

# NEW AND OLD TRANSNATIONALISM: INTER-STATE ALLIANCES AND TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS IN LATIN AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

Siguiendo una perspectiva histórico-comparativa, este artículo analiza la matriz de ciertas alianzas interestatales y de redes transnacionales en América Latina. Sostiene que, si bien la conciencia de pertenecer a una región más amplia que la estructura ‘Westfaliana’ de estados-nación persistió en la región, el fin de la Guerra Fría y su bipolaridad condujo a una disociación radical de un único modelo de modernidad occidental y generó una mayor autonomía en los marcos regionales y las redes transnacionales. Si bien la estructura de los estados y de nuestras carreras profesionales a menudo obligan a especializarse en un país o un par de países, no es menos importante rastrear las corrientes transnacionales cuyo impacto en las Américas sigue siendo tan fuerte hoy en día como en los días de la temprana independencia. Los estudios de redes de exiliados y migrantes, las diásporas y las comunidades indígenas y afro-americanas, así como las redes ilícitas e ilegales, también conducen a reafirmar la pertinencia de conservar y proyectar con nuevo impulso una perspectiva transnacional y continental en los estudios de América Latina.

*Palabras clave:* transnacionalismo, alianzas regionales, redes transnacionales, estados-nación, política transnacional

- 1 This paper was originally presented at the XVII World Conference of Jewish Studies, held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem on 28 July-1 August 2013. Its ideas have been further discussed at the meeting devoted to “Transnational Practices of Jews in Europe and the Americas: A Comparative Perspective,” at the Liwerant Center in Jerusalem on 12 June 2014. Thanks are also due to the participants in those meetings and to Daniel Wajner for their comments on an earlier version.

In early July 2013 President Evo Morales' flight over Europe was intercepted on erroneous suspicion of removing Edward Snowden from Moscow International Airport. This led to a vociferous expression of protest by the members of MERCOSUR. Meeting at the XV Summit in Montevideo, the presidents of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Venezuela strongly condemned the use by the USA of digital espionage and surveillance of communications in 13 Latin American countries.<sup>2</sup> They also recalled their ambassadors from four European countries (Spain, Portugal, Italy and France) to inform them that they supported Bolivia's appeal to the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights for those countries' violation of the Bolivian president's fundamental rights when its plane was detained for inspection while flying back from Russia.<sup>3</sup>

The MERCOSUR is just one of several alliances that have emerged in Latin America mostly over the past two generations. Often mutually conflicting, these alliances aim to create interstate coordination designed to give greater weight to regional interests in world affairs. Among such alliances stands out ALBA, the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (*Alternativa Bolivariana para las Américas*), created in 2004 by the late Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez, to promote the spirit of regional solidarity identified with the name of the Liberator Simón Bolívar. With Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Nicaragua and several island states in the Caribbean as members in addition to Venezuela, ALBA has spearheaded the opposition to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), the Washington Consensus and neoliberalism.

Bolivarianismo emerged already in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as the idiom in which the ideal of pan-Hispanic Americanism was coined. As such, it implied the spirit of non-intervention, of mutual respect of territorial sovereignty

2 Glenn Greenwald, Roberto Kaz e José Casado, "Espionagem dos EUA se espalhou pela América Latina." *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 July 2013 <http://oglobo.globo.com/mundo/espionagem-dos-eua-se-espalhou-pela-america-latina-8966619> (accessed 13 July 2013).

3 Francisco Peregil, "Sudamérica se planta ante el espionaje de Estados Unidos," *El país* (Madrid), 12 July 2013, [http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2013/07/12/actualidad/1373651762\\_340294.html](http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2013/07/12/actualidad/1373651762_340294.html) (accessed 13 July 2013).

irrespective of the size of the countries and of peaceful means of overcoming disagreements, bolstered by the lack of recognition of territorial gains in wars. While such a vision receded in the age of apotheosis of the nation-state, it never lost appeal among contesting counter-elites and social movements; and it remained key for the renewal of social and political movements spanning from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Unionists in Central America and César Augusto Sandino and others in the Red Circum-Caribbean area in the 1930s<sup>4</sup> to the trans-state coalition established by Chávez in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The position of the MERCOSUR presidents is a combination of a trans-state commitment along with a vindication of national pride and defense. Such a combination is replicated in the public opinion in their countries.<sup>5</sup> What is striking is that it was not correlated with support for the late President Chávez. Indeed, according to a report by Latinobarómetro, the support of the Latin American populations for Chávez was low at the start of the 2010s and the ratings had fallen between 2005 and 2011, with the exception of Nicaragua.<sup>6</sup> In my opinion, such a paradoxical combination of trends indicates that the support of cross-national solidarity in Latin America is more than an ephemeral support for a specific leader or a flaunting display just of leaders willing to support a fellow president.

Rather, we may infer that the background of such inter-state alliances is *a transnational sense of belonging to a region that is broader than (and at least as meaningful as) the “Westphalian” structure of states* dotting this part of the Americas since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hereafter, I would like to approach in a preliminary way such a matrix of inter-state alliances and transnational networks while following a historical-comparative perspective.

4 Barry Carr, “‘Across Seas and Borders’: Charting the Webs of Radical Internationalism in the Circum-Caribbean,” in Luis Roniger, James N. Green and Pablo Yankelevich, eds., *Exile and the Politics of Exclusion in the Americas*. Brighton 2012, pp. 217-240.

5 See [http://www.latinobarometro.org/docs/INFORME\\_LB2011.pdf](http://www.latinobarometro.org/docs/INFORME_LB2011.pdf)

6 “La Imagen de Hugo Chávez”: Lanzamiento de Informe flash de Latinobarómetro, 7.3.2013, in [http://www.latinobarometro.org/documentos/LATBD\\_LA\\_IMAGEN\\_DE\\_HUGO\\_CHAVEZ.pdf](http://www.latinobarometro.org/documentos/LATBD_LA_IMAGEN_DE_HUGO_CHAVEZ.pdf)

## Transnationalism and Globalization

Let us begin by asking whether the new forms of transnationalism are the result of changes in globalization. In my view, transnationalism can be distinguished analytically from globalization, although in practice these phenomena impinge on one another. Globalization may be defined *sensu stricto* as the reorganization of production across state borders and the removal of barriers to free trade, finance and investment, with the resultant greater integration of national economies and supposed convergence of consumer patterns. Correlated phenomena are not confined to the economic realm – such as the growth of communication, a world-wide awareness of individuals, and the mass movements of labor migrants across national borders.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, much attention has been drawn to the economic foundations of these processes and the forces that tend to create isomorphism and presumably convergence among societies.<sup>8</sup> In turn, transnationalism is often defined as covering the human activities, networks and social and political movements that extend across national boundaries.<sup>9</sup>

While we should not overstate the conceptual bifurcation, it is important to recognize that the concept of transnationalism puts into motion aspects of social life not necessarily covered by globalization. Globalization and transnationalism mutually impact one another, yet it makes sense to differentiate them, with the latter identifying a far broader range of phenomena, beyond economics, and stressing the development

7 See e.g. Göran Therborn, “Globalizations: Dimensions, Historical Waves, Regional Effects, Normative Governance.” *International Sociology* 15, 2 (2000): 151-179.

8 Folker Fröbel, Jürgen Heinrichs and Otto Kreye, “The New International Division of Labor in the World Economy”, pp. 257-273. In J. Timmons Roberts and Amy Hite, eds. *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*, Oxford, 2000; Robert McCorquodale and Richard Fairbrother, “Globalization and Human Rights”, *Human Rights Quarterly* 21,3 (1999): 735-766; Benjamin Powell and Matt Zwolinski, “The Ethical and Economic Case against Sweatshop Labor: A Critical Assessment.” *Journal of Business Ethics*, published online October 2011:

9 Eva Østergaard-Nielsen, “The Politics of Migrants’ Transnational Political Practices.” *International Migration Review* 37, 3 (2003): 760-786.

of transnational communities; of political, economic and cultural networks and movements; and of virtual expression of ideas driven but not completely subsumed by the logic of capitalism.

The concept of transnationalism addresses the interconnectivity that is often triggered by, and in turn conditions processes, practices and networks extending beyond nation-state borders. Such interconnectivity can be triggered by institutions – although it also unfolds beyond institutional lines, in relationships that may challenge existing institutions. Often, it becomes visible in interpersonal practices, cross-border networks and unstructured migration flows, but may be traced as well in visions, ideas, cultural bonds and historical memories expressing identities, socio-political visions and spatial orientations beyond those existing nation-states.

Beyond their distinctive emphases, both globalization and transnationalism stress the decline of state power and regulation. In recent decades, a growing number of individuals have come to believe that national governments cannot solve their problems and that processes – and forces such as multinational corporations commanding far greater resources than many states – and standing beyond the power of states have a profound impact on their lives. Likewise, states have been increasingly perceived as unable to control the growing influx of refugees, guest workers, migrants and undocumented aliens. This, in turn, has increased the disappointment and distrust of sectors of their populations towards multiculturalism, seen as leading to anomy, fragmentation and disintegration of national identities and values. This has renewed concerns about the lines of inclusion and exclusion developing within society, with correlated dilemmas of access to citizenship and recognition of universal human rights.<sup>10</sup>

10 The backlash against multiculturalism has been particularly salient in some Western European countries, leading to tensions regarding membership and citizenship, and a growing concern with the integrative models presumed to support universal human rights. See Linda Boisniak, *The Citizen and the Alien. Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership*. Princeton 2006; Steven Vertovec and Susan Wessendorf (eds.), *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices*. New York 2010.

## Regional Perspectives and Global Shifts

Latin America has experienced profound shifts in tandem with global changes. Related to the spread of global capitalism and in particular to the neoliberal policies implemented by states under the conditionalities of international financing institutions, we find “counter-hegemonic” movements that spread in a process that Peter Evans has defined as “globalization from below,” affecting political membership and citizenship worldwide.<sup>11</sup> Their transnational spread can be seen as a response to the impact of those neoliberal policies of economic restructuring and privatization of the 1990s, which favored corporate capital and followed the policy prescriptions emanating from the Washington consensus.<sup>12</sup>

It is important to stress that in peripheral and semi-peripheral sectors the process has led to a combination of *consumerism and a politics of despair*, leading to reliance on another global phenomenon: the reliance of major sectors of the population on *informal markets* and particularly the *rise of the illicit*, which Moisés Naim among others registered in detail in a book published a decade ago<sup>13</sup> and which ethnographers have documented more recently for its deep impact on the daily practices and the generalization of everyday violence among the urban poor.<sup>14</sup>

Accordingly, the first point to keep in mind is that when studying transnationalism we should examine processes, networks and units that spill over national borders and *that are both larger and smaller than the nation-state*. That is, on the one hand, inter-alliances and transnational networks that proliferate are broader and expansive across national borders, while at

11 Peter Evans, “Fighting Marginalization with Transnational Networks: Counter-Hegemonic Globalization.” *Contemporary Sociology* 29, 1 (2000): 230-241.

12 Donatella DellaPorta and Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham 2005.

13 Moisés Naím, *Illicito*, Barcelona 2006.

14 Javier Auyero, Agustín Burbano de Lara and María Fernanda Berti, “The Uses and Forms of Violence among the Urban Poor”, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 46 (2014): 443-469.

the same time their traces are revealed in practices at the intra-national and local levels.<sup>15</sup>

A major contextual factor affecting the region is the disappearance of the bipolarity of the Cold War, which has led to the growing autonomy of regional and trans-state frameworks in Latin America and other regions of the world. Indeed, in the last decades the world has witnessed the disintegration, or rather recomposition, of the international order and the rise of new claims for prominence both at the global and the regional levels by China, Russia, India, Iran and Brazil.

In the Americas, this shift was evident in the retreat of the USA from playing a hegemonic role in the area. In part this was the side effect of the disenchantment of the Latin American countries following the disastrous impact of the neoliberal policies implemented in the 1990s as part of the conditionalities that institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank imposed on borrowing countries negotiating their debts. From the perspective of the South, the fact that these policies had been devised by institutions where the USA carried primary weight, put the blame on that country, seen as concerned uniquely by its domestic interests.

The attitude of the creditors in the Argentina crisis of the early 2000s, the default of that country, and overall its remarkable recovery without the aid of the external institutions led countries in South America to contemplate alternative economic policies and envision the creation in 2009 of a finance institution such as the Bank of the South.<sup>16</sup> The search for alternative commitments and alliances also resulted from the continuing inward outlook of the United States, which determined that even under President Barack Obama – and despite expectations at the start of his first presidency – there was a growing disenchantment in the South. Calling it a blunder on the part

15 Micol Seigel, “Beyond Compare: Comparative Method and the Transnational Turn”, *Radical History Review* 91 (2005): 62-90

16 Mark Weisbrot, “Venezuela in the Chávez Years: Its Economy and Influence in the Region.” In Thomas Ponniah and Jonathan Eastwood (eds.), *The Revolution in Venezuela. Social and Political Change under Chávez*, Cambridge 2011, pp. 193-223.

of the US administration and writing in 2012, Andrés Calas and Michael Economides described the process as follows:

Relations south of the border are still circumscribed to drugs, immigration, and expanding FTAs. Policy debates are more about how to respond to a gang of bad-mouthing populist presidents, instead of how to reverse growing disenchantment in countries like Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Chile and Colombia. Latin America has matured into a critical long-term interest strategically, economically, and even militarily, while America remains limited by self-defeating, outdated priorities.<sup>17</sup>

From the perspective of the South, at least until the announcement of renewal of diplomatic relationships with Cuba, the USA remained trapped in a Cold-War mentality that did not perceive the impact of the new multipolarity on the region and that pushed Latin America to move confidently in the direction of inter-state alliances without the colossus to the North. Ultimately, this was reflected in the emergence of UNASUR, the Union of South American Nations, conceived in 2004, established in 2008 and functioning since March 2011, with the exclusion of the USA and Canada. Superseding the Organization of American States (OEA) that includes all countries in the Americas, UNASUR thus reflects patently the waning influence of the old hegemon and moves on the road to greater integration by easing the movement of nationals across borders, building energy connections and even devising the possibility of joint security and defense.

### **The Decoupling of Modernity and Westernization**

The loss of hegemony in the Western hemisphere is part of a broader dynamics; namely, that of anti-hegemonic tendencies, many of which attempt what Shmuel N. Eisenstadt characterized as a radical decoupling of modernity and Westernization, rooted in challenges to the supposed monopoly of the West over modernity.<sup>18</sup>

17 Andrés Calas and Michael Economides, *America's Blind Spot. Chávez, Oil, and US Security*. London 2012, p. 152.

18 Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, "New Transnational Communities and Networks: Globalizing



In Latin America, this dynamic of decoupling took a singular turn, as there is a further layer. Indeed, such decoupling between modernity and Westernization is accompanied by claims of universality on the part of Latin American states and societies in defiance of the USA. This is clearly seen in international bodies created in the region: beyond ALBA, in 2010 American countries created the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), which may rival the OAS; and an alliance like the UNASUR (2011) brought together the Comunidad Andina or CAN (Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, 1969) and MERCOSUR (1991-94). If and when these alliances become more dynamic, they may enjoy greater legitimacy in tackling practical issues and problems.

A third dynamic, less felt in the Americas than in the Middle East, is that of transnational actors claiming legitimacy based on civilizational and religious principles, such as Iran and radical movements among the Sunnis. Whereas in the 1950-60s pan-Arabism expressed a tension between the principles of nation and statehood, leading to redrafting of borders, the pan-Islamic transnational visions of recent years threaten to fully replace the structure of states created a century ago by the Sykes-Picot agreements between the UK and France for “Asia Minor” in May 1916.

Paradigmatic of this development is the role that exiles have played in the rise of Al-Qaeda. In 2011, Adam Hoffman completed a master thesis at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in which he shows that the key figures in the move from a discourse of pan-Islamic solidarity towards the military activism of Al-Qaeda were exiles: the Sheikh Abadalla Azam; Osama Bin-Laden and Dr. Haiman Al-Zuahiri. Hoffman shows how their experience abroad and their initiative to attract Arab volunteers in Pakistan to fight against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan starting in 1979 planted the seeds of Al-Qaeda in the 1990s.<sup>19</sup> The importance of such networks and movements of exiles and émigrés has been particularly salient in areas that

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Changes in Civilizational Frameworks.” In Eliezer Ben Rafael and Y. Sternberg, *Transnationalism*, Leiden and Boston 2009, pp. 29-46

19 Adam Hoffman, “Global Jihad, Transnational Islam and Political Exclusion: The Impact of Political Exile on the Rise of Al Qaeda.” The Hebrew University, Department of Political Science, MA thesis, 2011.

have been at the crossroads of societies and regions. A contemporary hot spot of such transnational Islamic radicalism at a cross-border region is close to Israel, in Syria where the rift between the Sunnis and the Shi'ites has intensified during the civil war, with Western countries increasingly apprehensive of the future when these transnational networks may disintegrate and bring some of the radicalized militants back to their home countries where they would turn into a threat to their national security. The phenomenon of exiles as carriers of new ideas and practices, and as bridges of transnational solidarity is not new and can be traced far back in history. Something to be remarked in this connection is that the flow of activists – such as those who would become leaders of Al-Qaeda – bore results particularly if it energizes and recreates older identities and commitments, as those found in ethno-national diasporas and religious communities.

While nonexistent in this format in the Americas, the sense of transnational solidarity complementing nation-state identities and not aiming at destroying statehood, unlike some contemporary developments in the Middle East, has been also present in Latin America in old and new forms. Throughout the two centuries of political independence in the Americas, a recurrent sense of transnational solidarity has been sustained among others by exiles who moved across borders and recreated visions and political projects broader than those of the nation-states. The analytical point is that *transnational networks may lead to the remapping of commitments and reshaping of identities* – i.e., they should be considered not just a dependent factor but also as an independent variable in global and international affairs. The *constitutive impact* of exiles on the definition of transnational programs and alliances merits special attention, and I shall return below to address it in greater detail for Latin America.

These shifts are connected also to the broader range of actors and movements attempting to prevail in the global arena. The last generation or two have witnessed the consolidation of international players pushing world-wide principles and frameworks. Adding to post-WWII actors, such as the UN, the EU, the World Bank or the IMF, are the International Criminal Court and international NGOs shaping a network of checks-and-balances and some of which challenge the claims of those promoting

globalization in ways that favor financial capitalism and consumerism over environmentalism and human rights; or secularism over religiosity. As we all know, also fundamental civilizational disagreements have loomed large in recent decades and fuelled violent confrontations, further destabilizing the old global order.

### Crossing Borders and Transnationalism

These developments have been combined with continued mass movements of individuals crossing borders, many of them escaping situations of conflict or socioeconomic downturns. Such movements of people – estimated to have been 150 million for 2000 and 214 million for recent years<sup>20</sup> – have reinvigorated research on mass migration, exile and expatriate communities, as well as on diasporas. We witness also the growth in the multiple directions of flow of highly qualified individuals: professionals, scientists and experts in technology – in the last decade there have been more than half a million of such professionals from Latin America living in the USA.

The Jewish Diaspora is no exception and in recent years processes of destabilization led to multiple displacements, the emergence of new poles of attraction such as Panama or Costa Rica, and the phenomenon of multi-localism, that is of sojourners alternating their residence and networks between two or more places; for example, Venezuelans moving back and forth between the country of origin and Florida, or Mexican Jews alternating between Mexico and San Diego.<sup>21</sup>

20 <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/facts--figures-1.html>

21 Judit Liwerant, “Being National, Being Transnational: Snapshots of Belonging and Citizenship.” In Mario Sznajder, Luis Roniger and Carlos Forment (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers of Citizenship: The Latin American Experience*, Leiden and Boston 2013, pp. 343-365; and the work of Margalit Bejarano on the Sephardic Jewish communities. For an illustration see also Larry Luxner, “Miami’s newest Hispanic Jews have little to do with comfortably established ‘Jubans’”. *J-weekly.com*, 14 May 2004, <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/22654/miami-s-newest-hispanic-jews-have-little-to-do-with-comfortably-established/> (accessed 7 August 2015).

Exile, mass migration and diasporas have become intertwined, but are these processes entirely new? Are Latin American Jews exceptional in their wandering? In Latin America, such movements of people were for 200 years both the result of conscious, yet selective policies of attraction of immigrants and forcibly incorporated slave populations (e.g., of Europeans and slaves since colonial times or again during the alluvial era of 1875-1925); a persistent tradition of territorial displacement of indigenous populations; and last but not least a parallel tradition of forced exile or *destierro* of internal dissidents and oppositions.<sup>22</sup>

Territorial displacement or circulation has had a strong transformative power in both locations of origin and sites of relocation, triggering transnational networks and political projects. Unsurprisingly, among the many forms of such transnational impact, exile merits particular attention. Since independence exile – both as expulsion and as expatriation – has been widely used and abused as a major mechanism of exclusion by all Latin American countries. Resulting from persecution but stopping short of annihilation of the opposition, exile speaks of a pattern of politics built upon exclusion and set between a winner-takes-all competition and the perils of a zero-sum political game broadened into civil wars. While rooted in colonial practices, its recurrent use after independence has contributed to reinforcing the exclusionary rules of political systems.

In the twentieth century, a major transformation occurred in the structure of exile, when it changed from a selective mechanism mostly involving elites to a mass phenomenon, correlated with the democratization of politics and the opening of public spheres to sectarian political participation. In this later stage, the international and transnational arenas also became increasingly prominent in the exile equation. The recurrent use of exile reflects ongoing challenges to the structure of power in limited democracies.<sup>23</sup>

States have expelled their own citizens and residents, while they also provided sites of asylum for persecuted individuals of other lands. Examples

22 Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger, *The Politics of Exile*, New York 2009; idem, *La política del destierro y el exilio en América Latina*, México 2013.

23 Luis Roniger, “Exilio massivo, inclusão e exclusão política no século XX.” *DADOS – Revista de Ciências Sociais* (Brazil) 53, 1 (2010): 35-65

abound, e.g., the policies of presidents Germán Busch and Enrique Peñaranda in Bolivia, and of Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic toward Jews.<sup>24</sup> Revolutionary Cuba is yet another example of such concomitant dynamics of influx and exclusion. This Janus-face of states, which adopt selective and often disparate policies of displacement and asylum, constitutes a challenging domain of research into the relationships of state politics and civil society.<sup>25</sup> The contradictory nature of the policies of asylum and exclusion has prompted analyses both at the level of institutional strategies and in terms of the challenges that massive migration poses to the reshaping of collective identities and competitiveness over access to resources.

Traditionally, history and the social sciences approached exile and migration as a dependent variable, important though confined within nation-states' narratives. New approaches allow us to understand their impact not only at the level of the personal experience of those individuals affected but as a macro-sociological and political phenomenon, with an impact on the societies at large. For once, being abroad, individuals are exposed to new environments, new practices and ideas. They are forced to re-evaluate their visions and institutional projects and impact the countries of residence accordingly. Those who return do so to home societies that have changed as much as they have, yet not necessarily in the same direction. A challenging area of research thus opens up, which allows us to see the transnational impact of exile and migration in the construction and reconstruction of boundaries, of identities and political projects.<sup>26</sup>

The details of this transnational impact are beyond this analysis. But let us mention just a few examples starting with the Jesuits, who were expelled by the Iberian monarchs from the Americas and once in Europe, primarily in Spain and the Italian territories, wrote the first works that, once independent, Latin American countries would claim as kernels of their nationality (e.g., Rafael Landívar). Likewise, the very concept and image

24 Allen Wells, *Tropical Zion: Trujillo, FDR and the Jews of Sosúa*, Durham 2009.

25 Luis Roniger, "Exilio político y democracia." *América Latina Hoy* (Salamanca) 55 (2010): 143-172.

26 Luis Roniger, *Destierro y exilio en América Latina. Nuevos estudios y aproximaciones teóricas*, Buenos Aires 2014.

of Latin America was coined from afar by exiles such as José María Torres Caicedo, who relocated to the France of Napoleon III, had to represent the countries left beyond vis-à-vis the host society. Finally, also worth noting is that in almost every Latin American case there is a story of expatriation and exile connected to the construction of nationhood – to mention but a few cases we have: the Carrera brothers and O’Higgins in Chile; the case of San Martín in what would become Argentina; the case of Simón Bolívar and Francisco de Paula Santander in Great Colombia; of José de la Mar, Agustín Gamarra and many others in the Andes; and last but not least, a collective story of expatriation as the basis of Uruguayan nationality, when Orientals followed Artigas into the Argentine provinces after he was defeated – this is the so-called “redota,” a misspelling for the Spanish term “derrota.”

Late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century figures fighting for decolonization expanded the frontiers of loyalty through exile: the figures of José Martí of Cuba and Ramón Emeterio Betances of Puerto Rico, or the Unionists come to mind. Also, the networks of internationalists moving across borders in their fight for justice and post-colonial emancipation in which they recognized national and anti-imperialist feelings with Latin American societies at large, beyond the confinement of state borders. In a very interesting turn, through territorial displacement, national patriots rediscovered the Latin American dimension of their struggle.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, nationals who grew for generations to believe in national identities and the nation-state rediscovered abroad that they had much in common with the exiles of fellow-Latin American countries, in spite of differences. They also started looking critically at the basic premises of their past. Some of the most innovative ideas shaped in South and Central America were conceived as individuals crossed borders, as expatriates, migrants and exiles. In parallel, exiles prompted an intensive reconsideration of the tropes of roots and identities, which some gifted writers and essayists explored masterfully through ancestral memories and the biographical genre. Both Argentinian Alicia Dujovne Ortiz (born 1940) and Chilean Ana Vásquez-Bronfman (1931-2009) relocated to Paris at the time of their countries’ repressive conditions. The author of many biographies, novels and chronicles, Dujovne Ortiz lived for many years

in France.<sup>27</sup> Trained as a psychologist, Vázquez-Bronfman wrote essays, some of them pivotal to study Latin American exiles, as well as works of fiction during her years in Paris.<sup>28</sup> Being open about their Jewish roots, both experienced their own exile in tandem while reconnecting to experiences of exile and migration, displacement and marginalization that their Jewish parents and ancestors experienced before them.<sup>29</sup>

Both writers epitomize the deep historical resonance of experiences that replicate or allude to past and until recently forgotten translocations, encounters and commitments affecting their descendants. In an interview with Leonardo Senkman, Dujovne Ortiz recounted how her exile prompted engaging with the unfinished memoirs of her father and producing *El camarada Carlos. Itinerario de un enviado secreto* (2007). She detailed how being displaced led to this interface, finding also sense in her own mixed heritage and background:

It is only in exile that I could write also about the relationship between my Jewish and my non-Jewish family, the Ortiz... I have suffered enough my condition of centaur or siren, being half Jewish. Being a Jew born in Buenos Aires (that is in itself a place of exiles) is what enables me to understand the Jewish heritage and even understand my mother's anti-

27 The analysis of both writers draws from a book manuscript on policies and experiences of exile, migration and return in the Southern Cone, co-written with Leonardo Senkman, Saul Sosnowski and Mario Sznajder and currently under review for its possible publication. Among Dujovne Ortiz's novels are included *El buzón de la esquina*, *El agujero en la tierra*, *El árbol de la gitana*, *Mireya*, *Anita cubierta de arena*, *Las perlas rojas*, *La muñeca rusa*, *Un corazón tan recio* y *La Madama*. She is also the author of the chronicles, *Al que se va* y *Quién mató a Diego Duarte*, *Crónicas de la basura*. Dujovne Ortiz has received important international recognitions and has been translated into twenty languages.

28 Vázquez-Bronfman published the novels *Abel Rodríguez y sus hermanos* (1981), *Sebasto's Angels* (1985), *Mi amiga Chantal* (1991), *Los mundos de Circe* (2000) and *Las jaulas invisibles* (2002), the last in Santiago de Chile.

29 Dujovne Ortiz's father was Jewish and her mother Catholic. Vázquez-Bronfman married a non-Jewish Communist activist. Another case of mixed background was that of Pedro Orgambide (*nee* Gdanski-Orgambide, 1929-2003), who also experienced exile in Mexico and explored his roots. See <http://edant.clarin.com/diario/2003/01/20/s-505293.htm> (accessed 22 July 2015).

Semitism ... Arriving in Paris, amid exile, with my folder, I said: I'm sad enough to assume that I'm an adult now; I'll wrap myself up with memories. Sadness gave me a certificate of maturity and the need to find myself. What I found are fragments, an ancestor in one family, and another in the other family. I am the connection and the fragmentation. That's the problem with this novel. It must be read as an open novel.<sup>30</sup>

In another interview in 2012, Dujovne Ortiz recalled living as sojourner between France and Argentina, an experience that allowed her to generate a wide range of heterogeneous characters that share common features with her; namely, "the split identity, the lack of sense of belonging, the marginalization [...] I live in two countries, two languages, two cultures, two ethnic universes."<sup>31</sup>

Likewise, Ana Vásquez-Bronfman acknowledged the personal sense of estrangement and alterity sharing many experiences with other exiles, while also reconnecting to her Jewish background in terms of an in-built remembrance of forced displacement. Paradoxically, this enabled her to avoid contemplating exile in tragic terms and to retain, instead, a sense of control over her life. "Being in control" was also reflected by working as a psychologist with Latin American exiles and writing about it, helping other exiles to understand the phases they undergo and cope with their own feelings in a way that would enable them to move on.<sup>32</sup> And yet, the sense of individuality implied recognizing and defying the many sources of authoritarianism in the midst of the communities of exiles:

30 Fragment of the interview conducted in Jerusalem (January 1988) and published in *Noaj* (Jerusalem) 2 (1988): 87-93. The work based on the biography of her father, *El camarada Carlos. Itinerario de un enviado secreto*, was published in Buenos Aires by Aguilar in 2007.

31 "Teresa, la poeta santificada del éxtasis, reportaje de Horacio Bilbao a Alicia Dujovne Ortiz, *Revista Eñe* (Buenos Aires) 8.6.2012, on the occasion of the publication of her book, *Un corazón tan recio* (Buenos Aires 2012), a fictitious autobiography of Santa Teresa de Avila.

32 Her most renowned essay is *Exils latino-américains: la malédiction d'Ulysse*, published in Paris (1988). It is a pivotal work for understanding and following the psychological challenges of exile.



Being just one more in a wave of exiles, now I assume myself in first person, as everybody lives the collective exile in her own way, with her own history. Sharing the tragedy in this long wandering that we narrate insatiably, the labyrinths of my own past have emerged under other lights. If I did not live the rupture as a drama, it was because I became aware of other exiles already existing inside me, even before I was born.

I have been shaped as a woman in a society where women must win each parcel of autonomy by fighting masked forms of devaluation. Many of us have traveled that exile, but we have lived it in isolation from each other, lost in our poorly phrased questions.

This is a female's exile that connects with another, much older. My lineage is that of the rejected, the persecuted, of those forced to escape. Merging in my person are the humble *Bobbes* and the bearded *Zeides* of husky voice that crossed the ocean so that at least we could live without fear. I am the heir to the downtrodden, the survivors of pogroms, those who expected that the word 'Jew' would cease being a stigma in the Americas. One exile is inserted into another, one disappointment demolishes the other. Underhanded, insidious, the insult 'Jewish' emerges from the lips of a friend, an exile like me, and I realize that the border not only divides the waters on the left and right, but also goes through other ravines, separates other values. I discovered that the way of my exile does not completely converge with the exile of others. 'Our' is not always 'mine.'<sup>33</sup>

Many of these exiles and migrants did not return, in spite of early expectations. For many, displacement from the home country had taken longer than expected, and they had moved to a different civil and professional status, children were born and grew abroad and a return would mean leaving them behind. Unsurprisingly, diasporas emerged, some of them very early, as the diaspora of Cubans in Florida and other southern States of the USA, reinforced later by the escapees from Castro's Cuba. Others, such as the Central Americans in Mexico, formed mainly as a result of

33 Ana Vásquez-Bronfman: "Los otros exilios que ya estaban en mí." Fragment of the text *De rupturas y distancias* presented at the IV Simposio Intenacional de Literatura e Identidad Latinoamericana, 1997, published in *Noaj* 2 (1988): 56-62, cited on pp. 60-61.

the Cold War. Also, new diasporas emerged under the political imbalances and developmental gaps of the last few generations. Let us think of the Ecuadorians and Southern Cone immigrants in Spain, of the Paraguayans and Bolivians in Argentina, of Colombians and Venezuelans in the USA, among many other cases.

Diasporas are not new in world history. Perhaps for centuries the idea was identified with the Jewish Diaspora, one of the most long-standing cases which for two millennia was synonymous of a wandering people. But it was equally present for centuries in the cases of the Chinese, the Indians and many other diasporas as well. Today the spectrum of diasporas is so immense to the point that even the concept has broadened to include diasporas that do not recognize a home country but build their identity on a sense of belonging, such as the case of the Roma or Gypsies that have increasingly thought of themselves in terms of a transnational diaspora. Research could trace not simply the definitional aspects of analytical categories, but mainly the various consequences of such developments taking the form of a new cycle of transnational dispersion of nationals and residents.

### **The Changing Structure of Citizenship**

All this of course has affected the structure of citizenship in Latin America. Again, traditionally citizenship was conceived as the entitlements and duties of political membership in states, the correlate of what Evelina Dagnino has called the approach of “citizenship from above,” as a bundle of entitlements granted by the state. Correlated with it there was a clear-cut expectation of convergence between the political and the cultural attributes of membership. This is still the case throughout the world, including in the Americas. National histories still dominate and often obscure recognizing the plurality of collective forms of identification, some of them projected through transnational networks to ethnicities, religions or languages unlike those of the countries of reception. Traditionally, this implied an expectation of assimilation for immigrants settling in the countries of

the Americas. Subsequently, the approach of “*crisol de diásporas*” was replaced by a more nuanced approach of hyphenated identities; and yet the expectation of convergence of territory, nationality and citizenship was paramount, and while it recognized the equality of individual citizens before the law, it retained a sense of uneasiness and suspicion towards those whose loyalty was dual, that is who recognized the existence of parallel anchors of collective identity beyond the nation-state, as was often the case with diaspora communities.<sup>34</sup>

In recent years, the combined effects of Latin American diasporas and the influx of thousands of nationals from fellow republics, correlated with new analytical perspectives recognizing transnationalism, have led to changes in the ways in which Latin American states approach citizenship rights. These changes are reflected first in the reformed constitutions of several of the Latin American countries, which – like the Colombian constitution of 1991, the 1998 and 2008 constitutions of Ecuador and the Bolivian constitution of 2009 – now recognize diversity and the granting of special rights for indigenous communities, i.e., they recognize the multiethnic and/or multicultural character of their nations; or at least end some of the most discriminatory bases of political entitlements on the basis of religion and do not condone discrimination on ethnic bases.<sup>35</sup>

Likewise, we witness an increasing number of countries that created agencies for the protection and maintenance of relationships with their nationals abroad, and in some cases recognized dual citizenship. The recognition of dual citizenship has allowed the crystallization of a renewed sense of collective identities among descendants of immigrants two, three or four generations after the arrival of their forefathers and mothers to the

34 Evelina Dagnino, “Citizenship in Latin America: An Introduction”, *Latin American Perspectives* 30, 2 (2003): 211-225; Evelina Dagnino, Alberto Olivera Rivera and Aldo Panfichi. *La disputa por la construcción democrática en América Latina*, México 2006.

35 Rodrigo Uprimny, “The Recent Transformation of Constitutional Law in Latin America: Trends and Challenges”, *Texas Law Review* 89 (2011): 1587-1609, in <http://www.texaslrev.com/wp-content/uploads/Uprimny-89-TLR-1587.pdf> (accessed 22 July 2013).

shores of Latin America.<sup>36</sup> Worth stressing is that such recognition has been grounded in trans-generational claims at various levels of national and international articulation, which could also serve to start new trans-Atlantic moves.

Mexico, under President Vicente Fox, created such an agency at the cabinet level; already in 1965 Italy extended Italian nationality to those who migrated from Italy, and in 2006 it also recognized the principle of dual citizenship, allowing the registered members of the Italian diaspora to vote for the Italian parliament.<sup>37</sup> A clear effect of such a transnational vote was already evident in the parliamentary elections of 2006 in which an estimated three and a half million members of the Italian diaspora participated in deciding the political affiliation of eighteen seats; a constitutional amendment even made it possible for descendants of Italian migrants to be elected to five seats – two deputies and one senator were elected in Argentina and two other senators were elected in Brazil and Venezuela. As analyzed by Elisa Arcioni and Leonardo Senkman, the votes of the Italian communities of Latin America enabled the coalition led by Romano Prodi to receive 10 seats, helping it to control the Italian Senate and increase his influence in the lower chamber. This enabled descendants of Italians (and Spaniards and other European countries) to leave Argentina during the deep financial and economic crisis of the early 2000s and relocate to one “Madre Patria” or another, or join other communities of Argentinians living in the diaspora. Once the financial and economic crisis started in Europe, producing high rates of unemployment, many of them came back, yet many others relocated to other sites in Europe and elsewhere in the Americas. Looking at these communities of descendants of migrants as part of a global

36 Leonardo Senkman, “The Latin American Diasporas: New Collective Identities and Citizenship Practices”, in Mario Sznajder, Luis Roniger and Carlos Forment (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers of Citizenship: The Latin American Experience*. Leiden and Boston 2013, pp. 385-407.

37 Elisa Arcioni, “Representation for the Italian Diaspora”, Discussion Paper 37/06 (December 2006), Democratic Audit of Australia, Australian National University Canberra, ACT 0200, Australia, in <http://democratic.audit.anu.edu.au>; Senkman, “The Latin American Diasporas” (see note 36), pp. 390-393.

diaspora highlights then their transnational nature, and enables to trace their impact on the reformulation of citizenship.

Transnational connections may also affect local communities and the full extent of citizenship rights. Depending on circumstances, transnational ties can be either a source of increased pride and social capital or of shame and decreased public presence for those individuals assuming a diasporic identity and, accordingly, it may be easier or more difficult for a certain community to establish transnational networks of advocacy. Two cases have been analyzed in recent years. One of them traces how the axes of Jewish identification and identities were affected by the shifting global articulations and international alliances of President Hugo Chávez in Venezuela. In that case, the broader context operated as a major force of identity legitimization and de-legitimization, as well as public recognition or denial of transnational ties. While the transnational factors maintained a constant presence in Latin American Jewish life, that continuity was matched by transformations in the ways in which Jewish communities and individuals were affected by the way in which circles close to the late President Chávez used the conflict in the Middle East to delegitimize the public image of Jewish Venezuelans. This generated various reactions, including a massive exodus of individuals to other destinations in the Jewish Diaspora, but also a demand of those remaining that the state should recognize their full rights as Venezuelan citizens, a demand also buttressed by transnational agencies such as the American Jewish Congress and Latin American presidents such as Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.<sup>38</sup> A similar situation may be that facing the Moslem communities of Foz de Iguacu and the Tri-Border Area in South America, who have been suspected especially following the terrorist attacks of 1992 and 1994 in Argentina and following 9/11 of harboring terrorists and sympathizers of Hezbollah and even Al-Qaeda, even though their leaders claim that the members of their community are moderates and reject extremist views.

38 Luis Roniger, "Latin American Jews and Processes of Transnational Legitimization and Delegitimization", *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 9, 2 (2010): 185-208.

Equally revealing is the case of the Brazilian network of advocacy favoring the recognition of an independent Palestine, a network created by Moslems and the Arab community and reaching out to various sectors of civil society. In a recent analysis, Daniel Wajner traces how the network advocating recognition of Palestine gained legitimacy and increased its reach and effectiveness, moving from merely reactive to proactive initiatives that eventually had an impact on federal policies. Wajner shows how this trend was particularly salient after events in the Middle East attracted the attention of the international and national media. In turn, this provided a common ground for a generalized sense of legitimacy for their plea, thus attracting various sectors of civil society (trade unionists, students, politicians and even members of the administration at its various levels), who joined the efforts of the network and eventually impacted the foreign policy positions of the Brazilian government through their resonance and enabled the unqualified positioning of the country in the international fora.<sup>39</sup>

Likewise, it is important to note how local (“national”) conditions affect transnational definitions. Again, it is not simply a means of coining new terms – Ulf Hannerz’s felicitous term and analyses of the “glocal” comes to mind – but to research and find out how the process takes place beyond the abstraction. For instance, in Brazil, Leonardo Senkman has recently analyzed how following the establishment of the Secretaria Especial de Promoção da Igualdade Racial to end racial inequality, and the legislation of the *Estatuto da Igualdade Racial* in the Brazilian Congress, the government also invited the representative institutions of Jews (the *Confederação Israelita do Brasil* CONIB) and Arabs (the *Federação Nacional Árabe-Palestina*) to join, identifying their identities away from religious bases and rather “racializing” them, that is conferring a quasi-racial character to Moslem and Jewish communities, along with whites and Blacks.<sup>40</sup>

39 Daniel Wajner, “Redes transnacionales de apoyo y sus batallas por la legitimidad. El caso brasileño de reconocimiento al Estado Palestino”. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of International Relations and Liwerant Center, January, 2013.

40 Leonardo Senkman, “The Latin American Diasporas” (see note 36), pp. 403-405.

### **The Implications of these Dynamics for Latin America**

The study of exile and migrant networks, diaspora communities and indigenous communities – leads to reaffirm the relevance of retaining and projecting with new impetus a transnational and continental perspective on Latin America. As we all know, geopolitical encompassing ideas such as that of Latin America can be easily contested and deconstructed, as they subsume the huge diversity of societies and nations of the Americas. In general, regions are highly contested analytical concepts. Due to their constructed character, attempts at attributing a fixed or essential nature to them are often surrounded by pitfalls, while area studies are beleaguered by the contested and shifting nature of boundaries and borders. Moreover, recent processes further call into question the very idea of regions possessing clear-cut boundaries and relatively stable socio-demographic configurations. In particular, this examination has deepened as the result of developments such as the heterogeneous process of increasing globalization and multiculturalism, which is constantly reshaped by transnational migration, transference of ideas, the proliferation of diasporas and the crystallization of increasingly complex identities and commitments.<sup>41</sup>

And yet, the very linkages that have coexisted with the claims of hegemony by the individual states can be conceptualized as part of the human and cultural glue that has maintained the idea of our region alive and has prompted increasingly the establishment of associational frameworks linking and sometimes even superseding the primacy of states. I have in mind the early emergence of agreements and conventions regulating the right of asylum (which in Latin America emerged already in the 1860s - 70s, preceding European developments), the Declaration of Rights of the Americas that preceded by months the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the more recent growth of salience of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Justice. For instance, see their importance in censuring Brazil and the weight a

41 Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics at Home and Abroad*, Cambridge 2013.

pending parallel resolution carried in recent years on Uruguay, when it led political forces in that country to legislate an interpretive Law to the Law of Expiry (1986) in October 2011, that de facto derogated the latter Law after a generation of failed attempts to do so through popular consultations and the Parliament.<sup>42</sup>

Another analytical point is the lack of dichotomy between the national and the transnational, as one is imbricated into the other through experiences of forced and voluntary displacement. A good illustration is that of South American Jewish exiles, for whom displacement opened the doors to reconnect with ancestral experiences. Some of them could consider alternative logics of belonging to the nation by way of shaping new meaning into the Jewish notion of *Galuth* (exile). Philosopher León Rozitchner (1924-2011), for example, rediscovered the sense of being in the *Galuth* when he was exiled with other co-nationals in Venezuela, expressing the idea that “[now] we all are Jews, both Jews and non-Jews.” As he returned from exile, the Jewish historical experience of Diaspora became for Rozitchner a metaphor to analyze the evils of both home authoritarianism and what he defined as the “sign of the inhumanity of the human existence” (“*el índice de la inhumanidad de lo humano*”).<sup>43</sup> A generation later, in 1990, Sergio Chejfec (born in 1956) left Argentina of his own will during a major economic crisis. Settling in Caracas, he was the editor of *Nueva sociedad*, a journal of politics, culture and the social sciences (1990-2005). Then he moved to New York City, where he teaches in the Spanish Creative Writing program at New York University. The author of novels, essays and a poetry collection, Chejfec claims that he does not “have another way of being Argentine than remaining outside my country.”<sup>44</sup> In the current era of

42 Luis Roniger, “Transitional Justice and Protracted Accountability in Re-Democratized Uruguay (1985-2011)”, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43, 4 (November 2011): 693-724; ídem, “La sacralización del consenso nacional y las pugnas por la memoria histórica y la justicia en el Uruguay post-dictatorial”, *América Latina Hoy* 61 (2012): 51-78.

43 León Rozitchner, “El índice de inhumanidad de lo humano”, in AAVV, *Pluralismo e identidad. Lo judío en la literatura latinoamericana*, Buenos Aires 1986, pp. 82-83.

44 Sergio Chejfec, “Retorno sin reparación”, *Noaj* 18-19 (August 2011): 9-11. His works include *Lenta biografía* (1990), *Los planetas* (1999), *Boca de lobo* (2000), *Los*



transnational migratory movements, the concept of diaspora allows him to live abroad on a constantly postponed return. Without disclaiming nostalgia for Argentina, this state of mind enables him to vindicate being abroad and problematize living in the home country as the only way of membership and belonging to the nation.<sup>45</sup>

Likewise of interest is the experience of intellectuals and technocrats traveling to first world centers to attain an education and/or work momentarily there. Nowadays we see a growing process of technocratic elites going to first world countries to receive an education that will allow them to climb to a higher bureaucratic position upon their return back home, while redefining the national horizons, a process that has been documented empirically for example in Mexico and Argentina.<sup>46</sup>

Scholars of international relations such as Emanuel Adler and Peter Haas have long stressed the relevance of epistemic communities and experts as key to cross-national adoption of ideas and institutional models.<sup>47</sup> What the current research on transnationalism has brought into relief is the fact that the movement across borders is burgeoned by coalitions of domestic agents and actors with international contacts and experience, and that it is these agents who introduce institutional innovations and practices as they are empowered by their transnational contacts and international exposure.

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*incompletos* (2004), *Mis dos mundos* (2008), and *La experiencia dramática* (2012). His novels usually feature a slow-paced narration that interweaves a minimal plot with inner thoughts.

45 Luis Roniger, Leonardo Senkman, Saul Sosnowski and Mario Sznajder, *Exile, Migration and Return. Changing Cultural Landscapes in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay*, New York, forthcoming in 2017, chapter 6.

46 Clarissa Heisig, "Más allá del antagonismo nacional versus transnacional: un análisis empírico de los patrones educativos y profesionales de los tecnócratas financieros mexicanos." In Stephanie Fleischmann, José Alberto Moreno Chávez y Cecilia Tossounian (eds.), *América Latina entre espacios. Redes, flujos e imaginarios globales*, Berlín 2014, pp. 21-39. For Argentina, see the reports of REDES.

47 Emanuel Adler and Peter M. Haas, "Conclusion: epistemic communities, world order, and the creation of a reflective research program", *International Organization* 46, 1 (1992): 367-390; Peter M. Haas, "When does power listen to truth? A constructivist approach to the policy process", *Journal of European Public Policy* 11, 4 (2004): 569-592.

Interestingly enough, the same can be said of illicit and illegal networks. For instance of the *maras* in Central America, who, through their transnational experience, know-how and contacts, have managed to set power domains that go far beyond the hold of their initial inception as gangs, particularly in the northern triangle of the isthmus.<sup>48</sup> That is, transnational contacts and networks are at the basis of both legal and illicit or illegal capabilities for cross-border mobilization of resources and strategies, as well as for substantiation of economic positions, social standing and power domains within the home societies.

Another impact is led by professionals moving across national borders as part of transnational solidarity, as exemplified by the case of Cuban physicians and Cuban technicians. With their know-how and expertise, they have guaranteed the success of many of the social *misiones* created by the Bolivarian revolution, solidifying a strong popular power base that supported the internally and externally beleaguered Chávez administration. Beyond the establishment of ambitious projects as ALBA they have established a complex web of social projects such as literacy campaigns and affordable medicine. Of course, there are strategic political and economic dimensions at the basis of such agreements between Havana and Caracas: Cuba has received about 90,000 barrels of oil a day largely in exchange for over 30,000 doctors and medical personnel and specialists in fields such as education and sports.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, in rural Peru, Venezuela funded approximately 200 “Casas del Alba” in the form of associations run from people’s own homes that supposedly provide literacy and health services, often with Cuban doctors, while they also served according to their critics to spread a leftist ideology and incite political protest.<sup>50</sup> In addition, Chávez

48 See Deborah Yashar, “Institutions and Citizenship: Reflections on the Illicit”, in Sznajder, Roniger and Forment (eds.), *Shifting Frontiers of Citizenship* (see note 21), pp. 431-458; and Luis Roniger, *Transnational Politics in Central America*, Gainesville 2011.

49 Max Azicri, “The Castro-Chávez Alliance”, *Latin American Perspectives*, Special issue on Cuba: Interpreting a Half Century of Revolution and Resistance, 36, 1 (2009): pp. 99-110.

50 Javier Corrales, “Using Social Power to Balance Soft Power: Venezuela’s Foreign Policy”, *The Washington Quarterly* 32 (4): 97-114; mention on p. 101.

has also both used the transnational network of academic support of Latin Americanists and the handsomely paid services of lobbyists to project a positive image in the USA, countervailing the negative image projected by the administration.<sup>51</sup> Among other things, the Bolivarian multiple strategy and vision of transnational solidarity and assistance allowed projecting a soft power that enabled the late Venezuelan president to ameliorate criticisms of his policies of power aggrandizement in international fora.<sup>52</sup>

### A Final Reflection

This analysis indicates that while the structure of states and of our professional carriers often forces a categorization of expertise on a country-basis, it is no less important to trace transnational undercurrents whose impact on the Americas remains a strong undercurrent today as in the days of early independence. I suggest that stressing these transnational phenomena is more than a fad. As Latin Americanists, we may have a privileged position from which to overcome the narrow bonds of institutional and disciplinary commitments to engage in the study of various developments that have been shaped by the logic of diasporas and of transnationalism, thus moving beyond and complementing the logic of the nation-statehood in the Americas.

51 See A.C. Clark (pseudonym), *The Revolutionary Has No Clothes. Hugo Chávez Bolivarian Farce*, New York and London 2009, Appendix: "The Chávez Lobby in the United States", pp. 125-141.

52 Corrales, "Using Social Power" (see note 50), pp. 108-109.