immigrant groups, Cubans tend to live and stay in Miami, and their children, now with families of their own, also prefer to reside in Miami. There they enjoy living in an area that has strong ties to the Hispanic culture, where the Spanish language has taken a prominent role in the local business world, the daily newspaper publishes a Spanish-language edition, and bilingual skills are an asset in the marketplace. The university’s library collections also grew to reflect the combined socioeconomic and political impacts of the Cuban Americans on the local community. It is in the city of Miami, which is the heart and soul of the Cuban-American community, where most of the periodicals first appeared and proliferated. They document the history, changes, and development of the Cuban community outside of the island as well as the socioeconomic, historical, and cultural contributions of Cuban exiles in many areas of the United States. While some titles are still in circulation, many were short-lived, and some were issued only once. Occasionally, new titles attempt and succeed in capturing a share of the marketplace.

The University of Miami’s collection of Cuban exile periodicals consists of tabloids, magazines, bulletins, and newsletters edited, directed, or published by Cuban exiles since 1959 to the present. It is a unique collection, and no other archive in the world contains as comprehensive a collection of Cuban exile periodicals as does the University of Miami Library. The size of this collection approaches more than 1,400 titles representing some 150,000 issues.
Through these publications, Cuban refugees from the early 1960s expressed their views on the political changes that took place in Cuba. Topics were polemic and political in nature within the context of national and international news. In a general sense, the subject matter reflects the various aspects of exile life and interests, including political ideology and activities. More frequently than not, the guiding force behind the editorials and the articles is the implicit or explicit expression of a strong desire for returning to a free and democratic Cuba. In sum, these “small” and sometimes ephemeral publications provide a vehicle for transmitting the desire of the Cuban exile community to fight the new communist regime, to try to reestablish democracy in Cuba, and to maintain the traditions and culture of the Cuban people.

From the early days of the Cuban exodus, the periodicals have been printed in Spanish to reach primarily a Cuban reading audience that had been accustomed to reading Spanish-language materials in their country of origin. Over time, the reading audience grew and diversified from the refugees of the early exodus to today’s bilingual and bicultural Cuban Americans.

Distribution is typically by way of retail businesses in Hispanic neighborhoods. The papers are available free of charge or by subscription, depending on the publisher.

The collection can be divided as follows:

1. Early Cuban Exile Publications Mainly Political in Nature:
   - *Acción cubana*. Published in Luxemburg, November 1959. No longer published.

2. Periodicals Previously Published in Cuba and Continued in Exile
   Owners, editors, and journalists of the major Cuban newspapers and magazines went into exile after 1959. Some of them were Miguel Angel Quevedo Sr., Jorge Zayas, José Ignacio Rivero, Angel Cambó Ruiz, José Roseñada, and José Hernández Toraño. The publications that they owned were the following:
   - *Bohemia libre*. Began publication in 1908 in Havana as *Bohemia* by Miguel Angel Quevedo. When he left Cuba as an exile, he continued its publication as *Bohemia Libre* in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1960.
   - *Avance criollo*. In Havana, it had been published as *Avance*. It was continued in Miami by Jorge Zayas from 1960 to 1962.
• 7 Días del Diario de la marina. Previously published in Cuba as Diario de la marina. Continued to be published in Miami by the director José Ignacio Rivero from 1960 to 1961.


3. Literary Magazines and Newspapers
When the Cuban writers and poets fled the island as exiles to the United States, they began to publish their literary works, because they considered that their written words were as important as those published in Cuba. These publications were mainly financed by the authors and resulted in the short life span of these periodicals:


• Linden Lane Magazine. Princeton, N.J.: Linden Lane Magazine and Press, 1982–.

4. Professional and Other Organization Publications
Some of the more prominent publications of organizations in exile are newsletters, magazines, and newspapers from the Municipios de Cuba en el Exilio (Cuban Municipalities in Exile), which represent the towns, cities, and municipalities that were in existence before Castro rearranged and renamed the country’s geopolitical composition. These associations serve as a vehicle for promoting social cohesion, cultural heritage activities, and socioeconomic support. One way in which their members accomplish the preservation of these cultural traits is through distribution of their publications.

In the same way, when the professionals arrived in the United States and in other countries, they intended to maintain networks among their people. They realized early on that the best way to communicate and stay connected with each other, as well as preserve their culture and heritage, was through periodical publications. These publications focused on careers and accomplishments of Cubans in exile:

• El Abogado: Boletín del Colegio Nacional de Abogados de Cuba en el Exilio. Miami, Fla., 1969–.

• Boletín médico. Miami, Fla.: Cuban Medical Association, 1964–?
5. Religious and Freemason Publications

In May 1961, the communist regime forced the closures of religious-affiliated schools and religious orders, and consequently many lay teachers left the island as exiles. These groups also began to publish periodicals to communicate between themselves just as the Cuban professionals had done.

- **Cristo en su hogar: Órgano del Concilio de la Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal.** Miami, Fla.: Iglesia Evangélica Pentecostal, 1975–.

- **Fragua: Publicación de la Gran Logia de Cuba en el Exilio al servicio de la causa de la libertad.** Miami, Fla.: Gran Logia de Cuba en el Exilio, 1965–.

- **Revista Ideal.** Miami, Fla.: Christian Commitment Foundation, 1971–.

The periodicals are invaluable in preserving and continuing a sense of identity and community among the exiled population. The collection serves to preserve and communicate to future generations the history of Cuba and the exile experience. With the passage of time, the historical value of Cuban exile periodicals will become even more significant.

These publications are also invaluable not only because they demonstrate the Cuban exile experience, but they contribute greatly to the history of Miami-Dade, the State of Florida, and even the United States.

In conclusion, Gastón Baquero, a Cuban exile poet and journalist, wrote the following published in *El Nuevo Herald*, Miami, November 4, 1995:

"Una de las facetas más bellas del exilio cubano es la que podemos llamar "del periodismo heroico". Ya sabemos que en todo esfuerzo cultural ha de estar una fuerte dosis de heroísmo, de desinterés, de amor y servicio a las cosas por lo que ellas son y no por lo que puedan dar. Pero en ese periodismo modesto, y aun modestísimo a veces en lo material, en la disponibilidad de recursos, hay un doble y excepcional heroísmo. Eso que con frecuencia y con injusticia se llama desefosamente "un periodiquito" es una de las demostraciones mayores que pueden dar de su supervivencia el amor a la patria y el amor a la cultura."
Así como el mundo ha tenido una enorme transformación en los últimos cincuenta años, el libro y la cultura literaria uruguaya también ha sufrido cambios significativos. Para comenzar a detallar estos movimientos, debemos ir unos años atrás hasta llegar a 1939, fecha que coincide con el comienzo de la segunda guerra mundial. En Uruguay se producen ese año dos hechos que renovarán para siempre la cultura del país, marcando una barrera ineludible, un antes y después en la vida de las letras. En 1939 nace el semanario Marcha, y Juan Carlos Onetti publica El Pozo, su primer y emblemático libro.

Tratar de resumir lo que significó el semanario Marcha, dirigido en toda su historia por Carlos Quijano, no es tarea fácil, pero debemos decir que desde su fundación hasta su desaparición en 1974, Marcha fue uno de los ejes de la cultura y el pensamiento nacional, con marcada influencia en la artes y en la política uruguaya. La sección literaria “cambió de orientaciones—a veces radicalmente—renovó o realineó sus equipos, se prolongó en proyectos multidisciplinarios como fueron sus Cuadernos de Marcha y la Biblioteca de Marcha”, editorial que funcionó desde 1967, organizó concursos, y en su sección literaria colaboraron algunos de los más reconocidos intelectuales de entonces, muchos de los cuales integraron lo que Ángel Rama definió como “Generación Crítica”.

También de 1939 es la aparición de la pequeña novela El Pozo, primer libro de Juan Carlos Onetti, tal vez la figura más importante de las letras uruguayas del siglo XX. Esa primera edición, publicada en pequeño formato y en papel de estraza, es el comienzo de un cambio en la forma del relato imperante en Uruguay. El Pozo, tal como lo ha definido el crítico Rómulo Cosse, produce una fisura, un estallido en el modelo narrativo que hasta ese momento dominaba el panorama en Uruguay, modelo que no era otra cosa que una réplica del relato realista europeo occidental y decimonónico. “Un amplio movimiento renovador, dice Cosse,2 se generó entonces, cuyas ondas sucesivas llegan hasta hoy”.

Es a partir de allí que comienzan a generarse en la vida cultural uruguaya lo que el ensayista Emir Rodríguez Monegal bautizó como “Generación del 45”, en referencia al grupo de escritores de gran destaque nacidos en el país entre


Alvaro J. Risso
1920 y 1930, quienes “con una dosis grande de homogeneidad construyeron un espacio fundamental en la cultura uruguaya entre 1945 y 1970”. Nombres como los ya citados Onetti, Rama y Rodríguez Monegal, esta generación del 45 contó con los aportes de Armonía Somers, Carlos Real de Azúa, Mario Arregui, Arturo Ardao, Carlos Martínez Moreno, Sarandi Cabrera y los aún protagonistas, Ida Vitale, Mario Benedetti, Amanda Berenguer, José Pedro Díaz, Carlos Maggi, Idea Vilariño, entre otros. Poesía, crítica y ensayo, novela, cuento, teatro, no hubo género que esta brillante generación no practicara, teniendo en las revistas un gran aliado para su desarrollo. Además de Marcha, se suman los nombres de otras publicaciones periódicas de gran importancia como Número, Escritura, Asir, Marginalia, Removedor, y Entregas de la Licorne.

La revolución cubana en lo internacional, y el fin de la hegemonía del Partido Colorado, en lo local, fueron una fuerte influencia ideológica y política que la generación del 45 recibió a fines de la década del 50. Estos hechos contribuyeron decididamente a un aumento en la preocupación por los temas uruguayos y latinoamericanos, en contraste con las preferencias europeístas dominantes hasta entonces. El crítico Pablo Rocca señala que los jóvenes de la generación del 45 se mantuvieron al margen de la cultura promovida y financiada por el estado uruguayo de la época, y salieron a la búsqueda de una privatización de la vida cultural, en clara señal de separación con el partido que había gobernado al país sin interrupciones por casi un siglo. Aparecen entonces en los años 60, algunos emprendimientos de editoriales independientes, que serían de vital importancia en la vida del libro uruguayo: Alfa, de Benito Milla y su hijo Leonardo; Arca, encabezada entre otros por Ángel Rama y José Pedro Díaz; Banda Oriental, dirigida por Heber Raviolo, a las que se suma la consolidación de librerías como Barreiro y Ramos, Palacio del Libro y Linardi y Risso.

Es precisamente la editorial Alfa quien publica los primeros grandes éxitos de público de Mario Benedetti, inaugurando una versión criolla del best-seller internacional. Montevideanos en 1959, y en especial La tregua (1960) y Gracias por el Fuego (1965), se convirtieron en resonantes sucesos de venta. Alfa, Arca y Banda Oriental, fueron las editoriales líderes del gran boom del libro uruguayo en los años 60, coincidiendo con el boom de la literatura latinoamericana. Todos los títulos publicados resistieron tirajes importantes, y colecciones como Libros Populares de Alfa, o Bolsilibros de editorial Arca, tuvieron inusuales ventas por edición.

Aparecen también emprendimientos ambiciosos y de largo aliento como lo fueron los dos que comenzaron a publicarse en 1968: Capítulo Oriental: historia de la literatura uruguaya publicada en 44 fascículos semanales, y la Enciclopedia Uruguaya: historia ilustrada de la civilización uruguaya, publicación semanal que según la profesora Carina Blixen, sumó “63 fascículos, a través de los cuales se sometió a la cultura uruguaya a un análisis múltiple y actualizado con la idea de conformar una Biblioteca Básica de la Cultura
Uruguayana”

En 1971, con tan sólo treinta años, Eduardo Galeano daba a conocer unos de los libros uruguayos de mayor repercusión en el siglo XX: Las venas abiertas de América Latina.

La convulsionada situación política del país a principios de los años setenta, con un duro enfrentamiento entre el gobierno y la guerrilla tupamara, desembocó en la interrupción de una de las democracias más consolidadas de toda América. En junio de 1973, un golpe de estado militar tomó el poder, y con él, las libertades públicas fueron duramente afectadas. El libro, como todas las demás actividades culturales, fue víctima de la censura y la persecución, teniendo que sufrir las decisiones arbitrarias del gobierno actuante. Muchos escritores debieron exiliarse, y las editoriales nacionales no tuvieron más alternativa que cerrar o adaptarse a los nuevos tiempos.

Hasta la caída del gobierno militar y el retorno de la democracia con las elecciones de 1984, existieron muchas limitaciones y dificultades para la publicación de libros en el país. Hubo que agudizar el ingenio para subsistir, como el caso de Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, quien gracias a Lectores, su colección por suscripción, consiguió miles de socios que evitieron solidariamente la quiebra.

Con el fin de la dictadura y el regreso sin restricciones de las libertades a partir de 1985, el mundo del libro aumentó notablemente su actividad. Fueron reeditadas obras prohibidas durante el gobierno militar y se multiplicaron los nuevos títulos de todos los géneros, en especial los de la historia política reciente. Se reabrieron algunas editoriales que no habían funcionado en esos años y nacieron otras que serían de gran importancia posterior como Trilce, Monte Sexto y Fin de Siglo.

No es sencillo hacer un resumen de la rica, fértil y extendida producción de libros nacionales en los últimos 20 años de vida del país. Destacaremos que la actividad fue tan intensa como variada, encontrando la industria editorial uruguaya nuevas vías de expresión en materias nunca o poco exploradas como derechos humanos, Mercosur e integración regional, autoayuda, fútbol, condición de la mujer, literatura infantil, que junto a un renacimiento de las publicaciones sobre pintura y escultura, novela histórica, ensayo histórico y político, estudios antropológicos y sociales, han sido algunos de los temas que han prevalecido.

La instalación en los años 90 de grandes grupos editoriales internacionales como Planeta, Santillana y Sudamericana, no sólo para vender su fondo producido en el extranjero, sino también para concretar atractivos planes editoriales de autores y temas uruguayos, habla del interés que despierta, aunque pequeño, nuestro mercado.

Solamente como brevísmo ejemplo, algunos de los títulos claves del libro uruguayo en los primeros años luego de la recuperación democrática fueron: Historia de los Tupamaros de Eleuterio Fernández Huidobro (1986); ¡Bernabé, Bernabé! (1988) la novela sobre el exterminio de los indios charrúas de Tomás
de Mattos; *Maluco* (1989), éxito de crítica y ventas tanto en Uruguay como el exterior, de Napoleón Baccino; *Historia de la sensibilidad en el Uruguay* (1989) del historiador José Pedro Barrán, uno de los escasos ejemplos de ensayo histórico de gran aceptación popular; *La locura uruguaya* (1991) del psicólogo Gustavo Ekroth, libro que desnuda con humor las particularidades de la sociedad uruguaya; Roy Berocay y sus libros para niños y jóvenes que cambiaron para siempre la literatura infantil uruguaya; *Estado de guerra* de Alfonso Lessa (1996), que estudia desde la gestación del golpe de estado de 1973 hasta el fin del gobierno de Bordaberry en 1976; las novelas de Mercedes Vigil, de gran éxito de público como *El alquimista de la Rambla Wilson* (2001).

Actualmente el libro sigue gozando en la sociedad uruguaya de un sostenido prestigio, importancia y aceptación. Una buena demostración de su vigencia es *Con los días contados* (2004), unos de los títulos más importantes de los últimos años, escrito por el periodista Claudio Paolillo, a propósito de la profunda crisis económica y política que sufrió el Uruguay en 2002. Al ser consultado el saliente presidente de la república Jorge Batlle sobre diferentes aspectos de esos dramáticos sucesos que pusieron al país al borde de la bancarrota, el mandatario contestó: “en todo caso si quiere ver la larga historia, lea el libro de Paolillo”, proponiendo en pleno siglo XXI la lectura de un libro como medio confiable de información.

**NOTAS**

5. *Diccionario de literatura*. 
21. Uses of Citation Analysis in the Study of Anglo-Caribbean Literature

Serafin Roldan-Santiago

Introduction

The citation databases of the Institute of Scientific Information (Thomson Scientific), based in Philadelphia and for some thirty years has been developing the concept of “citation indexes,” have been largely overlooked in Caribbean and postcolonial studies. Caribbean scholars should become more actively involved in this type of research. Interestingly enough, the production of information as it pertains to packaging, access, control, and distribution can also be studied utilizing perspectives of postcolonial criticism. The most recent ISI index production was the Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI), beginning in 1980. It indexes, supposedly, “the world’s leading arts and humanities journals,” that is, articles, bibliographies, editorials, letters, reviews, and more. It utilizes over 1,130 sources and has over 2.5 million records that span from 1980 to the present. It is updated weekly and is accessed via DIALOG, DataStar, and OCLC through its FirstSearch services.

Citation indexes are similar in structure to other bibliographic databases, such as, indexes and abstracts. The difference is found in the additional “citation” fields that gather information as to whom the author cites, and what works are cited. The fact that the author is connected to a university or research center, and that the article or report is published by a “specific” core journal is of major importance in citation studies. Thus, authors, journals, and institutions can be gauged as to the impact that a particular piece of research has had in the field. All this data can then be searched by these specific “citation” access points in an inverse fashion, that is, one can search the database to see how many times an “author/ critic” or “work” has been cited in the literature, and, as mentioned above, who cites them. These studies are referred to as “bibliometric” or “citation” studies. The application of this type of “citation analysis” to Anglo-Caribbean literature has not been done yet. This paper will demonstrate the need for more studies of this nature, but it will also argue the need to update Arts and Humanities Citation Index because of its limitations as it pertains to the full representation of literature from the Caribbean and other postcolonial societies.

By utilizing citation data, one can gauge the impact that an author and his or her work is having globally. It is also possible to measure and identify the
impact of a specific work, including its historical resonance, that is, what has been its frequency of citation during a period of time. Citation studies can also deal with not only “primary sources” but also with critics and critical sources and their network of relationships. This paper will focus on a set of twenty-four major Anglo-Caribbean authors and their citation data. It will also discuss V. S. Naipaul’s work in which most of his texts will be scrutinized in terms of their citation behavior. Tentative conclusions will be made hoping that future “citation studies” by other researchers may help one to better understand Caribbean literary impact in both the metropolitan center and the local peripheries. In addition, future research in this field may help one understand how the First World and its complex infrastructure of information handling, indexing, and packaging has been utilized indirectly to maintain cultural hegemony over peripheral societies and their information networks. This is one of the principal assumptions and domain of study of postcolonial theory at the present.

Main Concerns and Assumptions

One of the crucial problem areas that should come to mind when dealing with the “citation databases” is the journal selection process used by the publisher for inclusion and indexing. Are there any criteria as to which journals should be included in the indexing? How does this process come about or is established by ISI? These are vital issues that should be addressed by academics who deal with “literatures in English,” that is, postcolonial literatures such as, but not limited to, Caribbean, African, Asian literatures in English, or any of the European colonizing languages. ISI states quite bluntly, and will be questioned later in this paper, that the database includes “the world’s leading arts & humanities journals” [author’s emphasis] (ISI). The word “leading” may take one to quite intriguing arguments especially in the area of postcolonial theory. Strangely enough, the representations of publications from peripheral postcolonial societies are very bleak and almost nonexistent in A&HCI, especially for Caribbean and African publications. Bradford’s Law, the supposed axiom that indicates that “a relatively small number of journals publish the bulk of significant scientific results,” may apply to a certain extent to hard sciences and the metropolitan centers, but it does not apply to humanities research in specific regional/cultural areas like the Caribbean, Africa, or Asia. This is the case because ISI does not seem to include, in a minimal way, the journals published in these so-called peripheral regions.

*Arts and Humanities Citation Index* utilizes the following criteria for their “scientific” selection of journals. Besides the usual array of “quality control” words that the company utilizes to discuss the selection process of new journals for entry into the database, there are the following basic statements that the editors refer to: timeliness of publication (a drawback for most postcolonial publications); international editorial conventions (mere arbitrary mechanical aspects); English-language cited references (no problems with this); peer
review process (no problems with this); editorial content (a very subjective argument by ISI); international diversity ("the best regional journals" is quite arbitrary and controversial); and the list goes on. A number of Caribbean-based journals were identified that are currently being published but are not included in A&HCI. The question must be posed: why are these Caribbean-based journals (two Indian and one Australian) in literature and culture not included? (See below.) Many of the criteria that ISI requires for the index are present in these publications, and yet they are not represented in the A&HCI.

Journals Published in the Periphery:

- Atlantic Literary Review (India)
- Caribbean Quarterly (Jamaica)
- Caribbean Studies (Puerto Rico)
- Casa de las Americas (Cuba)
- Jamaica Journal (Jamaica)
- Journal of West Indian Literature (Jamaica)
- Kunapipi (Australia)
- Kyk-over Al (Guyana)
- Literary Half-Yearly (India)
- The New Voices (Trinidad)
- Postcolonial Studies (Australia)
- Revista/Review Interamericana (Puerto Rico)
- Sargasso (Puerto Rico)
- Savacou (Jamaica)

Without the representation of these publications in A&HCI, a scholar would lack vital information because citation behavior would only be limited to the publications that have been included in the database. In fact, the majority of the journals in the field of Anglo-Caribbean and postcolonial literatures (and some traditional journals that allow space for this subject area) are published in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain (or other European countries). Still, some do have their publication base in their own region or country. This would lead to the argument that for a more exact "citation picture" or behavior of Anglo-Caribbean or any postcolonial literatures, the A&HCI editorial board must review their selection and indexing policies if it wants to represent a truly global picture of culture and literature of the so-called periphery. I am not begging or asking for a global affirmative action of some sort, but of establishing a representation of ideas that have traditionally been
misrepresented and marginalized in the past. One needs to keep this in mind as one handles and analyzes the data from A&HCI, because it may reflect the perspectives and attitudes of First World literary scholarship and their choice of Caribbean authors and texts. As some scholars have implied, it seems that the Third World is now producing the primary texts for the First World to criticize, publish, and distribute (Altbach 1975; Mitchell 1992).

**Methodology and Compilation of Data**

Knowing the limitations stated above, I have nonetheless compiled and tabulated the citation data obtained from A&HCI and have come up with tentative findings that may be of interest to Caribbean scholars and researchers, and would stimulate these to continue this kind of citation research. A selection of Anglo-Caribbean authors was made in terms of the impact that these have or have had on the literary culture of the region. These cited authors were searched in the specific “citation” field of the database (that is, “author cited”). The list was then “cleaned” of false hits and duplicates. Data was then tabulated in terms of the “journal source” that cited the article. An electronic worksheet was utilized in which quick additions and percentages could be calculated. A comparative analysis of this journal source data was performed on each of the authors. It is critical to mention that only citations to primary creative texts were utilized. Secondary critical papers and critics were not dealt with, and would be an interesting source for research. The procedure was performed also on the Naipaul texts, and citation data was compiled in the same manner as in the general Caribbean authors citation data. An extremely long spreadsheet was obtained with 538 rows (journal titles). The lists obtained were the following:

**General Caribbean Authors List**
- List of Cited Caribbean Authors (fig. 1)
- Total Journal Counts (fig. 2)
- Journals that Cited the Most (fig. 3)
- Three Caribbean Authors Compared: Naipaul, Walcott, C. L. R. James (fig. 4)

**V. S. Naipaul List**
- V. S. Naipaul’s Most Cited Works (fig. 5)
- Total Journal Counts in the Naipaul List (fig. 6)
- Journals that Cited Naipaul the Most (fig. 7)
- Journals that Cited Naipaul Only Once (1) (fig. 8; see appendix A)
- Two Journals (*Ariel* and *JCL*) that Cited Naipaul the Most (see appendixes B and C)
Citation data was compiled not only in terms of the number of citations, but also in terms of the journal source that cited. I performed a partial contextual analysis of the Naipaul data on (1) journals that only cited Naipaul one time (once), and (2) journals that most cited Naipaul, specifically, Ariel and Journal of Commonwealth Literature (JCL). The fact that many journals have cited any given Caribbean author only once is exceptional and should be contextually analyzed. I did this on a random selection of fourteen journals that cited Naipaul only once. Institutional background or date of publication was not included in the analysis, but it certainly can yield valuable information in future studies. Finally, I randomly selected twenty-three articles (fourteen from JCL and nine from Ariel) in order to perform a contextual analysis of the citation data from journals that cited Naipaul the most (see appendix C). The journals Ariel and JCL were two of the top journals that cited Naipaul the most (see fig. 7).

It is crucial to note that citation patterns can develop sufficiently for citation studies if a number of years has elapsed. No doubt, the texts Beyond Belief and Half a Life will create sizable citation data in the years to come, but they only yielded a slim citation figure. This is the case since the publication dates of these texts were in 1998 and 2001, respectively. Citations need time for sufficient data to emerge and fully observable patterns to arise. The time can be estimated from around eight to ten years. These texts were thus not included, along with the now important Between Father and Son: Family Letters (1999), in the final analysis.

Findings and Interpretation

A selection of major Caribbean authors were included that have had "impact" on both the metropolitan centers and the periphery. This list is not exhaustive; most of the major authors have been included. This kind of selection was necessary because of the enormous amount of citation data that would have been needed in a more inclusive list. Later studies can be more expansive or focused on the works of one particular author. For this study twenty-four major Caribbean authors were selected and various lists were compiled (figs. 1–8). It should be noted that the data in this study reflects the period of 1980–2002 in A&HCL. The following results were found. The ten most cited authors are V. S. Naipaul (553), Derek Walcott (376), C. L. R. James (355), Wilson Harris (244), Jean Rhys (220), Edward K. Brathwaite (208), Jamaica Kincaid (188), George Lamming (156), Paule Marshall (133), and Claude McKay (111) (fig. 1). One of the most interesting findings was that C. L. R. James represents the third most cited, but it is not because of Minty Alley (1936), which received a mere 10 cites. It is because of The Black Jacobins (1938), which is not even a literary text but a historical work and is probably considered a classic account of the first black revolution in the Third World. C. L. R. James's text received 180 cites, which places it as the most cited Caribbean text that
I have encountered so far. It surpasses Naipaul’s most cited text, *The Mimic Men*, which had 74 cites. All of these most cited works represent the older writers on the block, except for Jamaica Kincaid (who passes George Lamming in cites) and Paule Marshall who represent relatively new authors. Lamentably, one sees older Caribbean authors who can be considered classics on the bottom of the list, such as V. S. Reid, Roger Mais, Martin Carter, and Edgar Mittelholzer. It is also important to note that Michelle Cliff and Caryl Phillips received more cites than the Caribbean classic writers Sam Selvon, Earl Lovelace, Andrew Salkey, and Merle Hodge. This list should help educators in Caribbean literature to encourage their students to study these “lesser known” but historically significant authors. For example, Edgar Mittelholzer is the least cited Caribbean author since the 1980s. Certainly his texts were and are important literary landmarks. By compiling citation data from these selected authors, I was not only able to find the amount of times that these authors were cited, but also the name of critics who cited these, which institutions they are with, and the actual journal title that the critic cited from. For example, a critic who is at Oxford University publishes a paper on V. S. Naipaul and cites *A Bend in the River*; this paper is published in a specific journal *Modern Fiction Studies*. The four underlined items can be tabulated and analyzed. One can study a critic’s specific citation behavior, the output of any given institution, a specific author’s citation behavior, and of a text.

In this study, besides identifying and ranking cited Caribbean authors, the data were analyzed in terms of journal titles. The following information was found on journal data. All twenty-four authors yielded citation data for 538 journal titles and were incorporated into the working spreadsheet.
Each. I also looked up the journals that only cited any given Caribbean writer once. There were 230 titles or 42.75 percent of the total journals represented in this list that only cited any given Caribbean author one time. This is most unusual because one can see a scattering of cites from journals that are not, strictly speaking, literary journals. Such is the case with V. S. Naipaul, whom I focused on in the second part of this study. The top ten journals that cited the most of the authors on the list have been included below. The journal titles have been abbreviated (fig. 3).

The journals Ariel, World Literature Written in English, Journal of Commonwealth Literature, and World Literature Today represent the most active journals that cite Caribbean writers. Of great importance is the fact that all these journals, unlike the ones mentioned above at the beginning of this paper, are published in the First World, that is, in the metropolitan centers of Europe, Canada, and the United States. It is as if the Third World produces literatures in English and the First World develops the criticism and the actual publication platforms. But this is not completely true since there are scholarly publications that are published in developing countries as noted above, but are not included in major indexing and abstracting sources.

The journal data were also used to compare three authors, that is, Naipaul, Walcott, and C. L. R. James (fig. 4). The citation data were quite interesting. The journal title Journal of Commonwealth Literature cited Naipaul 35 times out of 553 as compared to other journals. World Literature Written in English (WLWE) came in second with 29 of 553 cites. Though Ariel represented in fig. 3

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was the journal that most cited Caribbean authors, it was, nevertheless, the fifth that cited Naipaul with 21 of 553 cites on this general Caribbean list. Two additional journals that are of interest are *Quinzaine Literature* and *Modern Fiction Studies (MFS)*. The first cites Naipaul 22 times. This represents 22 out of 36 total cites that the journal has for all the Caribbean authors queried. The second, *MFS*, has cited Naipaul 19 times, representing 19 of 57 of total cites in *MFS* for all authors. The numbers for Walcott are the following: 19 for *WLWE*, 18 for *JCL*, 21 for *Ariel*, and 19 for *WLT*. It is notable that various historical journals were the ones that most cited C. L. R. James such as *American Historical Review*, *History Workshop Journal*, *Journal of Caribbean History*, and *Reflexions Historiques* (French). As mentioned before, some journals have only cited any given Caribbean author once. This is important because it may help to understand how an author is cited from other disciplines that are not literary, strictly speaking. There are 63 journals that cited Naipaul only once. This represents 63 out of 230 journal titles, or 27.4 percent of all journals that only cited once. Walcott brought in only 18 different journals out of 230, or 7.8 percent. C. L. R. James obtained 59 different journal titles that cited him once, representing 59 of 230, or 25.7 percent. It is obvious that between V. S. Naipaul and C. L. R. James, a total of 122 journals (that only cited once any of these two authors) were identified. This represents 122 of 230, or 53.0 percent, that is, more than half of the journals *that cited only once* related to

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Fig. 4
either Naipaul or C. L. R. James. Wilson Harris, the fourth most cited on the master list had only 2 hits in journals that cited only once. Jean Rhys, the fifth most cited had only 19 hits in journals that cited only once in the same range as Derek Walcott.

In the major author list used in the first part of the study, V. S. Naipaul represented the most cited Caribbean author from the twenty-four selected authors that were queried. The search that was utilized for this compilation was a general search for only “author” but not their individual works, except for the query that I performed on C. L. R. James. Using this general strategy I found that Naipaul was cited 553 times. Each of these hits represents a particular time that a specific journal cited him regardless of the times he was cited in that article. If in the same article Naipaul was cited 5 times, the result of this general query would be one (1). Aware of these, I decided to query Naipaul for all of his texts individually, then exclude Beyond Belief and Half a Life because they do not have sufficient citation data due to their recent publication, and Letters is not included at all.

The result of this specific text search for Naipaul citations yielded a total of 781 cites. I searched cited references for twenty-four texts (fig. 5). Naipaul’s Mimic Men is the most cited with 74 hits. A Bend in the River follows with 70 hits, and India: A Wounded Civilization is in third place with 60 hits. The controversial Middle Passage, his first travel narrative, falls in fourth place with 59 hits. Finally, A House for Mr. Biswas, published in 1961 and having accrued sufficient citation data, was in fifth place with 57 hits. It is important to note that Naipaul’s fiction texts are the most cited. A few critics had noted in the past the importance of The Mimic Men, but most had argued

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<td>Work</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mimic Men</td>
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<td>A Bend in the River</td>
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<td>India: A Wounded Civ</td>
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<td>The Middle Passage</td>
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<tr>
<td>House for Mr. Biswas</td>
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<td>An Area of Darkness</td>
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<td>Guerrillas</td>
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<td>Enigma of Arrival</td>
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<td>In a Free State</td>
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<td>Overcrowded Barracoon</td>
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<td>The Return of Eva Peron</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miguel Street</td>
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<td>Among the Believers</td>
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<td>A Way in the World</td>
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<td>India: A Million Mutinies</td>
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<td>Mystic Masseur</td>
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<td>Finding the Center</td>
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<td>Loss of El Dorado</td>
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<td>Suffrage of Elvira</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Stone and Knights</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Turn in the South</td>
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<tr>
<td>A Flag on the Island</td>
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<td>Half a Life</td>
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<td>Beyond Belief</td>
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Fig. 5
for *A House for Mr. Biswas* as Naipaul’s most popular text. Such is the case for *A Bend in the River* that was considered, like *The Mimic Men*, not as crucial as other texts. Close behind these narratives come the middling texts such as *An Area of Darkness* (47), *Guerrillas* (42), *Enigma of Arrival* (39), *In a Free State* (33), *Overcrowded Barracoon* (32), and *The Return of Eva Peron* (32). One would think that *In a Free State* would have obtained more exposure than other texts, but this was not the case since it only received 33 hits, placing it just below the middle range. Naipaul’s least cited works are *Mr. Stone and Knights Companion* (14), *A Turn in the South* (13), and *A Flag on the Island* (7).

In terms of journal citation data, the following is noted for V. S. Naipaul. There are 151 journal titles that cite the twenty-four texts mentioned below (fig. 6). From this list I found that 43 titles or 28.48 percent of the journals cited Naipaul at least 4 times each. And 108 titles or 71.52 percent cited his texts less than 4 times each. One can notice then that a greater number of journals only cited his texts minimally, and this gives an impression that there was more scattering of cites in different types of journals. This was corroborated when I found that 79 titles or 52.32 percent of the journal titles cited Naipaul only once. This is quite unusual especially when one does a close scrutiny and finds a good number of nonliterary journals that have cited Naipaul. This particular situation will be dealt with shortly in this paper. The top seven journals that were instrumental in citing Naipaul’s various texts were Ariel, JCL, WLT, WLWE, MFS, Salmagundi (this journal has highly cited Naipaul unlike other Caribbean authors), and Hudson Review (fig. 7). In Naipaul’s list, Ariel was the one that cited him the most with 64 out of 781 hits, representing 8.19 percent of total cites. Next in line were JCL with 58 (7.43 percent) and WLT with 46 (5.90 percent).

It is important to notice that even though Ariel had 64 cites it only represents 8.19 percent of total cites, which means that most cites have been scattered in many journal titles. And this is the unusual case for Naipaul citation data. It

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<th>Total Journal Counts in the Naipaul List</th>
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<tr>
<td>TOTAL Journal Titles</td>
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<td>Journal Titles &gt;= 4 cites each</td>
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<td>Journal Titles &lt; than 4 cites each</td>
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<td>Journal Titles =1 cite each</td>
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Fig. 6

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Journal that Cited Naipaul the Most</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ariel</td>
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<td>J of Commonw Lit</td>
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<td>World Lit Today</td>
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<td>WLWE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Modern Fic Stud</td>
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<tr>
<td>Salmagundi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hudson Review</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL CITES = 781

Fig. 7
means that many varied journals from other subject areas have cited Naipaul. As was noted above, 79 titles out of 151 representing 52.32 percent of total journals cited Naipaul only once. This is exceptional especially if one scrutinizes the kinds of journals and their subject areas and performs a contextual analysis of these cites.

A selection was made of the authors that only cited Naipaul once. A preliminary contextual analysis was done to see the "causes" or "reasons" for citing Naipaul and especially the specific text that was cited (fig. 8 and appendix A). It was noted that there was quite an array of different types of journals from varied disciplines that were identified, which were not "literary" at all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection of Journals that Cited Naipaul Only Once (1)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Anesthesiology</td>
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<td>Amer Pol Science Rev</td>
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<td>American Speech</td>
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<td>Architectura: Zeitschrift . . .</td>
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<td>Archives des Sciences . . .</td>
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<td>Cahiers du monde russe . . .</td>
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<td>Development and Change</td>
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<td>Environmental History</td>
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<td>Historic Preservation</td>
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<tr>
<td>History and Theory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indo-Iranian Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>J of Arabic Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>J of Geography</td>
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<tr>
<td>Military Affairs</td>
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</table>

Fig. 8

A few of the extraordinary articles in which Naipaul is cited have been listed below. Anesthesiology, a journal published by the American Society of Anesthesiologists in Philadelphia, Pennslyvania, included one article by Donald Caton, a physician-researcher from the Department of Anesthesiology and Obstetric and Gynecology, University of Florida College of Medicine, Gainesville, Florida. In this article titled "The Secularization of Pain," Caton cites Naipaul's A Bend in the River indicating in his cite the following: "According to V. S. Naipaul, 'Pleasure and pain—and above all, pain—had no meaning; to possess pain was as meaningless as to chase pleasure'" (ABR 222). The article deals with the medical, historical, and sociological implications of how "pain" has been perceived or viewed by people and institutions. It is interesting how the researcher substantiates his viewpoint by utilizing a fictional source, and indicating that "According to V. S. Naipaul" when in reality it was Salim, the narrator, who made the above cited statement. Can Naipaul be
a valid authority to refer to in a journal of surgery? The cross-fertilization from fiction to “fact” is obvious. So is the case with the article by Kazuo Kato, a linguistics researcher who published an article in *American Speech*, a publication from the American Dialect Society. He utilizes Naipaul’s use of “American Southern dialect”—a general Naipaulian artificial version utilized in *A Turn in the South*—to enhance his linguistic arguments. A sample of Naipaulian dialogue is queried by Kato as if it were the actual language used in the region. Like Sam Selvon, who devised ingenious ways to transform Trinidadian and Caribbean dialect to suit his purposes in a creative manner, likewise has Naipaul done with this “American Southern dialect.” Is this really the way people speak in the region, or is it a “creative” invention, perhaps an approximation to the real, but nevertheless an author’s invention? These are examples of but two cases. Strangely enough, Naipaul is cited by more literary-removed journals as the following samples will demonstrate.

Yossef Bodansky published an article in *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* titled “Muslims, High Technology, and the Soviet Military.” Naipaul is cited from his travel text, *Among the Believers*. It is an article dealing with Soviet military affairs especially the integration of Muslim soldiers and questions of Soviet military stability. What would such an author want from Naipaul? Apparently, Naipaul’s *Among the Believers* gives some important data. But notice that this travel text, like other Naipaulian text, is weaved with both apparent fact and fiction. It is imaginative literature, and not science, history, or some sociological text. Bodansky cites Naipaul at the end of the article to bring out and illustrate a point, that is, Bodansky’s intent is to prove that “Islam is not only a religion. . . . It is also, just like Marxism-Leninism, a way of life and an ideology. . . . Both control the life of their respective believers from cradle to grave.” He immediately cites Naipaul from the following passage in *Among the Believers*:

> The faith was pushing men to extremes. With only the Koran and the traditions as a guide, no one could ever be sure that he was good enough as a Muslim; no one could ever be sure that he had completely submitted to Allah and that he was entirely selfless. (*ATB* 68)

Bodansky goes on to argue that Islam has an ambivalent attitude towards modern technology, which is a “European” and non-Muslim product and is viewed as a “necessary evil.” The author then cites Naipaul again to substantiate his views: “That civilization couldn’t be mastered. It was to be rejected [by Muslims]; at the same time, it was to be depended on.” The importance of citing Naipaul in order to enhance and/or give authority to the author’s arguments is obvious.

Another interesting article that integrates Naipaul’s texts with nonliterary discourse is Bartlett’s “Aristotle’s Science of the Best Regimes.” This article is highly philosophical and political arguing aspects of liberal democracy and
globalism. The author cites three authors together, one of them being Naipaul, to argue that

despite the apparently global rise of liberalism and its impressive victory over communism, there remains regimes virulently opposed to liberal democracy [at the end of this passage he cites Naipaul’s *Among the Believers*] that, far from being soon-to-vanish relics of a benighted age, are at least holding their own and are arguably on the rise. (see Fukuyana 1992, esp. 39–56; Hiro 1989; Naipaul 1982)

The author is arguing his views on the tight-knit relationship that exists in some Muslim countries between church and state in which all opposing viewpoints are quickly dismissed and put down. It is apparent that Naipaul’s Islamic texts, including his latest *Beyond Belief*, have been instrumental in polarizing thoughts and discussions on Islamic society and culture and its supposed detrimental effects on the global village.

Anita Palmer in 1983 published the article “The Politics of Race and War: Black American Soldiers in the Caribbean Theater during the Second World War” in *Military Affairs*, a journal produced by Kansas State University dealing with military social and cultural history. It was interesting that an author in such a journal would cite Naipaul’s *Miguel Street*. She writes in her article: “Novelists also attest to this fact, and V. S. Naipaul, in his vignettes of people who lived in Miguel Street, tells the story of one inhabitant, Edward, who was forced to confess to his friends that his wife had ‘. . . run away with an American soldier. And I give the man so much of my rum to drink.’” One may argue that the narrator is Naipaul’s construct, the person who told the story, and not Naipaul. It is also important to note that these “vignettes” are creative productions, and not “facts” per se. In this case, one sees how fiction is transformed into fact and used to support the author’s arguments.

B. J. Hudson, a geographer, in an article published in the *Journal of Geography*, connects Naipaul to geographical education by discussing the geography classes that young Biswas attended in *A House for Mr. Biswas* and how students learned their geography lessons by rote. He states: “In the following passage, Naipaul was, no doubt, drawing on his own memories of school-days in Trinidad.” Andrew Sulyter, a professor of geography at Pennsylvania State University, deals with environmental history and pastoral landscape in an extremely thick and highly scholarly article published in *Environmental History*. His article includes a detailed discussion of livestock ecology from the sixteenth century in “New Spain,” and he utilizes Naipaul’s *A Way in the World* to argue his point that “high regional densities do not necessarily equate with overgrazing because seasonal variations in the distribution of forage allow pastoralists to take advantage of different landscape patches in different seasons.” Apparently, it relates to the passage in *A Way in the World* in which the narrator (remember this is a complex-hybrid travel text that
combines fiction, travel, and autobiography) states: “While the documents last we can hunt up the story of every strip of occupied land” (AWW 11). This cite represents one of the most obscure that I have studied and tried to contextualize in this research. The remaining articles attest to the varied journals that have cited Naipaul in sometimes rather unusual and cryptic ways (see appendix A).

The journals above, those citing Naipaul only once, are most interesting to study, but it is important to look at the other journals that cite Naipaul the most (figs. 4 and 7). For this second contextual analysis, I utilized only the two journals that cited Naipaul the most, that is, Ariel and Journal of Commonwealth Literature (see appendix C). A random sample was obtained of twenty-three articles, nine from Ariel and fourteen from JCL. Each article contained 1 citing instance, except three articles that had 2 citing instances each. Citation purpose, that is, the reason why a critic cites any given author or title, was categorized into four classes: (1) an aesthetic or rhetorical cite, that is, a “passing quote” (AES); (2) affirming or substantiating an argument (AFF); (3) positive statement about a text or an author (POS); and (4) negative statement about a text or an author (NEG). These categories were derived by the actual scanning of the articles and looking closely at the “context” of the citing instance. Rhetorical or passing cites (AES) were found to be 10 of 23; Ariel had 3 hits while JCL had 7 hits. AFF citing instances were 11; Ariel had 5 hits while JCL had 6 hits. The POS class was zero, that is, no one cited Naipaul in the positive vein as author of a particular text. And yet in class NEG, there were 2 citing instances in which he was violently criticized and attacked, that is, his person and his work.

It is interesting to note that critics and researchers in both Ariel and JCL have used the “passing cite” in a rhetorical manner, that is, 10 of 23 cites. A critic merely cites one of Naipaul’s works and does not delve into a discussion or analysis of that work. On the other hand, there were 11 of 23 instances in which critics underwent an analysis and the Naipaul cited work was vigorously referred to, not in a superficial manner, but to affirm or substantiate the critic’s arguments (AFF). The most cited texts in both Ariel and JCL were the following: IWC (7), MP (5), MM (3), and AHB (2). It is important to note that IWC was only cited in JCL, being that this journal focuses more than other journals on Anglo-Indian literature and its study. But the question remains: why has Naipaul been the most cited Caribbean author in the 538 journals that were queried in the general Caribbean list? I am not in a position to argue the final reason why this has been so, but I will offer some observations on the peculiar citing behavior that has developed around his name and texts.

Naipaul has been regarded by First World literary criticism as an extraordinary novelist and travel writer even though he has been a controversial figure in the postcolonial world. But the question stands as to the impact that he has had on the literary world. Mustafa notes: “Whether one is discomforted or illuminated by Naipaul’s investigations into the failures of modernity, the
fact persists that his language, his style, his attention to form, and his expressive dimensions have maintained a brilliance and mastery that have become landmarks in contemporary writing in English" (219).

There are various reasons why an author or critic would want to cite him, among others the reasons may be to extoll his work, to criticize it vehemently, to negate it completely, or simply to substantiate a particular perspective. No doubt, the controversy has worked in his favor as to quantity of citing instances. Another matter is that the journals that have cited Naipaul come mostly from the metropolitan centers of Europe and North America, so it may be possible that Naipaul has been minimally cited in the regional peripheral journals. Also, fiction seems to be more popular than poetry to cite, and yet, Walcott was highly cited next to Naipaul.

Lastly, it is important to consider two more aspects. Naipaul has been cited often in relation to his India books. They have been heavily cited, such is the case of IWC, AAD, and IMM. The first of these travel texts about India was identified as the third most cited text, and it is interesting to note that it was highly cited in JCL by Indian critics dealing with Indian diasporic literature. AAD represented the sixth most cited text. JCL is a journal that seems to include more Indian criticism about Anglo-Indian literature than others. It seems that Naipaul scholarship has different fronts, the most important being Anglo-Caribbean fiction and travel, Anglo-Indian travel, African fiction and travel, Islamic travel, and most importantly, interdisciplinary perspectives in the journals that cited him only once. Naipaul seems to be cited in an ever-wider range of nonliterary areas such as political science, race relations, linguistics, government, military affairs, and religion. In the general Caribbean list, the journals that cited Naipaul only once were 63 out of 230 journals (27.4 percent), while in the Naipaul list they were 79 out of 151 journals (52.32 percent). These numbers are extraordinary and demonstrate a high scattering of cites. This gives the citing behavior a wider range in different nonliterary journals. Most importantly, it should be noted that it was both Naipaul and C. L. R. James together (in the general Caribbean list) that brought forth 122 out of 230, or 53.0 percent, of the total journals that cited any given Caribbean author only once.

Conclusions

It is obvious from this paper that ISI, in order to present the Caribbean scholar and researcher with a more viable tool, must necessarily renegotiate journals from the periphery for inclusion into these citation databases. It is important that this tool include the scholarship and research from the euphemistically named "third world." This will no doubt give an added dimension to citation studies that deal with the arts and cultures of the so-called periphery, especially with the new impact of "world literatures written in English" and other European language-based literatures from the postcolonial world.
Notwithstanding, the use of this database was most useful in the field of Anglo-Caribbean literature. It has given a clear empirical view of Caribbean authors and their impact abroad. This can also be said for V. S. Naipaul’s texts. It is common for many critics to highlight *A House for Mr. Biswas* as Naipaul’s crowning effort, but *The Mimic Men* along with *A Bend in the River*, highly unpopular to many Caribbean critics, have taken the place of being the most cited in Naipaul’s repertoire. I think this falls in line with Naipaul’s later and more complex fiction. It is not only an expression of the comical or the humorous, but a more tense, dense, and existential atmosphere that permeates both his later fiction and travel narratives. It is also important to note that his Indian and Caribbean travel narratives have been cited heavily, more than his African travelogues. This is true for the important *India: A Wounded Civilization*. In later years, undoubtedly, Naipaul’s Islamic texts will be of lasting interest in terms of citation behavior. Even though the study dealt with the “primary” works of these authors, one can also focus on the secondary critical sources and their network of relationships. Through these one can identify key critical texts that have had an impact in the critical scenario of the Caribbean, and trace fundamental ideas through time. The focus on both primary and secondary sources would, no doubt, be quite intriguing and useful in the construction of a broader picture of Anglo-Caribbean cultural studies. Also, I would like to take the opportunity to mention the most exhilarating finding in this study. The discovery of C. L. R. James’s most cited text, *The Black Jacobins*, has been very invigorating since it was high time that James’s notable contribution should have been empirically proved in citing instances. But the results of finding a Roger Mais and Edgar Mittelholzer on the bottom of the list should create a sense of awakening for educators to include these authors and texts in their course offerings. The importance of an upcoming Jamaica Kincaid, Paule Marshall, Michelle Cliff, and Caryl Phillips is obvious and well received.

The identification of specific journals such as *Ariel*, *World Literature Written in English*, *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, *World Literature Today*, and *Callaloo* as the sources that cited Caribbean authors the most is significant, especially the journal sources that have cited only once the various authors, including Naipaul. These journals that have cited only once any of these authors are of utmost interest mainly because of their peculiarity of being journals from other disciplines, and thus, interdisciplinary citing behavior can be identified and studied. The following journals were most active in citing Naipaul’s individual texts; the data were taken from the total Naipaul cites of 781 (fig. 7): *Ariel* (8.19 percent), *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* (7.43 percent), *World Literature Today* (5.90 percent), *World Literature Written in English* (5.76 percent), and lastly but of importance is *Modern Fiction Studies* (5.38 percent), *Salmagundi* (5.38 percent), and *Hudson Review* (4.87 percent). Out of 55 times that *MFS* cited Caribbean authors listed above, it cited Naipaul 19 times, representing 34.55 percent of all cites. It is clear that *MFS*
cited Naipaul more times than the other Caribbean authors. Most important is *Salmagundi*, a journal that has only cited Naipaul. It cited him 6 times in the general Caribbean author list. No other Caribbean author has been cited by this journal. Finally, *Hudson Review* has cited both Naipaul and Walcott 5 times from a total of 8. The most exceptional finding when dealing with journal sources were the articles that cited any individual Caribbean author only once. I found and identified that most of these journal sources came from other disciplines as in the cases of Naipaul and C. L. R. James. As was noted above, both these authors bring in 122 journal titles that cite only once (see appendix A) from the total of 230 journals from the general Caribbean list. If one looks at these sources, one could easily identify journals from nonliterary subject areas. It gives at least the impression that Caribbean authors, especially Naipaul and James, are being read, discussed, and integrated into the research that many scholars from other disciplines are pursuing. It is also intriguing to know that both *Ariel* and *JCL* were the journals that cited Naipaul’s texts the most. And that the citing instances could be categorized both as “passing cites,” more in the line of rhetorical display, and the more serious citing instances that affirm or substantiate an argument or a position.

Concluding, this type of citation/bibliometric study can be continued by scholars in the field of information science, cultural studies, and literary criticism because it may help to understand the growth and development of Caribbean studies. It may help identify trends and issues in Anglo-Caribbean literature, and also help to better perceive the fundamental effects that First World publication infrastructure is having on the periphery. By gauging both primary and secondary sources (as citing phenomena), one can obtain a better picture of cultural ideas and intellectual trends in the Caribbean. In a time when “globalization” is the chic term, it is important that students of Caribbean cultures have an empirical base as to who their key players are and the ideas that are being generated around their cultural texts, whether they be art forms, music, popular culture, literature, or criticism.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


**APPENDIX A**

Journals that Cited Naipaul Only Once


Kato, K. 2001. “‘Not to Be’ or ‘to not Be’: More on Split Negative Infinitives.” *American Speech* 76, no. 3:312–315. [ATS]


**APPENDIX B**

Journals that Cited Naipaul the Most


**APPENDIX C**

Contextual Analysis of Two Journals
*Journal of Commonwealth Literature* and *Ariel*

- Aesthetic/rhetorical; passing citation: AES
- Affirm or substantiate an argument: AFF
- Positive statement about a text or an author: POS
- Negative statement about a text or an author: NEG

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<tr>
<th>Critics (title:vol:num:page)</th>
<th>AES</th>
<th>AFF</th>
<th>POS</th>
<th>NEG</th>
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<td>MM</td>
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<td>Sharrad ARIEL: 21:4:110</td>
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22. Evidence of Lesbos en español: Considerations in Making a Bibliography of Latin(a) Lesbian Texts

Tatiana de la Tierra

Libraries preserve the blood and bones, the poetry and politics, and the history and the herstory of the populations they serve. When people walk into a library, many times they are searching for themselves—traces of self, fragments, whole stories. This is especially true of gays and lesbians, who have the well-documented tradition of going to the library as part of the critical soul-searching that precedes the “coming out” process. But libraries are limited by their collections, by the politics and economics of the moment, by individual and institutional biases, and by the administrative and organizational machinery. As a result, some of the people who enter in search of themselves walk out of the library empty-handed.

The inability of a library to meet the patron’s needs hits marginalized people the hardest. Language and culture, combined with sexual and ethnic identity, make Latina lesbians particularly vulnerable to being left out of the bibliographic loop. But it goes without saying that librarians should make the effort to collect materials for all patrons—including gays and lesbians.

While writings by and about lesbians exist in Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as in Mexico and in the Chicano and Spanish-speaking United States, the literature is often difficult to identify and acquire. Certain names readily come up when talking about Latin(a) American, Spanish, and Chicana lesbian writers. Roughly speaking, these fall into two groups: laś veteranas, literary ancestors who have passed on, such as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Nancy Cárdenas from Mexico, Gabriela Mistral from Chile, Alejandra Pizarnik from Argentina, Lourdes Casal from Cuba, and Gloria Anzaldúa from Texas, figures who have been tremendously important in the formation of Latina lesbian identity; and living writers from the Americas and from the United States who have publicly acknowledged themselves as lesbians. This second group includes Achy Obejas, Alicia Gaspar de Alba, Cherrie Moraga, Cristina Peri Rossi, Rosamaria Roffiel, Sara Levi Calderón, Lola Van Guardia, Olga Guirao, Albalucía Ángel, Emma Pérez, Luz María Umpierre, Sabina Berman, Magaly Alabau, Maria Irene Fornes, Kleya Forte-Escamilla, Ibis Gomez-Vega, Carmen de Monteflores, Bessy Reyna, Sylvia Molloy,
Sheila Ortiz Taylor, Nemir Matos Cintrón, Sonia Rivera-Valdés, Felicia Luna Lemus, Reina Roffé, Diana Bellesi, Odette Alonso, Mirta Yañez, Reyna Barrerra, Gilda Salina, Ana María Reyes, María Felicitas Jaime, Mariana Romo Carmona, and Terri de la Peña. Out lesbian performers who may have publications or recordings include Monica Palacios, Marga Gomez, Reno, Odalys Nanin, Tina D’Elia, Irene Farrera, Lourdes Perez, Susana Cook, and Carmelita Tropicana (also known as Alina Troyano). There are also documentary makers and academic writers whose work focuses on Latina and Chicana lesbian cultural production, such as Elena M. Martínez, María Dolores Costa, Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, Norma Mogrovejo, Ilse Fuskova, Mary Pat Brady, Chela Sandoval, Jacqueline M. Martinez, Yolanda Retter, Maria Lugones, Frances Negron-Muntaner, Yolanda Leyva, Licia Fiol-Mata, Hilda Hidalgo, Ellen M. Gil-Gomez, Marina Castañeda, and Juana María Rodríguez.

One may feel inundated with names here—but that was my intention. It may sound as if there is quite a lot of Latina lesbian literary and nonfictional productions. But even though the list above probably includes many more names than most people would have expected, it is by no means exhaustive. Furthermore, most of these authors, even the ones specifically mentioned above, are not easily accessible by someone researching Latina lesbians in a library catalog, and many of these books are not easy to acquire for U.S. readers.

There are understandable reasons for the difficulties librarians can experience in identifying, acquiring, and accessing Latina lesbian materials. Some of them are practical while others are specific to the cataloging and information storage and retrieval quirks of the profession. Sociocultural factors also need to be taken into account. Cultural biases in the organization of information; cultural disconnection by mostly white, English-speaking and heterosexual librarians; and problems inherent in cataloging and in information storage and retrieval systems all result in the extreme marginalization of Latina and Chicana lesbian materials.

Among the practical problems are limitations on distribution and awareness of these kinds of materials in the United States, especially if they originate from outside North America. Limited distribution rights and weakened economies cause particular difficulties for acquisitions. These difficulties can be compounded by lack of awareness of this niche market, sometimes the result of homophobia. And these problems also apply to works by U.S. writers when they publish with small presses that, due to severely limited budgets for publicity and marketing, prioritize their efforts in this area to reach their own community over the mainstream.

Once materials reach the library, the challenges facing the patron looking to identify this material can be formidable. Cataloging rules and Library of Congress subject headings mainly reflect mainstream Anglo-American culture, embodying heteronormative practices and limitations of a cataloger’s lack
of familiarity with Spanish, Spanglish, and Latin culture. All this means that texts by and about Latina lesbians are often inadequately and inappropriately cataloged and that keyword searches can give erratic results. In addition, identifying materials as “lesbian” and at the same time as “Latina” or “Mexican American” or “Hispanic” is itself problematic due, in part, to homophobia, vendors, booksellers, librarians, and sometimes even the authors themselves who may be hesitant to brand a book as having queer content.

Finally, despite a notable increase in publishing in the 1990s, the fact is that the production of Latina lesbian texts is still relatively small, making the impact of flawed bibliographic systems particularly dramatic. For all these reasons, library collections of these materials tend to be weak and imbalanced, and scholars doing research in this area tend to end up with a fraction of the materials that the library might actually have.

There are several solutions to the problem of the marginalization of Latina lesbian materials, and all of them are complicated. One is to employ third-level cataloging with appropriate subject headings and to input the entire table of contents, along with the name of each author published in an anthology, into the bibliographic record. Retrospective cataloging would also be a powerful strategy. Since literature did not start being assigned subject headings until recent years, scores of Latina lesbian works of literature are currently completely inaccessible via subject heading searching. Assessing and modifying the identifiers used for Latina lesbian literature and nonfiction would also help identify and locate this material, and equipping scholars with research strategies would improve the results of online searching. It must be acknowledged that even though appropriate cataloging and targeted information literacy would make both keyword and subject heading searches more fruitful for researchers, economic and staffing issues faced by today’s libraries and user behavior render these solutions unrealistic and unlikely.

As for acquisition problems, identifying distributors and vendors of Latin(a) American, Caribbean, and Spanish lesbian materials would certainly help U.S. libraries and bookstores. Most of these vendors lack specific knowledge and/or interest in Latina lesbian and gay authors and, while they probably sell books that fit this category, they do not promote them as such.

While not without its own complications, using a selected bibliography of Latina lesbian materials is a practical and economical approach that can increase the visibility and access to Latina lesbian materials. With a list in hand, a researcher can do title and author searches, and can also perform keyword and subject heading searches based on cross-referencing from the bibliography. This list can also be used by librarians who collect in the areas of queer studies, Latin American studies, ethnic studies, and Spanish-language literature. But identifying the books and authors to feature in such a bibliography forces the person who creates the list to make a series of decisions and establish certain policies in the selection process.
I have been collecting Latina lesbian bibliographic evidence since 1987, when I attended the First Latin American and Caribbean Lesbian Feminist Encuentro that was held in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Rosamaria Roffiel’s autobiographical lesbian novel *Amora* had just been published, and lesbians from Mexico and Latin America brought samples of chapbooks, periodicals, and other publications to share at this event. Subsequent encuentros and similar gatherings in the United States and Latin America continued to reveal more texts by and about Latina lesbians. My desire to document Latina lesbian her-story and to increase access and visibility for Latina lesbian materials is at the core of this bibliography. As I made my selections for this list, I was confronted with numerous practical and philosophical concerns along the way.

Initially, I intended to establish a herstorial record of evidence of Latina lesbians, but I quickly found that, in practice, the premise was far from being as simple as I had expected. In some cases, the selection of a title for inclusion in a Latina lesbian bibliography is evident from the title of the work itself. Examples of this are the anthologies *Compañeras: Latina Lesbians* (Latina Lesbian History Project, 2004) and *Chicana Lesbians: The Girls Our Mothers Warned Us About* (Third Woman Press, 1991). Queer-themed nonfictional books are also easy to categorize, such as Norma Mogrovejo’s *Testimonios: Voces de mujeres lesbianas, 1950–2000* (Plaza y Valdés, 2001) and Rinna Riesenfeld’s *Papá, mamá, soy gay: Una guía para comprender las orientaciones y preferencias sexuales de los hijos* (Grijalbo, 2000). Periodicals such as *Jota* (Los Angeles, 2003–); *Esto no tiene nombre: Revista de lesbianas latinas* (Miami, 1991–1995); and *Conmoción: Revista y red revolucionaria de lesbianas latinas* are obviously about Latina lesbians. But a number of books and other materials that might be appropriate for a Latina lesbian bibliography exist beyond this transparent surface.

Should any book by a Latin(a) American or Chicana lesbian be listed on a Latina lesbian bibliography? My immediate response, which contradicts cataloging rules that prioritize content, is that any book by an “out” Latina lesbian should be listed, even if the content is not primarily about lesbianism or about Latinidad. Considering that the pool of writers who are “out” Latina lesbians is so small to begin with, I am interested in capturing as many titles and authors as possible—in including, as opposed to excluding. Using this logic, I would include Sheila Ortiz Taylor’s *Faultline* (1982), which had lesbian content but lacked references to Chicana culture. But what about plays by Maria Irene Fornes, which are not about lesbianism or Latinidad, per se? What about Alicia Gaspar de Alba’s *Chicano Art Inside/Outside the Master’s House: Cultural Politics and the CARA Exhibition*? While lesbianism is central to many of her other titles, the Chicano art is the focus of this one. What about Cristina Peri Rossi’s *Cuando fumar era un placer*; a nonfictional book about smoking, or her novel *El museo de los esfuerzos inútiles*? While Peri Rossi’s poetry books such as *Evohe* and *Estrategias del deseo* clearly celebrate love and sex between
women, most of her novels and nonfiction do not. Likewise, Albalucía Angel’s *Las andariega* can be considered a lesbian text, while her novel *Estaba la pajarita pintada sobre el verde limón* would not be.

Another complication with listing Latina lesbian authors whose books do reflect lesbianism and Latinidad is that much of this work exists as small and ephemeral publications without reliable distribution. This would include books such as Adriana Batista’s *Nihilismos Epídemicos* (*Epidermic Nihilisms*), Dalia Rosetti’s *Durazno Reverdeciente*, Karleen Pendleton Jiménez’s *Are You a Boy or a Girl?* Aixa Ardín Pauneto’s *Batiborrillo*, Marcia Ochoa’s *Primer Ofrenda*, and my own chapbooks, *Porcupine Love and Other Tales from My Papaya* and *Pintame una mujer peligrosa*. Unless they personally know the author or they have traveled to an international book fair, librarians will have a difficult time purchasing titles such as these.

There are also out Latina lesbian authors who do not have their own publication but do publish in anthologies and periodicals. This includes writers such as Miriam Sachs Martin, Maria de los Ríos, Lisa Gonzales, Veronica Reyes, Loana Valencia, Daisy Dejesus, Wanda Alarcon, Luz Calvo, Grace Rosales, Catriona Rueda Esquivel, Lesley Salas, Carmen Corrales, Olga Ulloa, and many others. Should an entire anthology or periodical be included in the bibliography if one out Latina lesbian has a piece that is about lesbianism and Latinidad?

And what of authors who do not identify as lesbian but who are Latinas or Chicanas with some lesbian content in their work? This includes writers such as Ana Castillo, who did not self-identify as a lesbian despite having had a well-known lesbian lover and despite being the author of a few novels with lesbian themes. This includes Denise Chavez, who is not a lesbian but who had an aunt who was in the closet and therefore is sensitive to lesbian themes; however, she does have lesbian characters in several of her novels. This also includes Spanish feminist author Lucía Etxebarria, whose *Beatriz y los cuerpos celestes*, with a protagonist vying for another young woman’s love, became an international bestseller. Sidestepping the identity issue and focusing strictly on content, David William Foster includes entries on nonlesbian writers such as Denise Chavez in his *Latin America Writers on Gay and Lesbian Themes: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*. But is content sufficient? I would say no, again, contrary to library standards. The difference between someone like Denise Chavez and Alicia Gaspar de Alba is that Gaspar de Alba is a lesbian activist, writer, and academic with strong ties to the Latina lesbian community, while Chavez is a creative writer who occasionally has lesbian characters in her novels. If one were to accept the premise that queer authorship qualifies an entry into a Latina lesbian bibliography, though, one would have to know or be able to enquire about a writer’s self-declared sexual orientation. This is something that I do, but it is not something that a cataloger would consider part of the job. Nor is it a foolproof method, as it is not always possible to obtain the correct information.
As a queer Latina activist and writer, I know that identity politics are central to the development of Latina lesbian cultural production. This inside knowledge informs my bibliographic ways of doing things. But I recognize that a bibliography such as this does need to have queer Latin content at its center. Thus, I resolved that in addition to subcategories of genre, language, and translations, the bibliography should have two main subdivisions that can communicate with each other—one based primarily on content, without regard to the author’s sexual orientation, and one based on Latin(a) authors who have publicly declared their lesbianism. Not a simple solution after all, but I hope that such a bibliography will eventually result in something as simple as having a Latina lesbian go to the library and actually find traces of herself right there, in the catalog and on the bookshelves.
The Latin American Council of Social Sciences

Founded in 1967, the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) is an international nongovernmental institution with formal consultative status with UNESCO. Today, 168 centers of research and postgraduate programs in the social sciences in twenty-one countries within Latin America and the Caribbean are members of CLACSO.

Its objectives are to promote the research and teaching of the social sciences, to strengthen the cooperation between institutions and researchers both within the region and with other regions, and to enrich the quality of debate in the public sphere, thus creating the conditions for the adoption of policies that guarantee the good governance of societies.

CLACSO activities include the following:

- Regional Working Groups covering high-priority themes of the region and gathering researchers from diverse institutional and geographical backgrounds
- fellowship program for researchers from Latin America and the Caribbean
- postgraduate courses administered online in CLACSO’s Virtual Campus
- South-South Research Cooperation of social scientists from Latin America, Africa, and Asia
- Social Observatory of Latin America, publishing a chronology of social conflicts in each country
- program of comparative studies on poverty
- publication and distribution of books resulting from research programs
- program of audiovisual communication: production of videos
- Latin America and the Caribbean Social Science Virtual Libraries Network
- organization of international academic events
Through these activities CLACSO hopes to contribute to the rethinking, from a critical and plural perspective, of the integral problems facing Latin American and Caribbean societies and, in this way, facilitate their progressive transformation.

Fifty-five percent of CLACSO member institutes are university research institutions, and 36 percent are research NGOs. Together they publish thousands of books, periodical articles, working documents, and conference papers each year.

**Difficulties Accessing Documents Produced by Social Science Research in Latin America and the Caribbean**

Even though Latin America is one of the developing regions with the best regional bibliographic databases, which is mainly due to the common use of Spanish and Portuguese in countries of the region, access to documents mentioned in the bibliographies is a privilege for a very few.

This situation is caused primarily by the reduced number of copies printed (on average 500 copies for books and 300 copies for journals) and the high costs of postal services, which makes it costly to distribute books to libraries.
and impedes interlibrary loans among cities and even more so among countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Opportunities Provided by Internet, E-Publishing, and E-Libraries

Very slowly Internet access is being introduced as a regular service for students, professors, and researchers working in Latin American academic institutions, as well as being introduced as a platform for e-publishing and offering virtual library services to users.

Increasingly, authors are submitting their works for publication online. Desktop publishing allows institutions to consider using the Internet to provide free or fee-based access to their publications, and also allows institutional virtual libraries or cooperative virtual portals such as SciELO, CLACSO, and Redalyc to provide search facilities for collective collections. It is estimated that 20 percent (34 institutions) of CLACSO member institutes are experimenting with offering open access to a selection of their publications.

Emerging trends in e-publishing show that a considerable number of institutions are providing open access to a selection of their printed journal articles. Examples of printed journals offered on the Internet via open access to full-text documents within CLACSO’s network include the following:

- **Ecuador Debate** (CAAP, Ecuador)
- **Lua Nova-Revista de Cultura e Política** (Centro de Estudios de Cultura Contemporanea, Brazil)
- **Cuadernos del Cendes** (Universidad Central de Venezuela)
- **Revista del Observatorio Social de América Latina** (OSAL/CLACSO, Argentina)
- **Perú hoy** (DESCO, Peru)
- **Relaciones** (Colegio de Michoacán, Mexico)
- **Tareas** (Centro Estudios Latinoamericanos, Panama)
- **Temas de Economía Mundial** (Centro de Investigaciones de la Economía Mundial, Cuba)

Less visible is an emerging trend of publishing e-journals without a printed version. Examples of this in the CLACSO network include the following:

- “Economía y Bienestar” of DESCO, Peru
- “Argumentos-Revista de Crítica Social” of the Instituto Gino Germani, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina
- “Revista Virtual” of FLACSO, Costa Rica
As for books, only a few of CLACSO members are publishing the digital version of a book on the Internet in print format, due primarily to the financial constraints of printing the volumes (CIPS, Cuba).

Only a few CLACSO members are providing online open access to the full texts of books. In the case of books published from the results of regional research programs sponsored by CLACSO (two books a month), the books are sent to the open-access reading room of the virtual library even before the distribution of their printed version. This collection of books from CLACSO is also distributed annually in a CD-ROM. Some experiments are taking place to sell books in Spanish online, of which Libroanuta and e-Libros are examples.

**Developing a Latin America and the Caribbean Social Science Virtual Libraries Network**

Considering the growing number of institutions offering online access to a selection of full-text publications in the social sciences, and the need to provide a search facility to help users find their subject in all collections available, CLACSO started a virtual library in 1998 to provide open Internet access to the full text of books, periodical articles, working documents, and conference papers published by its network members.

The collection started with books published as a result of research programs sponsored by CLACSO, and eventually member institutes of CLACSO started sending the digital version of a selection of their publications. Today the collection has 4,100 full-text documents, of which

- 1,230 are author contributions in collaborative books,
- 952 are journal articles,
- 1,600 are congress papers, and
- 300 are working documents.

This virtual library also offers open access to the following:

- bibliographic database (some links to full texts and email contact)
- database of research projects
- database with profiles of researchers
- directory of open-access journals (50 titles offer open access to full-text articles)
- videos

The virtual library works in a Linux platform with the open-source Greenstone software for virtual libraries.1 This software allows searching in any field of metadata and also within the full text of the documents.
Databases run with open-source ISIS software and with the basic fifteen fields of Dublin Core. Members of this network of virtual libraries can input their information online via the Internet. Each institution has the copyright ownership of documents sent to the Reading Room.

To help librarians and editors from the network better understand these new e-publishing and e-library environments, CLACSO has organized each year a distance course delivered in CLACSO’s Virtual Campus for librarians and editors of its member institutes in eighteen countries. It has also edited a book, *Bibliotecas Virtuales para las Ciencias Sociales*\(^2\), distributed free of charge to editors and librarians in the network.

The service is open access, free of charge for Internet users. It is a program sponsored by CLACSO’s member institutes, the Swedish government (SIDA), the International Network for the Availability of Scientific Publications (INASP, Oxford), and ICA/IDRC (Ottawa).

**Sample of Bibliographic Record**

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Como citar este documento


NOTES

Dominique Babini is from Argentina. Following her doctorate in national information policy, she has been active in developing social science information networks in Latin America. Since 1983 she has been the coordinator of CLACSO’s information activities and since 2004 a member of SALALM. Dr. Babini’s main concern in SALALM is to improve access to recent social science research published in Latin America and the Spanish Caribbean and to make full texts available by open access on the Internet.


BIBLIOGRAPHY


24. Support for Latin American Studies at the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus

Enid Brown

The term Latin America is most frequently restricted to the countries of South America and North America (including Central America and the islands of the Caribbean) whose inhabitants speak either Spanish or Portuguese, although the French-speaking areas of Haiti, French Guiana, and the French West Indies may also be included. However, for the purposes of this paper, the discussion of Latin America and Latin American studies will exclude the French-speaking areas.

One of the primary means of support of Latin American studies on the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies is through the Latin American-Caribbean Centre (LACC) of the Office of Administration and Special Initiatives, University of the West Indies (UWI), Mona. The LACC’s coordinator, Ms. Annette Insanally, is a former lecturer in the Spanish department. The establishment of the center was approved by the Rio Group in 1993, as an initiative of the UWI for the creation of a regional cultural center serving as a focal point for the integration of Latin America. This was a response to a proposal of the prime minister of Jamaica for integration within the region. Though located on the Mona campus, the center develops programs involving the three campuses of the University of the West Indies. It facilitates support for all the faculties for all the campuses of the university, facilitating exchange of both students and academics with countries of Latin America. Its main objective is to promote understanding and cooperation between Latin American and Caribbean countries, and it acts as a facilitator for the development of institutional agreements leading to the implementation of projects involving language, culture, and academic exchange.

The center also functions as a clearinghouse for the English-speaking Caribbean, for information on academic opportunities in Latin America and Spain, and is a focal point for administration of scholarship offers for some countries in the region. It promotes English as a foreign language through these exchanges and also seeks to facilitate the negotiation process for trade and investment. LACC from its inception has participated actively in the integration movement in the region, with the support of countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Spain. As part of its cultural activities, the center arranges workshops, seminars, and cultural events from Latin America; brings Latin
American artists and artistes; promotes book fairs; and regularly shows Latin American film series—all for the purpose of exposing Latin America and its languages to its English-speaking audience. The recent staging on the Mona campus of Colombia carnival, under the auspices of LACC, in collaboration with the Embassy of Colombia, afforded its audience the opportunity to experience an important part of Colombian culture. The event featured scenes from the Carnaval de Barranquilla.

LACC, also as a language resource center, encourages sponsorship for activities to facilitate the elimination of the language barriers and the promotion of regional integration. Thus, through its instrumentality, many workshops and seminars have been held on the Mona campus, in collaboration with various regional and international agencies, including the Agencies for International Cooperation in Latin American countries and Spain, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), and other institutions and cultural agencies.

Important among LACC's seminars were those on intraregional migration: in June 2000, the West Indian Migration to Panama for the Construction of the Panama Canal: Socio-Economic and Cultural Impact; June 2001, the Intra-Caribbean Migration—The Case of Cuba (1898–present); July 2002, the Socio-Economic and Cultural Impact of West Indian Migration to Costa Rica; and July 2003, the Socio-Economic and Cultural Impact of West Indian Migration to Colombia. These indeed promoted exposure and support, and enhanced Latin American studies, while exposing audiences to the influences both geographic areas have had on each other’s culture. It is interesting to note that many of these seminars have been attended by older Latin American folk.

The center also operates at a commercial level, and as a participant in Latin American expositions; it is usually invited to send a representative to Latin American commercial promotions, such as book fairs. LACC, in facilitating movement within the region, has fostered the development of language courses for special purposes. English-language courses have been designed for foreign students (nonnative speakers of English) in Jamaica, with the participants being housed in student residences on the campus and having access to all the services offered by the university (libraries, computer laboratories, sports facilities, etc.). Immersion courses offer the opportunity to experience Caribbean culture while contributing to the rapid increase in language fluency. Basic, intermediate, and advanced intensive English-language courses for foreigners are also offered for students, professionals, and business persons and includes subsets of Business English and English for Tourism.

The Business English courses vary:

- A four-week course is offered for business persons with fairly substantial prior knowledge of English. These classes are complemented by seminars delivered by the Mona School of Business, in areas such as Human Resources, Marketing, and International Business.
• A three-month immersion course is also offered for professionals and business persons who wish to undertake a graduate degree in Business Administration. Prior knowledge of English, at least at the lower intermediate level, is required.

LACC periodically offers “Spanish as a Foreign Language” for professionals and business persons who are in constant contact with the Hispanic community.¹

One of the earliest agreements between the university and countries of Latin America, that of October 1, 1997, signaled an Academic Cooperation Agreement between the University of Quintana Roo in Mexico and the University of the West Indies. The February 16, 2000, agreement between the Colombian Institute for the Promotion of Higher Education (ICFES) and the university provided the framework for interinstitutional cooperation, emphasizing the strengthening of the links between the universities in Colombia and the UWI. The cooperation agreement for the exchange of assistant teachers of English/Spanish proposed that each UWI campus and a Colombian University would send and receive one language teacher annually. Also under this agreement, LACC has offered intensive English courses to groups of Colombian professionals. Among the many other agreements with the University of the West Indies is that of May 30, 2001, with the University of Panama. In February 2001, the University of the West Indies signed a tripartite cooperation agreement with the Spanish Agency for International Cooperation and the Instituto Cervantes for the establishment of the Catedra Frederico Garcia Lorca at the UWI. The activity of the Catedra focused on secondary school Spanish teacher training. Thus, workshops were conducted in Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago for nearly two hundred Spanish teachers from forty-five secondary schools throughout the CARICOM region. Also, a workshop with Spanish Curriculum Officers in the Ministries of Education in CARICOM countries was held to coordinate the development of a regional primary Spanish curriculum. In conjunction with the UWI Mona School of Educational Studies, the LACC also offers a four-week methodology course for teachers of “English as a Foreign Language.” On August 1, 2002, an agreement with the Colombian Institute for Credit for Education and Technical Studies Overseas (ICITEX) was made. On July 31, 2003, an agreement was made with the Universidade do Estado da Bahia, Brazil. On January 30, 2004, a Memorandum of Understanding between universities in Cuba was established. On June 29, 2004, there was a collaborative academic agreement with the University of Costa Rica and on December 8, 2004, a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministerio de Educacion Superior, Cuba. Other agreements exist with the Universidad de Costa Rica; Universidad de Concepción in Chile; Instituto de Ciencias Politicas of the Universidad de Chile; Universidad Nacional de Colombia; universities in Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and Brasilia in Brazil; Universidad de Buenos Aires in Argentina; Universidad de Oriente in Venezuela; and universities in Santiago, Mao, Holguin, and Oriente in Cuba.²
By these agreements, the universities seek to promote student and staff exchanges for academic purposes and to develop joint research and publications. There have been several hundred student exchanges within various faculties and currently there are Latin American teaching assistants on the campus, and teaching assistants from the Mona campus are sent to various countries of Latin America, mainly Colombia. Since the initiation of the program in 2000, there have also been annual six-week exchanges. Currently there is a Colombian teaching assistant in the Department of Government, in the Faculty of Social Sciences.\(^3\)

One member of the medical faculty went to Panama specifically to observe its healthcare system, as that country has seemingly used its tax dollars for the health system far more efficiently than many CARICOM countries. The University Hospital of the West Indies (though not part of an exchange agreement), in an effort to meet its nursing services needs, also has an agreement with the Cuban government for the provision of nurses. The Cuban government nominates nurses and the University Hospital of the West Indies interviews, selects, and provides a contract to the successful nominees.\(^4\)

A most successful example of a collaborative agreement was the time spent at Universidad Quintana Roo in Mexico by Dr. Ian Boxill, senior lecturer of the Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work. This was a result of the October 1, 1997, Academic Cooperation Agreement with the University of Quintana Roo. Dr. Boxill went at various times during 2002–2004, as part of a two-year fellowship program, mainly to that university and later to Belize to pursue a joint research program on tourism in Latin America and the Caribbean. The cost for exchange, research, and publications were funded mainly by the Mexican government, and competitive and product issues were explored. Important tangible results of this exchange were three major publications: *Tourism and Change in the Caribbean* (Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak Publications, 2002); *Turismo, desarrollo y recursos naturales en el Caribe* (Tourism, development and natural resources in the Caribbean) (Mexico, D.F.: Plaza y Valdes, 2002); and *Turismo en el Caribe* (Tourism in the Caribbean) (Mexico, D.F.: Plaza y Valdes, 2001). As a result of this successful collaboration, Dr. Boxill is now the English-speaking regional editor of the multilingual journal *Revista Mexicana del Caribe* (Chetumal, Quintana Roo, Mexico).

During Dr. Boxill’s visit, there was also exchange of a postgraduate student from the department, several workshops were held, links were provided, and a network of academics was developed, all fostering cross-fertilization of ideas and movement.\(^5\) The Institute for Hospitality and Tourism in the School for Graduate Studies and Research, in keeping with its mission to develop, facilitate, and support staff and student research projects to advance their scholarship and meet the applied needs of the hospitality and tourism industry, also has developed strong ties and exchanges with Mexico under this Quintana Roo agreement.\(^6\)
As part of a bilateral exchange agreement between the university and Yucatan University in Mexico, the Biotechnology Centre, on the Mona campus, has conducted academic staff and postgraduate exchanges in order to observe, explore, and exchange techniques in scientific research on food products (notably yams) and the antinutritional factors in the utilization of natural products.7

The International Centre for Environment and Nuclear Sciences (ICENS), also on the campus, has had a successful collaborative research relationship with Mexico, Brazil, and Colombia. There is collaboration with the Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Nucleares (ININ; the National Nuclear Research Institute of Mexico). Visits have been exchanged between staff of both institutions, and joint research on radon levels in Jamaican soils has been published (Journal of Radioanalytical and Nuclear Chemistry 250, no. 2:295–302). Under the Binational Commission, further collaborative research avenues are currently being explored between ICENS and Mexican institutions. Instituto de Pesquisas Energeticas e Nucleares (IPEN) in São Paulo, Brazil, and ICENS have collaborated on the development of neutron activation analysis techniques and collaborative results have been published (Journal of Radioanalytical and Nuclear Chemistry 244, no. 2:263–266). There is also a mutual interest in geochemical mapping between ICENS and the Instituto Colombiano de Geologia y Minería (INGEOMINAS) and discussions have been held to establish collaboration.8

Since the early 1960s, the university has supported Latin American studies through its curriculum. With the change from a college of the University of London to an independent regional institution, there was also a change in emphasis in the courses taught. UWI Mona’s Department of History (later Department of History and Archaeology) has always taught courses on the history of the Americas. That course was subsequently divided into two: the “History of North America” and the “History of Latin America.” In the mid-1960s, the late professor of history Douglas Hall, with the explicit purpose of introducing coursework on Latin America, pursued studies at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, and in order to ensure continuity, he subsequently selected a postgraduate history student (now Dr. Patrick Bryan, professor of history and Latin American history specialist) who was fluent in the Spanish language to attend the same institute. Throughout the early period, there were changes and modifications to the courses, as the whole Latin American program evolved and developed into the comprehensive program that now exists within the university. However, a major hurdle to developing a concentration in Latin American studies, especially at the postgraduate level, is that generally the students lack facility in the Spanish, Portuguese, and French languages. Although the department has now made it compulsory for all history majors to have a working knowledge of a language, developing the ease of language for efficient reading, absorption, and research at the university level would be well nigh impossible.9
An overview of Latin America is offered to first-year students, but at levels 2 and 3, in-depth courses on various aspects of Latin American history, life, and culture are offered. In year one the introductory course "The Atlantic World, 1400–1600" examines the creation of one of the most significant regional systems unified by the Atlantic Ocean and focuses on how distinct and separate cultural areas surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean were integrated into a network of exchange, rooted in the long-distance movement of among other things, people and ideas. Demographic, cultural, and economic consequences are emphasized.

"Latin America, 1600–1870: From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism" examines how the Iberians established political, economic, cultural, and social control over the Americas, and how this domination—exercised through religious, economic, administrative institutions, as well as by maturing concepts of inequality and racism—was internalized or opposed by the subject people. Also discussed are the limited objectives of the liberation movements in Latin America in the early-nineteenth century, and liberalism as a modernizing concept and simultaneously as a force for the establishment of new patterns of domination from Europe. "Societies and Economics in Latin America from 1870" covers the response of Latin America to world economic expansion in the late-nineteenth century and the social changes, emerging out of the interaction of Latin America’s economies, with such as international economic trends, induced rapid urbanization, ideological change, and social legislation. "The Idea of Liberation in Latin America" studies various Latin American thinkers and their thoughts on the problem of freedom. Covered are Simón Bolívar and the concept of Creole liberation; the ideas of José Martí on liberation and equality; Che Guevara and the concepts of socialist liberation and the "new man"; Victor Haya de la Torre, Carlos Manriategui, and José Vasconcelos on indigenous paths to national liberation; Peronism; socialism; and communism. The course ends with the growth of liberation theology and Latin American feminism. "Emancipation in the Americas" conducts a comparative examination of the transition to free labor in Brazil, the Caribbean, and the United States. "The Spanish Caribbean, 1810–1979: Nationalism and Underdevelopment" focuses on the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. These countries are discussed in light of the nationalist idea and their patterns of development or underdevelopment are examined. The political, social, and economic development of Cuba since 1895 are discussed in "Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century Cuba." The Cuban Revolution since 1959, the influence of the United States on Cuba before and after 1959, and the impact of Cuba on the Caribbean and other areas of Latin America since 1959 are examined. The political thought and careers of prominent Cuban politicians and thinkers throughout the twentieth century are also considered.10

In much the same way, as the late Professor Douglas Hall did for the Department of History in the early 1960s, the late Professor Coulthard, an
internationally recognized scholar of Latin American studies, set the then Department of Spanish on the path to Latin American studies. He gave a Latin American stamp to the department and this tradition has continued. The current philosophy of the Spanish department is that while the student of Spanish should get a broad exposure to all areas where Spanish is spoken, geographically the department is committed to Latin America. Emphasis is placed on the differing vocabulary and pronunciation of the various Latin American countries. Staff research interest, publications, and graduate student research are focused on Latin America. Cross-faculty courses, with a Latin American emphasis in different disciplines, have always been an option for undergraduate students. For students majoring in Spanish, “Latin American Literature” is compulsory. “Spanish Caribbean Literature,” “Central American Literature,” selected Spanish American authors, and comparative studies of literatures in Spanish, French, and English are encouraged for postgraduate thesis research.

A significant number of academic staff and tutors in the department are from Latin America and the department actively participates in the LACC-sponsored student exchanges and staff movement. The diversity of the staff exposes the students to other cultures, and close links are maintained (usually through LACC) with the embassies of Latin America and in particular that of Colombia. The faculty hosts an annual conference, focusing on Spanish Caribbean language and literature, and this rotates on the different campuses. However, other countries of Latin America are not excluded from discussion.11

Apart from Spanish language and translation at various levels, the following are some of the courses taught in the department: “Spanish American Literature”; “Twentieth-Century Spanish American Narrative”; “Spanish American Women’s Narrative”; “Cultural Issues in Latin American Literature”; “Literature of the Spanish Caribbean”; “New Spanish American Novel”; “Social and Political Issues in Spanish Literature and Film”; “Contemporary Cuban Culture”; “Spanish for the Hospitality Industry”; “Business Spanish”; “Basic Spanish for Medical Purposes”; and “Basic Spanish for Travel.” “Issues in Contemporary Culture” includes a film series on Cuba and usually a Cuban writer being studied in the course is invited as guest lecturer. Cuban poet Nicolas Guillen and novelist and musicologist Alejo Carpentier are among the writers studied comprehensively.12

Central to the support of courses are the library’s resources. The library has ensured the building of its collections on Latin America by liaising extensively, through its liaison librarians, with academic staff actively involved in Latin American studies. However, book selection has been generally limited to mainly English-language items because of the general lack (already mentioned) of Spanish- and Portuguese-language facility.

For book selection, the library and faculty of the Department of History and Archaeology rely heavily on the reviews of Hispanic American Historical
Review and Latin American Research Review. Leslie’s Bethell’s (ed.) The Cambridge History of Latin America (1984–) provides a comprehensive survey of Latin American history, and excellent introductions are offered in Edwin Williamson’s The Penguin History of Latin America (1992) and Simon Collier, Harold Blakemore, and Thomas E. Skidmore’s (eds.) The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Latin America and the Caribbean. Bailey W. Diffie’s Latin American Civilization: Colonial Period (1945, reissued 1967) is a scholarly work with clearly differing viewpoints on various controversial topics. Imperial concerns are carefully examined in Lyle N. McAlister’s Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492–1700 (1984). In the library’s heavily used Reserved Books Collection, primarily for undergraduate reading, are several copies of Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson’s Colonial Latin America, 2d ed. (1994), considered as the best general textbook on the period.

Very comprehensively covered in the collection are the colonial period, the wars of independence, and the independence era to the present of each of the Latin American countries. Carl Saur’s The Early Spanish Main examines critically the impact of the discovery of the Indian population of the Caribbean. Crucial questions about contact, perceptions, and identity are analyzed in many works. Many of the above titles were originally published in Spanish but later translated into English. Anthony Pagden’s The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology (1982) describes how sixteenth-century Spaniards perceived the indigenous cultures.

The library’s collections also include several fundamental works on the colonial economy and rural society. These works include Stuart B. Schwartz’s Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society (1985) and Eric Van Young’s Hacienda and Market in Eighteenth Century Mexico (1981). Enrique Tandeter’s Coercion and Market: Silver Mining in Colonial Potosí, 1692–1826 (1993, originally published in Spanish in 1992) is an excellent work on the mita labor system; and C. R. Boxer’s The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695–1750 (1962, reissued in 1995) is a classic study of Brazilian silver mining. Murdo MacLeod’s Spanish Central America: A Socioeconomic History, 1520–1720 (1973, reprinted in 1984) is an excellent regional economic survey. R. A. Humphreys and John Lynch’s (eds.) The Origins of the Latin American Revolutions, 1808–1826 (1965) and Tulio Halperin-Donghi’s Politics, Economics and Society in Argentina in the Revolutionary Period (translated from Spanish in 1975) provide a variety of viewpoints, whereas Michael Costeloe’s Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840 (1986) examines the Spanish response to the loss of the American colonies. The collection itself is strong in most areas and in particular in the area of politics; however, a serious limitation to the strength of the collection is that much of the social literature of Latin America is currently being written by North Americans and there is also a gap in studies of the drug trade and of efforts to control it.
The library's journal collection of over one hundred titles (in both Spanish and English) also contributes to the comprehensive study of Latin America. The collection includes the following: Inter-American Economic Affairs; Statistical Yearbook for Latin America and the Caribbean; Economic Panorama of Latin America; Revista de historia; Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean; Journal of South American Earth Sciences; Latin American Antiquity: A Journal of the Society for American Archaeology; Revista Europea de estudios latinoamericanos y del Caribe; The Americas Review/World of Information; Colonial Latin American Historical Review; Américas; Casa de las Americas; Cuadernos americanos; Capítulos/Latin American Economic System; British Bulletin of Publications on Latin America, the Caribbean, Portugal and Spain; Cuadernos hispanoamericanos; Hemisphere; Latinamericanist; Social Panorama of Latin America/United Nations, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean; Economic and Social Progress in Latin America; Hispanic Articles in Scholarly Periodicals: An Annual Bibliography; Hispanic American Periodicals Index; Handbook of Latin American Studies; Historia y sociedad; Latin American Research Review; Latin American Perspectives; Economic Survey of Latin America; Economic Bulletin for Latin America superseded by CEPAL Review; The Latin America and Caribbean Review; Journal of Latin American Studies; Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs; U.S./Latin Trade; Economic Activity in Caribbean Countries; Boletín del Banco de Datos; Review: Latin American Literature and Arts; Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas; and Preliminary Overview of the Latin American Economy.

Over the years, LACC has made several donations (many from the proceedings of workshops and seminars) to the library on the Mona campus. These significant contributions, most notably from the intraregional migration series, have also enhanced the library's collections.

There has been a long enduring connection between countries of the English-speaking Caribbean and many countries of Latin America. One cannot forget early West Indian immigration to Cuba, between 1907 and 1940, when many Jamaicans went to work on the sugar estates and migration to Costa Rica, Honduras, Belize, Nicaragua, and Panama to assist in the building of the Panama Canal. Thus, the LACC's intraregional migration series was indeed important for Latin American studies. Migration has had influences on the populations of both areas. The mento, a form of Jamaican music, is rooted in African-Cuban traditions and it has had tremendous influence on popular Jamaican music. The rumba dance of early Jamaica, still practiced among the older Jamaican rural country folk, is also rooted in African-Cuban tradition, and there are pockets of Garveyism and Rastafarianism in Latin America among its West Indian migrant population.
Latin American students for many years prior to the support of Latin American studies had come on their own initiative to the Caribbean to learn English, and increasingly this facility now exists for exchange students.

In spite of the many ways in which Latin American studies have been fostered and supported on the Mona campus, there are further areas that could be explored and developed to enhance and further the linkages. As a result of a benefaction to the university, which permitted the establishment of a lectureship in archaeology attached to the Department of History and reflected the importance of its study in the Faculty of Humanities and Education, the Department of History was renamed the Department of History and Archaeology.

The current archaeology program at the Mona campus places particular emphasis on Maroon and plantation sites in Jamaica. However, with Latin America's strong history of archaeology and anthropology, regular student and academic staff exchange for fieldwork would significantly enhance the experience and teaching of archaeology at the Mona campus of the university.

NOTES

I am grateful to several members of the academic staff of the University of the West Indies, Mona, for their assistance in the preparation of this paper. They responded quickly to requests for interviews and shared their knowledge and ideas generously. I am deeply indebted to Ms. Annette Insanally, coordinator of the Latin American-Caribbean Centre (LACC), who provided the first interview and gave me considerable background information, documentation, ideas, and the names of several people on the campus who would be able to provide valuable information for this paper. Without her guidance and help this paper would not have been possible.

1. Brochure of Latin American-Caribbean Centre (LACC), University of the West Indies.
2. Agreements/Memoranda of Understanding with UWI and other Universities/Institutions.
3. Annette Insanally (coordinator, Latin American-Caribbean Centre, UWI, Mona), interview by author, Mona, Jamaica, February 1, 2005.
4. Hospital administrator, University Hospital of the West Indies, telephone conversation with author, February 20, 2005.
5. Ian Boxill (senior lecturer, Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work, UWI, Mona), interview by author, Mona, Jamaica, February 10, 2005.
6. Carolyn Hayle (senior program officer, Institute for Hospitality and Tourism, School for Graduate Studies and Research, UWI, Mona), interview by author, Mona, Jamaica, March 2, 2005.
7. Andrew Wheatley (Biotechnology Centre, UWI, Mona), telephone conversation with author, March 9, 2005.
11. Claudette Williams (senior lecturer, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures), interview by author, Mona, Jamaica, February 25, 2005.
12. Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, Information Pamphlet 2004–2005, Faculty of Humanities and Education, University of the West Indies, Mona.

13. Clinton Hutton (lecturer, Department of Government), interview by author, Mona, Jamaica, March 18, 2005. Dr. Hutton has conducted research on the influences of Latin American music on Jamaican music.
Contributors

JESÚS ALONSO-REGALADO, State University of New York, Albany

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ROBERTO PACHECO, Florida International University

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ALVARO J. DIRSO, Librería Linardi y Risso
Serafin Roldan-Santiago, Santa Fe Community College, Gainesville, Florida

Tatiana de la Tierra, University at Buffalo

Barbara G. Valk, University of California, Los Angeles
Conference Program

Friday, April 15, 2005
Affiliated Groups
9:00 A.M.–noon LARRP
3:00–5:00 p.m. CALAFIA, LANE, LASER, and MOLLAS on UF Campus
7:00–9:00 p.m. LAMP meeting on UF Campus

Saturday, April 16, 2005
8:00 A.M.–5:00 p.m. Registration/Registración/Matrícula
Committee Meetings UF Hilton Conference Center
9:00–10:00 a.m. Reference Services
Audio-Visual Media
Gifts and Exchange
Editorial Board
10:00–11:00 a.m. Marginalized People and Ideas
Enlace
Membership
Cuban Bibliography
11:00 a.m.–noon Electronic Resources
Finance Committee
Constitution and By-laws
Libreros
Noon–1:45 p.m. Lunch/Almuerzo/Almoco
2:00–3:00 p.m. Cataloging and Bibliographic Technology
Interlibrary Cooperation
Bibliographic Instruction
3:00–4:00 p.m. Librarian/Bookdealer/Publisher
Policy, Research and Investigation
4:00–5:00 p.m. Executive Board (may go on until 6 p.m.)
5:00–7:00 p.m. New Members Reception (no-host cash bar)
Celebración de SALALM@50
Harn Museum

Sunday, April 17, 2005

8:00 A.M.—5:00 P.M. Registration/Registración/Matrícula
10:15 A.M.—5:00 P.M. Bookdealers’ Feria del Libro/Feira do Livro

Committee Meetings
8:00—9:00 A.M. Hispanic American Periodicals Index (HAPI)
Medina Award Panel
Nominating
Ad-hoc Committee, Future of the Secretariat

9:00—9:30 A.M. Opening Session

Welcome
Pamela Howard-Reguindin
President, SALALM 2004–2005
Library of Congress Office, Rio de Janeiro

Dale Canelas, Director, University of Florida Libraries

Carmen Diana Deere, University of Florida
Director, Center for Latin American Studies

Richard Phillips, University of Florida Libraries
Chair, SALALM@50 Local Arrangements Committee

José Toribio Medina Award
Victor Federico Torres, Universidad de Puerto Rico
Chair, SALALM Medina Award Panel

9:30—10:15 A.M. Keynote Address
Professor Emeritus Ralph Della Cava, Columbia University
“Matchmaker, Matchmaker: Of Collections in Search of Safe Havens”

10:15—11:15 A.M. Opening: Book Exhibits and Café de bienvenidos/benvindos

11:30 A.M.—1:00 P.M. Panel I: A Glance Back at the History of SALALM
Moderator: Victor Federico Torres, Universidad de Puerto Rico
Rapporteur: Tina Gross, University of Pittsburgh

Mark L. Grover, Brigham Young University
“Genesis and Development of SALALM”

Neill Macaulay, University of Florida
“Recollections of SALALM Pioneers: Nettie Lee Benson and Irene Zimmerman”
Panel II: ¿Qué significa una buena biblioteca?: Reflexiones on Researching
Moderator: Richard Phillips, University of Florida Libraries
Rapporteur: Georgette M. Dorn, Library of Congress, Hispanic Division

Andrés Avellaneda, University of Florida
Murdo MacLeod, University of Florida
Manuel Vásquez, University of Florida

1:00–2:45 P.M. Lunch/Almuerzo/Almoço

3:00–4:45 P.M. Panel III: Contributions of SALALM to the Field of Latin American Studies
Moderator: Carmen Diana Deere, University of Florida
Rapporteur: John Wright, Brigham Young University

Nicolas Shumway, University of Texas
Lars Schultz, University of North Carolina
Helen Safa, University of Florida
Thomas F. Reese, Tulane University

Panel IV: Looking Back, Moving Forward: The Hispanic Division and the Scholarly Community, and Digital Acquisitions in the Library of Congress
Moderator: Dan Hazen, Harvard University
Rapporteur: Christine Mueller, University of New Mexico

Don Panzera, Library of Congress/ELAD
“Electronic Cooperative Acquisitions Program (E-CAP)”

Edmundo Flores, Library of Congress/HAS

Georgette M. Dorn, Library of Congress, Hispanic Division
“The Hispanic Division, SALALM, and the Scholarly Community”

6:00–8:00 P.M. Host Reception at Smathers Library

Monday, April 18, 2005

8:30 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Registration/Registración/Matrícula
8:30 A.M.–5:00 P.M. Bookdealers’ Exhibits at Hilton Lobby
9:00—10:30 a.m.  

Panel V: Library and Information Technology Education in Latin America: The View from Argentina, Chile, and Peru (Enlace Panel)  
Moderator: Carlos Delgado, University of California, Berkeley  
Rapporteur: Cecilia Puerto, San Diego State University  
Susana Romanos, Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliotecológicas, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires  
Aurora de la Vega, Universidad Católica, Lima  
Carmen Pérez Ormeño, Universidad Tecnológica Metropolitana, Escuela de Bibliotecología, Santiago

Panel VI: Women Who Made a Difference: Case Studies from Latin America  
Moderator: Teresa Chapa, University of North Carolina  
Rapporteur: Claude Potts, Arizona State University  
Nelly S. González, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign  
“Andean Black Women: Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru”  
Marian Goslinga, Florida International University  
“Manuelita Sáenz: la libertadora del Libertador”  
Graciella Cruz-Taura, Florida Atlantic University  
“Cuban Poet and Patriot in Nineteenth-Century Key West”

10:45 a.m.—12:15 p.m.  

Panel VII: GIS and LIS  
Moderator: Paul Losch, University of Florida  
Rapporteur: Emily Stambaugh, University of California, Riverside  
Abraham K. Parrish, Yale University  
“Digitizing Antique Maps”  
Joe Aufmuth, Erich Kesse, and Stephanie Haas, University of Florida  
Catherine Marsicek, FIU? Or designee?

Panel VIII: New Studies about Afro-Latin American Populations  
Moderator: Laura Shedenhelm, University of Georgia  
Rapporteur: Nashieli Marcano, Bowling Green State University  
Jesse Hingson, Georgia College and State University  
“Making the Invisible Visible: Bibliographical Sources on Africans in Mexico and Argentina”
Roberto Pacheco, Florida International University
“The Forgotten State of Afro-Argentine Studies”

Matthew Bailey, Georgia College and State University
“Afro-Mexican Studies on the Internet and Beyond”

Luis Arnaldo González, Indiana University
“The Getúlio Vargas Regime and the Discourse on Race in Brazil”

Panel IX: From the Other Side of the Pond: European Resources for Latin American Studies
Moderator: Geoff West and/or Peter Altekrüger
Rapporteur: Norma Palomino, Universidad Torcuato di Tella, Argentina

Jesús Alonso-Regalado, State University of New York, Albany

Peter Altekrüger, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Germany

Ricarda Musser, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Germany

Geoff West and/or new appointee, British Library, England

Alan Biggins? Canning House, England

Robert McNeil? Oxford University, England

Maria del Carmen Diez Hoyos? AECI, Spain

12:15–2:00 P.M. Lunch/Almuerzo/Almoco

2:00–3:45 P.M. Panel X: Patrimonial Salvation: New Solutions to Old Problems
Moderator: Nashiel Marcano, Bowling Green State University
Rapporteur: Cecilia Sercan, Cornell University

Ann Hartness, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin
“Celebration and Protest: New Archival Collections at the Benson Latin American Collection”

Esther Bertoletti, Projeto Resgate, MEC/Brazil
“Projeto Resgate News”

Bruce Chappell, University of Florida Archives
“Preserving and Digitizing the Cuban National Archives”

Panel XI: The History behind the Tools
Moderator: Darlene Hull, University of Connecticut
Rapporteur: Anne Barnhart, University of California, Santa Barbara
Valéria Gauz, John Carter Brown Library
“The Código Brasiliense Website at the John Carter Brown Library”

Barbara G. Valk, University of California, Los Angeles
“The History of HAPI”

João Portinari, Projeto Portinari, Pontificia Universidade Católica, Rio de Janeiro
“Portinari’s Catálogo Raisonné”

Molly Molloy, New Mexico State University
“The Internet in Latin America: Development and Reference Sources”

Moderator: Rafael E. Tarragó, University of Minnesota
Rapporteur: Bart Burk, University of Notre Dame

Julio Estorino
“The Independent Libraries in Cuba”

Patrick Gavilanes, Gavilanes Books from Indoamérica
“Acquisition of Cuban Books for Libraries Outside the Island”

Marta Lee-Perriard, ProQuest, Inc.
“Partners in Publishing: Preserving the Cuban Exile Periodicals Collection”

Esperanza Bravo de Varona, University of Miami
“The Cuban Heritage Collection at the University of Miami”

4:00–5:00 p.m. Committee Meetings
Acquisitions
Library Operations and Services
Finance Committee, 2nd meeting

5:00–6:00 p.m. Screening
Chávez: Inside the Coup (2003 Peabody Award–winning documentary)
Moderator: Laura Shedenhelm, University of Georgia

7:00–11:00 p.m. Libreros/Libreiros Reception

Tuesday, April 19, 2005

8:00 a.m.–1:00 p.m. Registration/Registración/Matrícula

8:00 a.m.–2:00 p.m. Bookdealers’ Exhibition
9:00–10:30 a.m.

Panel XIII: What Are We Teaching and What Are They Learning?
Moderator: Anne Barnhart, University of California, Santa Barbara
Rapporteur: Mina Jane Grothey, University of New Mexico
Orchid Mazurkiewicz, University of California, Los Angeles
Claude Potts, Arizona State University
“Researching Latin America”
Carmen Yasmina López Morales, El Colegio de México
“Colmex Information Literacy Program”
Paloma Celis Carbajal, University of Wisconsin
“Preparation of Library School Students vis-à-vis Teaching on the Job”
Heleni Pedersoli, University of Maryland
“University of MD Instruction Projects”

Panel XIV: Digitizing Latin American Newspapers
Moderator: Henry Snyder, University of California, Riverside
Rapporteur: Martha Mantilla, University of Pittsburgh
Alfonso Quintera, ABINIA
“Newspapers of Grand Colombia, 1822–30”
Jorge Melo, Luis Angel Arango Library
“National Library of Colombia/Luis Angel Arango Library Joint Project”
Adán Benavides, University of Texas, Austin

Panel XV: Panorama Literaria
Moderator: Adán Griego, Stanford University
Rapporteur: Micaela Chávez, El Colegio de México
Lourdes Vázquez, Rutgers University
“Julia de Burgos: su vida y bibliografía”
Alvaro J. Risso, Librería Linardi y Risso
“El Libro uruguayo en los últimos cinquenta años”
Tatiana de la Tierra, University at Buffalo
“Evidence of Lesbos en español: Consideration in the Making of a Bibliography of Latin(a) American Lesbian Texts”
Serafin Roldan-Santiago, Santa Fe Community College, Gainesville, Florida
“Citation Analysis in the Study of Anglo-Caribbean Literature”
Moderator: Ruby Gutiérrez, University of California, Los Angeles  
Rapporteur: Irene Münster, Duke University  
*Rosario Rogel Salazar, Rede ALyC, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Mexico)*  
*Abel Packer, SciELO, Bireme (Brazil)*  
*Dominique Babini, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO)*  
“Latin America and the Caribbean Social Science Virtual Libraries Network”  
*Mariana Rocha Biojane, Inter-American Development Bank*  

**Panel XVII: Support for Latin American Studies at the University of the West Indies**  
Moderator: Margaret Rouse-Jones, University of the West Indies  
Rapporteur: Peter Stern, University of Massachusetts  
*Enid Brown, University of the West Indies, Jamaica*  
*Emelinda Lara, University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago*  
*Barbara Chase, University of the West Indies, TT*  

12:15—1:30 p.m.  Lunch/Almuerzo/Almoço  
1:30—2:00 p.m.  Town Hall Meeting  
2:00 p.m.  Book Exhibits Close  
2:00—3:00 p.m.  Business Meeting/Closing Session  
3:00—5:00 p.m.  Final Executive Board Meeting  

**Wednesday, April 20, 2005**

8:15 a.m.—4:30 p.m.  Optional bus excursion to Chinsegut Hill, site of the first SALALM meeting in 1956 (Bus departs hotel at 8:15 a.m.; returns 4:30 p.m. Space is limited.)
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