



CONFERENCE ON LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

FALL 2015 NEWSLETTER
Volume 51, Number 2

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I. MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT JERRY DAVILA

I write with good news!

With the revision of the bylaws approved by the membership this month, I am pleased to announce the creation of the Atlantic World Studies Committee of the CLAH. The organizational meeting of the Atlantic World Committee will take place at the CLAH Annual Meeting in Atlanta, chaired by CLAH Past President Jane Landers. I warmly invite you to attend the committee's founding session.



I am also pleased to share that the estate of our late colleague Maria Elena Martinez, in addition to friends and colleagues, have made a substantial gift to the CLAH endowment. In recognition of this gift, the CLAH General Committee has named the Mexican History Prize the Maria Elena Martinez Prize in Mexican History.

Fittingly, Maria Elena was the first recipient of the prize when it was first awarded in 2009. Now the first Martinez Prize in Mexican History will be announced at the CLAH Luncheon in Atlanta on January 8, 2016. We hope you can join us to recognize the naming of the award and the recipients of the CLAH's prizes.

The Martinez gift is a meaningful step toward a goal that I hope you might contribute to as well: building the CLAH's endowment to the level where it supports all of the CLAH prizes and awards. Revenue from the endowment supports most of the value of the prizes, but the balance is covered by income from member dues.

[You can make a gift contribution here.](#) Any amount is welcome.

As the CLAH's endowment grows stronger, it becomes possible for us to pursue further goals, such as expanding the number and value of Scobie Awards for Latinamericanist graduate students to conduct seed research; or expanding the number of post-doctoral research awards beyond the single Hanke Award we presently make. No organization is better prepared than the CLAH to support these vital early steps that bring scholars into our field, and we rely on the generosity of CLAH members in order to meet those needs.

Soon you will receive a letter from CLAH members Barbara Tenenbaum and Fritz Schwaller with suggestions for ways to remember the CLAH in your giving.

The naming of the Martinez Prize and the creation of the Atlantic World Studies Committee were ratified by the membership in the recently completed ballot on the revision of the bylaws, which calls for our thanks to all those members who contributed by reviewing the proposed changes that help keep our organization up to date. And our thanks to Executive Secretary Jurgen Buchenau, whose energies play a singular role in keeping the CLAH vital. I also want to thank the team at the UNC Charlotte CLAH Secretariat, Haley Nelson and Nicole Hanna, incoming Annual Meeting Director Marissa

Nichols, and past Director Audrey Henderson, whose years of service to the CLAH deserve our acknowledgement.

Finally, as the newsletter prepares to go to press (which it used to literally do, and I remember the struggle to fit all of the boxes of it into my car before we moved to this electronic version), we've received some late, exciting news: colleague and Past CLAH President Asunción Lavrin has been recognized with the AHA Award for Scholarly Distinction, which will be presented at the AHA Annual Meeting.

I hope to see many of you in Atlanta and thank you all again for the many ways in which you have supported the CLAH and its work in advancing the study of Latin American History!

II. MESSAGE FROM EXECUTIVE SECRETARY JÜRGEN BUCHENAU

Fall greetings from Charlotte, where we are very pleased to see cooler temperatures after a hot and dry summer.

We are looking forward to the CLAH annual meeting, which will be held in conjunction with the American Historical Association meeting in Atlanta, January 7-10, 2016. As always, I would like to acknowledge the help of several CLAH members with the everyday operations of the CLAH and, in particular, the preparation of the Annual Meeting.

Two graduate assistants who are pursuing their masters' degrees in Latin American Studies at UNC Charlotte—Haley Nelson and Nicole Hanna—perform the most essential duties associated with the organization. Haley, whom many of you remember from last year's meeting in New York City, is in charge of newsletters, the annual meeting program, and communications. Nicole, a first-year student in our program, assists me with CLAH finances as well as with keeping track of membership. Last year's senior assistant, Candie Almengor, has received her degree in Latin American Studies and is currently teaching full-time in our department.



Second, I am pleased to introduce you to our new Annual Meeting Director, Marissa Nichols, who has taken over for Audrey Henderson, now at Emory University. We deeply appreciate Audrey's service to CLAH over the past six years, first as a graduate assistant and then, as Annual Meeting Director. Marissa will assist CLAH and the Program Committee with developing the meeting programs for 2017 and 2018.

Third, my thanks go to the CLAH Program Committee chaired by Sherry Johnson, a committee that also included Sonia Robles, the 2015 chair, and Hendrik Kraay. I also appreciate the ongoing guidance by the Executive Committee, including President Jerry Dávila, past president Jane Landers, and president-elect, Lara Putnam. A special thanks to Jane for spearheading the new Atlantic World Studies Committee, which the membership

has just made official via its unanimous endorsement of a set of constitutional amendments sponsored by the CLAH General Committee.

Speaking of these amendments, we deeply appreciate the generosity of a group of CLAH members and friends of our late colleague, María Elena Martínez, who collected enough money (more than \$10,000) to fully endow our prize in Mexican History. In recognition of these substantial gifts, the prize will henceforth be named the María Elena Martínez Prize in Mexican History, a name change also sanctioned by the aforementioned amendments. We think this is a wonderful tribute to María Elena and her innovative work.

At our meeting in Atlanta, the General Committee will look ahead to the transition in the office of Executive Secretary slated for July 1, 2017. We will prepare the call for proposals to host the CLAH Secretariat in the period 2017-2022. CLAH has resided at UNC Charlotte since 2007 under two Executive Secretaries: first Jerry Dávila (now at the University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign) and then myself. Both Jerry and I have very much enjoyed the opportunity afforded by hosting the CLAH Secretariat to help support scholarship and teaching in the field of Latin American History. We have benefited from the hard work and dedication of the numerous CLAH members with whom we have had the opportunity to work. We are confident that the next Executive Secretary will continue to enjoy working with a vibrant and financially sound organization. In the coming months, and especially during the meeting in Atlanta, I will be happy to discuss the work of the Secretariat with anyone potentially interested in the opportunity of hosting CLAH.

We look forward to seeing many of you in Atlanta! Best wishes for the rest of the semester.

Saludos,

Jürgen Buchenau

Executive Secretary

III. HERBERT S. KLEIN, 2015 DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD RECIPIENT

Herbert S. Klein is the 2015 recipient of the Conference on Latin American History's Distinguished Service Award.

Earning all three of his degrees at the University of Chicago, Prof. Klein began his career there as well, rising to the rank of associate professor in 1967 only four years after receiving his PhD. That same year, Professor Klein won the CLAH article prize for an article on Bolivian militarism, and left Chicago for his birthplace—New York City—and Columbia University. He spent the next three decades at Columbia as a Professor, becoming the Gouverneur Morris Professor of History in 2003. After retiring from Columbia, he took up a position as Professor of History at Stanford University, where he also served as Director of its Center for Latin American Studies and Curator of the Latin America collection at the Hoover Institute. From these positions he trained several generations of Latin Americanist historians, directing over 50 doctoral students. Almost three dozen of

those students are today full professors at some of the most distinguished universities in the US and Latin America. Even with this huge cohort of students, Professor Klein is noted for his ongoing support of students. One of his letter writers, long since graduated, reported having recently received comments within five days of sending his former adviser a hefty manuscript. His special commitment to historians from Latin America, many of whom returned to teach and publish in Peru, Bolivia, Puerto Rico, and Brazil, means that uncountable numbers of students and scholars throughout the Americas can trace part of their intellectual genealogies to Professor Klein.

Even scholars unrelated to him through his teaching and graduate training can count themselves as beneficiaries of his scholarly legacy because his work has impacted so many fields and disciplines, and because he has found multiple ways to share his work around the world. He has published a staggering 26 single and co-authored books, and over 170 articles. And counting. His early work established him as one of the principal historians of modern Bolivia, but his very first book, a comparative study of slavery in Cuba and Virginia, revealed a rival passion for understanding Atlantic slavery. Working to master the history of Bolivia at the same time as shaping the history of slavery and the slave trade would more than fill most scholars' research agendas. But Professor Klein not only did both, he did them exceedingly well. He made a lasting mark on the history of Brazil as well as producing canonical comparative studies through his work on slavery, all the while thematically roaming from ayllus and haciendas in the Andes to urban history in Mexico City. His extensive work on Brazilian slavery laid the foundations for dozens of regional and national studies on labor regimes in a variety of geographic and ecological settings.

Indeed, to discuss all of Professor Klein's historical work "would be, in itself, a study about the historiography of Latin America," to quote one of his colleagues. That same letter writer also identifies a common denominator in this expansive repertoire of topics: profound empiricism. In his effort to "capture historical phenomena in a systematic and objective way," Professor Klein has distinguished himself by drawing from and contributing to other disciplines in the social sciences, including economics, demographics, and environmental studies. This research has been recognized and supported by a vast array of grants and honors, including a Guggenheim Fellowship, Social Science Research Council grant, National Science Foundation awards, and various Fulbright awards. The Fulbrights often facilitated his energetic efforts to take his work on the international road, and in addition to teaching at universities in Latin America he has also taught and researched as a fellow or associate at universities in Israel and France.

Professor Klein distinguishes himself in the profession close to home, as well. He served as CLAH's program chair, chair of the Andean Studies Committee, and in various other leadership positions in the organization in the early 1970s, and was its Vice President and President in the early 1980s. Meanwhile, he has served on a large roster of editorial boards and presently is editor of the Cambridge Latin American Studies series. Meanwhile, his other service work for institutions such as the Guggenheim and MacArthur Foundations, and the National Endowment for the Humanities, ensures that our field is represented by one of the broadest, most engaged and prolific historians working today, and one who is—as a former student said—a "citizen of Latin America in the best sense."

Distinguished Service Award Committee for 2015:
Chair: Bianca Premo, Florida International University
Francisco Scarano, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Laura Gotkowitz, University of Pittsburgh

IV. SCOBIE AWARD REPORTS

DAN COZART

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

“Afro-Peruvian Creoles: The Social and Political History of Black Peruvians in an Era of Nationalism and Scientific Racism.”

It is an honor to receive the James R. Scobie Award to support research for my dissertation, titled “Afro-Peruvian Creoles: The Social and Political History of Black Peruvians in an Era of Nationalism and Scientific Racism.” The generous award allowed me to explore the feasibility of researching the roughly one-hundred-year period between the abolition of slavery in Peru (1854-1855) and the Afro-Peruvian cultural “revival” that began in the mid-twentieth century. I traveled to Lima and the north coast of Peru from May 13 until June 17 and returned home optimistic about my project.

During my first two weeks in Lima, I read and digitized collections at the Casa/Museo Ricardo Palma, the home in which the nineteenth century intellectual spent his final years. The director guided me to nineteenth and early twentieth century political magazines, collections of private letters, and the ill-reputed thesis by Ricardo’s son, Clemente Palma, titled *El porvenir de las razas en el Perú*. I also spent time in the Research Room of the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú to consult its rich collection of books, newspapers, and government documents during my period of study. In search of more information on Afro-Peruvian labor conditions in the post-abolition years, I trekked across the city to consult the library at the Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina. As the employees at the Ministry of Agriculture had promised, the library held a useful collection of documents from large haciendas, sugar and cotton plantation from the north coast. I also returned to Lima’s city-center to consult the Archivo General de la Nación to find similar documents in conjunction with legal records. Finally, I visited the Museo Nacional Afroperuano, where I spoke with the museum’s directors about my research. They, along with other Afro-Peruvian activists I contacted at the Centro de Desarrollo Étnico (CEDET), were instrumental in guiding the remainder of my research trip.

The director of the Museo Nacional Afroperuano directed me to the historic Afro-Peruvian town of Zaña, near the coastal city of Chiclayo. The director, José Portilla, agreed to meet me in Chiclayo in order to take me to this town. Navigating the back-roads from the city to the rural town of Zaña would not have been possible without his help, and he introduced me to local historians and the Aprista mayor of the town. A local guide introduced me to local poet and Minister of Culture, Hildebrando Briones, and I was able to purchase several works of local history at the town’s own Mesueo Afroperuano.

After my brief stay in Chiclayo and Zaña, I continued north to Piura. My contacts there directed me to the Centro de Investigaciones y Promoción del Campesinado (CIPCA), a center for research on and activism for agricultural laborers. Their collections of books and

documents on political activism among laborers on nearby sugar plantations were particularly useful.

On June 3, on the advice of CEDET director Lilia Mayorga Balcazar, I traveled to the rural town of Chulucanas in order to reach the nearby Afro-Peruvian town of Yapatera. Ms. Mayorga put me in touch with a local leader and director of the town's Afro-Peruvian museum, Abelardo Alzamora, and he generously welcomed me the following day to the town's annual Afro-Peruvian festival. Alzamora introduced me to the local traditions and foods while also sharing his personal story as well as documents relating to the town's historic relationship with sugar production. Returning to Chulucanas, I visited the town's cathedral in search of baptismal and marriage records. A helpful monk there guided me to the local library and then to the bishopric office, where I digitized several collections of baptismal records from my period of study. The office held records from several nearby diocese, which included racial categories from 1854 until 1900, when they stopped recording an individual's race.

I then returned to Piura where I spent two full days in the Archivo Regional de Piura, consulting its excellent collection of civil and criminal records during the ten years following abolition. I hurried back to Lima on June 10 in order to attend several book presentations sponsored by CEDET. Peruvian activist-intellectuals have recently published three books on Afro-Peruvian history, and I was enthralled to obtain the works and discuss my research with these academics. I was surprised by how much information and historical documentation I was able to find and compile in such a short period; thus I am both optimistic about my dissertation project and exceedingly grateful to the Conference on Latin American History for making this trip possible.

AUDREY FALS HENDERSON
EMORY UNIVERSITY

"Exceptional Conditions: The Postrevolutionary Politics of Lake Texcoco Development"

During the twentieth century, drainage projects in central Mexico intersected with national ideas about development and urbanization. My project intertwines analysis of twentieth-century national agricultural development and urbanization, examination of the long-term drainage project of the Valley of Mexico's lakes, and attention to histories of working-class and migrant lakebed communities. Thanks to a combination of the Conference on Latin American History's James R. Scobie Memorial Award and Emory Professional Development Funds, I conducted preliminary research in Ciudad Nezahualc6yotl (Neza) and Mexico City during the summer of 2015.

While I originally intended to focus on the 1920s to the 1960s, this exploratory trip helped me to identify a more significant period. I refined my project to focus on the 1940s through the mid-1980s. My investigation now will address how informal and working-class communities shaped urban settlement and development in southern Lake Texcoco during the height of the "Mexican Miracle." Ciudad Neza, one of Latin America's largest informal settlements, was more than just the popular tale of a make-shift city built on the exposed lakebed of Lake Texcoco. The city's mixed settlement patterns during the 1970s incorporated communal and productive farm holdings (*ejidos*) alongside extra-legal

housing projects and garbage dumps. Drawing on this preliminary research and incorporating oral, written, and visual sources, my dissertation will explore how migration, settlement strategies, and social mobilization helped to form new communities. This approach will blur the longstanding distinction between urban and rural Mexican development.

In Mexico City, I visited the *Archivo General de la Nación* (AGN), *Archivo Histórico del Agua* (AHA), and *Archivo General Agrario* (AGA). At the AGN, I consulted files from the *Dirección Federal de Seguridad y Dirección General de Investigaciones Políticas y Sociales* (IPS), *Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas* (SCOP), and twentieth-century Presidential Records. The SCOP and Presidential Records provided great insight on state and federal goals for southern Lake Texcoco development and local participation in community development. I collected blueprints and technical reports focused on land reclamation southeast of the Federal District's border. Examining the IPS files enabled me to focus on the different patterns of illegal land fractioning and various responses to land tenure corruption in the southern lakebed communities. Most of the files included newspaper clippings, pamphlets, official investigations, and government studies on social movements for basic services and urban planning.

The IPS collection allowed me to track how various actors participated and negotiated Neza's development and urbanization. Archival records on the State of Mexico and the Federal Government's 1969-1973 *Plan Nezahualcóyotl* showed how migrants moved into the area in the late 1930s even before Neza had the capacity to provide its residents with water, electricity, or basic public services. As a result, informal communities in Neza developed their own strategies to address government inefficiencies in urban planning. The documents articulated the conflicts that arose from competing actions to address the lack of basic services in Neza. Other documents within the IPS identified detailed boundary disputes, informal settlement photographs, court cases, and local protests. Preliminary research also showed that communal land holdings also defined Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl. Press sources referenced on allegations of corruption in Neza's *ejidos*. Because these articles did not provide extensive information about Neza's *ejidos* or their *ejidatarios*, I restructured my research schedule to include the AGA, located a few blocks away from the AGN.

At the time of my research, a large-scale reorganization of the *Archivo General Agrario* limited access to some archival collections. Although I could not photograph documents, Dr. Regina Tapia Chávez and the staff at the AGA generously accommodated my investigation. I was able to consult several files on *ejido* claims in Neza, including a 1978 federal *ejido* endowment in El Sol, a neighborhood in Neza situated on the southeast embankment of Lake Texcoco. In the El Sol case study, city residents identified themselves as Neza *campesinos* interested in creating a livestock center to improve local job security. The *ejidatarios* intended to repurpose underproductive lands for commercial animal husbandry. These documents helped me rethink how large-scale urban development could include agricultural activity, as well as additional strategies for the landless poor. Although I could not consult all of the pertinent files that I found on *ejidos* in Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl, I was able to create a list of valuable documents that will inform my next research trip.

At the *Archivo Histórico del Agua*, I gathered several documents on hydraulic projects in Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl and around the southern half of Lake Texcoco during the mid-twentieth century. I found primary sources on Neza's environmental conditions and the state of its municipal hydraulic infrastructure. Although most of the files consisted of blueprints, property surveys, and technical reports related to Ciudad Neza's projects, I was delighted to see *ejidatarios'* requests for water improvement projects in Neza unexpectedly showed how make-shift communities used land reform initiatives. In addition to these requests, I found photographs that captured how *ejidal* irrigation and reforestation unfolded during the 1970s. Elsa Nelly Gutiérrez Quiroz also provided essential information on secondary sources available at the AHA's *Biblioteca Central del Agua*. The AHA sources will help me evaluate the importance of hydraulic development in the region implemented by local and state actors.

Traveling to and from the Federal District to Ciudad Neza allowed me to meet residents from Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl. Residents shared their thoughts on the history of Neza's development, settlement, and social mobilization. They explained how informal settlement was just another response to development and showed how practices considered informal were rooted in attempts at organization. Most of these residents described a paradox of urban perception; while some outsiders may see Neza as an area of conflict and poverty, Neza was a well-organized city that functioned with its own urban rhythms. Others emphasized that rural migrants from Guanajuato, Oaxaca, and Morelos were responsible for municipal growth during the mid-twentieth century. Although I did not have a chance to probe these stories further, I am extremely fortunate that I had the opportunity to speak with these residents. Their willingness to share their stories offered a valuable and dynamic perspective on local reactions to informal communities and migrant contributions.

In Ciudad Nezahualcóyotl, I visited the Centro de Información y Documentación de Nezahualcóyotl (CIDNE). CIDNE has a vast collection of municipal documents, development plans, and photographs. Initially, I thought that it would be difficult to locate files relevant to my research, given that the majority of the files listed in the finding guide did not have descriptions. However, the CIDNE archivists went beyond their call of duty. I am extremely grateful for all the help I received from Lidia Figueroa Robledo and the other CIDNE archivists who took time to help me find documents essential for my investigation. I was fortunate to explore government reports on settlement patterns and development projects. These sources emphasize that corrupt real estate practices, ecological degradation, and lack of governance contributed to irregular settlement. Other files showcased community initiatives to increase access to basic services or captured individual voices during this process.

I asked the CIDNE archivists about their connections with the community. They revealed that they have compiled a list of elderly residents who are willing to participate in an oral history project. Some of these participants lived in Neza before its incorporation in 1963. With the option of conducting oral history research now an option, I am thrilled about the possibility of incorporating oral, written, and visual sources into my investigation. The archivists assured me that I could begin conducting these interviews next summer. These oral histories will provide additional details on the relationship between settlement, mobilization and communal agency, as well as the forces pushing urban growth. I will work with each person to identify any other individuals who could offer additional insight.

Ms. Figueroa Robledo also mentioned the opportunity to conduct interviews with Neza's indigenous communities. I initially had planned to investigate indigenous people's role in Neza development; however, archival texts did not capture their participation. Returning to Neza for a more extended period will enable me to seek out the connections necessary to conduct oral histories in Mixtec and Nahua neighborhoods.

Now that I am back in Atlanta, I am organizing and analyzing my documents and rethinking how my investigation can examine how various actors, from squatters to real estate developers, articulated and shaped communities. Larger themes reappear every time I draw these sources together. My preliminary research shows that Neza's development process sheds light on a long history of Mexican land, labor, and water struggles. The sources I collected during this preliminary research trip have given me a tremendous foundation for my future research and have allowed me to refine my research schedule for next summer.

I offer my sincere gratitude to the Conference on Latin American History and to the 2015 James R. Scobie Memorial Award Committee members for their time and consideration. Thank you all for making my research trip possible. I also extend my deepest thanks and appreciation to my wonderful advisors, Dr. Yanna Yannakakis, Dr. Jeffery Lesser, and Dr. Thomas Rogers, for their supportive encouragement, advice, and mentorship. Their keen insights challenge and inspire me to think critically about my project in ways that are meaningful to Mexican History and global urban studies.

SHANNON JAMES

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

"Narrating the Past in the New Nicaragua: The Politics of Memory and the Sandinista Revolution"

For the summer of 2015, I received the James R. Scobie Award for exploratory research in the field of Latin American history. This award allowed me to investigate a potential avenue of dissertation research on the politics of memory, revolution, and state discourse in Nicaragua during the revolution and government of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). I set out to conduct this research on the premise that the Sandinista historical narrative, with its emphasis on martyrdom, national kinship, and collective memory, was instrumental in building support and mobilizing the nation's people for the revolution. While in Nicaragua, I carried out a combination of archival research at the Institute of History of Nicaragua and Central America (IHNCA) and oral history interviews with former Sandinista combatants.

My archival research involved the assessment of newspapers and government publications. The founders of the FSLN formed the organization in 1961 against the backdrop of, by then, several decades of Somocista rule; the official Sandinista historical narrative, then, must be considered in conjunction with competing narratives, such as those articulated in the documents published by the various arms of the Somoza government in the 1960s and 1970s. While the Somoza government maintained power largely through the coercive force of the National Guard and the tacit support of the United States government under various administrations, it also asserted legitimacy through the commemoration of its

leadership and symbols. Just as much of discourse of the FSLN revolves around commemorating meaningful deaths – particularly those of the “heroes and martyrs” national history from initial European conquest to the victory of the revolution – I found a number of publications by the Ministry of Education and the press of the National Guard under Anastasio Somoza Debayle that similarly commemorated the deaths of his kin and predecessors, Anastasio Somoza García and Luis Somoza Debayle.

Also like the Sandinista narrative, the last Somoza government placed its legitimacy in a longer chronology that stretched back before the twentieth century, but embracing a different pantheon of heroes. At the IHNCA, I found materials published by the Somocista Ministry of Education which will provide a useful point of comparison with the many similar materials produced under the FSLN in the 1980s. These materials were largely aimed at children and include textbooks on general Nicaraguan history as well as guides to national symbols and patrimony.

At the IHNCA, I also explored a number of Sandinista commemorative publications from the 1980s that are unavailable through U.S. libraries. In my previous work for my master’s thesis, I used Sandinista educational textbooks from that decade which typically contained more general overviews of national history. This year, I found that many booklets and bulletins published by the Department of Political Education and Propaganda and other official institutions focus on particular individuals and insurrections as well, providing additional educational information on the martyrs and moments celebrated in public monuments, statues, and murals throughout the country. Particularly intriguing are publications pertaining to the revolution in León, the “first capital of the revolution” and one of the focal locations of my oral history research. *Los Héroes de Veracruz*, published by the Institute for the Study of Sandinismo and the FSLN-led governing junta in 1983, is an account of the same events and martyrs celebrated at the revolution museum run by rank-and-file Sandinistas in León.

In accordance with my exploratory research proposal, I carried out nearly thirty oral history interviews in the cities of León and Granada. León was the more accessible city for this task, where I had a few established contacts from my previous research trips. My interviews there, which comprise the bulk of the interviews I conducted, began with those contacts at the museum of the revolution. The staff of the museum are ex-combatants – men between the ages of 50 and 65 – who participated in the revolutionary uprisings in the 1970s. Using the museum as a starting point, I built a working relationship with one informant in particular who in turn introduced me to other Sandinistas and former Sandinistas in the community, expanding my pool of interviewees outside the museum. What I found in these oral histories ultimately complicates the premise of my research. The museum veterans who I originally perceived as loyal FSLN party supporters expressed more ambivalence than I suspected about the trajectory of the Sandinista Front in the decades since 1979. They also prioritized in their personal narratives the local roots of revolutionary fervor, explaining their participation less often in terms of honoring long-dead national heroes and more in terms of personal experiences of loss and repression. Those narratives echo much of the discourse of the FSLN leadership (both in the 1980s and today), but the overall picture is a more complicated web of intersecting narratives than the dialectic I predicted, one which will require further research and a substantial degree of untangling.

While the museum in León was the ideal place at which to carry out interviews with ex-combatants, it proved more difficult to build a network of interviewees in Granada. Though the FSLN is currently in control of the *alcaldía* (including former conservative politicians who have since shifted their affiliation to the Sandinista Front), the revolution and its history are less central in the image and everyday life of Granada. Whereas León is marked by numerous monuments to revolutionary heroes, including the centrally-located Mausoleum of Heroes and Martyrs next to the cathedral, Granada's historical monuments tend to celebrate its heritage from before the Somoza dictatorship, especially the periods of the struggle for independence from Spain and the war against the North American filibuster William Walker. Even the Sandinistas of Granada who granted interviews were less passionate about their participation in the revolution than their counterparts in León. Granada seems to be a less rich location to explore either the collective memory of Sandinistas or that of the political conservatives and business leaders who opposed the Sandinista government of the 1980s. Partly as a result of my research there, I will be readjusting my focus to be not on León and Granada, but León and Puerto Cabezas, a large port city on the Atlantic coast and the heart of former Contra territory which will provide a much starker point of comparison to "the first capital of the revolution" on the Pacific side of the country.

FERNANDA BRETONES LANE

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

"Empire and Liberation in the Caribbean: Cuba and Jamaica in the Age of Revolutions"

Thanks to the generous support of the Conference on Latin American History and the History Department at Vanderbilt University, I spent seven weeks conducting pre-dissertation research in Europe this summer. The intense work weeks spent between Madrid, Seville, and Kew (London), gave me access to important primary sources that were essential in shaping the contours of my dissertation prospectus, which I am defending this fall. My project—tentatively titled "Empire and Liberation in the Caribbean: Cuba and Jamaica in the Age of Revolutions"—deals with the political relationship between Cuba and Jamaica in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, paying special attention to how Britain's abolition of slavery impacted Cuba. I am particularly interested in informal contraband networks that existed between Jamaica and Cuba in the eighteenth century and how they may have served to spread ideas about emancipation in the early nineteenth century, as well as providing channels through which illegal slave ships could circulate. I am equally concerned with the movement of slaves through these routes—whether they were forcefully transported under captivity, or willingly crossing the Caribbean sea as means of escape—and the extent to which they may have contributed to the circulation of information about emancipation.

One of the ways I am approaching the latter is through cases of runaway slaves who fled Jamaica seeking Spain's religious sanctuary. As other scholars have shown, Spain's policy of religious sanctuary, granting freedom to foreign slaves who crossed imperial boundaries, was an attractive option out of bondage to many of those inhabiting nearby colonies (Landers, 1999; Rupert, 2014). It is not surprising, then, that Cuba, much like Florida or Venezuela, received slaves from the foreign colonies that surrounded it. Working at the Archivo General de Indias, in Seville, I found a number of cases of enslaved men and

women who sailed across the sea-channel that separates northern Jamaica and southeastern Cuba, willing to convert to Catholicism in order to be freed. Where did those people settle and with whom did they interact? Considering that many of the documents date from the late eighteenth century, when abolition was already being discussed in England, I wonder how much these runaways knew about the possibility of emancipation, and how they may have transmitted this knowledge to slaves or free blacks in Cuba. Is there any connection between cases of runaway slaves from Jamaica and slave conspiracy in Cuba? The sources consulted over the summer point to an interesting line of inquiry, but only more diligent archival work—both at the AGI and in local archives in Cuba—will bring more concrete answers.

Still at the AGI, I also read and transcribed documents dealing with contraband between Jamaica and Cuba, naval records in which information about the inter-Caribbean slave trade can be collected, and cases of slave conspiracies that mention the involvement of foreign slaves. In addition, I also spent three weeks in Madrid transcribing documents from the Archivo Histórico Nacional, which deal more closely with British interference in Cuba in the nineteenth-century. Official correspondence between the Spanish consul in Kingston, Cuba's captain general, and the State Minister from the early 1840s are rich sources to examine the diplomatic level and the type of concerns that British abolitionism raised in Spanish colonial official on the eve of Turnbull affair. I have also collected a good number of sources from the National Archive in Kew, where one week of intense work resulted in the digitization of materials that I will process during this fall.

In sum, pre-dissertation work over the summer allowed me to become acquainted with the types of sources available and to polish my research questions. I was able to assess the feasibility of this project and am now ready to produce a more realistic dissertation prospectus that will guide my work for the next three years. I am greatly indebted to the Conference on Latin American History for the Scobie Award that allowed me to do all this work. I thank the Award Committee and the CLAH's Secretariat for this opportunity.

COS TOLLERSON

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

"Elite Right-Wing Ideology in Brazil, 1960-1968: Theories of Social Change and National Progress"

Thanks to generous support from the Council on Latin American History's James R. Scobie Award, I was able to travel to Rio de Janeiro this summer to conduct preliminary research that helped me define my dissertation topic. Leaving New York in early June, I knew that I wanted to study the Brazilian right-wing in the years before and after the 1964 coup d'état, but remained uncertain about how to approach the subject—whether to focus on a single right-wing organization over an extended period, or attempt to examine the exchange of ideas and formation of opinions among sectors of the right covering a shorter timeframe.

Spending three weeks researching at the Escola Superior de Guerra in the Biblioteca General Cordeiro de Farias and two weeks in the Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Sociais (IPÊS) collection at the Arquivo Nacional allowed me to better understand the geography of the Brazilian right in the 1960s. Reading through conference notes, group studies,

presentations, and bulletins prepared by prominent civilians and military figures at the two archives, I became fascinated by the ways right-wing elites constructed an ideology that rationalized authoritarian action. Their (frequently errant) interpretations of Brazilian and European history produced a political theory that recast military intervention against the constitutional order as a progressive action in defense of *eventual* democracy. Meanwhile, the elaboration of particular criteria for Brazilian nationality delegitimized leftists' resistance to the military regime as inherently un-Brazilian, while also portraying popular classes—and particularly non-white Brazilians—as *potential* citizens not yet prepared to wield political rights. Finally, these elites' engagement with and participation in transnational debates about strategies for modernization provided a view into their conceptions of how to achieve social change.

Focusing on right-wing political culture throughout the 1960s, my dissertation will analyze the shared intellectual influences and life experiences that contributed to the formation of somewhat consistent conceptions of political practice, social change, and national identity among the military regime and its institutionally organized elite supporters. I will also aim to engage with the way those theories evolved throughout the decade, and how civilian and military allies attempted to realize their visions for society through government policy and private initiative (e.g. education reform, colonization plans, or land reform). Although contradictions abounded within these groups' interpretations of history and social change, disagreements existed about the authentic content of Brazilian nationality, and disputes emerged surrounding the proper economic and political path for the regime, I believe that the parameters of debate within these strata conformed to normative judgments about progress particular to this cross-section of society and historical moment. Joining a well-established tradition of Brazilian elites convinced that their non-democratic leadership could catalyze national progress, these groups' ideology gains its specificity from interaction with an international anticommunist movement and associated Cold War theories of development—particularly modernization theory. Circulating through journals, university centers, think tanks, and foundations, and with contributions from the military regime's most esteemed supporters, these ideas' influence and prestige peaked during the 1960s.

With few exceptions, initial generations of historical production on the dictatorship tended to focus on opposition to military rule, or accept interest-based explanations of support for the regime. However, recent Brazilian historiography on the dictatorship, including work by Janaina Martins Cordeiro and Diogo Cunha, has prioritized political culture and ideology. I hope that my research on right-wing ideology can contribute to this new body of scholarship. I am extremely grateful to the Conference of Latin American History and the James R. Scobie Award committee for believing in my project and supporting this initial archival research.

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The Newsletter (ISSN 0069-8466) of the Conference on Latin American History is published semi-annually (Spring/Summer and Fall/Winter) in the offices of the Secretariat, located at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Deadlines for submission of material for the Newsletter are March and September. Receipt of the newsletter is contingent upon membership in CLAH. For more information regarding dues and other activities of the Conference, please write to: CLAH Secretariat, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 9201 University City Blvd., Charlotte, NC 28223

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LOMBARDI, CATHERYN L., and John V. Lombardi, with K. Lynn Stoner. *Latin American History: A Teaching Atlas*. 162 pages, 136 maps. 1984. ISBN 0-299-097145 (paperback only), \$17.95.

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