

ENCUENTROS



How the History of America Began

Lecture by

Germán Arciniegas

IDB CULTURAL CENTER

Director: Ana María Coronel de Rodríguez

Visual Arts: Félix Angel

Concerts and Lectures: Anne Vena

Administrative Assistance: Elba Agusti, Lourdes Herrell



The Cultural Center of the Inter-American Development Bank, an international financial organization, was created in May 1992 at the Bank's headquarters in Washington, D.C., as a gallery for exhibitions and a permanent forum from which to showcase outstanding expressions of the artistic and intellectual life of the Bank's member countries in North, Central and South America, the Caribbean region, Western Europe, Israel and Japan. Through the IDB Cultural Center, the Bank contributes to the understanding of cultural expression as an integral element of the economic and social development of its member countries. The IDB Cultural Center program of art exhibitions, concerts and lectures stimulates dialogue and a greater knowledge of the culture of the Americas.

HOW THE HISTORY OF AMERICA BEGAN

By Germán Arciniegas

I would like to thank the Inter-American Development Bank for this invitation to come to Washington to be with you, and I invite you to think about a problem, the problem of America, which has preoccupied me for some time, ever since I began to study it sixty-five years ago. You are going to hear about the experiences of a bad student, I am not even a graduate. They say that I teach, but I really just continue to go to the university to study with my closest companions, the students, and I'm short on imagination. I am always thinking about the same thing, but every day I see it in a different light. What I'm going to say to you now is more or less what I was thinking last night.

I don't know if the Bank will feel cheated, but I am sad to say that the whole world, particularly Americans, each of us individually, has failed to realize what five hundred years of American history means for the world. Columbus' voyage was of utmost

importance: it united two hemispheres that were separated. The world was like an orange divided in two halves that had never been united, and in Europe, Asia, and Africa they were unaware that another continent existed. They thought that the earth might be a globe, a pyramid, or shaped like a melon. Some maintained that it was spherical but there was no way of proving it. Columbus' voyage opened the way to link two hemispheres that were totally ignorant of one another. The outcome changed all of history, the destiny of humanity, and made us what we are today.

The painting of Columbus' arrival at Guanahani was reproduced too often for last year's commemoration of the Quincennial, as if it were something extraordinary. It *was* extraordinary, but the people who appear in the picture are not correct. Guanahani is depicted with Columbus' three ships recently arrived from Europe, with ninety Europeans disembarking

How the History of America Began was presented in the Andrés Bello Auditorium of the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, D.C. on April 29, 1993 as part of the IDB Cultural Center's Lectures Program.

in front of one hundred Indians. It was Columbus who was responsible for calling them *Indians*. They were really a handful of aboriginals, and he thought they were primitive people from Asia. Columbus got the whole picture wrong because he thought he was in Japan. He thought he was seeing China, when in fact he was seeing Cuba, and later he thought that Panama was in Africa, and when he got to Isla Margarita off the Orinoco he thought he was seeing the Ganges. Anyone able to make a map of what Columbus thought he was seeing would be a genius.

What was going on in those days? There was a huge crisis in Europe, particularly in the economy, which had placed the existence of Venice itself in grave danger. The Turks closed the Mediterranean route, and trade between Europe, Asia, and Africa was cut off. The Venetians made their living by manufacturing goods from raw materials brought from the Orient. For Europeans, true luxury was to dress in silk, own diamonds and rubies, drink tea, and season food with pepper and cloves. Palace courtiers trod on Persian rugs.

For five hundred years the Italian republics lived off this trade. They carried goods so that the English king could rest his feet on a lion's skin from Asia, and the women could dress in Indian silk, and show off rings with precious stones brought from Persia, China, wherever. Italian merchants developed this trade to the point that the banks, such as the Medici Bank in Florence, did business and had agents in Persia, China, and India. I have seen bills of exchange and shipping insurance from that era in the Italian archives. But, on the other hand, they were vulnerable to events such as the Turks

closing off the trade routes. The Church had descended to the level of corruption with popes such as the Borgias, about whom we know a great deal.

Before the voyage of Columbus, Europeans dreamed of a New World where justice and liberty, then absent in Europe, would reign. The poverty and misery in London and Paris, not to mention Spain and Italy, had reached the point of desperation and physical hunger. News arrived that abandoned islands existed in the Sea of Japan (the Caribbean) and Columbus, who had had difficulty finding ninety men to accompany him on his first voyage, then had plenty of volunteers who wanted to go with him on his second trip to see the islands of Asia.

Columbus' second voyage comprised seventeen ships that were filled instantly with 1,200 men. Why did they go? Because in Spain, in Europe, there was no way to get enough to eat. They begged for their daily bread, a crust, simply to survive. The news of the New World corresponded to the concept promoted by the idealists. If Columbus had taken twenty ships, two thousand men would have gone. Seventeen were arranged and those seventeen ships sailed off to establish the New World.

Ten years after the voyage of Columbus, Vespucci decided to conduct a different experiment. Instead of navigating in the northern hemisphere, he chose the southern route; not in ships from Castile but on an expedition organized by the King of Portugal. Vespucci reached the Canary Islands and instead of heading for La Española and the Caribbean, he reached Cabo San Vicente in the eastern extreme of the belly of Brazil, and hugging the coast

from Cabo San Roque to Patagonia he said, Dear Lord, this is terra firma, but this is not Asia. Where is the marble, where is the silk, where are the mandarins, the camels, the elephants, the ivory? Nothing, just naked *Indians*, as they called us.

The biggest surprise was that Vespucci described a social organization that was opposite to the European. In the first place, there was no private property. Aborigines went into the forest to collect firewood and the firewood belonged to everybody. They killed a tortoise, and everyone ate. No one in particular owned the tortoise or the deer. They lived close to nature.

After studying Vespucci's map, the most learned men in Europe, such as Erasmus, Thomas More, Luis Vives, and Peter Giles all said: "This is Atlantis, this is what Plato was referring to," and the idea arose that the freedom and justice missing in Europe was alive in this New World. Thomas More wrote a small book about it called *Utopia*. Today we are charmed by it, but when Erasmus read it, he thought so highly of it that he wrote to More: "You must devote yourself to nothing else except writing that book, get down to it." The book was a savage criticism of Europe at that time, which still applies today. It is a criticism of private property, of legislation, and the lack of freedom in the laws of the time. And the book certainly had an immediate consequence, which was the introduction of a word invented by Thomas More to describe the land discovered by Vespucci: *Utopia*.

Utopia has no meaning, it is a non-existent land, and that is what More named the book. But if you open the newspaper today or have lunch with Bank staff in the cafeteria, they are all talking about Utopia.

It is an auspicious word, and only one other coined in the same decade can compare with it — and that word is *America*.

Any poor man who could not make a living in Europe went to Utopia. Your parents, your great grandparents, when they tell you that your great grandfather was a count, they are fooling you; they are simply making it up. No, they came because they had nothing to eat, or were persecuted because they were Jews. This has been going on for five hundred years. In my very short ninety years of life, I have seen fugitives who fled from Germany because they were not Nazis, from Italy because they were not Fascists, from Spain because they did not support Franco, people of all kinds, because no land more fanatical than Europe has ever existed. Our unfortunate great grandparents came here to seek freedom.

What was going on? We talk a lot about the Spaniards, without realizing that settlers came here along with the conquistadors; they came to stay here permanently. They left Spain never to return, and ended up calling themselves *Indianos*. Those who were appointed to a post, such as governor or what have you, came with the plan of exploiting the Indians, killing them if they put up a struggle, and enjoying the gold they seized and took back to Spain. But the majority came with the notion never to return, and often it worked out well for them. Since they came without families, they took up with native women who were delighted to go to bed with these new hairy men. What is remarkable is that there were many love matches. They met an Indian woman and lived with her for life. After nine months, they had babies who were what we now call *mestizos*.

This is the enormous advantage of the Spanish conquest over the English conquest. The English came with their families. A Puritan man set his family up in Boston and never had the chance to know an Indian woman who could teach him what the herbs are for, and how illnesses are cured here. They came here to “invent.” At that time the word “invention” was used more than the word “discovery.” The maps, according to Juan de La Cosa “invented” this region. He who discovers, invents.

History should be written by looking at the people who came to America and following their trail as best we can over the past five hundred years. The history we have been taught was either the history of the conquest or the history of the discovery. The conquistadors grabbed what they could from unwilling owners and sent it back to the King of Spain who frittered it away. The Spanish kings were so inept at managing the treasury that the day they expelled the Jews, they were no longer able to add up their receipts, or to subtract their share, or to multiply what they could never make multiply, although they were certainly able to divide it all up, but in a slapdash way.

The Europeans that came here during five hundred years of continuous emigration have ceased to be from somewhere else. Think for example about a Spaniard who establishes himself in La Española. He brings a bushel of wheat, some biscuits, a bit of dried meat, a bottle of wine, and some cheese. The cheese goes moldy, the wheat runs out, the wine turns sour or he drinks it all up. Then he has to eat yucca, iguana eggs, corn, tomatoes, and things that the aboriginals had been able to turn into food crops over centuries of trial and error.

Don't ever think that yucca, “a poisonous root that the Indians in South America eat,” according to a French dictionary, turned into yucca bread or fried yucca over night. It took many long years to turn that root into something edible, and into a poison too. The Indian, for example, took coca only as a kind of sedative to relax during work, but never became an addict; coca never became the cocaine of New York or Amsterdam. The Indians managed nature with a certain wisdom that had an immediate benefit for the Europeans. Germany, Scandinavia, Ireland, and Poland all suffered from hunger that decimated the population; there was no room in the cemeteries to bury the dead, until the arrival of the potato.

This is all a radical contradiction of Hegel's philosophy. Hegel said that America will not form part of history until the day it assimilates German thought. I don't understand where some Germans get that degree of insolence. The truth is that Hegel was able to say what he did because he hadn't died of hunger, thanks to the fact that the Prussian king had introduced potatoes to alleviate the misery that scourged Prussia.

We made the most of indigenous agriculture to feed Europe and balance its diet. As I was saying, a Spaniard comes, his cheese goes moldy, he drinks his wine and eats his biscuits, and then he has to live off cassava. Planting yucca or potatoes was different than all the cultivation methods used in Europe to plant wheat. He no longer had to cast the wheat into the air to separate the chaff, grind it, put it in the oven and eat it. Work with yucca, work with potatoes, work with tomatoes is different. This is how a different culture is made.

The word “culture” has its roots in

“agriculture.” Agriculture in America and in Europe were not the same. I would say that Europe became more democratic by eating potatoes. In the painting by Van Gogh, of *The Potato Eaters* at the peasant's table, or those of Manet, in all of them, the meal was already American, with potatoes. American culture was imposed in Europe to the benefit of the working class.

At first glance, it might appear that I am pulling my arguments out of the bowels of the earth, but the process is more complex. It is democracy that is emerging...

What happens in the political or in the religious sphere? The Spaniard who sails away says *adios* to the judge, to the notary, to the police and to the Civil Guard of Spain. “I'm getting away from you, good-bye.” And he comes to work here without the Civil Guard, the Spanish judge, the priest, or the notary. And the king seems more and more remote. For that man's children, born here in America, the king is a pretty fairy tale, who is very well dressed, with a lot of velvet, rings, and glitter, but distant, far away. By the time three hundred years had passed, the king was of no use at all. They got rid of him. But right up until the night before, people had been saying “Long live the king. Death to bad government.” They believed that all their ills stemmed from the king's representatives. But there came a time, two hundred years later in North America, and three hundred years later in Spanish America, when they got rid of the king once and for all because he was useless.

To create a republic, in the modern sense of the word, is the antithesis of the monarchy and the super-antithesis of empire. Here in America, a fortunate history unfolded for the Europeans that was totally different

from the history of those who remained in Spain or Europe. It was not that the emigrants came to found a republic. The republic was established as a necessity because they had to organize themselves to function without the king, and without the Spanish, English, Portuguese or French authorities. Columbus, for example, died renouncing America, probably because he never knew America. Perhaps he had heard the word but he rejected it or thought it unimportant. What ensured his fame in Spain was creating the Spanish empire. But the Spanish empire was an obstacle for us, just as the English and French empires were for the North Americans.

Argentina and Chile are among the countries that have prospered most in Latin America: Argentina, mainly because of the Italians, and Chile and Southern Brazil on account of the Germans. What happened to the Spanish colonists? They wouldn't let them in. Can you imagine Argentina without Italians or Italian surnames? Impossible! Argentina begins to function when it becomes a republic. During colonial times, only Spaniards could go to Buenos Aires which was a kind of Facatativá, a big town, as they said there. A shopkeeper in Buenos Aires could stock his store and sell ribbons and lengths of cloth to young women, but to restock, he had to go to Panama by land; this meant a journey across the pampas, across the cordillera, to Cartagena and then Panama to buy those ribbons to take back to Buenos Aires to sell. The concept of an Argentina without the use of its port, a purely continental Argentina with no contact with the outside world, could only be contemplated by monarchs living before the 1800s.

Something similar happened in the English colonies. They were developed by trading companies that operated within very strict limits. The English colonies held back the conquest of North America. Encounters with the Indians only occurred at the trading posts. They got along well with them, and didn't kill them because they traded furs for firewater or gunpowder. For two hundred years, New England, or whatever it should be called, evolved in that way; but for us, it is almost unbelievable that the conquest of North America was not made by the English but by the Americans. The day they declared their independence, when they threw out the English governors, the frontier opened up and they raced, stampeded to California. From the administrative standpoint and for their century, that was proper; but for the 17th or 18th centuries it would have been a total failure. In Spanish America, we threw out the viceroys and began to breathe easier.

A New World was invented five hundred years ago, and that is what we should celebrate. Compare Guanahani with the skyscrapers of Manhattan, or with Rio de Janeiro or Buenos Aires, and you will realize that the Europeans in America, and mainly under the republic, have created things on a scale that surpasses everything in the Old World, in a different way, on a different foundation.

Look at the history of Europe, or ask your children who are still in school to make a list of the wars in Europe over the last five hundred years. It would certainly take more than one sheet of paper. We, on the other hand, over these five centuries have created nations without war. Our international wars are not even worth mentioning. The war between Peru and Chile, one hundred dead.

Say that to a European and he will burst out laughing. For a European a war has to have thousands, if not millions, of dead bodies.

Therefore, there are two histories of Europeans: one about those in America and one about those in Europe. Different as night and day. The things we have invented! The republic! Today everyone in Europe wants a republic, which came from here. Human rights were written here, and taken to Paris by Lafayette. The French were dazzled and put them in their constitution, and now we call them *les droits de l'homme*. They are from here, and the person who started the trend was a priest from Santo Domingo called Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, who was the fountainhead of all these changes.

I believe we have to rewrite the history of America to show how Europeans changed once they arrived in the New World. A landowner from the Spanish Basque country could transform himself into a hero like Bolívar. The change was quite radical, and by making these changes, we invented the New World. I was saying to the IDB President, Mr. Enrique Iglesias, that my dream is for some institution to sponsor a foundation devoted to studying the formation of the New World. Of all human works on earth, none has the same significance, the same importance or grandeur as the creation of the New World that is America.

Of course for a Spaniard to become a friend of the Indian and the Black man, and for them to work together, one confronts the same problem the United States faced in its Civil War. In other words, the job is to unite people so they believe that the humans who walk on American soil are destined to be free. Perhaps it is more important to say this today than it was in the year 1500. The

destiny of America has not changed. But to write a new history of America we need a group of wise people to study how Europeans changed when they shook free by coming to America, and how this continent has been relatively able to play its role as a sanctuary for the free people of this world.

This is the meaning of these past five hundred years.

Following his presentation, Dr. Arciniegas accepted questions from the public.

Question: Would you please tell us the name of the last book you have written?

Answer: Well, I've been writing a book for my whole life and still haven't finished it and never will. But to answer your question, my last book is called *América es otra cosa* (*America is Something Else*).

Question: How do you see the position of America in relation to the political changes taking place in the world?

Answer: The situation is very complicated because we Americans were born dis-oriented and have no idea of our role in history. I thought that the Quincentennial would end in a reaffirmation of independence and an agreement between North and South America. It was unfortunate in this regard that it was Spain and not America that took the initiative to celebrate the 500th anniversary, because Spain is no more aware of what America is than we are. The problem is that no true answer can be found unless we can decide whether we are one

America or two different Americas. I think that our starting point today should be that issues are continental.

I was very impressed by an article published in *L'Express* which clearly said that France does not have the capacity to confront Pablo Escobar. All the cocaine in France comes from Colombia. Pablo Escobar is much more powerful than France; he is producing the cocaine and the French are trying to stop him. For the year that Escobar was in what is popularly known in Colombia as the "resort prison," his cocaine factory doubled its production, as attested to by the seizures made by the French government. Certain areas of the law, such as drug trafficking, cannot be enforced by independent countries. Crime must be dealt with internationally. If Colombia cannot pursue its bandits, there should be an international force to pursue, arrest, try, and sentence them, and stop them.

Look, for example, at the issue of the ecology. We have incredible capital in the Amazon jungle. Look at a country like Colombia that has part of the jungle and sets out to exploit it. It cannot. The accounting that Colombia has not rendered and that none of the countries that border the jungle are able to render is monstrous, because the jungle has an incredibly fabulous wealth of resources for mankind which cannot be exploited just by Colombia in its region, or Peru in its area, or Bolivia in its part. Policies must be based on cutting back a bit on these presumptuous sovereign claims that say, "I am capable of managing my criminals." And then they end up putting Pablo Escobar in a prison resort. That doesn't work.

Political parties are in full crisis. A new

political party promises to get more money from coffee, more money out of leather and such, which is simply not true. Political parties must have a moral structure and a fundamental philosophy through which they perceive a situation, which they do not have. And this is going on in France and in Italy, and will happen here. I don't know whether I have answered your question.

Question: Would you please comment on the religious influence of the Spaniards in the discovery of America.

Answer: The problem of religion is more serious. The commitment to colonize America, when it began to occur, opened up a new horizon for spreading the gospel. This was the most splendid initiative ever presented to the European world which, at that time, suffered from corruption, particularly in the Catholic Church. The possibility arose of a New World where the Word of God could be taken to a multitude of Indians, similar to the evangelism at the dawn of Christianity. Then the Spanish Church turned to the Inquisition, the persecution and exile of the Jews and the Moors, in short to intolerance, in a country that had been the most tolerant in Europe. On one street in Toledo, there is a cathedral, a synagogue, and a mosque, and the Arabs went to their mosque, the Jews to their synagogue, and the Christians to their cathedral, and all were peaceful Castilian Spaniards.

The great mistake in Spain, precisely at the time America was getting started, was to throw out the Jews and the Moors, and to have a cudgel ready to bring down on the head of anyone who dissented. But here in

America, one of the most beautiful moments in the history of Christianity occurred, when Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas held out his hands to the Indians and said, "You are as much a human being as I am": this is the most significant Christian action of the epoch.

As we celebrate the Quincentennial, the Church is going to celebrate the evangelization of America by canonizing a Spanish priest who was an animal, who lived in Pasto, who claimed that all liberals, like myself, would go to hell. This is a step backward. What is happening is that there are agents in the Church, just like in politics, who are working backwards, because if there is an extraordinary figure in the history of the Church, it is John Paul II. A Pope who, in the case of Poland, faced the most brutal anti-Christian organization in existence and tamed it. But there are agents who mobilize in the opposite direction.

Question: As a student of Juan Maragall and Dámaso Alonso, I would like to follow up on your last response. What has happened today to the Black Legend of Spain? The last question had to do with religion, but I am asking about the secular aspect. Are we returning to a period in which, like in the cowboy movies, the Whites always win and the Indians always lose, as in the Black Legend?

Answer: The best that can be said is that it was the Spaniards themselves who invented the Black Legend because it favored their policies. Luis Vives, a Spaniard, wrote against the brutality of the conquest. The person who basically spread the Black Legend was Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas

who was denouncing the genocide. Let me tell you a little story. I was in Prague, and in the monasteries I found manuscript copies of Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas' writings denouncing the cruelty of the Spaniards in the Caribbean. I asked a professor why there was so much anti-Spanish literature in the monasteries. Of course he answered from his own viewpoint, but it wasn't a bad answer. He said that it was to keep them aware of the dangers of imperialism, and to learn about what the Spaniards were up to under Charles the Fifth. That is the origin of the Black Legend, which was really based on Castilian literature.

Question: In a recent book, Professor Peter Drucker says that we are going through a period of historical transformation that has been shaping up for two hundred years. Drucker's theory is that the changes we have seen in the last fifty years are laying the foundation for structures that will exist for the next two hundred years. My question, Dr. Arciniegas, is what will these next two hundred years be like? What should we do?

Answer: I think that we have taken the wrong track with regard to something that is purely circumstantial — the Quincentennial. Because instead of reflecting on what happened, about how America was formed and what its destiny will be, we have only looked at whether Spain was right. We are totally missing the opportunity of basing the celebration on public reflection about what America is and how it was shaped, as a lesson for the American people here in the United States, and in Spanish and Portuguese America. Now, I may be mistaken here, because we may indeed have

reached the point where we can begin to have those reflections. It is very silly to celebrate the Spanish empire or the Spanish colonies. It makes no sense. Consider the historical importance of the English and Spanish colonies, in comparison with the republics that followed. Compare any city, then and now.

Of course, we have not done everything we have been called upon to do, and we cannot expect to. Nor can a true republic be made in two hundred years. We have made poor choices by using European ideology to create our republics. The North Americans were on the right track, because they started with a federation, uniting peoples and governing themselves from the local level. I am optimistic, but I believe that if we want to write a true history of America, we must put aside the fantasy history written thus far, full of the memories of Columbus, and full of errors because everything hinges on one figure who was just one of the parties in the debate on whether or not Indians were free men. Columbus, as a politician, had no idea of what the destiny of America would be.



Germán Arciniegas (Bogotá, Colombia, 1900) studied in the Law Faculty of the National University of Colombia. He has been founder, director, and contributor to a large number of journals and periodicals in Latin America. He was professor at the Universities of Chicago, California, and Colombia, and Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts of the University of Los Andes in Bogotá. He was appointed to be Vice-Counsel to London, Minister-Counselor to Argentina, and served as Minister of Education of Colombia for two terms. He was also Colombian Ambassador to Italy, Israel, Venezuela, and the Vatican. He was president of the Colombian Academy of History and, in 1985, of the National Colombian Quincentennial Committee. He has published over forty history books, including the following, to mention only a few: *El estudiante de la mesa redonda* (1932), *En el país del rascacielos y las zanahorias* (1945), *El continente de siete colores* (1965), *El revés de la historia* (1980) and *El Embajador* (1990). He has received the Cabot Prize for journalism, and the Alberdi-Sarmiento, Hammarskjöld, and Madonnina of Milan prizes. His many honors include the “Libertador” and “Andrés Bello” decorations from Venezuela, and the Italian Medal of Merit. On October 25, 1989, he was awarded the Americas Prize in New York, conferred by the Americas Foundation. In September 1991, the Universidad de Los Andes in Bogotá named him Doctor Honoris Causa.

Other publications available in the *Encuentros* series:

- *Houses, Voices and Language in Latin America.*
Dialogue with the Chilean writer, José Donoso.
No. 1, March, 1993. (Spanish version available.)
- *How the History of America Began.*
Lecture by the Colombian historian, Germán Arciniegas.
No. 2, April, 1993. (Spanish version available.)
- *Año internacional de los pueblos indígenas.*
Conferencia de la líder indígena guatemalteca, Rigoberta Menchú,
Premio Nobel de la Paz en 1992. No. 3, Octubre de 1993.
- *Narrativa paraguaya actual: dos vertientes.*
Conferencia de la escritora paraguaya, Renée Ferrer.
No. 4, Marzo de 1994.
- *El Paraguay en sus artes plásticas.*
Conferencia de la historiadora paraguaya, Annick Sanjurjo Casciero.
No. 5, Marzo de 1994.
- *El porvenir del drama.*
Conferencia del dramaturgo español, Alfonso Sastre.
No. 6, Abril de 1994.
- *Dance: from Folk to Classical.*
Lecture by the North American dancer and Artistic Director
of the Miami City Ballet, Edward Villella. No. 7, August, 1994.
- *Belize: A Literary Perspective.*
Lecture by the Belizean novelist, Zee Edgell.
No. 8, September, 1994.
- *El desarrollo de la escultura en la Escuela Quiteña.*
Conferencia de la antropóloga ecuatoriana, Magdalena Gallegos de Donoso.
No. 9, Octubre de 1994.
- *Art in Context: Aesthetics, Environment, and Function in the Arts of Japan.*
Lecture by the North American curator of Japanese Art at the Freer and Sackler
Galleries, Smithsonian Institution, Ann Yonemura. No. 10, March, 1995.

- *Hacia el fin del milenio.*
Conferencia del poeta mexicano, Homero Aridjis.
No. 11, Setiembre de 1995.
- *Haiti: A Bi-Cultural Experience.*
Lecture by the Haitian novelist, Edwidge Danticat.
No. 12, December, 1995.
- *The Meanings of the Millennium.*
Lecture by the North American theologian from the University of Chicago's Divinity School, Bernard McGinn. No. 13, January, 1996.
- *Milenarismos andinos: originalidad y materialidad (siglos XVI - XVIII).*
Conferencia del sociólogo peruano de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Manuel Burga. No. 14, Febrero de 1996.
- *Apocalypse in the Andes: Contact Zones and the Struggle for Interpretive Power.*
Lecture by the Canadian linguist from Stanford University, Mary Louise Pratt.
No. 15, March, 1996.
- *When Strangers Come to Town: Millennial Discourse, Comparison, and the Return of Quetzalcoatl.* Lecture by the North American historian from Princeton University, David Carrasco. No. 16, June, 1996.
- *Understanding Messianism in Brazil: Notes from a Social Anthropologist.*
Lecture by the Brazilian anthropologist from Notre Dame University, Roberto Da Matta.
No. 17, September, 1996.
- *El milenio de los pueblos: The Legacy of Juan and Eva Perón.*
Lecture by the Argentine sociologist from New York University, Juan E. Corradi.
No. 18, November, 1996.
- *Breves apuntes sobre la literatura ecuatoriana y norteamericana.*
Conferencia del poeta ecuatoriano, Raúl Pérez Torres.
No. 19, Marzo de 1997.
- *Sociedad y poesía: los enmantados.*
Conferencia del poeta hondureño, Roberto Sosa.
No. 20, Mayo de 1997.

- *Architecture as a Living Process.*
Lecture by the Canadian architect, Douglas Cardinal, whose projects include Washington, D.C.'s National Museum of the American Indian. No. 21, July, 1997.
- *Composing Opera: A Backstage Visit to the Composer's Workshop.*
Lecture by the Mexican composer, Daniel Catán, whose operas include *Florencia en el Amazonas*. No. 22, August, 1997. (Spanish version available.)
- *Welcoming Each Other: Cultural Transformation of the Caribbean in the 21st Century.*
Lecture by the Trinidadian novelist, Earl Lovelace, winner of the 1997 Commonwealth Prize. No. 23, January, 1998.

Inter-American Development Bank

IDB CULTURAL CENTER

1300 New York Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20577

U.S.A.

Tel: (202) 942-8287

Fax: (202) 942-8289

IDBCC@iadb.org