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## REPORTS

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### THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY TODAY\*

*Magnus Mörner, Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm*

IT REQUIRES A LOT OF TEMERITY TO ANALYZE IN A FEW PAGES SUCH A GREAT AND complicated topic as "The Study of Latin American History Today," especially if one is not Richard Morse.<sup>1</sup> My only vantage point is a rather varied experience. A European historian, I am an autodidact in things Latin American. Since the late 1940s, I have visited and done some research in most of the countries of Latin America, and Spain. I have had the privilege of teaching Latin American history at five major United States universities during a total of five and a half years. At the present time I find myself once again in Europe. Thus I am familiar with the increased European interest in Latin American studies during recent years as well as with the various factors which still hamper us in our job. From the psychological point of view I have probably become a kind of mestizo, a Swedish-Latin-North American blend. Though at ease in any of three environments, I have the feeling of being to some extent an outsider even in the country of my birth. After this presentation-confession I shall first survey the current situation in broad terms. The second point will be to discuss the purpose of the study of Latin American history and finally, to recommend some norms of policy.

#### LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES

Even from abroad it is possible to follow the ebb and flow of Latin American

\* This article is an expanded and revised version of an address to the Fifth Annual Conference of the Southwestern Council of Latin American Studies (SCOLAS) at the University of Texas at Austin on 14 April 1972, when I was serving as a Visiting Professor of History there. Some of the issues have also been dealt with in *U-länderna i modern historievetsenskap* (The Developing Countries in Modern Historical Science, Stockholm, 1970), a book I wrote in collaboration with Lennart Limberg and K. R. Haellquist. It has not appeared in any other language. (MM).

Ed's note: LARR hopes to publish in a future issue a more detailed Report dealing with Latin American research and studies in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R.

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studies, including history, in the United States, a result mainly of foreign policy considerations. The expansion of the 1960s was a truly formidable one in terms of students, positions, and money. Even if that situation has now changed, I think it is still more encouraging to observe the steadily increasing seriousness of the work that is being done, as well as the spread of historical research into one new area after another. The increased attention given to Latin American history on the programs of the recent meetings of the American Historical Association also seem to imply that other historians are taking their Latin Americanist colleagues more in earnest than before, and that they and their field have become integrated within the proud historical guild. There can be no doubt in my opinion that the Americans are the undisputed leaders within the international research concerned with Latin America's past. It is a matter of quantity and also, to some extent, of quality, though in this respect both Latin Americans and Europeans are catching up. It is also a matter of organization. The strength and the continuity of CLAH and within a broader framework, LASA are great assets. In the United States even dissidents and rebels show a knack for organizational work. I suppose, therefore, that history will eventually become the particular concern of specialized groups within NACLA and URLA, too.

But negative features exist. Extreme academic specialization is a natural result of the great numbers of American scholars available in any possible field of study. I think, however, that this phenomenon is very harmful in the case of Latin America. How can one possibly study colonial Spanish America well without being familiar with the European history of Spain? How can one get a grasp of nineteenth-century Latin America without a good knowledge of French intellectual and British economic history? It is also a fact that many, perhaps most, American teachers and advanced students of Latin American history are unable to read French and German. This is rapidly becoming a serious handicap because quite a number of valuable studies are now being published in those languages. If translations to Spanish or English eventually appear, it is always long before they do.

A serious weakness affecting American scholarship in the Latin American and other fields has to do, I think, with the commercialization of the production of scholarly books in the United States. Because publishers—even university presses—have to watch the preferences and whims of the book-buying public, too many useful, sometimes excellent dissertations are available only on microfilm. In this way, in practice, they are often effectively buried except to a few teachers and friends. At least, they remain entirely unknown outside the country. At the same time, the commercialization explains why such a great number of mediocre books on worn-out general topics continue to appear. This is also partly why there is such an overflow of books on, for instance, Mexico and Cuba and so few on, let us say, Ecuador. One aspect of this phenomenon which seems especially harmful is that, in terms of academic promotion, the publication of a mediocre, compilatory book often carries more weight than the authorship of the best of scholarly articles.

In addition to this situation, it seems to me that, on the whole, the book review sections of the specialized journals have been of a relatively low quality. Many mature

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professors who write reviews do not have the time to read the books carefully. On the other hand, a graduate student or young teacher when asked to write a review, would naturally often be afraid of offending somebody who might have an impact on his future. Thus, there have been so many nice and bland reviews, correcting a few errors of detail and recommending the book to be placed on "every Latin Americanist's book-shelf." Fortunately, a clear trend of raising the quality of the book review section of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* can now be discerned.

It is interesting to observe that the comments of anonymous readers of manuscripts intended for publication are often far more incisive than published comments. But in that case, criticism remains one-sided, failing to give rise to a public discussion, which is the way to raise the standards of the profession.

More than one history teacher has surely been puzzled by the phenomenon of the gradual decline of intellectual sharpness of so many American students, who pass from the freshman to the graduate and Ph.D. levels. Richard Morse somewhat philosophically speaks of the needs of restoring sight to the "innocent eye," something which probably would imply a very thorough overhaul of the educational system.<sup>2</sup> If, however, many good American Ph.D.'s also in time become poor professors, I think the factors mainly responsible are those indicated above, plus an excessive teaching and administrative load.

### LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY IN WESTERN EUROPE

Until very recently, the study of Latin America in Europe (outside Spain) was greatly overshadowed by that concerned with the European colonies (now, neo-colonies, at times) in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Such studies are now on the increase, however, both in the West and the East. This is due to both political and economic factors. The Castro revolution and the romantic image of "Che" Guevara exerted a great impact (though not comparable to that of Vietnam) on the younger generations of Western Europe. They became politically important to the regimes of Eastern Europe, as well. Increasing anti-Americanism in Latin America and the gradual decreases of United States hegemony there (also apart from Cuba) have encouraged European economic penetration. The statistics of European investments in Latin America are strikingly difficult to get at, in comparison with the American ones. It is pretty obvious, however, that the share of European trade and investments in Latin America are both on the increase.

These factors are likely to promote the study of contemporary Latin America in the first place. But they also tend to favor the study of Latin America's past. It is difficult, however, to generalize about the state of historical study in Europe just now. The academic systems and other prerequisites as well as the character of the scholarly production differ widely from country to country. In Western Europe, the same as in the United States, the display of neo-Marxist concepts and emotions of the André Gunder Frank variety is often taken as a sign of a progressive spirit. But one also notices strikingly traditional attitudes of some historians who seem undisturbed by the concerns of our times and of Latin America itself. In Eastern Europe, especially

the Soviet Union, to begin with, historians, whatever they think, have to make their products impregnable from an orthodox Marxist point of view. Because of their relative lack of opportunities to carry out research abroad, Eastern European Latin Americanists, paradoxically enough, also tend to become overly dependent on the more easily available products of American specialized scholarship.

The leading group of Latin Americanist historians in Europe, at this juncture are the French. The high quality of traditional French scholarship is, on the whole, upheld. Occasional lapses into rhetorical superficiality do occur, however. The total approach to history advanced by the group around the journal *Annales* exerts a great appeal on Latin American students. Their strong participation in the programs is one of the striking characteristics of Latin American studies in France. Another one is the high degree of recognition awarded to these studies within the respective academic discipline. Marcel Bataillon, Pierre Chaunu, François Chevalier, and Frédéric Mauro are among the leading scholars of the entire historical profession in their country. To take up one negative aspect, French scholars and students often seem to suffer from a lack of familiarity with, particularly, the production of their American colleagues.

In Great Britain, Latin American studies, emphasizing history, have developed rapidly in the course of the last ten years. In striking contrast to their unorganized French colleagues, British Latin Americanists have achieved a considerable degree of coordination. Information on their teaching, research projects and publications is easily available.<sup>3</sup> Naturally enough, a great deal of collaboration and personal exchange exist with the United States, which has succeeded in attracting some of the most prominent British Latin Americanists. On the other hand, some of the British Latin Americanist historians (e.g. J. H. Elliott and Raymond Carr) are better known for their work on the history of Spain. The development in Britain seems most promising. The major handicaps are probably the longstanding British involvement in Latin American affairs, which makes objectivity more difficult, and a mental disparity from the Latin Americans which the British share with North Americans.

In Spain, the consequences of the Civil War of the 1930s and the emigration of Spanish scholars still help to explain the relatively weak development of Latin American studies during recent decades. It is true that the output is quite impressive in quantity but it is heavily concentrated to a few aspects of colonial history. The innovating spirit of Jaime Vicens Vives, who died in 1960, did not suffice to make historical research as such in Spain up-to-date.

In West Germany the institutionalist approach of an older generation, represented with distinction by Richard Konetzke, still prevails. The *Jahrbuch* of the Latin American history center at Cologne is one of the best publications of the entire field. Still, because of the language problem, some excellent German contributions such as Günter Vollmer's analysis of eighteenth-century Peruvian demography remain virtually unknown both in Latin America and the United States.<sup>4</sup> In East Germany as well as in some other countries of Europe, the study of Latin American history is only the matter of one or two academic teachers and of a fairly small number of students.

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The one-man efforts of the late Tibor Wittman in Hungary, of Josef Poličenský in Czechoslovakia, and of Tadeusz Lepkowski in Poland are noteworthy. In other countries such as my own, Sweden, there is as yet no specialized chair in Latin American history or studies. In order to teach I have to go somewhere else. It may also prove impossible to obtain research funds because of the competition with projects which seem less "exotic."<sup>5</sup>

Recent attempts have been made to break the isolation in which the European students of Latin American history and studies in general find themselves. After a couple of meetings in Spain, due to the initiative of Francisco Morales Padrón, a group of Latin Americanist historians held a conference in Paris in September 1972 and decided to set up a coordinating committee to prepare the formation of an association. The European Social Science Council on Latin America, CEISAL, still finds itself on the blueprint stage but aims to become eventually a counterpart of LASA and the Latin American CLACSO.<sup>6</sup>

In comparison with the study in the United States, European students of Latin American history, because of the nature of their academic programs and the lack of specialized teaching positions, can devote less time to their regional specialization. This may be a blessing in the long run but it can also prove a real frustration. Also, the library collections and possibilities of obtaining fellowships are usually very poor in comparison with those available to Americans. To move to another level, ethnocentrism and the innate faith in the superiority of one's own academic training are at least as pronounced in the European environment as in the United States. Such a feeling is always an obstacle to scholarship.

#### LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY IN LATIN AMERICA

Many of the weaknesses of historical studies in Latin America are simply a function of economic underdevelopment. The lack of resources for advanced studies and research can readily be understood against this background. The same circumstance also helps to explain the great variations between different countries and regions. Mexico is, for example, much better off than the rest. In addition, it attracts most foreign students.<sup>7</sup>

The prevalence of traditional patterns of social stratification and behavior also have serious consequences. Much of the money that would be available for scholarly purposes is instead being siphoned off to pay for centennial publications, ceremonies, and the like. At the same time, one has to be aware, of course, that the nationalizing function of history in countries which suffer from a lack of social integration may understandably be deemed more important than the purely scholarly one. History also naturally provides an important psychological outlet for escapism and inferiority complexes created by the frustrations of the present. History presented in simple nationalist terms may raise an enthusiasm and fascination among the masses which works by professional historians can hardly do.<sup>8</sup>

Against this backdrop, the emergence of groups of young professional historians

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in almost all the Latin American countries during recent decades is especially impressive. A concern for the common man pervades most of their writings. In the case of Luis González's "microhistory" of his Mexican home town, historical and sociological insight blended with an unusual literary talent.<sup>9</sup> No foreigner can hope to reach this high degree of understanding. In other works, less originality and more statistics can be found. In some countries—Chile, Argentina, Mexico, and Brazil—remarkable nineteenth-century pioneers and, more recently, some historians who started teaching in the 1920s and 1930s, laid the basis. In other countries the young historians of today are pioneers in a very real sense. More often than not they received at least part of their training abroad, in France, Spain or, less frequently, the United States. Both their own studies and their opportunities of teaching have suffered from the seemingly continuous political turmoil at Latin American universities. A letter which I received in 1972 from a colleague and friend in one of the South American countries, presents an analysis which can be generalized to a considerable extent:

Aquí la situación universitaria es un poco caótica. El ritmo de crecimiento del país es tan lento que el gobierno parece estar convencido de que ni siquiera se justifica lanzar al mercado nuevos profesionales. De otro lado las clases medias hacen presión para alcanzar un mejor status a través de un título profesional. Pero esto ya no les puede garantizar los privilegios que eran exclusivos del patriciado. Los movimientos estudiantiles, me parece, no revelan en el fondo sino esta frustración que se hace cada vez más aguda. Naturalmente están encubiertos por una fraseología de izquierda y de reivindicación popular que no tiene mucho contacto con estas realidades. El gobierno a través de los periódicos del establecimiento mantiene en jaque a la universidad ante la opinión pública. A veces va mucho más lejos con ocupaciones militares, expulsiones masivas, métodos inquisitoriales, etc.

Even if, in fact, political repression from above and student unrest form a part already of the Latin American university tradition, the situation seems to have deteriorated. Also, the Brazilian situation since 1964 is unusually sad. The consequences of expulsion have also become more serious. When I was in Argentina during the time of Perón, many of her best scholars had taken refuge in Uruguay just across the river. They returned to their country at once in 1955. In the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand, several of the best Argentine, Brazilian, and other Latin American scholars and teachers have settled down instead in the United States, Canada, and France. Even if the political situation in their respective countries eventually brightens, their exile may easily become permanent. The advantages of higher salaries and superior teaching and research facilities are added to freedom from political repression.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, in their home countries, mushrooming, restless, and aggressive student populations keep the remaining academic teachers more and more busy. These latter will find it harder to set apart time for their own research.

In the more practical realm, the increasingly severe handicap of historical research in Latin America itself is clearly evident. In the 1940s and 1950s, the inter-



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national output of works on Latin American society and history was still rather small. Now, on the other hand, the maintenance of a decent research library on Latin America or even part of it, including all the basic American and European contributions, would require a sum vastly beyond most Latin American library budgets.<sup>11</sup> Exchange currency problems also hamper the acquisition of foreign books as such.

Even more serious are the consequences of the recent trend towards a social science approach and computerization of historical research. The formation of the group for economic history within CLACSO in 1970 shows the sincere interest of several young Latin American historians in this field of studies. Even the NEW ECONOMIC HISTORY of the Americans have raised their expectations to find new avenues of research to Latin America's past.<sup>12</sup> But this whole approach clearly requires investments which are greatly superior to those needed by previous students of history. Even if some of the Latin American countries, for some reason, might set funds apart for the purpose, others will surely not.

As I stated already, the dilemma of Latin American historians is essentially a part of the enormous problem of underdevelopment. But I do think the situation is serious enough to affect the whole meaning and nature of our Latin American history specialization.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

There has been some discussion about the relationship of the study of Latin American history to the concerns of our time. During the 1960s, in the United States, Latin American studies, also in the field of history, explicitly or not became linked with the Alliance for Progress foreign policy approach to Latin America. In a vigorous reaction against this trend, Lewis Hanke, in 1967, underscored that the study and teaching of Latin American history must not be aimed "to defend any particular political action or economic policy of the United States in Latin America." It should "be looked upon not as a 'crisis' subject." Instead it ought to be "recognized as a subject worth studying as a significant segment of world history, which will throw light on another culture than our own."<sup>13</sup> In an article on the social history of colonial Spanish America in LARR a year ago, a historian of a younger generation, James Lockhart, also expressed his disagreement with those who view "another society and culture purely as a problem." He did not think highly of "the moral outrage of the developmentalists" as providing a stimulus for study.<sup>14</sup>

The reaction of these two scholars against too narrow an approach to historical studies is understandable. But the fundamental question of the meaning of our study clearly deserves more reflection. Idealist, Marxist, or other ideologies can of course be used to measure the relevancy of the study of the past. But I think that most contemporary historians (outside the communist sphere) let the need of the discipline itself determine what is "essential" or "urgent." One has to fill gaps of knowledge or resolve certain problems. This is a natural ambition but hardly enough. In our age we can no longer ignore the excesses and risks of uninhibited science, be it in the technological, psychological, or some other sphere. It has become even more

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necessary than before to stress that the meaning of science is to improve the conditions of mankind. As Marc Bloch put it, history is far from being an exception, because "it has man himself and his action for its theme."<sup>15</sup> I think we have to admit then, that we are headed towards a new "pragmatism." This does not have to imply that we accept the controversial idea that history would possess a high prognostication value. Nor do you have to subscribe to any kind of deterministic theory. If we merely presume that there is an inextricable relation between past and present, it follows that the study of history serves to deepen the understanding of present issues, an understanding that must precede any kind of rational action.<sup>16</sup>

To return to Hanke's comments, they are clearly pragmatic within a North American framework. The teaching of Latin American history should in the first place serve to "produce better educated [US] citizens, and not specialists." As Bolivian Gunnar Mendoza points out, however, also the pursuance of this restricted goal would affect Latin America itself. The attitudes of the Americans and of the whole outer world necessarily influence Latin America's current situation.<sup>17</sup> It is true, of course, as Hanke claims, that the history of Latin America forms an interesting part of mankind's common experience, worthy of consideration as such. One may, indeed, argue that Latin America's historical experience is unique insofar as it forms the only major portion of the Western world that is economically underdeveloped today. It therefore provides a fertile testing ground for the analysis of some key concepts of Western civilization. It should be included more often than it is within different kinds of comparative studies. There are also themes and episodes in Latin America's past which are clearly relevant to universal problems and concerns. Hanke's own favorite topic, "The Struggle for Justice" of Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, is such a theme. But on the whole, Latin America's role so far within the mainstream of Western civilization has been passive rather than active.<sup>18</sup> This is to say that Latin America's past is above all relevant to the Latin Americans themselves. The history of the continent is, in fact, tangibly and painfully present in their contemporary problems. Nowadays, students of the phenomenon of economic underdevelopment are usually aware, with economist Gunnar Myrdal, that it is largely of an institutional and historical nature. Thus, it becomes necessary to "overcome" a number of obstacles produced by history in order to improve the lot of the living and future generations. But in order to do this, historical evolution must first be explored, assessed, and understood.

In his comments referred to above, James Lockhart does recognize that the study of Latin America's social history "bears on development." But he does not draw the logical conclusion that this should also be allowed to influence our research priorities. I think the question boils down to what we find more satisfactory as scholars. Is it to study history just for the fun of it because, as residents in developed and affluent countries, we can afford the luxury? Or is it to let the region we have chosen to study and the general situation of historical research there help to guide our work? In the latter case, we could not possibly ignore the urgency of the moment and the scarcity of resources available for tasks which the Latin Americans themselves find



relevant. In the words of the Brazilian historian José Honório Rodrigues, "historical knowledge must respond to the requirements of life and have a pragmatic potential."<sup>19</sup> From the point of view of Latin America itself, this seems to be a valid statement. Despite regional differences it is obvious that, on the whole, Latin America is ridden by all sorts of economic, social, and political problems. With all probability also, some of the problems derive from or were aggravated by the impact of our own nations on Latin America in the past.

The sense of shared responsibility is crucial. Time is ripe for Latin Americanist historians to consider in earnest some of the problems with which social scientists have been grappling for years. Historians, too, must read and ponder upon the important recommendations formulated by anthropologist Richard N. Adams and his collaborators in "The Responsibilities of the Foreign Scholars to the Local Scholarly Community," published by the Council on Educational Cooperation with Latin America, Education and World Affairs, and by LASA some years ago.<sup>20</sup> To share responsibility also implies an awareness of what has been termed the problem of "scientific colonialism." In the words of the Norwegian sociologist Johann Galtung, this refers to the "process whereby the center of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about a nation is located outside the nation itself." I share Galtung's feeling that it is necessary to strive for a more equal distribution of the tools and results of research and for a more symmetrical relationship between research *on* and *in* the less developed countries.<sup>21</sup> It would surely be valuable both for ourselves and our Latin American, Asian, and African colleagues if they could undertake critical studies of the history of our "developed" countries. However, because of the shortage of time, money, and specialists in their countries, we cannot expect them to remove the asymmetrical relationship so easily. For the new generation of Latin American historians, at least, their research priorities are naturally and directly linked to the urgent needs of their own societies.

In view of the magnitude of these needs I have gradually become convinced that also we, the Latin Americanists of the affluent countries, have to reconsider in earnest some of our own traditional attitudes. Let me present here some viewpoints on three different stages of our study of Latin America: the choice of our topics; the carrying out of our research; and the presentation of the results.

#### THE CHOICE OF TOPICS

The choice of topic will in due time determine a person's academic specialization. It is a most important matter and still it is often made in a casual way. To mention my own experience, as a young student I took up the study of the political and economic activities of the Jesuits in the River Plate just for fun. One aspect of the organization of the famous Guaraní Missions then led me to undertake the study of the segregation policy of the Spanish Crown. The study of the history of "mestizaje" was a part of this lengthy research task. My present concern with agrarian history, in turn, grew out of the study of ethnic relations. In the course of the years, however, I have become more and more conscious that such a haphazard fashion of picking

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topics is far from satisfactory. At least, if research is your professional activity and not just a "hobby."

Many a Ph.D. candidate from the United States or Europe nowadays is likely to choose a dissertation topic not so much "for fun" as with a view to satisfying "the faculty of his department who are basically more concerned with his competent application of a methodology than the accuracy of the data relevant to the foreign context in which the study occurred."<sup>22</sup> His choice may, in fact, reflect far too clearly the special interests or biases of his faculty adviser. From this beginning, the meaning of Latin American history for the non-Latin Americans who study it may very well boil down to a mere question of their own Ph.D., livelihood, promotions, and scholarly reputation. This circumstance is far easier to explain than to defend as a matter of principle.

But the student's choice may also obey what is deemed to be in the national interest of his own country. We all know the dilemma of American social scientists during recent years when facing the demand on the part of government and business for research concerning "vital" aspects of contemporary Latin America. The sudden interest in Latin American "militarism" on the part of some United States historians during the 1960s also seems to have this political background. On the whole, however, historians are less likely to get involved with the economic and national security of their own country than social scientists are when choosing their research topics.

I think this is fortunate for historians. But domestic affairs may still affect their choice. I refer, for example, to the sudden mushrooming of studies in the United States on Latin American slavery. This field was almost virgin until the movement for civil rights set in. I suppose the present activities of women's lib are about to produce similar results. These aims are noble and it is wonderful that the students are wholeheartedly engaged in what they are doing. It is also valuable that new fields of research are being opened. At the same time, however, Latin American research with this kind of motivation and approach, though possibly relevant to the United States, easily becomes ethnocentric, anachronistic, and largely irrelevant to the country or region that is being studied.

Personally I find it natural to take a greater interest, instead, in the concerns of the Latin Americans themselves. The development of Latin American studies in North America, Europe, and Japan, however impressive, would seem empty and sterile if the aspirations of the existing generation of Latin Americans are ignored. In other words, we ought to concentrate our efforts on problems of vital interest to the Latin Americans themselves. This is not so easy as it sounds, however. "Latin Americans" represent all kinds of interests and are far from being in agreement on what is most urgent and vital. The Adams report referred to above recommends that "Research proposals . . . should be made known to local scholars for professional opinions on relevance to local research priorities and adaptability to local conditions. . . ." The report adds that it is better to submit the proposal to a group of local scholars, if such a body exists, "simply because it will give the foreigners a broader range of opinion."<sup>23</sup> This may not be so in practice, because an organized group

would tend to express just one view, whereas two scholars belonging to different factions would, indeed, represent a "broader range of opinion." With this reserve, I think historians had better follow the recommendation when formulating projects implying prolonged stays and field work in Latin America.

The study of Latin American publications, from newspapers and underground leaflets to scholarly publications, also helps to give the foreigners an idea about current concerns. There is no doubt about the present awareness in Latin America of the developmental problem. Also, Latin American social scientists from the right to the extreme left tend to subscribe to some version of the theory of external and internal dependence. In Tulio Halperín Donghi's excellent survey of Latin American history, which is far from being Marxist, "dependence" constitutes the main thread.<sup>24</sup> This way of looking at Latin America's present situation entrusts historians with very important tasks to perform. As economist Keith Griffin puts it, "One cannot explain the poverty of the region today without referring to [its] history. . . . It is only from an examination of the forces of history—i.e. of the historical uses of power, both political and economic—that one may obtain an insight into the origin of underdevelopment."<sup>25</sup> According to Stanley Stein and Shane Hunt, in their recent state-of-research article in the *Journal of Economic History*, the examination of the fundamental causal relationships which have determined growth and structural change under "peripheral capitalism" is, indeed, the "key challenge facing the economic historians of Latin America."<sup>26</sup>

What I have read so far by those who seek the origins of underdevelopment in external dependence did not yet satisfy me as a historian. But it did convince me of the need to test current generalizations and hypotheses against historical evidence. The assumption of relations of "dependence" linking together the leading economic centers of the day with the most peripheral corners of the world has a smell of truism. On the other hand, the *relative* importance of every chain and the variations through time remain to be revealed by painstaking research.

Some of the relevant data can, in fact, be found only in our own countries, in European and American business archives. It may seem a utopian thought that we could ever get access to such records. When some years ago Latin Americanist historian Warren Dean sent a circular questionnaire to 681 United States firms about their archives he did not get replies from more than 22 per cent. Only 6 per cent (and not the major ones, at that) were prepared to admit researchers.<sup>27</sup> Even in Castro Cuba, for some reason, expropriated American business archives have barely been exploited by researchers so far.<sup>28</sup> However, a recent doctoral dissertation on the establishment of Swedish business interests in Latin America between 1900 and 1940 shows that this kind of documentation is clearly relevant to development problems. The author, Harald Runblom, is able to document, among other things, highly suggestive new patterns of corruption in connection with twentieth century governmental contracts and concessions to foreign firms.<sup>29</sup>

To be true, the historical study of Latin America does not *by any means* have to concern itself with the twentieth century or have a strictly economic focus to be rel-

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evant to the problems of today. On the contrary, especially the agrarian problems of our times have roots which are embedded in the very remote past. Also, the study of the development of attitudes and modes of behaviour, which are of decisive importance for political and economic decisions, clearly require a broad and open-ended line of research. Studies on the history of other pathological phenomena than corruption, like smuggling, banditry, and election frauds also might clarify important issues as yet unclear. Indeed, there is no lack of relevant topics of the most different kinds. Unless foundations or departments of history, however, learn to distinguish a sincere and serious quest for topics relevant to Latin America from narrowly focused, merely "opportune" ones, grave errors could easily be committed in the evaluation of research proposals.

### THE CARRYING OUT OF RESEARCH

Most historical research, not only that carried out by doctoral candidates, is still being done by single individuals, by "lone wolves." This is true about North Americans as well as Latin Americans and Europeans. Yet, I think it is time to realize that this traditional approach of the historians has to be revised. With the increasing stress on quantification and computerization, on social and economic explanations, on interdisciplinary approaches, the way of the "lone wolf" will obviously become more and more difficult in the future. Consequently, new forms of academic evaluation will have to be created not only to permit but to encourage research by teamwork. It should be possible to engage in teamwork both within the same discipline and as a form of interdisciplinary collaboration. The efforts of individual historians of being historians, economists, anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and statisticians at the same time usually prove pathetically futile. Aristotelian qualities never abound. For me, teamwork is simply the way out of an otherwise impossible dilemma. I also think it would prove to be the best way of bringing about collaboration with Latin Americans. The day-to-day collaboration with people of another disciplinary and/or national background would no doubt prove hard and even frustrating at times. On the whole, Latin Americanist historians would find it a stimulating and useful experience, however.

I even hold a bold vision of future research when the process of gathering data is largely entrusted to such teams. Perhaps some teams would be composed by students of very different ideological persuasions as well as different nationalities. Then each of the students could elaborate his own synthesis, making use of data the accuracy of which was already guaranteed by the various members of the team. The very discrepancies between the different synthesis produced in this way would be immensely valuable.

The fact of the matter is that I do not at all think that we should give up our own identity and profile in collaborating closely with the Latin Americans. I doubt that Latin American nationalist students let themselves become overly impressed by those American and European students who obsequiously adopted the revolutionary rheto-

rics and external appearance of the late "Che" Guevara. They may suspect (rightly ?) that this new category of Gringos is more concerned with its domestic revolutionary image and the seizure of the establishment at home than with the future of Latin America.<sup>30</sup>

On the contrary, the distance of non-Latin American scholars to the Latin American scene possesses great advantages that should not be thrown away. If we have not let ourselves become actively involved in politics, it will be somewhat more easy for us to apply coolly the methods of our discipline to the problems and then calmly wait for the results, whatever they may turn out to be, than it is for our Latin American colleagues.<sup>31</sup> They are usually deeply engaged in the violent political and ideological struggles which are taking place. In Latin America, even some prominent non-Marxist historians voiced the opinion that in view of the extremely serious political and economic situation of today, research should be clearly subordinated to the overwhelming need for profound political and social change.<sup>32</sup> I can well understand if Latin American intellectuals are prepared to do this. But I do not think that non-Latin American scholars should follow the example. We live and work in another environment, better suited for calm and relatively objective research. We certainly have our own biases and ethnocentric values to watch out for, but we ought to be able to keep some distance from the object of study. In a longer perspective, I think the Latin American themselves will be better served if research carried out by us, does not anticipate its own results in order to harmonize with already formulated political, social, and economic goals.

#### THE PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF RESEARCH

The Adams report rightly stresses the responsibility of the foreign scholar "to make sure that the findings of his investigations are available" to the local Latin American scholarly community. This seems to me a basic concern.

In the first place, we must realize that books and journals published in the United States and Europe are extremely expensive for Latin American scholars and libraries to acquire. Systematic efforts must be made to provide both research libraries and interested colleagues in Latin America with our publications on more favorable conditions.<sup>33</sup> But it is not enough to make them acquainted with the originals in English, French, or German because the foreign language will inevitably restrict their use. As rightly emphasized by the Adams report, we must see to it that our books and articles also appear in "the language of the host community."<sup>34</sup>

Quite often Latin American publishers take the initiative of preparing Spanish or Portuguese translations but there may be a long delay before they do so and the translations may be faulty. I think the preparation of an authorized translation or version of one's own study should be considered a moral obligation of the Latin Americanist whatever the form in which it will eventually be placed at the disposal of the Latin American "scholarly community."<sup>35</sup> Obviously, there are many cases where the specialized nature of the investigation would hardly justify the publication in two languages. In these cases, from a rationalistic point of view, it would be more

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meaningful if they appeared only in Spanish or Portuguese. The publication of a specialized article or book in Spanish or Portuguese would be no obstacle to any serious Latin Americanist. Others would not care to read it anyway. But it would greatly facilitate the study of the item in question in Latin America. Incidentally, this would also settle the existing problem of communication between Latin Americanists in the United States and Europe (as well as Japan and other countries where Latin Americanists are also active outside the region itself).<sup>36</sup> But such a change would, of course, require a considerable change in attitude on the part of the committees responsible for academic appointments and of our non-Latin Americanist colleagues in general. As it is, they often seem to take it for granted that a candidate's book or article published in foreign language is probably inferior to something published in his own tongue.

The whole problem of the presentation of the results of our research is complex. Spanish or Portuguese must be used to reach the local scholarly community. But it would be unfortunate if it implied that less refined but provocative and stimulating products of Latin American writers were kept out from Latin America's own journals and publishing houses. Also, the results of our work must not, for reasons of language, be excluded from the domestic recognition required for academic purposes. Only by means of organized efforts may hopefully some structural changes in the existing conditions be brought about.

Let me finally also touch another aspect related to the presentation of our results. We must try to define the concepts with more care and in a less parochial way than is often done. To take one single example, the word "liberal," used without previous definition, is likely to give different connotations to North American, Latin American, and European readers. Sloppiness in this respect is a common characteristic of otherwise serious books.

### NOTES

1. In footnote 1 of his article, "The Care and Grooming of Latin American Historians, or: Stop the Computers, I Want to Get Off," In: Stanley R. Ross, ed., *Latin America in Transition. Problems in Training and Research*, 27–40 (Albany, N.Y., 1970), Richard Morse gives a list of his many previous *pièces d'occasion* on Latin American Studies.
2. Morse, *op.cit.*, 33–34.
3. See the Appendix.
4. Günter Vollmer, *Bevölkerungspolitik und Bevölkerungsstruktur im Vizekönigreich Peru zu Ende der Kolonialzeit (1741–1821)*. (Bad Homburg, Berlin & Zurich, 1967).
5. To mention my own experience, a couple of years ago I received a minor grant from the only bigsize foundation in my country to prepare a Swedish-Peruvian project on the evolution of agrarian structures since the eighteenth century in the Cuzco region. After having prepared a project which was approved by the experts consulted, in December 1972 I was refused the funds needed to carry it out. The reason was obviously competition with Swedish-focussed projects.
6. CEISAL will hold a conference in London, 26–29 September 1973, at which it will hopefully be firmly organized.



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7. See the impressive state of research report, *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México. Memorias de la tercera reunión de historiadores mexicanos y norteamericanos, Oaxtepec, Morelos, 4-7 de noviembre de 1969*. (Austin, Texas, 1971).
8. This point is stressed by Daniel Cosío Villegas, "History and the Social Sciences in Latin America," in M. Diégues Júnior and Bryce Woods, eds., *Social Science in Latin America*, 120-137 (New York & London, 1967). When asked once why history is so boring, the Cuban historian José Luciano Franco gave an excellent reply: "La historia real, ese apasionante suceder diario, creador, jamás es aburrido: quienes somos definitivamente aburridos, somos los historiadores." Quoted by Manuel Moreno Fraginals in his stimulating essay, "La historia como arma," *Diez años de la Revista Casas de las Américas 1960-1970*, 61. (Havana, 1971).
9. Luis González, *Pueblo en vilo. Microhistoria de San José de Gracia* (México, 1968).
10. A good example is the group of young historians affiliated with the Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamericano (CSUCA) in San José de Costa Rica and working on the social and economic development of Central America between the 1820s and 1930.
11. For up-to-date surveys of Latin American libraries see *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, 7 vols. (New York, 1968).
12. See *La historia económica en América Latina*, 2 vols. (México, 1972), the proceedings of a meeting of Latin American economic historians in Lima, 1970. The Mexican Enrique Florescano is the dynamic leader of this group. See also Francisco Iglésias, "A pesquisa histórica no Brasil," *Revista de História*, 43: 373-415 (São Paulo, 1971), in which the need of a Brazilian data bank also for historical purposes is stressed.
13. "Studying Latin America: the Views of an 'Old Christian,'" *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 9: 43-64 (1967). Reproduced in part in Hanke, ed., *History of Latin American Civilization. Sources and Interpretations*, 2 vols. II, 510-515 (Boston, 1967).
14. "The Social History of Colonial Spanish America: Evolution and Potential," *LARR*, 7: 1: 6-45 (1972), especially pp. 7-8.
15. *The Historian's Craft*. Transl., 10-11. (New York, 1953).
16. As the Polish historian Witold Kula puts it, the past does not explain the present "sans plus, mas não se lhe pode fazer abstração se se quer atingir explicações completas. Seria importante não esquecer esta verdade básica." "Historia e economia: a longa duração," *Estudos Históricos*, Nr. 7, 187 (Marília, Brazil, 1968).
17. "Social Injustice: A Constant in Latin American History, 1492—," Hanke, *op. cit.*, 2: 516-523.
18. As José Honório Rodrigues says: ". . . we produce national history and consume world history;" Hanke, *op. cit.*, 2: 500. The peripheral role of Latin America in the nineteenth century world is well illustrated by the few and superficial references devoted to it by Marx in his enormous oeuvre. See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Materiales para la historia de América Latina* (Córdoba, Argentina, 1972).
19. "Brazilian Historiography: Present Trends and Research Requirements," in Diégues Júnior and Wood, *op. cit.*, 217-240. Quote from p. 225.
20. Richard N. Adams, ed. and introduction by: *Responsibilities of the Foreign Scholar to the Local Scholarly Community: Studies of U.S. Research in Guatemala, Chile and Paraguay*; by Calvin P. Blair, Richard P. Schaedel, and James H. Street (n.p.p.), 1969.
21. "After Camelot" in Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot. Stud-*

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- ies in the Relationship Between Social Science and Practical Politics*, 295–305, (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).
22. Richard P. Schaedel in Adams, *op.cit.*, 70.
  23. Adams, *op.cit.*, 8. According to NACLA's *Subliminal Warfare: The Role of Latin American Studies* (New York, 1970), 14, the Adams recommendations "were largely geared to soothing scholars in the host country." This seems to me an unfair characterization. Rather, radical scholars, too, would be well advised to follow them.
  24. *Historia contemporánea de América Latina* (Madrid, 1969; rev. ed.; 1970). The book has appeared in Italian and Swedish, but not yet, as far as I know, in English.
  25. Keith Griffin, *Underdevelopment in Spanish America* 48 (London, 1969).
  26. Stanley Stein and Shane Hunt, "Principal Currents in the Economic Historiography of Latin America." *The Journal of Economic History*, 31: 224–253 (New York, 1971). Quote from p. 250.
  27. Warren Dean, "Sources for the Study of Latin American Economic History: The Records of North American Private Enterprises," *Latin American Research Review*, 3: 1: 79–86 (1968).
  28. I have touched on this issue in my article, "Situación investigativa de las ciencias históricas y sociales en Cuba" in *Estudios y documentos suecos sobre Cuba*, 64–65 (Stockholm, 1971).
  29. Harald Rublom, *Svenska företag i Latinamerika. Etableringsmönster och förhandlingstaktik 1900–1940*. With a Summary in English (Uppsala, 1971).
  30. It is interesting to notice that the introduction to the *NACLA Research Methodology Guide* (New York, 1970) does not even mention Latin America. Only chapter 5 is devoted to the Third World.
  31. We should notice, however, Miles D. Wolpin's declaration in "Latin American Studies: For A Radical Approach," *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 5: 327 (1971). He underscores that the radical researcher must be ready "to elaborate data which may be inconsistent with our belief or affective orientations."
  32. "History can and should be an instrument of political change," declares José Honório Rodrigues in Diégues Júnior and Wood, *op.cit.*, 225. In his book *Vida e história*, 7–15 (Rio de Janeiro, 1966) Rodrigues introduces the concept of *História Combatente*.
  33. On the part of the United States an important message to this effect has already been taken. Since 1965 the Association of American University Presses in collaboration with the National University of Mexico has sponsored CILA—Centro Interamericano de Libros Académicos—to quicken the flow of scholarly books in both directions. More has to be done, however, especially by European countries. LASA also plans to sponsor the distribution in Latin America of United States doctoral dissertations about that area.
  34. Adams, *op.cit.*, 9.
  35. Following my own prescription I have prepared a Spanish version of the present article in the hope of publishing it in Latin America.
  36. For information about Latin Americanism in Asia and Africa see Martin H. Sable, *Latin American Studies in the Non-Western World and Eastern Europe* (Metuchen, N.J., 1970); on Africa also Luis Beltrán, *La cultura hispánica en África Negra* (Kisangani, Congo). On Japan, see "Latin American Studies in Japan" by Gustavo Andrade, *LARR*, 8: 1:

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(1973). The small Latin Americanist groups in Eastern Europe outside the Soviet Union have already adopted the systematic use of Spanish-Portuguese. See, e.g., the introduction to *Estudios Latinoamericanos* (Wrocław, 1972), published by the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

### APPENDIX

#### *Latin American Studies in Europe: Some Reference Tools and Addresses*

##### A. GENERAL

- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS Y DOCUMENTACION LATINOAMERICANOS (CEDLA), University of Amsterdam, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.  
Boletín informativo sobre estudios latinoamericanos en Europa. Irregular.  
Directorio de latinoamericanistas europeos. Published in collaboration with St. Antony's College, Univ. of Oxford, in 1969. On loose sheets which are gradually revised and replaced.
- CONSEJO EUROPEO DE INVESTIGACIONES EN CIENCIAS SOCIALES SOBRE AMERICA LATINA (CEISAL), 48 Bielefeld, Postfach 8640, West Germany.
- INSTITUTO LATINOAMERICANO DE RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES (ILARI) (an organization which ceased to exist in late 1972).  
Encuentro de Bruselas, 5, 6 y 7 de Mayo de 1969. Asunción del Paraguay, 1969. A collection of national reports on Latin American studies in Europe.
- MORALES PADRON, FRANCISCO (ed.).  
El americanismo en Europa. Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, Sevilla. Booklet. 1972.

##### B. FRANCE

- GEISMAR, P.  
Latin American Studies in France. LARR, 3: 4: 45–51 (1968).
- INSTITUT D'ETUDES HISPANIKES, HISPANOAMERICAINES ET LUSOBRESILIENNES, (IHALB), 4, rue Albert Lautman, Toulouse.  
Caravelle, Cahiers du Monde Hispanique et Lusobrésilien.
- INSTITUT D'ETUDES LATINO-AMERICAINES, Université de Strasbourg, 25, rue du Soleil, 67, Strasbourg.  
Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes latino-américaines de l'Université de Strasbourg (TILAS).
- INSTITUT DES HAUTES ETUDES DE L'AMERIQUE LATINE (IHEAL), 28, rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris VII.  
Cahiers des Amériques Latines.  
Catalogue des thèses et mémoires sur l'Amérique Latine soutenues en France de 1954 à 1969. Cahiers des Amériques Latines, 1969:4.  
Ozanam, D., Guide du chercheur dans les archives françaises. I. 1963. Covers the archives of the French Foreign Office.

##### C. GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- FORSCHUNGSGRUPPE LATEINAMERIKA, Sektion Geschichte, Karl-Marx-Universität, Peterssteinweg 8, 701 Leipzig.  
Series of off-prints on Latin American history.
- LATEINAMERIKAINSTTUT, Friedrich-Engels-Strasse 104–107, 25 Rostock.  
Lateinamerika. Semesterbericht der Sektion Lateinamerika-Wissenschaften der Universität Rostock. Issued twice a year.

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### D. GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

ABTEILUNG FÜR IBERISCHE UND LATEINAMERIKANISCHE GESCHICHTE, Historisches Seminar der Universität Köln, Albertus Magnus Platz, Köln-Lindenthal.

Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas.

ARBEITSGEMEINSCHAFT DEUTSCHE LATEINAMERIKA-FORSCHUNG (ADLAF), Dokumentations-Leitstelle, Institut für Iberoamerika-Kunde, Neuer Jungfernstieg 21, 2000 Hamburg 36.

1971 Stefer, E. (ed.), *Neuere Deutsche Lateinamerika-Forschung*, Institute und Bibliotheken in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und in Berlin (West). Informationsdienst der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutsche Lateinamerikaforschung. Quarterly.

IBERO-AMERIKANISCHES INSTITUT, Gärtnerstrasse 25–32, 1 Berlin 45.

The most important library in Europe on Latin America.

STEGER, H. A., et al.

1967 *Research on Latin America in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin*, LARR, 2: 3: 99–118 (1967).

### E. GREAT BRITAIN

BLAKEMORE, HAROLD

1970 *Latin American Studies in British Universities: Progress and Prospects*, LARR, 5: 3: 111–134 (1970).

CANNING HOUSE LIBRARY, 2 Belgrave Square, London SW 1.

*British Bulletin of Publications on Latin America, the West Indies, Spain and Portugal*. Monthly.

INSTITUTE OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, 31 Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9HA.

*Latin American Studies in the Universities of the United Kingdom*. Yearly booklet. Staff Research in Progress or Recently Completed. Yearly booklet.

*Theses in Latin American Studies at British Universities in Progress and Completed*. Yearly booklet.

JOURNAL OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. Cambridge University Press. 1969—.

### F. SPAIN

BECKMANN, JAN D.

1971 *Dokumentation der Spanischen Lateinamerika-Forschung*. Hamburg.

DIRECCION GENERAL DE ARCHIVOS Y BIBLIOTECAS, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Madrid.

*Guía de fuentes para la historia de Ibero-América conservadas en España*. 2 vols. 1966–69.

ESCUELA DE ESTUDIOS HISPANOAMERICANOS, Alfonso XII, 12, Sevilla. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*.

*Bibliografía americanista española, 1935–1963*. 1964.

*Historiografía y bibliografía americanista*. Quarterly.

MORALES PADRON, FRANCISCO

1967 *Historiadores españoles de América*. *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*. XXIII–XXIV.

INDICE HISTORICO ESPANOL. Editorial Teide, Barcelona.

### G. SCANDINAVIA

LATEINAMERIKA-INSTITUTET, Postfack, Odengaten 61, S-102 30 Stockholm 6, Sweden.

Benito, Miguel, *América Latina en la bibliografía sueca, 1959–1969*. 1971.

*Ibero-Americana. Research News and Principal Documentation on Latin-America in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden*. Issued twice a year.

*The Study of Latin American History and Society in Scandinavia*, 1973.

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RIKSARKIVET (NATIONAL ARCHIVES), Postfack, S-100 26 Stockholm, Sweden.

Guía de fuentes para la historia de Ibero-América: Escandinavia. 1968. On Sweden; very brief section on Denmark.

SCANDINAVIAN COMMITTEE FOR RESEARCH ON LATIN AMERICA (NOSALF), c/o Latinamerika-institutet, Postfack, S-102 30 Stockholm 6, Sweden.

### H. SOVIET UNION

AL'PEROVICH, M.S.

1970 Soviet Historiography of the Latin American Countries. LARR V:1.

INSTITUT LATINSKOI AMERIKI, B. Ordinka 21, Moscow V-35.

América Latina. Journal issued six times yearly since 1969.

OKINSHEVICH, L., (ed.)

1966 Latin America in Soviet Writings. A Bibliography. 2 vols. Baltimore. Covers the period 1917-1964.

OSWALD, J. G.

1970 Soviet Image of Contemporary Latin America. A Documentary History, 1960-68. Austin, Texas.

### I. OTHER COUNTRIES

ARCHIVES GENERALES DU ROYAUME, 78, Galerie Ravenstein, Brussels 1, Belgium.

Liagre, L. and Baerten, J., Guide des sources de l'histoire d'Amérique Latine conservées en Belgique. 1967.

ARCHIVO VATICANO, Vatican City.

Pásztor, Lajos, Guida delle fonti per la storia dell'America Latina negli archivi della Santa Sede e negli archivi ecclesiastici d'Italia. 1970.

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS IBERO-AMERICANOS, Universita Karlova, Krasnoarmejsku 1, Prague 1, Czechoslovakia.

Ibero-Americana Pragensia. Yearbook.

COMITATO PER GLI STUDI SULL'AMERICA LATINA, Università di Torino, Centro di Studi Scienza Politica, via Sant'Ottavio 20, 10124 Turin, Italy.

DEPARTAMENTO DE AMERICA LATINA, Instituto de Historia, Polska Akademia Nauk, Rynek Starego Miasta 29/31, Warsaw, Poland.

Estudios Latinoamericanos. 1972.

GAVRILOVIC, STOYAN

1962 Hispanic American Historic Research Opportunities in Yugoslav Archives. The Hispanic American Historical Review, 42.

GENERAL STATE ARCHIVES, 7 Bleijenburg, The Hague, The Netherlands. Roessingh, M.P.H., Guide to the Sources in the Netherlands for the History of Latin America. 1968.

INSTITUTO DE ESTUDIOS HISPANICOS, PORTUGUESES E IBEROAMERICANOS, Drift 29-31, Utrecht, The Netherlands.

INSTITUTO DE HISTORIA MEDIEVAL Y DE AMERICA LATINA, Faculty of Humanities, University of Szeged, Tánácsics M.u. 2, Szeged, Hungary.

Studia Latinoamericana. Sub-series of Acta Historica Universitatis Szegediensis.

PESCATELLO, Ann

1970 Relatório from Portugal: The Archives and Libraries of Portugal and their Significance for the Study of Brazilian History. LARR, 5: 2: 15-52 (1970).

SABLE, MARTIN H.

1970 Latin American Studies in the Non-Western World and Eastern Europe. Metuchen, N.J. Excludes the Soviet Union; includes, for some strange reason, Finland and Iceland but not the other Nordic countries.