PLAS: A Retrospective
by Michael Stone

Stanley J. Stein was named the first director of Princeton's Program in Latin American Studies in 1967. But according to Stein, PLAS's origins really should be traced to the scholarship and dedication of Professor of History Dana Gardner Munro. At a January 1967 dinner honoring the Doherty Foundation's gift to endow PLAS, Stein remarked, “The development of Latin American Studies until very recently was left to the labors of a few hardy souls, in history and literature, scattered in a few universities of the United States: Berkeley, Stanford, Texas, Duke, Harvard, Columbia, Yale and Princeton. One of those hardy souls is Professor Dana Munro. Fulfilling the precept that Latin America must enter the scholar’s being through practical experience, he traveled as a graduate student through Central America, 1914-15, collecting data for his doctoral dissertation, The Five Republics of Central America (1918), still a standard work on the pre-1918 years. Like so many of the students he was later to train at the Woodrow Wilson School, Professor Munro utilized his research experience, his study and his understanding of what was then a tension-ridden and critical area of U.S. foreign policy, the Caribbean and Middle America, in government service, in the State Department. After more than a decade of such service, he lost neither interest nor expertise in his area: on leaving the State Department, he published in 1934 a second major study, The United States & the Caribbean Zone, and in 1942 he offered the general public a synthesis, The Latin American Republic, a work already in its third edition.”

“In a very real sense, it is Professor Munro who laid the foundation of Latin American Studies at Princeton, and in a variety of ways: through his teaching in the History Department; through undergraduate conferences in the Woodrow Wilson School which focused on problems of the area; through judicious grants, financed by the Doherty Charitable Foundation to undergraduates who needed field experience to gather material for senior theses. His attention to undergraduates in the Woodrow Wilson School sparked the interest of historians (or Latin Americanists among the historians) such as Richard Morse of Yale and Milton Vanger of Brandeis.”

“It was at the beginning of a decade of stagnation or, if you will, withering of Latin American Studies throughout the United States that Professor Munro with the support of the Doherty Foundation initiated and maintained one of the vital, almost unique and surely essential national programs for the training of specialists in Latin American Studies: the Doherty Fellowships for advanced study in the social sciences [1948-1985]. Since 1948 Professor Munro and the selection committee he has chaired have awarded over 160 fellowships in the field of history, anthropology, sociology and economics. Nor did Professor Munro neglect Latin American Studies at Princeton. He arranged to have both the History and Romance Languages and Literatures departments add faculty members with major interests in Latin America, subsidized the field research of three to four juniors each summer in Latin America; allocated funds for the improvement of the Latin American collection in Firestone Library; and encouraged an interdisciplinary senior seminar in History and Literature [co-taught by Stein and Jack Hughes of Romance Languages]. It is a fact that the record of 10-11 senior theses per year on Latin American themes since the late thirties down to 1961, when Professor Munro retired, is a most decisive tribute to his little-advertised yet unswerving support to Latin American Studies at Princeton. I might add that Professor Munro has not abandoned his scholarly interests. Two years ago he published what has already become a major contribution to the field in which he has immersed himself, Intervention & Dollar Diplomacy in the Caribbean 1900-1921; and he is currently at work on the second and complementary volume covering the following decades.”

“This, in brief, has been the legacy of Professor Munro to Latin American Studies at this University as teacher, administrator, scholar, and I think that you will agree that this legacy is a most substantial one.”

“In the five years since Professor Munro’s retirement Princeton has tried to build on his foundation. Since 1963 a Latin American Studies Committee has met regularly... Our guiding principle, as members of this community of scholars, is to achieve understanding of the area we are dedicated to study. We must have no parti pris, no axe to grind, except the search for profound understanding of the past and present of Latin America. Perhaps this lays a heavy burden upon us, but one we cannot in all candor shirk. We must try to see Latin America from the inside, not from the outside, not as rich cousins charitable toward improvident relations, but as colleagues humbly engaged in the great struggle for human decency and fulfillment everywhere” (from the Princeton Alumni Weekly, October 17, 1967).
In Honor of Stanley J. Stein & Barbara Hadley Stein

Stanley J. Stein and Barbara Hadley Stein have made a profound and indelible imprint on the Latin American Studies community at Princeton and beyond. As the Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS) celebrates its 40th anniversary, we take this time to reflect on their brilliance, vision and dedication—not only as world-renowned historians of colonial Latin America but also as colleagues and institution builders at Princeton. This newsletter is dedicated to them.

Stanley J. Stein, Professor Emeritus of History, was the co-founder and first director of the Program in Latin American Studies. He has played a key role ever since, as noted in the lead article for this newsletter. Today, PLAS is the largest area studies program at Princeton—with a consistently high number of certificate recipients, an active events calendar, support for courses, a growing fellows program, and grants for summer research and internships. Our presence on campus grows directly out of the work by former PLAS directors, with Stanley Stein providing early and outstanding leadership in this regard. Inspired by his example, we are grateful to him and his successors for their sage advice and dedication.

In tandem, Barbara Hadley Stein, the University's first Bibliographer for Latin America, Spain and Portugal, created a new vision for developing Firestone Library's Latin American collection—actively developing Princeton's broad holdings, including her decision to document contemporaneous authoritarian regimes and social movements, the genesis of what today is the world's most impressive collection of Latin American ephemera.

It is therefore only fitting that we celebrate PLAS's 40th anniversary by saluting this remarkable couple for their intellectual commitment, institution building, and friendship. It is with particular sadness that we also mourn the passing of Barbara Hadley Stein at the end of 2005. As colleagues, friends and family have highlighted in this issue, she profoundly influenced all those who had the privilege of knowing her.

Debating Contemporary Politics: The Rise of the Left & U.S. Immigration Policy

Looking back over the past forty years, Latin America has seen major political changes—with regime changes to and from democracy; changing developmental patterns from statist to neoliberal policies; the apparent closure of space for political debate as left parties and labor movements declined in strength; and the integration of international markets.

This year, we revisited many of these themes—particularly the shape of contemporary politics and the apparent rise of the Left. While a decade ago the electoral left appeared moribund, today left-identified presidential candidates have won office in several countries, including Brazil, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela and Bolivia. In 2006, 11 Latin American countries will have presidential elections, with left political parties faring well in many of these races. What do these elections mean? What do the various political lefts represent? Are nationalization and redistributive issues back on the table? What are the implications for US-Latin American relations? How much space for political maneuver do these new presidents have?

These questions arose in events throughout the course of the year—including the spring roundtable on Latin American elections convened by PLAS visiting fellow Carlos Iván Degregori (discussed in this issue); the Tuesday Latin American seminar series; the Venezuela roundtable organized by Magaly Sánchez; and the two-day NAFTA conference convened last fall by Patricia Fernández-Kelly. Today, Latin America's presidents are revisiting debates about economic development alternatives and social policy—reviving discussion around issues that seemed foreclosed just a decade ago. Latin America's left parties, however, do not have free reign to shape policy in light of ongoing global constraints; nor are left parties acting in unity fashion as they confront diverse political challenges. We will all be monitoring these debates with great interest as Latin American citizens and elected officials seek to reshape national politics with an eye towards greater social justice.

During the academic year, we also paid considerable attention to immigration, drawing on the expertise of sociology professors Patricia Fernández-Kelly, Douglas Massey, Alejandro Portes and Marta Tienda. Their work on migration and immigrants took on particular relevance this year in the context of current public debates about immigrants and undocumented workers, and deportations of many undocumented workers living in Princeton. Throughout the year, we discussed why people migrate, what rights immigrants have, what pathways towards citizenship exist for immigrants and undocumented workers, what impact deportation has on families and communities, and what shape U.S. policy should take.

The year came to a close with a Ballet Folklórico de Princeton dance performance dedicated to immigrant rights, and a student-organized roundtable on May 1 that drew over 250 people to discuss immigration policy in the context of nationwide rallies for immigrant rights. On May 15, an exhibit of retablos (religious paintings) by Mexican immigrants was installed in Aaron Burr Hall, for exhibit through graduation. As we go to press, Congress is once again taking up these issues, and Princeton faculty, students and staff surely will continue to engage these debates on intellectual, political and ethical grounds.

PLAS: Celebrating the 40th Anniversary

This coming fall PLAS will continue to celebrate its 40th anniversary, and will certainly continue to debate the issues raised here, along with many others. To that end, we will host a new distinguished alumni speakers' series, innovative conferences, and several workshops. These events will celebrate the best that PLAS has to offer, inspired by the singular example that Stanley and Barbara Stein have provided for us all.

PLAS Alumni
Let us hear from you!
Send an e-mail to: plas@princeton.edu

www.princeton.edu/~plas/
Barbara Hadley Stein (1916-2005)
by Peter T. Johnson

Barbara Hadley Stein, historian and bibliographer of Latin America and Iberia, whose career in the Luso-Hispanic world spanned seven decades, died at her Princeton, N.J., home on December 9, 2005 at the age of 89.

A formidable intellectual from a New England family dating to the seventeenth century, she developed an international perspective early via her pre-college education at the International School (Switzerland), the Odenwald School (Germany), the Concord Academy (Massachusetts), and the final years of high school in Pennsylvania at the Quakers' George School. At Smith College she graduated magna cum laude, class of 1938, in Spanish and Latin American History, and counted among her mentors Vera Brown Holmes. Her graduate study was at the University of California, Berkeley, where she completed her M.A. thesis on Peru’s oldest political party, APRA.

For her dissertation research on the abolition of slavery in Brazil she received a Cordell Hull Fellowship from the U.S. State Department for fieldwork in 1940. During the next three years she conducted research on the social and political dimensions of abolitionism, doing archival work in Fortaleza, Recife, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Contact then with Arthur Ramos and Melville and Frances Herskovits influenced her approach to history and ethnography. After marrying Stanley J. Stein, a Harvard University history graduate student she had met in Rio de Janeiro, she returned to Brazil in 1948-1949 and 1951.

Barbara Stein’s empirical sense of Latin America also developed through her experience of teaching in a rural primary school in Michoacán, Mexico, working in a California cannery, taking the 1940 census in California, and serving during World War II as a labor economist in the Department of Labor, and later in Nelson Rockefeller’s Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Washington, D.C. Her insights on the powerless and powerful that came through these positions helped shape her perspectives and taught her the importance of careful listening and critical reading of documentation.

Barbara Stein was Princeton University’s first Bibliographer for Latin America, Spain and Portugal, serving from 1966 to 1977. Although the University had collected Latin American foreign in the eighteenth century, and had many intensive efforts thereafter to secure fundamental sources, it was Barbara Stein who systematically assessed the collections, established policies and priorities, and turned her scholarly mind to identifying current and retrospective works for the collections in the social sciences and humanities. She brought to the position familiarity with Latin American countries as well as those in Europe, and her interests in developing collections broadly anticipated the interdisciplinary research of today.


Never one to be limited by short-term thinking, she sought primary sources, including ephemera, as well as leading scholarly works regardless of ideological position or current fashion in curriculum or research. Over the years Barbara Stein attended annual conferences of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) and participated in the organization’s work. She advanced the cause of Iberian collections and acquisitions as fundamental for understanding Latin America’s past and present, and was an early advocate for cooperative microfilming of scarce materials that evolved into the Latin American Microform Project (LAMP) of the Center for Research Libraries.

In the best of the long international tradition of erudite bibliographers, Barbara Stein knew what to select because she read widely, debated ideas and viewed with skepticism the political and intellectual fads that influenced some in the academy. This broad conceptus and her bibliographical skills made her useful to graduate students, especially in history and politics. Her intellectual prowess, meticulous selection of research materials, and broad commitment to Latin American studies contributed significantly to the overall development of Latin American area research and curriculum at Princeton University. From this stance emerged one of her books co-authored with her husband: The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970). The volume’s dedication reveals her moral compass: “To those Iberians and Ibero-Americans who have had the courage to speak out against irrationality and injustice.”

Throughout her varied career as a scholar, wife and mother, Barbara Stein never strayed far from her passion to understand the economic and political forces behind the formation of Spain’s empire and the trials and travails of the administration of colonial peoples and possessions. Upon departure from her work at the Princeton University Library, she returned to full-time research and writing, and co-authored with her husband Silver Trade & War: Spain & America in the Making of Early Modern Europe (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), and Apogee of Empire: Spain & New Spain in the Age of Charles III, 1759-1789 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Several other volumes remain near completion, including her “The Road to Bayonne & Beyond,” an analysis of the Napoleonic invasion in Spain 1808-1810.

Mrs. Stein is survived by her husband, Stanley J. Stein, Princeton University’s Walter Samuel Carpenter III Professor in Spanish Civilization and Culture, Emeritus, Dr. Marge Stein of Chapel Hill, N.C., Dr. Peter Stein of Philadelphia, and Joelle Stein, Esq., of Belmont, Massachusetts.”
Celebrating a Life
Barbara Stein Memorial Service, January 21, 2006
by Kenneth Maxweli '70 (Harvard University)

Short words are not really adequate to encompass a long and productive life.

Yet, four themes link Barbara's engagement with History, with Politics, and with Stan.

Seriousness of purpose above all:
Barbara had little patience with "Small Talk."
She wanted to get to the core of issues.
Never in a ponderous or pretentious way.
But to elicit information, to probe, to challenge, and to unravel complexities.

Perseverance secondly.
There is a good Scots word for this quality: doggedness.
Barbara wanted to understand how and why:
Often she wanted to know what had gone wrong and why.

Partnership: There was after all a long love affair here.
Barbara was a very private person: But we saw glimpses of this on occasion.

I asked Barbara once what she was most proud of about Stan.
She answered without hesitation: "When he was arrested."
This was at the time of the Vietnam War.

Academics we know can always find good reasons for doing the wrong thing.
Stan did the right thing.
Barbara was very proud of him for that.

Lack of Prejudice: Not something to be assumed about New Englanders, especially their attitudes towards Iberia and Ibero America.
There were, and are, two sides to that particular New England coin:
The contempt of an Adams or the respect of a Prescott; the mean spirit of a Samuel Huntington and the affectionate inquisitiveness of a Barbara Hadley Stein.

But Barbara's New England was that of the glorious hills and mountains of Western Massachusetts: not the New England of the bankers of Boston or even the worthies of Cambridge.
Hers was a Massachusetts of town meetings, and also, let us not forget, of Shay's rebellion.

We must recuperate a word from the backstares here: Values.
Barbara's values were those of a profoundly progressive and profoundly non-conformist New England.

Why?
Because logic and truth mattered
Because work and persistence mattered
Because argument and debate mattered

And it is important to remember that these are American values, the means to a better world by force of example, not by force of imposition.

So we should not be gloomy:
It is a moment for hope and for celebration.

Not surprisingly a New England poet says it all most succinctly and elegantly:

Come In
Far in the pillar'd Dark
Thrush music went
Almost like a call
To come into the Dark
And I lament
But no, I was out
For the Stars;
I would not come in.
I meant not even if
I asked.
And I hadn't been
—Robert Frost

Remarks
Barbara Stein Memorial Service, January 21, 2006
by Richard Salvucci '76 '82 (Trinity University)

I have two very brief personal anecdotes that I'd like to share with you. The point they make about Barbara Hadley Stein should be self-evident.

As some of us here are old enough to remember, in September 1973, the UP government in Chile was overthrown by elements of the Chilean military, and Salvador Allende was killed. I was a first-year graduate student, and pretty naive, but even to me, it became evident that dreadful things were happening there. Amidst all of this, Pinochet's regime wrangled its Ambassador to the United States (I believe) an invitation to speak at Princeton, causing an attendant uproar, the unedifying details of which I will pass over in silence.

In any event, when the gentleman showed up, there was, at least, a demonstration on campus in the quadrangle behind Dickinson, which attracted the usual suspects, among them, I recall, Stanley Stein and Arno Mayer. I walked alongside Renato Barahona. We chanted "El pueblo unido jamás será vencido," and listened to the speakers.

I recall Shane Hunt talking about the Chilean economy in his sort of mildly ironic way, but the highlight of the afternoon was Barbara. Now I can swear to only some of the details, but since Barbara was, well, short, she stood on a table to speak. I had seen her around Firestone and knew her to the extent of saying hello, but the impression she made speaking from the table was a little different from the generally benign one you got around the Latin American Bibliographer's office. My Lord, what a rabble-rouser she was. I wish I could remember exactly what she said, but at one point, I do recall her talking about what was going on in Chile from the joint perspective of a scholar, a woman and a mother. She had; she avered, seen this once before, and then it had involved an ideology (and she used German) of Kinder, Küchc und Kirche [children, kitchen, church, i.e., "a mother's world"]. You see why I remember this bit 30 years later. From that day, chez Salvucci, we
nicknamed Barbara "La Pasionaria." It was, believe me, intended as a very great compliment.

[Ed: Stanley Stein comments, "A number of friends recall Barbara's performance that day—that lady has strong convictions, ever since, as a high school student, she collected materials on the phony Reichstag fire staged by the Nazis at the beginning of that reign of terror."]

OK, now, fast forward 20 years to the summer of 1995. Linda and I were in Madrid with our children, then ages 3 and 7, staying at a friend's piso for a few weeks while Linda went to the Archivo Histórico Nacional. And of course, the Steins happened to be there, intimidating all of us with their work ethic, nearly causing a breakdown in one of our Spanish friends, whose frequent cigarette breaks were spent describing the matrimonio Stein as "hormigas."

We decided that since we now had kids, a kitchen (I'll leave the Church out of it) and were grown-ups, we should invite Stanley and Barbara for dinner, which we did. Yes, it was memorable. No, we didn't spill anything on them. But there was one moment when Barbara set out to have a conversation with our daughter, Rosemary. "Well, Rosemary, what is your favorite book?" Barbara inquired. Rosie considered the question for a minute, and then replied, with a level gaze, "Beauty and the Beast." Dramatic pause. Afterward, Linda volunteered that only Barbara Stein could hold a seminar with a three-year-old, and only the Salvuccis could blow their feminist credentials with the kid's answer. Let's hope not. We're still trying to get it right, in no small part because of her (and Stanley's) example.§

Preamble to Robert Frost's "The Road Less Traveled"
Barbara Stein Memorial Service, January 21, 2006
by Margot Stein (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

Barbara was a voyager, who from her earliest years traveled across oceans and continents in the path of her own mother, an itinerant New England progressive educator. From Germany, Switzerland, Alabama, and many other places she periodically made her way back to what became a more stable point of return, Shelburne Falls, a small hill town of the Connecticut Valley. After college, she embarked again to teach in rural Mexico, then to study in Berkeley, and from there to Brazil on a fellowship, where she met the love of her life, Stanley. Barbara moved again to Washington, "for the war effort," while Stanley was overseas. In 1946 they moved together to Cambridge, Mass., where they had their three children and tethered their tent in graduate student housing.

This represented a new and perhaps more challenging path for my mother, the nomad who cherished family and a sense of place. She abruptly gave up an academic career and turned the full force of her energy and personality to husband and children for the next fifteen or so years. During this time, I can think of Barbara only as my mom, decorating a small house on a shoestring, sewing placemats and making block prints, wiping cold noses, shaking the snow off boots, packing picnic suppers, and floating in the "Ice Pond" on inner tubes with her kids.

Then her path took another turn and mother packed up the family for a year in Mexico, and later France and Spain. Now the image of my mother as a historian begins to emerge; how energized she seemed to be, leaving for the archives with dad, the enthusiasm in her voice, how her eyes shone. It was then that I consciously realized how beautiful mother was, as well as smart—to the point of intimidation—and devoted to her family.

Like all voyagers, my mother repeatedly encountered forks in the road, choices to be made, the potential for loss as well as gain. I have often wondered how Barbara always seemed to find her way in all these twists and turns. But she realized, I think, that every path has uncharted possibilities and ultimately, few end in a cul-de-sac. How did she do it? With her own patience, vision, hope and especially, the sustained love and support of my father, Stanley. [Margot Stein followed with a reading of Robert Frost's "The Road Less Traveled."]$
(o viceversa) estuvo en las primeras filas de las manifestaciones, marchando con toda la firmeza de que era capaz (y no era poca). Vino después el movimiento por el cierre de las instalaciones del Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) en el campus de la universidad y el arresto de varios profesores, entre ellos Stanley, a causa de las protestas. Barbara, naturalmente, pasó la noche en la cárcel, acompañando a quien era su compañero de casi ya treinta años.

Pero al lado de las sombras de la guerra, había luces e inteligencia. Ese mismo año de 1970 saldría la primera edición en inglés del clásico *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*, uno de los pocos libros verdaderamente imprescindibles que se han escrito sobre la historia de América Latina en los últimos cincuenta años. El libro, escrito a cuatro manos, lanzó el nombre de Barbara Hadley Stein al firmamento de los historiadores latinoamericanistas de primera línea. Hasta esos momentos, ella era conocida ante todo como una de las más completas bibliógrafas de una de las mejores bibliotecas universitarias de Estados Unidos, y algunos pocos sabíamos de su importancia como colaboradora fraterna en las pesquisas que habían dado por resultado los trabajos de Stanley sobre Brasil. Pero su talento como investigadora y escritora *in her own right* sólo vendría a revelarse con *The Colonial Heritage*, un libro aún presente en la mayoría de las bibliografías de cursos universitarios de historia latinoamericana. Talento que se confirmaría recientemente con la aparición de los magníficos *Silver, Trade & War (2000)* y *Apogee of Empire (2003)*, productos de una monumental investigación, también realizada a cuatro manos, que comenzó precisamente en los años de 1970. Una obra gigantesca, verdadera obra de vida, planeada para desarrollarse en varios volúmenes, que tendrá ahora que ser completada por Stanley en su soledad acompañada, con el apoyo espiritual y el amor inmedible de Barbara. Y de todos nosotros.

Stanley & Barbara Stein Remembered
by Robert W. Patch ’79 (University of California, Riverside)

When I was an undergraduate at the University of Illinois, my teacher of Latin American history, Joseph Love, assigned reading in a book entitled *Vassouras, a Brazilian Coffee County*. I thought that it was one of the most imaginative and humane books I had ever read, and still do. Later I decided to go to graduate school to study Latin American history, and when I found out that the author of *Vassouras*, Stanley J. Stein, was a professor at Princeton, my decision was made. Even before arriving, however, I had also found out about Barbara Stein, as she was the co-author, with Stanley, of *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America*, which influenced a whole generation of Latin Americanists. I read it in my senior year, and it affected me greatly.

While a graduate student at Princeton I experienced what would be the period of the greatest intellectual growth of my lifetime. My studies were of course oriented around history and therefore around Stanley and Barbara Stein. Yet shortly after arriving I also began to have contact with the Program in Latin American Studies, in part because I took some classes on economic development at the Woodrow Wilson School. These courses, taught in part by Latin Americanists, helped inform me about Raúl Prebisch and the Latin American contribution to theories of economic development and underdevelopment. That in turn led me to contact with Princeton's political scientists and urban planners with special interest in Latin America. The Program in Latin American Studies also regularly offered guest lectures by well-known specialists. It is no wonder that I experienced so much intellectual growth! And helping virtually everyone was Barbara Stein in the Library. The Firestone Library even had a reading room for Latin Americanists, something very few, if any, other university libraries had.

The Program in Latin American Studies served as a perfect counterbalance to the Eurocentrism of the History Department. On the one hand, I was treated with a bit of condescension by the Europeanist professors and graduate students, some of whom doubted the validity of studying a region that in their opinion lacked importance. On the other, we had the exciting people in Latin American Studies, who looked upon the region, not as poor, but as rich in culture and imagination. I in turn came to have disdain for the condescension. It was at Princeton that I became not just a historian but also a Latin Americanist.

The Latin Americanists at Princeton helped me economically as well as intellectually. I wanted to pursue a dissertation topic that required traveling to Latin America to scout out the archives, (where historians must do a large part of their research). I had already discovered an interest in the Yucatán, growing out of my long-term interest in Maya archaeology, and therefore I applied for funds for a trip to Mexico to see if it would be possible to study the history of Yucatán. The History Department and the Program in Latin American Studies together provided funding to spend a month in Mexico. Once again, I was overwhelmed by what I encountered. I had never actually been in Latin America before, not for lack of interest but due to the expense of getting there from the Midwest where I grew up. So, for a month I had the opportunity to explore Mexico City and Mérida, and experience Teotihuacan, Uxmal and Chichén Itzá, thanks largely to the Program in Latin American Studies. It was therefore in Mexico and at Princeton that I found myself professionally.

Still, for me the Princeton experience in Latin American Studies was first and foremost Stanley and Barbara Stein. They were of course my mentors, but like true professionals and excellent historians they did not demand that everyone agree with them. For example, although dependency theory was dominant at the time, and Stanley and Barbara were among the theory's principal proponents, my research in Latin America eventually led me to question certain of its features. I finally came up with a different interpretation that rejected some aspects of dependency theory while also accepting and re-emphasizing others. I argued that while labor and demographic history frequently contradict the dependency interpretation, the Latin American export syndrome—a defining characteristic according to the dependency theory—sometimes had even more profound effects than the theory's advocates realized. Stanley and Barbara did not always agree with me, but they respected my ideas and always had something to say. They were, in fact, extraordinarily helpful. And they stimulated in me the desire to accomplish something through scholarship of the highest quality. I did not always achieve that objective, but as Stanley and Barbara said in *The Colonial Heritage*, "La grandezza del hombre es el flechazo, no el blanco."§
To Barbara Hadley Stein: A Final Letter

Read by Linda Oppenheim at the Memorial Service, January 21, 2006

Dear Barbara,

My sojourn in Argentina prevents me being with your family, friends and colleagues today as they celebrate your life and contributions. All of us come with distinct memories of the importance of your presence to a multiplicity of communities, but I shall focus on one that is truly a towering achievement for all time: that of the research collections you formed for this University, and by extension, for the world of scholars and students engaged with the many perplexing problems that the Ibero-American world continues to manifest.

Forty years ago your life took yet another career change, that of becoming the University's Bibliographer for Latin America, Spain and Portugal. Your new post combined your scholarly knowledge of the area with the years of fieldwork on three continents, and in both engagements you had become familiar with publishers, bookstores, libraries and archives. Left to master were the procedural requirements to ensure efficiency and accuracy in the library environment, and clearly you did that with dispatch. The collections you oversaw dated from the eighteenth century and presented some key areas of strength along with many of weakness. In your typical fashion of dedication, analytical scrutiny, and undivided interest in the area, you assessed the collections, identified existing strengths, and thought deeply about the field of study, in order to craft a flexible collection development policy that addresses limitations, long-term University interest in specific disciplines and countries or regions, and most importantly, areas of long-term importance. This last aspect was speculative both in terms of thematic coverage and country or regional focus. This collecting profile remains in its core true to your original work, with modifications occurring as opportunities arose or situations of senior faculty appointments transpired.

From the policy and collection assessments came the selection, and select you did! By focusing on primary sources, supplemented by the most scholarly secondary sources, the Princeton collections became highly reliable for a wide range of research needs. Students were assured of access to the different scholarly perspectives on a topic, and often could count on accessing published volumes gathering together documents and other primary sources. Your tenure overlapped with military dictatorships and coup d'etats, the institutionalization of the Cuban Revolution, and popular resistance to corrupt regimes. Always alert to the importance of change in a state, you sought to document these events in the present while also acquiring contemporary materials from past ages of turmoil. These collections became the basis of the University's vast and ever-expanding holdings of ephemeral imprints from social movements, political parties, opposition groups, labor unions, and other participants in political and social change.

These accomplishments, ones of lasting importance for generations of scholars and students, were feasible because of your deep understanding of the countries, the historical trends behind economic and political decisions, and practical experience in the field. Such expertise served the University well, not only intellectually through the outstanding collections you formed, but also financially by judicious selections of high quality and enduring importance. The challenges were many, but you established priorities and goals, and the foundations for new initiatives were laid. All these elements prove essential for superior research collections. No substitution exists for expertise, and you made that abundantly evident through the eleven years of raising the collections to research-level quality. I consider myself extraordinarily fortunate to have followed you in this position, and deeply appreciate the graciousness and honesty of our relationship. You knew how to relinquish authority, your life moved back to the highly focused scholarship that you loved, and yet you remained available and accessible, always with sage reflections on the collections, book trade or publishers. You repeatedly proved yourself a master of many fields without ever losing the bearing of your moral compass, that, in my mind, is best characterized by the dedication in your book The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: "To those Iberians and Ibero-Americans who have had the courage to speak out against irrationality and injustice."

We all remain indebted to your wisdom and vision. Thank you for being a splendid friend and critical ally during my quarter century at Princeton.

With much love and appreciation,

Peter T. Johnson
Bibliographer for Latin America, Spain & Portugal
Firestone Library, retired

Three generations of Latin American bibliographers

Barbara Hadley Stein (1966-1977)
Fernando Acosta-Rodriguez (2003-present)
Photo: Rosalia Riviera (May 2003)
BIBLIOGRAPHY: BARBARA HADLEY STEIN & STANLEY J. STEIN
Compiled by Fernando Acosta-Rodriguez, Librarian for Latin American Studies

Barbara Stein: Selected Bibliographic Works

Barbara H. Stein & Stanley J. Stein: Co-Authored Publications

Books

Articles & Book Chapters

Stanley J. Stein: Publications

Books

Articles & Book Chapters
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"The Passing of the coffee plantation in the Paraíba Valley," Hispanic American Historical Review, 33, no. 3 (1953), 331-364.


Nearly 40 years later, many at Princeton would be moved to a testimonial of similar tenor in honor of Stanley J. Stein, as the Princeton faculty member longest associated with PLAS. Stein arrived at the History Department in 1953, when Munro was still a reigning presence. Regarding Munro, Stein observes, “He was the youngest person ever to have the post of Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs. After graduating from Brown, he went on a post-university tour that took him to Central America, Cuba and Mexico, the early cockpits of American imperialism. While at the State Department he was posted to Nicaragua, Haiti and Santiago. So when he came to Princeton he had a solid understanding of Latin America. When I came here, Dana was the only faculty member teaching Latin American history. He was a tolerant gentleman, and he certainly tolerated my few excursions outside the norm.”

Stein continues, “By the time Dana Munro retired in 1962, I felt that we should have a program in Latin American Studies. I approached Dean Brown, and he suggested approaching the Woodrow Wilson School.” A Latin American Studies interdepartmental committee operated from 1964 to 1967, and Dean Brown, Dana Munro and Cyril Black (a scholar of Russian history, and then-director of the Council on Regional Studies) approached the Doherty Foundation to secure the original PLAS endowment. “The Department of Education’s Title VI funds for foreign language and area studies became available in the mid-1960s, but I never wanted to pursue it, because one never knew when it might dry up.” The Doherty endowment provided a more reliable means of program sustenance.

Stanley J. Stein was appointed as the first PLAS director for 1967-1968, and served through 1971-1972. He relates, “Our goals were to determine what the requirements would be for the LAS certificate, to get undergraders into the field in Latin America, and to create a fellowship to be given at the end of a graduate student’s first year, in order to facilitate their second year at Princeton. How would we go about filling gaps in the departments in Latin American Studies? We also had to decide how to allocate the endowment income, and to determine what we could afford in the way of new materials for the library.”

A major influence with regard to the latter concern, Barbara Hadley Stein became the University’s first Librarian for Latin America, Spain and Portugal in 1966, serving until 1977. As noted by her successor, Peter T. Johnson, Stein’s appointment contributed to the Program’s professionalization, with major consequences for the quality of the collections. Her systematic approach informed the forward-looking social sciences and humanities acquisition policies and priorities elaborated with the PLAS faculty committee. Indeed, her familiarity with trends in Latin America and Europe, and her broad collection development interests anticipated the interdisciplinary research of today. (Elsewhere in this issue, see remembrances of Barbara Stein by several Princeton colleagues and alumni.)

Public programming was another core concern. Stanley Stein recalls, “We had some very good visitors in those days, such as when Sidney Mintz led a seminar on the Caribbean, a course that influenced Rebecca Scott, as I recall.” (Rebecca Scott ’82, Stein’s former student, is professor of history at the University of Michigan.) Mintz also served on a committee of outside scholars who evaluated applications for Latin American research support under the Doherty program based at Princeton. Stanley Stein took over direction of that committee upon Professor Munro’s retirement, and headed it until 1965, when the Doherty Foundation exhausted its funds.

Following Stein was economist Shane Hunt (director, 1970-1974), whom the former recalls as a “very engaged” PLAS director: “Shane gave a lot to the program.” Stein also recalls the contributions of historian Michael Jimenez during the 1980s. “Michael attracted many students into the program, and was an excellent lecturer who drew large audiences.”

Other faculty involved in PLAS’s evolution included Paul Sigmund (Politics), who arrived in 1963, first serving as acting director when Stein went on leave during 1969-1970. Sigmund recalls, “I arrived in February 1963, took my first trip to Latin America in June of that year, and visited nine countries. I really became a Latin Americanist at Princeton.” Regarding teaching and student research, Sigmund notes, “From the beginning, we prioritized awarding summer field research support for students to work in Latin America. The PLAS committee members would meet regularly over lunch. Among other things we discussed Latin American acquisitions for the Firestone Library. We could only give very small honorsaria to speakers, but in the 1960s, students organized a big conference every year on Latin America, more or less from 1965 to 1970. They raised their own funds elsewhere on campus, and from businesses and corporations. Then, in 1970 another group of students, critical of the kind of support the conference sought, organized their own ‘anti-conference’, and that was the last of that.”

Sigmund relates, “I was interested in political philosophy and development theory, so Latin America seemed a natural place to work. In 1964 I taught a course on political development, and Latin America comprised a major component. My first Latin American undergraduate politics seminar was in 1965, and my first Latin American Politics course [LAS 367] in 1967. It’s been taught every single year since then, right into the present.” (Now an emeritus professor, Sigmund again taught LAS 367 in spring 2006.)

Professor Sigmund directed PLAS from 1981 to 1987, returning as acting director in 1992-1993 and 1996-1997. Of his 1980s directorship, Sigmund observes, “We shared a secretary, Alice Garrison, with European Studies. I had no desk, but would come to her office and sit for an hour or two and dictate letters and memos.”

León-François Hoffmann (director, 1975-1978, 1985-1986, 1988-1990) reports that he was made director “by default” after Stein and Sigmund. Hoffmann brought a new perspective to the directorship, bringing Haiti into the realm of Latin American Studies at Princeton. He, too, recalls Alice Garrison as the Program...
anchor. "At the time, PLAS was a little family affair, very informal," Hoffmann remarks, "My tenure was marked first of all by the aftermath of the Chilean coup."

According to Paul Sigmund, the student group "Princeton for Chile" led a boycott of Chilean grapes and wine after the coup. And when Pinochet's U.S. ambassador, an Air Force general, came to speak on campus, Sigmund recalls, "The ambassador was met by a very hostile audience in McCosh 10." Professor Hoffmann likewise recalls that the talk "generated a strong student protest."

Hoffmann relates, "We decided to offer Clodomiro Almeyda, Allende's ex-foreign minister, a chair at Princeton... Orlando Letelier came up from Washington to confer on how to write a letter to the Pinochet government to secure Almeyda's release. Letelier was an impressive individual, and tragically, a couple of weeks later [September 21, 1976] he was assassinated on the streets of Washington, D.C. Almeyda did finally get out of Chile, although not because of Princeton; the Mexican president intervened on his behalf." [Sigmund also remembers a large protest meeting outside the University Chapel following Letelier's murder.]

James Irby, who took a post in Romance Languages in 1959 (now emeritus), directed PLAS for the period 1978-1981. As all those interviewed emphasized, Peter Johnson's tenure as Latin American bibliographer was critical to PLAS's growth. Says Irby, "Peter arrived around the time that I became director. He approached me to see whether PLAS might provide funds to acquire the manuscripts of prominent Latin American writers. Things were done more loosely in those days, and I set aside a few thousand dollars to help promote an acquisitions process that has continued to grow. Don Skemer [Curator of Manuscripts, Firestone Library] also was involved in this process."

As a result, says Hoffmann, "Princeton probably has one of the top university collections for the papers of prominent Latin American authors, and Peter is responsible for that." Irby observes, "Peter Johnson was always very much involved with PLAS, and he had a very sharp eye that helped the program get the most out of its growing endowment." Stanley Stein adds, "Peter has always taken an avuncular interest in PLAS, as should be evident from his acquisitions record, his teaching, his involvement with Princeton-in-Cuba, and his ongoing contact with students and alumni."

Extending Barbara Stein's initiative to begin collecting the ephemera publications of Castro's Cuba and Allende's Chile, Johnson pursued a major expansion by topic and geographic coverage, building a unique collection of Latin American ephemera among U.S. academic libraries today. Johnson also was instrumental in giving academic substance to and deepening the experience of the Princeton-in-Cuba (PIC) program in 2001, 2002 and 2003. Originating as a student initiative from the precept of Bill Potter '68 for Paul Sigmund's Latin American Politics seminar, PIC took students to Cuba every spring from 2000 to 2004, when changes in U.S. Treasury rules effectively ended PIC. Johnson also established the LAS 301 seminar, Research Methods, Sources & Trends in Latin America Area Studies, which he taught for a number of years. Upon retiring from Firestone Library, Johnson served as PLAS acting director (2002-2003). As Jeremy Adelman observes, "Peter Johnson made the Firestone Latin American holdings into one of the world's treasure collections for scholarship on the region."

In his view, the Stein-Johnson legacy is "like a great flowering perennial. It represents a unique contribution to research for many, many generations to come."

Interviewees unanimously agree that another key figure in the Program's growth has been Rosalia Rivera, who (after two decades in the Technical Services Department of Firestone Library) assumed the post of program manager in August 1991 and quickly became a PLAS mainstay. As historian Ken Mills (director, 2001-2002) relates, her colleagues marvel at "how Rose manages to be so incredibly organized, efficient and business-like, while at the same time always seeming to be having so much fun." Moreover, says Mills, "Rose has been the invaluable constant amid much change."

Indeed, she has presided over three major office moves, has seen certificates awarded to some 400 PLAS concentrators, and continues to be in touch with a surprising number of PLAS alumni.

At the end of the 1980s, the Program was primed for a new phase of growth. Hoffmann notes, "We requested an external review of PLAS, which the Provost approved the last year I was director (1989-1990). At that point, I nominated Arcadio Diaz-Quintones [now Emory L. Ford Professor of Spanish, and Professor of Spanish & Portuguese Languages & Cultures] to become director, I thought he would do well, and he did. The Program really began to grow under his direction. Prior to that it had been pure serendipity, with no systematic coverage of Latin America in the various disciplines."

According to Professor Stein, "Arcadio Diaz-Quintones (director, 1990-1994) consistently devoted himself to establishing PLAS as an independent entity, distinct from other area studies. He took it to heart and saw to it that we had a constant stream of excellent speakers. He also was very much interested in having a suitable office, and secured a space worthy of the Program, in Joseph Henry House. I think that was critical. He turned PLAS into a first-class program." Irby confirms this view: "The Program's enhanced campus profile really came about under Arcadia, building on the external review requested by Professor Hoffmann."

Hoffmann elaborates, "Arcadio got the University behind him in his goal to have PLAS and the study of Latin America be taken seriously. Some important hires resulted, including Kay Warren, Alejandro Portes, Patricia Fernández-Kelly, Jeremy Adelman, Deborah Yashar, Ken Mills, Ricardo Piglia, and so on. Undergraduate course enrollments and the number of senior theses on Latin American topics reflect that."

Jeremy Adelman (director, 1997-2001, acting 2003-2004) observes, "Qualitatively, Arcadio took things to the next level. He really converted PLAS from a good, small academic boutique into a..."
solid, quality Latin American Studies program. He made it a lively, welcoming intellectual and cultural home, especially for assistant professors and students; that was important for later arrivals like myself and Michael Jiménez. His active engagement as a director made PLAS into a very exciting gateway for Latin Americanists of all kinds, from politicians to scholars, artists, writers, and students alike. He created a great wake behind Latin American Studies that opened the way for much that has developed subsequently. (In this regard, it bears mention that Adelman himself was responsible for a fundraising initiative on PLAS's behalf that resulted in the establishment of the William Ebenstein Student Research Fund; in addition, he created the Sigmund Scholars Award in honor of Professor Sigmund, as a vehicle to get outstanding students into the field early in their undergraduate careers.)

Díaz-Quinones was responsible for promoting the renaming of the Latin American Studies Senior Thesis Prize (awarded 1974-1988) to honor Stanley Stein, who retired in June 1989. Approved by the Dean of the College, the first Stanley J. Stein Senior Thesis Prize was awarded at Commencement in 1989. Adelman characterizes Professor Stein as "one of the great Latin Americanists in the United States. He represents a time when historians, social scientists, artists and writers spoke with one another much more freely, in truly interdisciplinary fashion. He got PLAS off to a great start, taking the baton from Dana Munro and consolidating an enduring foundation for Latin American Studies at Princeton. Those who succeeded him carried on a great tradition of interdisciplinary, creating something of greater value for undergraduates in particular."

Díaz-Quinones takes a similar view, noting, "As was the case with Albert and Sarah Hirschman, I'm extremely grateful that Stanley and Barbara were so welcoming, from the very first day my family and I arrived in 1982. One of the first phone calls I received was from Stanley and Barbara."

"I admire and am inspired by the example of his teaching and research. Stanley was incredibly supportive when I became director of PLAS. He offered excellent advice and was always available for consultation, particularly when the Program was struggling to find a dignified space on campus, to gain control of its own budget, and to define its own institutional identity. Stanley wanted only the best for the Program, and that's important when you're trying to direct something like PLAS, to have people like him at your side. He also helped me to create PLAS's first Advisory Council, which assembled a remarkable group of people, including Albert Hirschman, Hilda Sabato, Rebecca Scott, Peter Smith, María Rivera and other equally distinguished scholars, including alumni such as John Schmitt."

"The steady support and rich experience of my colleagues James Irby and François Hoffmann was absolutely essential. Along with a group of extremely devoted junior faculty such as Michael Jiménez, Miguel Centeno, Ken Mills, Forrest Colburn and Jeremy Adelman, who then went on to become a superb director, they contributed enormously to the intellectual vitality of the Program. PLAS played a role in hiring outstanding senior faculty, all of whom enriched our understanding of the fields, including Rolena Adorno [director, 1994-1996], David Carrasco, Jorge Klor de Alva, and Ricardo Piglia. This new strength in literature, anthropology and religion was crucial in transforming the Program."

"Of course, nothing would have been possible without the active encouragement of then Provost Paul Beaucerat, Dean Robert Gunning and the deep commitment of Dean Ruth Simmons. The goodwill of French scholars Karl D. Uitti, François Rigalot, Lionel Gossman and Victor Brombert, then at the helm of the Council of the Humanities, was decisive. Puerto Rican artists Lorenzo Homar and Consuelo Gutiérrez created lasting graphic images for our Program, which David Myhre, an excellent executive director, later would use in our publications. This was all happening at a time when a new wave of Latino immigrants was changing the cultural and political landscape of this country."

Díaz-Quinones continues, "Stanley Stein has been an exemplary scholar and colleague, a man of unimpeachable integrity, immense generosity, remarkable experience and sage advice. Both Stanley and Barbara exemplified that. They represent a particular breed of Latin Americanist and Caribbeanist, a remarkable generation—I also think of Albert Hirschman, Sidney Mintz, Gordon Lewis and Richard Morse. I see them together, and I feel honored just to know them, their inspiration, their true dedication to and respect for the countries and their peoples, not simply as an object of study. They brought real passion to understanding cultures and languages, including Brazil and the Caribbean. To them it was far more than a job, or the motivation to write another paper. This was a generation that opposed fascism and military dictatorships. They discovered Latin America and the Caribbean in the postwar period, and they truly sought to understand the region and its relationship to the wider world while engaging in conversation with Latin American scholars."

"This is why PLAS created the Stein Prize, an honor that was long overdue. Stanley has been loyal in his friendship, and I owe a lot to him, personally and professionally. Es un verdadero caballero, something rare in academia. I'm quite certain that many others see him and Barbara in that way too."

As Stanley Stein emphasized more than once in the course of this article's preparation, "A program is the work of many hands. Just as he reminds us of the essential work of Dana Munro, leading as it did to PLAS's 1967 founding, today PLAS pays tribute to the dedication and vision of all Munro's intellectual successors, not least among them Stanley and Barbara Stein."
Alumni News

Laurent Dubois '92 wins Frederick Douglass Prize

Laurent Marc Dubois '92, a PLAS graduate in Anthropology, and Associate Professor of History at Michigan State University, was awarded the Frederick Douglass Book Prize by Yale University's Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance & Abolition. His book A Colony of Citizens: Revolution & Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804 (Oxford University Press) focuses on the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe. Dubois explores the slave revolts there that brought about the 1794 abolition of slavery, shedding new light on the contradictory ways that this emancipation process developed, leading to its ultimate reversal in the early nineteenth century. On a broader scale, Dubois examines how slaves-turned-citizens both experienced and shaped the radical transformations of the age.

John David Smith (Charles H. Stone Distinguished Professor of American History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, and chair of the Frederick Douglass Prize jury) commented, "Not since C.L.R. James in his The Black Jacobins (1938) has a scholar examined the broad nexus of revolution, slavery and emancipation as creatively and as powerfully as Dubois. A Colony of Citizens is a decidedly original, path-breaking and incredibly well-researched work that positions slavery, emancipation, re-enslavement and then eventual re-emancipation in Guadeloupe within an international framework, and suggests the complex fruits of emancipation in the French Caribbean and the Atlantic World."

Asd by History Network News about what influenced his decision to study Latin America and slavery, Dubois related, "I became interested in Haiti as an undergraduate mostly because of current events. The political changes there, Haitian migration to the United States, and the racism experienced by Haitians here all concerned me, so I became interested in placing these in a broader historical context."

"Once I began doing reading and research on Haiti, I was hooked, and became interested in other parts of the Caribbean as well. I also had excellent teachers, including Latin American historian Michael Jiménez, and two bibliographers at Princeton's Firestone Library, John Logan and Peter T. Johnson, along with others in English, particularly Barbara Browning, and in Anthropology, particularly James Boon, who encouraged me a great deal in these early interests. I also was lucky enough to meet Richard Price and Joan Dayan, two important Caribbeanists, while I was an undergraduate. All of this inspired me to continue on."

Fernando Delgado '04 authors critical report on the conditions of children in custody in Brazil

Fernando Delgado '04, a PLAS graduate from the Woodrow Wilson School, is currently a J.D. candidate at Harvard Law School. Delgado recently co-authored an essay, "Children in Custody in Brazil," in the English medical journal The Lancet (Vol. 367, No. 9511, 25 February 2006), working with Michael Bochon of Human Rights Watch. The authors report that Brazil's juvenile detention centers fail to meet basic health and hygiene standards, a consequence of poor sanitary conditions, building decay and extreme overcrowding. The essay was one of seven in The Lancet addressing children's rights and the U.N. Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC). Delgado also is co-author of the Human Rights Watch report "In the Dark: Hidden Abuses against Detained Youths in Rio de Janeiro" and "Real Dungeons: Juvenile Detention in the State of Rio de Janeiro."

Delgado initiated his work with a 2002 Sigmund Scholars Award from the Program in Latin American Studies, producing a study of the social mobility of street children in Salvador, Brazil. A 2004 Henry Richardson Labouisse '26 Fellowship winner, he used the award to assess conditions in the city's juvenile detention centers, working with the Children's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch and with Viva Rio, a human rights organization in Rio de Janeiro.

Adam Abelson '05 reports on his post-graduate Princeton-in-Latin America internship with Human Rights Watch in Chile

I have spent most of the past two months working on a Human Rights Watch (HRW) report on ex-Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori's extradition, since he arrived here unexpectedly in early November. HRW decided to publish a report arguing for Fujimori's extradition in order to inform public opinion in Chile as the Chilean Supreme Court weighs its decision. For most of November and December, I worked on the report, assisting the two HRW researchers who wrote the bulk of the report. See: http://hrw.org/reports/2005/peru1205/

This has been a remarkable opportunity to work so closely on an extradition case, before I have even started law school. Much of my research focused on past extradition cases in Chile, and on comparative Peruvian and Chilean criminal law. The report was released at a press conference in late December. The Peruvians presented the formal petition at the beginning of January, thus initiating the proceedings here, which could last up to a year. Fujimori remains under detention in Santiago, while Peru has ruled that his name cannot appear on the ballot for the April elections.

In November, FLACSO [Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales] published a short paper of mine on the Organization of American States, and I am now working on a longer-term project on U.S. security policy vis-à-vis Latin America. I also am assisting on a report evaluating human rights in Mexico during the Fox administration.

I was very pleased to see Professor [Paul] Sigmund in December when he was here for the elections, a most remarkable historical experience. On Sunday night I was out in the streets amid an estimated 500,000 people celebrating President-elect Michelle Bachelet's victory. Overall, this has been a career-defining experience, one that I feel extremely fortunate to have been granted thanks to the Program in Latin American Studies and Princeton-in-Latin America. — Adam Abelson (January 17, 2006)
Latin American Electoral Trends

Recent electoral trends in Latin America suggest to many observers that a political sea change is underway in the region. On Thursday, March 9, 2006, PLAS sponsored a colloquium on the question, Elections: Is Latin America Turning Left? A summary of the assessments offered by two noted political scientists follows.

Kenneth Roberts (Cornell University)

Kenneth Roberts posed the question of whether in fact we are witnessing a political shift to the left in Latin America, in light of the number of recently elected governments that can be characterized as left of the center. He also asked what, in the current context, it might really mean to be on the left, what the left might have to offer, and whether it makes more sense to talk about one left or multiple lefts. Roberts expressed wariness over reading too much into what appears to be a recent political shift to the left in the region, observing that the new left-center governments are remarkably diverse and heterogeneous. Moreover, he cautioned, there is not a uniform political trend in the region, as not all countries are part of the apparent political shift. Mexico, Central America, Columbia and Peru are counterfactual cases, although a new cycle of elections may yet align other countries with the leftward trend.

Roberts noted “an 11-year period when the so-called Washington consensus for free-market or liberal reform was clearly dominant,” a phase he says ended in 1998 with the election of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. The new left governments and the political movements and parties that are their foundation are quite distinct from earlier patterns, in particular because organized labor now plays a much less prominent role than in the past. In social and organizational terms, today’s political trends involve strikingly different kinds of political movements, in part due to an uneven process of ideological renovation extending over the past 30 years. Comparing leftist governments in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Venezuela in terms of both social constituencies and party development, Roberts sees a striking diversity and remains unconvinced that they really represent the same phenomenon. Indeed, he said, for the most part, socialism is not really on the agenda of the new leftist governments. Instead, he sees what really is a debate over which model of capitalism to follow, and which direction to take now that these new governments find themselves in power.

Roberts sees the current situation as “a post-adjustment era,” without suggesting that Latin America is in “a post neoliberal era in political terms.” Governments are now trying to identify what new space to maneuver they might have, what the new policy options might be, what options there are within the constraints of a global market. Roberts characterized the current situation as “a re-politicization of development policy.”

Wendy Hunter (University of Texas at Austin)

Wendy Hunter discussed Brazil’s PT (Workers’ Party), which in Roberts’ terms, she saw as an example of an older more institutionalized party whose politics have moderated over time. Hunter stressed both the economic constraints on the PT to which Roberts alluded, and also the prevailing domestic political constraints on the party. Her analysis identified three periods in the PT’s development. Prior to the mid-1990s, the PT was in what Hunter characterized as its radical phase. A transition phase began with the party’s moderation from 1995 to 2002, when Lula won the presidential election. Finally, she considered the PT government in power, the primary focus of her analysis.

In its radical phase, distribution was at the center of its structural reform that the PT advocated, as with land reform. The PT also called for a significant recognition of reform control over the Brazilian economy and, at the time when market advocates favored privatizing the economy and reforming the state, the PT stood strong in opposing privatization and labor “flexibilization.” The PT has not only objected to but also stood up to every single proposed neoliberal reform.

Hunter characterized Brazil’s political system as generally weak, although she sees the PT as atypical in this respect, insofar as the PT has, at least in the past, constituted a more disciplined, national presence, and a left-only coalition commitment. In social and organizational terms, today’s political trends involve strikingly different kinds of political movements, in part due to an uneven process of ideological renovation extending over the past 30 years. Comparing leftist governments in Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Venezuela in terms of both social constituencies and party development, Roberts sees a striking diversity and remains unconvinced that they really represent the same phenomenon. Indeed, he said, for the most part, socialism is not really on the agenda of the new leftist governments. Instead, he sees what really is a debate over which model of capitalism to follow, and which direction to take now that these new governments find themselves in power.

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With its 2002 victory, the PT became the main party in the ruling government, but it actually never controlled more than 20 percent of the seats in the lower house. Needing allies, the PT developed a strong commitment to market reform, going even beyond Cardoso’s measures. The PT achieved a fiscal surplus by cutting back on social programs, under pressure to win the confidence of investors and international financial interests. Its social policy aspirations have suffered accordingly, and even its Bolsa Família program (with payments conditioned upon kids staying in school and getting vaccinated) has been in step with IADB and World Bank policies dedicated to poverty reduction, rather than the reduction of inequalities. Moreover, the program has served as a form of political patronage, especially in the northeast.

Lula has needed a super-majority to pass social security legis-
lution, something achieved across the spectrum by handing out ministry seats to parties, and by paying off its congressional allies directly. This worked in the short term, but the ensuing corruption scandal has tarnished the party’s image considerably. This move toward conventional political practice has alienated the intelligentsia, while the poor and under-educated generally have become even stronger PT supporters.

The PT’s foreign policy has been less constrained by resource issues vis-à-vis domestic social policy. Lula has engaged in jet-setting international solidarity diplomacy, mediating in regional social conflicts, and seeking to develop fairer terms of trade.

In summary, Hunter sees the PT’s former radicalism transforming into accommodation and assimilation. The PT’s political base is changing accordingly, as a consequence of Lula’s pragmatism, and a changing relationship between government and party. A key question is whether the PT will continue to be able to call upon the enthusiasm and discipline that has buoyed it in the past. This raises the questions of whether a true party alternative exists, and what might transpire when the PT returns to the political opposition.

In the Shadows, Students Find a Vibrant Community
by Regina Lee (Daily Princetonian, May 17, 2006, with permission)

Irene Routte ‘08 sat with her boyfriend’s family on Monday night, just about academics and ambition. While her relationship was an exception rather than the rule, Pa’Delante is one of the many ways the University has connected with the local Latino community. From education to activism, volunteering to cultural exchanges, students are becoming increasingly involved with the immigrant population.

Learning the Language
Sara Holloway ‘06 and Rebeca Gámez-Djokie ‘05 founded Pa’Delante in fall 2004 to bridge the gap and build trust between students and workers on campus. “We also aimed to serve as a general resource connecting [Pa’Delante] participants with the resources offered to low-income and immigrant residents of Princeton,” Holloway said in an e-mail, explaining that English classes were the best way to share that information.

Holloway tutors Olga Carillo, who crossed the Mexican border on foot 15 years ago. “I came here alone with three children. We came here for a better future,” said Carillo, one of some 20 eating club workers who take classes with Pa’Delante. “We have our papers, thank God.”

Carillo, 50, has worked at the eating clubs since she moved to Princeton Borough from Guatemala City in 1991. After working for 12 years at Ivy Club, she now works at Cloister Inn serving dinner. Twice a week, following her shift, she walks from Cloister to the Carl A. Fields Center to study English.

“We’re very good friends,” she says of her relationship with Holloway. “We go dance salsa and get coffee sometimes.” Holloway says that while Pa’Delante has grown via word of mouth, the students are still working out organizational issues. “There’s a lot of inconsistency with people who have not stuck with it,” Holloway says. While participants want to learn English, it is difficult for them to commit after working 12 to 16 hours a day. “Many of our participants arrive tired and are frustrated with the slow process of learning a new language,” she says.

Rallying for Rights
Maribel Hernández GS has spearheaded campus efforts to support immigrants’ rights. With the help of President Tilghman, the group hopes to deliver a petition to Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist ’74 with more than 800 signatures from students, professors and local community members. “We are very privileged to be at Princeton and to have everything we need,” Hernández said in an email. “Yet, with such privilege comes the responsibility to help others, especially those who can’t speak for themselves for fear of being deported.”

On April 10, the newly named National Day for Immigrants Rights, Hernández and a coalition of students from Chicano Caucus, Ballet Folklórico, the College Democrats and the Black Graduate Caucus wore white shirts with red letters reading “Immigrants Rights Now,” and set up information tables outside Frist Campus Center.

The group attracted about 250 students to its May 1 panel discussion, “Undocumented Immigration in the United States,” which featured three professors and Dan-El Padilla Peralta ’06, who revealed his illegal status in a front-page Wall Street Journal story in April. After the panel, students collected money to contribute to Padilla’s legal fees.

Hernández also attended the immigrants’ rights solidarity rally in front of Nassau Presbyterian Church earlier this month to support efforts by local activists. While students and professors turned out for the event, she was surprised that few Latinos from the local community showed up. Fear of retaliation from immigration services, inadequate publicity and conflicts with Saturday jobs were three major reasons for lack of Latino representation.

Carillo said she was not comfortable attending rallies, and would rather make a statement in personal ways. “If there’s a protest, I’m not going there because there could be problems,” she said, citing violence in the crowds or police involvement.
Translating at the Clinic

The Student Volunteer Corps program at University Medical Center at Princeton brings 29 students to the hospital each week to serve as volunteer couriers and translators. "They really rely on volunteers a lot," says program co-coordinator Elizabeth Washburn '08. "If they're not there, communication doesn't happen."

Washburn said she originally started working because she was premed and wanted to get clinical experience. "I find it so enriching. I like getting to know a lot of Latinos in the community who I wouldn't get to talk to," she said.

Washburn works in the examination room, where she translates for doctors and patients. She had to get over the initial embarrassment of not knowing the words for all body parts, but hand signs help, she says. Washburn cited the center's Charity Care financial aid program as an important amenity for many patients who can't afford to pay full price for necessary drugs.

"We don't have a dual standard," says Fredy Estrada, who has been translation coordinator for the outpatient clinic for 10 years. "We treat patients the same with or without insurance." Washburn, however, says the program sometimes fails to cover the drugs a doctor prescribes, forcing patients to settle for a less effective option. "It just breaks my heart whenever that happens. The doctor is forced to prescribe something that won't do enough," she said.

PLAS Spring Break Study Trip to Mexico

As part of Professor John Pohl's LAS 402/ART 466 Latin American Studies Seminar: Pre-Columbian Art of Southern Mexico, in mid-March PLAS funded 12 students to travel to Mexico City and Oaxaca with Pohl (Peter Jay Sharp, Class of 1952, Curator & Lecturer in the Art of the Ancient Americas) and Dr. Caroline Cassells (Curator of Educational & Academic Programs), both at the University Art Museum.

Bryan Cockrell '08 reports, "Traveling to Mexico was a remarkable experience that allowed our class to see firsthand the monuments and codices we were studying in class. Probably my favorite moment was when we came upon an ancient ball court at Monte Alban. We had often seen the ball court in Codex Nuttall, and to look down upon it, in three dimensions, shaped like the letter T—just as we knew from the Codex—was awe-inspiring. I also enjoyed learning about the artistic traditions of some of the smaller towns in Oaxaca. We met an expert..."
in black pottery and a rug weaver, both of whom demonstrated the process of making their art. This gave us a profound sense of the pride that villagers take in maintaining family crafts that have been passed down through many generations. Overall, we enjoyed warm weather, excellent food and fascinating visits to some truly impressive archaeological sites.

Students learning Zapotec ceramic production at Coyotepec

Mexico photo: John Pohl

**Krista Brune '06 Wins ReachOut 56 Fellowship, Spirit of Princeton Award, and a Fulbright to Study in Brazil**

(Krista Brune '06 has been awarded the 2006 ReachOut 56 Fellowship, which provides a $25,000 grant to undertake a postgraduate public service project. Brune, who is from Centennial, Colorado, will conduct research for a book on arts and education programs in prisons.

The Spirit of Princeton Award recognizes students whose positive contributions to the University have gone largely unrecognized. Krista Brune is among this year's seven seniors and two junior award winners. Brune has done extensive work with the prison justice system, helping to raise funds and create a workshop curriculum for a prison population.

Brune also is the recipient of a Fulbright scholarship to study in Brazil. Based at Unicamp (Universidade Estadual de Campinas), she will explore the political role and poetic dimensions of MPB (Brazilian Popular Music) under the military dictatorship. Upon completing her Fulbright and ReachOut 56 Fellowship, Krista intends to pursue graduate studies, concentrating in Latin American studies and Brazilian studies.

Daniel Gardiner, a 1956 Princeton alumnus who chairs the ReachOut 56 initiative, said, "Krista Brune is an outstanding senior with a fine record of achievement and public interest activity. She has devised a significant project for a worthwhile organization—a project that could not be undertaken without ReachOut 56 funding."

Brune is a Spanish & Portuguese Languages & Cultures major and Latin American Studies certificate candidate. She will work with Voices UnBroken, a Bronx-based nonprofit that helps New York correctional facilities and juvenile detention centers to provide inmates with resources for creative expression.

Brune plans to conduct research on arts and education programs in several states through interviews with directors, volunteers and inmates. Her goal is to write a book that records the history of these projects and analyzes the essential elements of successful programs.

"As a literature major, I have seen the power of words and creative expression. I am interested in learning more about how literature and creative expression have been used as healing tools within prisons and juvenile detention centers," Brune said. "While different individuals and groups have done this type of work across the country, the communication between these diverse projects has been lacking. I believe it would benefit nonprofit organizations and universities currently running arts programs in prisons and individuals interested in entering the field to have knowledge of what other groups are doing."

Brune also won the 2005 Premio Maria Zambrano award for best junior paper in Spanish and Portuguese. Her many extracurricular activities include serving as secretary for the Princeton Justice Project and leading its prison reform group. She also was an Outdoor Action leader, a writer for several campus publications, and a translator and tutor for campus and community organizations.

Brune starts her ReachOut 56 project late in May 2006, continuing until March 2007, when she will depart to begin her Fulbright year at Campinas, staying through December 2007. Then she will finish the ReachOut project in spring 2008.

**Brady Walkinshaw '06 Wins Fulbright to Work in Honduras**

Brady Walkinshaw '06 is the recipient of a Fulbright scholarship to work in Honduras during 2006-2007 with the Honduran Ministry of Education. He will help to coordinate educational investments between foreign donors and the Ministry.

Walkinshaw spent the previous two summers in Honduras with a PLAS Sigmund Scholars Award (2004) and a grant from the Woodrow Wilson School, assessing educational opportunities for disadvantaged students in an urban barrio of the capital, Tegucigalpa. His senior thesis examines rates of grade repetition and dropout among students enrolled in primary schools in the neighborhood where he lived and worked.
The Galápagos Islands hold a unique place in the history of science. It was here, in the 1830s, that Charles Darwin gathered the clues that led to his theory of evolution. Today, Michaela Hau continues Darwin's intrepid scientific tradition there. Her studies of tropical birds may shed light on the mysteries of human behavior and could lead to better models for ecosystem conservation.

Birds display a remarkable variety of behaviors, including reproductive behavior such as defending territories and mating, said Hau, an assistant professor of ecology and evolutionary biology. "I study the mechanisms that underlie the control of behavior and how they have evolved over time," she said. Unable to go back in time to study the ancestors of her present subjects, she compares old lineages of birds with more recent lineages. This is where the tropical birds come in.

During the Ice Age, from 1.6 million to 10,000 years ago, much of the earth was entombed in a sheet of ice. As the glaciers advanced from the poles, many species of birds evacuated their usual habitats for the tropics, where slightly balmier temperatures still sustained life. Once the ice melted, those that survived followed the glaciers' retreat and recolonized the emerging landscape. Thus, many of today's temperate-zone birds have evolved from tropical ancestors.

In fact, this repopulation is at the heart of a bit of a disconnect in bird science. While more than 60 percent of the world's bird species live in tropical latitudes, and the number increases dramatically with the inclusion of tropical migrants—those that breed in the higher latitudes but spend most of their lives in the tropics—much of what is known about bird behavior comes from studies of mid-latitude, or temperate, species. Biologists have been studying the specialists that have evolved to fit particular environmental niches and have long viewed the tropical birds as evolutionary oddities. They may have it all backward, said Hau.

"Ninety-five percent of what we know about life comes from temperate latitudes," said John Wingfield, a professor of biology at the University of Washington, and Hau's postdoctoral adviser. "To a great extent, our entire concept of physiology, endocrinology and control mechanisms is based on humans and animals of mid-to-high latitude origin. Most organisms actually come from the tropics, and the number increases dramatically with the inclusion of tropical migrants."

Hau studies groups of birds that have remained in the tropics throughout their evolutionary history and compares their behavior to related species in the temperate latitudes. One of Hau's most compelling research questions is: How do birds know when to reproduce? In higher latitudes, the links between mating and longer, warmer days and new plant growth, which leads to greater food abundance, seem obvious. Move to tropical latitudes, however, and the environmental signals to mate are much less evident. Temperatures vary by only a few degrees from season to season and day length remains the same throughout the year at the equator.

In Panama, Hau and her students studied antbirds, a small bird with black spots on a white breast and brown and black striped wings and tail. They discovered that the antbirds are remarkably efficient at discerning very small changes in day length.

The Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute is located approximately 600 miles north of the equator and day length, also called photoperiod, varies by only one hour over the year. Hau discovered that an almost imperceptible change in day length by only 17 minutes is sufficient to trigger a cascade of hormones that head straight to the gonads, causing them to grow and produce testosterone—flipping the reproductive "on" switch. Antbirds, it appears, follow the same broad hints that it's getting seasonally close to breeding time as their more northerly neighbors.

Bird behavior on the Galápagos tells a different story. The islands sit almost exactly on the equator and the length of day varies by all of six minutes. "It's very unlikely, although I can't exclude it, that the birds could be able to discern the minute differences in day length from one day to the next," said Hau. Day length changes in a predictable way, yet Darwin's finches, the birds Hau studies on the islands, reproduce unpredictably.

So what puts birds in the mood? Hau theorizes that it might be rain. The islands sit almost exactly on the equator and the length of day varies by all of six minutes. "It's very unlikely, although I can't exclude it, that the birds could be able to discern the minute differences in day length from one day to the next," said Hau. Day length changes in a predictable way, yet Darwin's finches, the birds Hau studies on the islands, reproduce unpredictably.

Further Implications
Hau, whose work builds upon the landmark studies of Darwin's finches by colleagues Peter and Rosemary Grant, said that her efforts are ongoing and that she still hasn't fully solved the puzzle of finch breeding behavior.

"There might be a very complex use of environmental cues and...

www.princeton.edu/~plaz/
I'm sure that rainfall is stimulating, but I'm not saying just yet that it makes the birds reproduce," she says. "Other things have to come into play. We know a lot about day length, how it's perceived and used; we still don't know much about non-photoperiodic cues."

What the behavior does tell her is that birds that rely on the breeding signal of lengthening days in temperate climates have evolved to do so. They also have evolved a link between photoperiod and the regulation of testosterone.

Testosterone plays a role in both reproductive and aggressive behavior, like defending territory. Hau's research shows that tropical birds use testosterone differently than temperate zone birds. Spotted antbirds, for example, have very low testosterone levels, even during the mating season, yet still become sufficiently testy to fight off birds that invade their territory. At the other extreme, North American red-wing blackbirds have high testosterone levels.

One reason for the difference, Hau believes, is that birds that migrate to breed must arrive in their breeding region, establish a territory and defend it from other competitors, advertise for and attract a partner, mate and then continue to defend and protect the young. For these birds, reproduction and aggression go hand in hand and they've evolved testosterone levels that keep them primed for the job.

Yet there's a trade-off. "The theory is that high testosterone levels suppress the immune system, making the birds more susceptible to infections and decreasing their lifespan," she explains. Why some birds have high testosterone levels compared to others is still a bit of a mystery—one that Hau plans to tackle next. Her endocrinology studies linking behavior with testosterone levels in birds may also lead to a better understanding of human behavior. While it might seem like a leap from bird brains to humans, we share many common physiological chemicals. "We're not going to cure cancer or find the solution to AIDS," says Wingfield. "But I think overall we're contributing to basic biology, which humans are part of too. And understanding the basic concept of life on earth is understanding something basic about ourselves as well."

"Michaela's work also has conservation biology implications," he adds. "The more we know about these tropical birds, the better we will know how to conserve their species within tropical rain forests. Conservation biology, although it does not relate to human well-being directly, is relevant because if we let the ecosystems of the world degrade, then eventually we'll be degrading our own lives. So I think her research will have relevance to human welfare on many different fronts."

Further unraveling the complexities of evolution in Darwin's backyard is a tall order for some small birds and an assistant professor who juggles teaching and research with motherhood and marriage. Yet, Wingfield is confident that Hau is up to the task. "She's still very early in her career, but she's showing all the signs of great leadership."

**Report from Venezuela: Community Media**

by Sujatha Fernandes (from her Tuesday Seminar talk, March 7, 2006)

Four young people sit around a large table, writing furiously amid piles of notes, cans of soda and crumpled papers. These young women from the shantytowns, ages 17 to 22, are preparing for their hour-long program, "Public Power," airing on community station Radio Perola 92.3 FM, in the Caracas parish of Caricuao. Today they are addressing the theme, "Living in the Barrio."

"A barrio is not just hills full of stairways, it's the community," says Lilibeth Marciano, a 20-year-old collective member. "I live in a barrio, Santa Cruz de Las Adjuntas. It's not like they've always told us, that if you live in a barrio you don't have a future, that if you live in a barrio you're nobody. It's not like that."

Technological advances have made radio broadcasting easy. However, community activists have had to press the government to have their stations legalized. After Hugo Chávez was elected president in 1998, community media activists began to raise issues of the right to communication, resulting in a new law in 2000 that gave communities the right to set up stations. But to gain authorization, the National Commission of Telecommunications (Conatel) proposed that the stations meet complex requirements.

All four young women from the Public Power collective say they were inspired to become community journalists following the hijacking of information by the private media during the right-wing coup d'état against Chávez. Since Chávez was reinstated as President on April 13, 2002, two days after the coup, there has been an explosion of community radio stations. The number of licensed community radio stations has increased from 13 in 2002 to 170 by June of 2005. Some 300 additional unsanctioned community radio stations also have emerged.

Authorized community radio stations may receive a limited amount of state financing for equipment or infrastructure from Conatel or the Ministry of Information. Some paid government advertising also is forthcoming. However, community stations stay on the air primarily due to contributions from small local businesses. The state may give a one-time contribution, but regular monthly payments from the auto repair shop and the local bakery maintain the stations in the long term. "The idea is that we should have the capacity to be self-sustaining," said Carlos Carles of Radio Perola. "Because if they give you money and they give you your daily bread, they begin to ask, 'Why are you doing this, why are you doing that?' We prefer autonomy in what we do."
Program in Latin American Studies Fellowships, 2007-2008

The Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS) invites applications for research fellowships. These fellowships will be awarded to outstanding Latin Americanists interested in devoting a semester or academic year in residence at Princeton University. Fellowships are open to scholars in all disciplines, with preference given to applicants from Latin America. A doctoral degree is required, although qualified scholars with exceptional experience and achievement in their fields may be considered.

During the appointment, fellows will be expected to pursue independent research at Princeton; to teach one course per semester, conditional upon approval of a Princeton department and the Dean of the Faculty; and to participate in PLAS-related events on campus. Fellows will enjoy full access to Firestone Library and to a wide range of activities throughout the University. For more information about the Program in Latin American Studies, we encourage applicants to visit the PLAS website: www.princeton.edu/-plas/. Fellows will be appointed for one or two semesters during the academic year, 2007-2008. Salary will be determined by academic rank and duration of award; appointment rank will be dependent on seniority and current affiliation.

To Apply
Applicants must submit all of the following by the deadline, Friday, November 3, 2006.

1. A cover letter indicating the applicant's proposed length of stay (1-2 semesters), title of the proposed research project, and teaching interests;
2. A curriculum vitae;
3. A 4-5 page statement about the proposed research and its scholarly contribution;
4. One course proposal (or syllabus) for each proposed semester of fellowship;
5. Three letters of reference sent directly to PLAS; letters may be mailed, or sent electronically to <plas@princeton.edu> with the subject line “PLAS Fellowship Recommendation,” received by the deadline.
6. To complete the process, applicants must complete an online application cover sheet, which will become available on Friday, June 30, 2006 at: www.princeton.edu/-plas/.

Application materials must be sent by Friday, November 3, 2006 to <plas@princeton.edu> with the subject line “PLAS Fellowship.” In addition, four paper copies must be postmarked by that date and mailed directly to:
Program in Latin American Studies—Fellowship Program
309-316 Aaron Burr Hall
Princeton University
Princeton, NJ 08544-0001 USA

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