

THE POLITICALLY ACTIVE STUDENT IN LATIN AMERICA

A Study of Student Leaders
in National Universities Active in National Politics

A Substantial Research Paper
submitted to the
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Gilbert R. Callaway

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PROLOGUE

On the eighth of October, 1962, a fellow graduate student and I boarded a Mexican bracero bus in Arkansas and headed south. The next day we crossed into Mexico and for nearly six months saw 20,000 miles of Latin America. We spent periods of time ranging from a week to a month in México, Panamá, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, Bolivia, Argentina, and Brazil (the countries of principal interest to us); and also visited Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica. We passed through Honduras, the Guianas, and a number of the Lesser Antilles (see map, Appendix I). Although the trip was lengthy in time and distance, it proved to be only a beginning for a basic understanding of Latin America.

A rough itinerary (Appendix II) was established in advance to reconcile financial limitations and academic commitments with our desire to make as extensive as possible our observations and research. We traveled an average of 100 miles a day, usually by buses or trains of varying age and condition, but we also made use of trucks, cars, boats, and planes. With the usual overnight provision consisting of room and board in a pension for as little as \$1.50 per day, our overall expenses averaged \$5.00 per day.

The assistance of others, in preparing both for the trip itself and for the research project, proved invaluable. Letters from friends and interested acquaintances to their contacts in Latin America opened doors for ourselves and the project. The helpful interest of persons in the United States Information Agency was typical of the advice and aid of many in the United States Government; my appreciation is

especially directed to the United States Embassy in each country and to the Student Officers and Grantees. Dr. Harold Davis, my advisor, and Dr. John Finan both deserve additional credit and thanks for playing a part in my interest and knowledge of Latin America, as do a number of individuals in the Special Operations Research Office. Appreciation is gratefully expressed to my parents, who made the trip more enjoyable through their concern and support. My traveling companion, "Mike" Mehrer, contributed more than his share to achieve a successful effort. To countless others, I extend my acknowledgement of their contributions. Finally, I am indebted to the students of Latin America, with whom I worked long hours, who made this study and the trip more rewarding, and for whom I hope this paper will speak in partial repayment — gracias.

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A STUDY OF STUDENTS: INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to present certain factors, both existent and emerging, which will promote better understanding of a unique phenomenon — the politically active student in Latin America. The original topic of study and the research methodology were considerably modified and revised toward this aim during the course of a trip through the area. While the original study proposed for this trip was to determine the influence of university students on governments and politics in Latin America, the results do not purport to be such a comprehensive study of the students. The Latin American student, both as a person and as a subject, is a complex problem.

Procedures — Preparations for this study before leaving the United States included discussions with the United States Information Agency and State Department officials concerning the general political situation of each country, particularly the student picture in each country, methods of gathering information, and suggestions of contacts in the area. Advance letters from various sources were sent to Embassy officials and to business, political, university, and other acquaintances to arrange interviews and to open additional channels of information.

In actual procedure, the United States Embassy was usually the first place visited in each country; and here a number of officials were interviewed. These occasionally included the Ambassador for an over-all country view; more often, a Political Officer; a Labor Officer, because of similar problems in dealing with this organized political force; and the Public Affairs and Cultural Officers, to determine the framework of United States involvement in student activities. Finally,

the Student Affairs Officer and the Student Grantee (respectively, a United States Information Service official in the Embassy, and a United States contractee attached to the Bi-National Center) helped to set up research guidelines in each country, and continued their cooperation throughout our stay. The latter two positions, new in the United States foreign mission, are evidence of our government's recognition of the importance of the student. Officers are presently in México, Caracas, Bogotá, Lima and Buenos Aires; Grantees are in Caracas, Quito, Lima, and La Paz. These individuals were particularly helpful in interpreting the political orientation and organization of the students and of the university, and in supplying the names of students and key figures at all points on the political spectrum. The final step, before departing each capital, was to discuss general impressions with the Student Officer and Grantee after which tentative conclusions were drawn concerning the politically active students in that particular university.

Other persons were then approached (United States and local businessmen, local government officials, politicians, professors and administrators, churchmen, and United States professors and students) through personal interviews, the principal method of research. Although these sources were limited and varied with each country, each group plays a role in, and has a relevant opinion about, the political activities of the student.

By the nature of the subject, students constituted the primary source. At least 15 leaders or aspirants from the principal political groups were met in each national university. Most viewpoints were expressed in open discussions which ranged far beyond the limited scope and depth of any question-answer procedure. In addition, a number of student leaders in each country completed a prepared questionnaire

(see Appendix III) which was also used to provide direction to the discussions. The students, as well as other informants, were most helpful in arranging interviews at other universities.

Revisions — Through México and the Central American countries, research methods were tested and revised. Experience in México revealed that most universities would be in the midst of examinations or vacations. Thus, a prepared student questionnaire could not be administered, as planned, to formal classes. The questionnaire served instead as an outline for individual interviews. Trial investigations in Panamá illustrated the impossibility of studying, within a limited time, all the various aspects contributing to student influence in Latin America.

Emphasis was shifted from the overall problem of student influence to a concentrated study of the individual leader — the politically active student; and the decision was made to study in depth only the national universities in a limited number of countries. Before reaching Venezuela, the working procedure of the project had thus been reshaped into a rough form which, though always adapted to particular situations, was followed throughout the countries of major interest. While basic similarities were evident, variations in research procedure complied with the individuality of each country.

Local conditions and lack of sufficient time, for example, limited the number of countries selected for major emphasis. Although all materials gathered contributed to the study, México and Panamá served mainly as trial studies, and in other countries, such as Ecuador and Bolivia, too little time was spent at the national universities. Venezuela, Colombia, Perú, and Argentina were the primary countries studied and those in which the most time was spent. Special circumstances also had to be taken into consideration in these cases. The Central

University in Caracas was involved in a strike; the University of San Marcos in Lima and the University of Buenos Aires were on vacation; and the National University in Bogotá was holding examinations.

As inferred by the nature of the research, this study is concerned with the contemporary situation; the examples and interpretations are based upon current events. Nevertheless, the politically active student in Latin America has a long history, as well as a recognized potential for increased importance in the future. None of those consulted, least of all the students, neglected the influence of past or future in interpreting the present state of the politically active student in Latin America.

While reference to the student denotes the university student unless otherwise specified, secondary and even primary school students are often in the forefront of the stereotyped picture of student political activity. Much of the blame, or credit, for university activity has been placed upon political preparation in the lower schools. Pre-university students often have separate political organizations, activities, and active leaders — sometimes displaying recognized influence on national politics. This study, nevertheless, will deal specifically with university students in the belief that they emerge, both immediately and potentially, as the most influential.

Just as secondary and primary schools contribute to student political activity, so universities other than the national one in the capital city (such as those in the provinces, technical and vocational schools, and private universities) must be considered. Though the students from these schools have not been ignored, the size, location, support, and prestige of the central university in each national capital render it extremely important. It is more often the site of the politically active student. The institutions studied, therefore, were the Universidad

Central de Venezuela in Caracas; Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá; Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima; Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires; and to some extent, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Universidad de Panamá; Universidad Central de Ecuador in Quito; and Universidad Mayor de San Andrés in La Paz. The politically active students in these universities supplied the bulk of information for this report. With these considerations, a more exact definition of the purpose of this paper is supplied by the secondary title, "A Study of Student Leaders in National Universities Active in National Politics."

Aims - When this study speaks of "the politically active student in Latin America", it is to indicate that a general impression has been drawn of this student. An overall pattern of student political activity has been sought, with reference to particular situations and examples, and in this sense the term "Latin America" is used. In a more definitive study of the individual student movements, some countries could not be justifiably excluded; Chile, for example, has a long history of well-organized student movements. Those countries included, however, are among the most important and representative. Venezuelan, Mexican, and Argentine students have recently been leaders in international student activity; Peruvian students are directly involved in a country of political transition; while students of Colombia, Panamá, and Ecuador are reacting to various degrees of relative political stability. From these eight countries, this paper has synthesized a general picture of the political student.

The following significant hypotheses will be examined in subsequent chapters; that the majority of university students in Latin America are not active, and therefore the politically active student is the influential student; that even though a considerable amount of the

existing political activity in the university is not directly concerned with national politics, political interests are easily turned to national issues; and that Latin American students are given the greatest publicity during those infrequent occasions when a minority of students are active in a political context directly affecting national issues. It is suggested that misinterpretations of these factors have created a largely false image of the Latin American university student.

Misconceptions concerning the politically active student are also fostered in Latin America. Additional observations were made that student leaders are naturally more concerned with political activity than the average student, but not all student leaders are politically oriented; and in some cases, student political leaders equate the popular concept of sensational student political activity with irresponsible and misled rioting. Furthermore, a number of leaders claim to be interested only in student affairs, including the political interests of the university, but excluding involvement in national politics, per se. However, the political environments of Latin American countries and the desire of student leaders to demonstrate their power make these distinctions appear as exceptions to the rule. Purely student matters often become directly or indirectly related to national issues. This study defines the politically active students as those recognized leaders in university political activities which can result in student influence in national politics.

The politically active student, as this paper seeks to substantiate, is the main key to the influential position of students in Latin America. As this conclusion evolved, the study became more exclusively concerned with this individual. Just as most students are not politically active and some leaders are not political, so student political activity is not simply a political phenomena. Economic, social, academic,

and personal factors often find expression in political manifestations. These factors are not overlooked, but the political aspect of student activity receives primary attention. This student is studied in an effort to ascertain what creates, and what is created by, student political activity.

An attempt is made here to let the politically active student speak for himself. Bibliographical sources and the opinions of others have been influential but, basically, this report rests upon what the students said about themselves. The information has been incorporated into a pattern of my image of the students, and any faults are mine. The results, which attempt to remain within the framework of student consensus, are the thoughts of a foreigner who observed a complex phenomena — the politically active student in Latin America.

II.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

The Student Elite — University students have a privileged position and role in Latin American society. Statistics readily demonstrate the numerical exclusiveness of those who reach the university. In most of Latin America, the basic problems of education are far below the university level. Sixty-nine percent of the Bolivian population cannot read or write, while in Argentina, the most literate country, illiterates comprise 13 percent of the population. (By comparison, illiterates in the United States account for 2.5 percent of the people.) In 1950, 25 percent of the United States population had completed high school, while only 6 percent in Panamá and 2.8 percent in Venezuela had finished even one year of secondary school. Two percent of the people in the United States were enrolled in institutions of higher education in 1957 compared with 0.1 and 0.2 percent in México and Venezuela, respectively. In no country in Latin America do university students comprise more than 1 percent of the population.¹ Persons from any economic, social, or political heritage become intellectual elites as students.

The unique attitude of Latin American society toward university students also derives from an especial respect for the intellectual. Economic, political, social, and religious elites command respect and influence, but often in direct proportion to their ability to exert pressure in the society. Latin Americans have traditionally placed high value on scholarship and intellectualism. The much idealized intellectual (an

1. These and other statistics relating to education in Latin America can be found in the Statistical Abstract of Latin America 1961 and Cooperation for Progress in Latin America.

example is the professor) is pictured as aloof from the compromise of economic and political power, striving for non-material objectives which would advance the cause of humanity. Yet, it is often the case that in underdeveloped Latin American countries, economic, political, religious, and intellectual elites greatly overlap. This is detrimental to the pure scholar whose involvement in these activities negates his ideal-objectivity in the eyes of other pressure groups.

The tendency to place the intellectual on a pedestal reaches its acme with the student. A mystique surrounds him which is not bestowed upon other influential or intellectual elites. The ideal student image suggests a young, intense intellectual who is not yet fully integrated into the world of economic activity, not yet committed to the ruling society, and still free from involvement in corrupt political systems. He is portrayed as pure in mind and deed, untainted by worldly society, striving for the ideal society; in a sense he is Plato's Philosopher-King. In actuality, the student displays the same characteristics of overlapping interests as do other elites, still he escapes society's condemnation. His involvement in non-academic pursuits is justified as being in the interest of his scholastic pursuits; his actions are seen as manifestations of his "high-minded" concepts of the ideal society.

University students usually acknowledge and accept their privileged position and role in society. Acknowledgement that such a position exists appears to be fairly common. The student, no matter how stable or secure his personal life, is part of a disruptive university community which challenges traditional values, replaces his symbols of authority, and demands a re-examination of society and himself. Latin American society has given to the young male a pride in himself as a mature, thinking, and individualistic person. Although he may at first recoil from what seems to be a group consensus, the new student,

unconsciously seeking social acceptance in a new society, comes to see that the traditional concept of the ideal student supports his maturity and his exclusiveness. And despite the significance of becoming a university student, he has been prepared for this role during his primary and secondary school years. Initiation into the university community is a profound but subsequent step in the development of the student. It is easy, therefore, to confirm the acknowledgement of his position: he knows he is numerically elite; is proud to be a part of the intellectual community; and enjoys the prestige and influence of this group. Realizing his advantages, he truly feels he owes a debt to society and can fulfill this obligation by acknowledging his special position and exercising his influence for the benefit of society. The student believes in his uniqueness. *(4)

Acknowledgement of the ideal student image appears to be general, but acceptance of the role varies greatly with the individual. The average student is not active enough to satisfy himself, and it is this general approval of activity without sufficient personal involvement which gives the active student such influence. Extreme activity is what designates the politically active student. But there are as many degrees and types of acceptance as there are students.

The Average Student — Because students come from every point on the society spectrum, it is almost impossible to speak of the "average" student and his acceptance of the student role. By dealing with only the national universities, somewhat more definitive statements can be made about the student in this institution and the economic, social, and political factors which determine his activity.

(4) (An "" will indicate that the thoughts expressed have been partially drawn from answers given to the specified question, e.g., "(4)", in the student questionnaire — Appendix III.)

Economically, socially, and politically, national university students have some common ground. The very rich and the very poor, with certain exceptions, are not here. Most affluent students will study abroad or in a private institution in order to receive a better education or as a protection from the disruptive forces and personalities often associated with the national university. Occasionally, a member of this elite attends the university for some reason but rarely is he an active proponent of the student role. The very poor (over 50 percent of the populations in such countries as Perú and Bolivia) cannot afford even the nominal fee of the national university unless endowed with a driving personal ambition combined with hard work and unusual opportunity. Reflecting this general economic status of the national university student is the absence of the majority of both the European-style society and the unassimilated Indian groups.

In the same manner, politically reactionary students rarely attend the national university. This indicates those who represent the traditional and extreme conservatism associated either with the aristocracy, which favors the status quo because of its feudal-like position, or that born of the ignorance and fear of the lower class.

These general statements defining the economic and political framework of national university students can be related to the social sphere because of the coincidence of socio-economic-political power in Latin America. In the traditional bi-class societies of a few extremely rich and many miserably poor, the wealthy are also the political and social elites. The students of the national universities, who are not as a rule at either extreme of the socio-economic-political power spectrum, represent an accelerating change now taking place in many Latin American countries. As the structures of these societies become more

complex, there is a general dispersion of concentrated power, and the universities of Latin America claim to be in the forefront of this process. Universities bring together, on equal terms in some respects, wealthy-white-conservative students and poor-mestizo-revolutionary youths. But the real revolutionary factor is the confusion of intermediary students. One may be economically well-to-do but an advocate of social and political revolution; another may be poor and politically inactive but possess social status because of church work; and yet another may be poor, both socially and economically, but have political power because he is active in labor groups. He may be any number of things but he is also a student possessing economic, social, and political opportunities which are unique to that position. If a very small number, commonly known as professional students, choose to exploit their unique opportunities by remaining within the university indefinitely as students, the greatest number are enrolled in a program of study which they plan to complete to enable them to enter their chosen professions.² * (1) The way in which the student exploits these opportunities determines his acceptance of the student role.

The average student may have strong convictions about certain social and political issues, but generally the different aspects of his economic situation determine his actions, if not his thoughts. If his family is sufficiently wealthy to support him comfortably, he feels a certain dependence and obligation to acknowledge his primary role as a family member rather than as a student. He is usually economically

2. However, a considerable number merely register in the university in order to achieve some of the recognition extended to students. Out of 70,000 students who enroll in the University of Buenos Aires each year, over 15,000 fail to pass a single course.

inactive, unless he acquires a position through his economic background which will aid his personal economic future. His family obligation is expressed by social and political inactivity in the university. Occasionally, in rebellion against or compensation for his heritage, this student will become quite active in political or social events. On the other hand, the student who is forced to support himself by constant economic activity usually holds extreme social and political views but seldom has the available time to express himself except by supporting radical political leaders. However, because often the poor student seeking work will often accept only "professional" positions worthy of his elite status as a student, he occasionally will have some time. Between the above extremes are many economic situations - partial family support, intermittent economic activity, loans, and other sources of income. It is difficult to discern whether or not the average student is economically active, but a large number do work and more would if suitable positions were available.³ His economic background centers around a lower-middle category:⁴ the student continuing to live with his family, with increasing economic

3. In one fairly "democratized" (see footnote 4) university, San Marcos in Lima, Francis Rogers states that only one-third of the students are "economically active". While he does not define this term, it is assumed that this also includes part-time employment. My impression of more general economic activity is probably explained by my concentration on the more politically active faculties. Rogers says that in Economics some 50 percent work. This economic activity is often part-time and allows adequate opportunity for other activities.

4. This generalization varies for each national university. The development of more "democratic" university systems since the Reforma Universitaria (University Reform) movement has been characterized by extremely low fees, non-existent or modest entrance examinations and few requirements concerning class attendance, completing courses, or receiving degrees. The extent to which the university has developed along these lines determines the ability of lower class students to enroll.

problems for both, unable to find sufficient acceptable employment and thus prone to other activities". Since this is not a comfortable economic position, a majority favor social and political activity because of their desire for economic betterment. But the more the economic situation necessitates economic activity, the less opportunity for personal involvement in social and political activity.

The average student acknowledges that, even while in the university, his first interest in a profession is with its monetary rewards. Outside the university community the ex-student loses the opportunities, privileges, and immunities of student life. He is constantly aware that when his studies are completed or interrupted, he must become economically responsible. The concepts and ideas concerning social and political matters which he once held, and perhaps actively promoted, may remain vivid but usually become secondary to economic activity.

The academic program in which the student participates is a definite influence on his social and political activity. In the sense that this is the student's most important job, the earning of a professional degree, his scholastic activity is economic activity. Certain careers actually seem to encourage non-scholastic activity. Law, economics, political science, and the humanities are generally the principal centers where students are both economically and socio-politically active. These studies normally require less time and technical skills than some of the more scientifically oriented faculties. More important, the very nature of these professions in Latin America encourages socio-political lines of thought. Professors in these fields are more inclined to be active in social action or political parties, thus setting an example for the student. Medicine, dentistry, and engineering, on the other hand, are careers which demand much time and acquired technical

skill, and are not apt to provide much real stimulus to socio-political thinking.⁵ Because each faculty in the university is an autonomous body, active student leaders emerge from all fields and it is not unusual to find medical or engineering students as university leaders. But the average student is more likely to accept the student role if he is enrolled in law or the humanities.⁶

Universities in Latin America provide little extracurricular social life. Strictly social activities are usually family affairs. Social contacts which do exist between university students are rarely in the context of university functions. If the student is married, closely tied to his family, or intensely active economically, his social activities will be even more restricted. For these reasons, the formation of groups for recreational purposes, whose activities might possibly turn students from politics, is not a common occurrence.

Social welfare activity in Latin America is not yet acknowledged or accepted as a student activity. The concept of individual social work is new to Latin Americans; the government is associated with social welfare and both rich and poor look to its agencies to manage those activities. This type of work is definitely not a part of the traditional student role and few students participate in it. A small number, usually among the rich, have initiated programs of student social work, but most view this as an activity unsuitable to their qualifications and positions. Those who advocate radical social change do so in the context of radical political change, so that social work continues to be a governmental function.

5. Notable exceptions, such as the active Facultad de Medicina (School of Medicine), of Buenos Aires, do exist.

6. UNESCO's Basic Facts and Figures indicates a concentration of students in Law and Social Sciences among Latin American universities, reaching as high as 46 percent of the total enrollment in Argentina. There is also a large percentage in Medicine and Engineering, but this only encourages the humanities students to accept an active role.

The average student in Latin America is not politically active; at the same time, he believes in the ideal student image, acknowledges his position, and feels that he should accept and respond to the unique student role. This propensity to be active leads to those occasional expressions of significant activity which help to form the erroneous picture commonly held of the Latin American student. Yet even these large-scale demonstrations do not include the average student. When 2,000 students gather in Lima, or even 8,000 in Mexico City, this is indicative of aroused student interest but represents only 15 percent of the enrollment in those national universities. It is the expressed opinion of even the politically active student that 80 to 90 percent of his fellow students are completely disinterested in any expression of the student role. *(10) If he is relating disinterest to inactivity, his conclusion is correct.

While the average student is not, and usually will not become, politically active, the potential exists. Members of elite groups outside of the university who seek to influence students will usually maintain direct contact with those who are influential within the university — the politically active students. Even when his ends are non-political, the active student must express his influence politically in order to gain prestige and to establish himself as a leader. Therefore, representatives of the government, religious organizations, foreign embassies, labor groups, and political parties all seek to reach the students by influencing their political activity. *(12) Because the potential of average students cannot be ignored, they are constantly under these indirect political, social, and economic pressures.

The favorable sentiments for activity conveyed by the average student when questioned about his student role, despite the many

encouragements, are seldom demonstrated. The general attitudes expressed by a majority often disagree with the manner in which the politically active student interprets the role; but they fail to express their own interpretations because they do not become personally involved. Most students agree that acceptance of the role means a demonstration of student influence, but they are either unable or unwilling to respond.

The Political Student — If the student is to accept his role, he must be active; if he is active, he seeks influence; if he is to be influential, he must be political. It has been established that economic and social activity are not acceptable or adequate outlets for student activity. Because he can be effectively active in politics, and because he lives in a society where economic, social, and political power is often coincident, the active student feels that political activity is the best impetus to economic and social activity. Acceptance of the student role, then, is interpreted by the student to involve political activity. *(9) The active student will be political, and the inactive student will acknowledge, if not approve, that the most effective way of accepting the student role is through political activity. The degree to which the student actively accepts this role determines whether he is a leader, a follower, or the average student. Because the average student is inactive, the politically active student inherits, and also molds, the ideal image of the Latin American student. *(11) The average student continues to be a member of the elite through his recognition of the student position, but politically inactive, he has little real influence.

Latin American society has created an image of the university student. The average student finds pleasure and privilege in

acknowledging his position but encounters too many obstacles to actively accept his role. The student who manages the best acceptance in equating his role and the ideal image is the politically active student.

III.

LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

The university, because of its unique position in Latin America, affects many aspects of the student's life, and plays a significant role both in moulding the image of the ideal student and in promoting the accepted substitution for the ideal student — the politically active student. The principal function of a university is to prepare the student for economic activity, but Latin American universities are also centers of political activity.⁷

The student who feels compelled to show his acceptance of the ideal student image seeks some form of activity, and the university encourages and enables political activity.⁸ In fact, little opportunity is offered in the university for other types of activity. This political aspect of the institution is so well established that a few youths are drawn there purely to gain a recognized and respected platform for political action. On the other hand, the majority of students, whether or not politically inclined, enter the university

7. Concentration will be placed on this aspect of the university, as this paper does not intend to present a general picture of Latin American universities.

8. A note should be made here concerning the exclusive use of the central university. Based on numerical figures alone, the central universities usually far outweigh other institutions; in Mexico UNAM has over 80 percent of the university students, UCV in Caracas has almost 60 percent, and UBA in Buenos Aires and UMSM in Lima total over 30 percent of the university population of the entire country. But more important, because of its size, its proximity to national politics and politically oriented people, and its historical development and prestige, the central university is more inclined to be a political university.

primarily for professional training. But the political atmosphere affects all, including the most academically dedicated, and can lead to involuntary and passive "political activity" on the part of all students.⁹

The Ideal University — Various problems affecting Latin American universities merit elaboration because they contribute directly to political activity among the students.¹⁰ The first concerns the failure of the university to assist students in making a realistic appraisal of the ideal student image. Many look to their school for guidance in achieving a student role which is both feasible in their eyes and compatible with the student image. Instead, they find the university endorsing the unattainable concept of an ideal student, and encouraging acceptance of the politically active student's interpretation of the student role. Thus, those who desire to manifest their interpretation of the ideal student image, but cannot do it politically, are frustrated. Most potentially active students join the ranks of the inactive majority who acknowledge that an ideal image exists but have never anticipated, nor been interested in, actively interpreting the student role in terms of their own attitudes and capabilities.

9. A student strike, for whatever cause, is rarely countered by any students, and therefore is falsely seen as approved by all students.

10. The University South and North by Francisco Miro Quesada compares the Latin American university with the United States model. Luis Alberto Sanchez discusses The University in Latin America in a series of articles in "Americas" concerning both historical developments and current situations. H.R.E. Benjamin in What Good Is A University in America approaches the historical problems. La Crisis Universitaria en Hispano-America by Roberto MacLean is a useful study of the university as a reflection of society. Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran deals with the problems of students in the university in Organization and Structure of Latin American Universities. Also helpful were Higher Education in Latin America with Manuel Cardozo (ed.) and La Universidad Latinoamericana by Luis Alberto Sanchez.

A related problem confronting the universities is that Latin Americans have also conceived of them in the spirit of "philosopher-king" idealism. The ideal university is seen as a community of scholars, learned teachers and eager pupils, all seeking the pure truth; defending with an empirical objectivity those truths considered absolute concerning man and society. The student, already aware of the ideal student image, easily becomes an advocate of the ideal university. These ideal images are noble concepts, and acceptable as ultimate goals. But the divergences between the ideal images and the real situations of both the university and the student, which often reach farcical proportions, are too often ignored.

Neither the student nor the university is completely unaware of their failure to conform to their respective images. Most students will not accept the one-sided role available to them; but their failure to actively reject fulfillment of the ideal image as impossible permits the emergence of a very influential, politically active student. In the same manner, the university does not consider that it has fulfilled its imaginary purpose. Students, professors, and officials speak frankly and specifically about the grave condition and inadequacy of the institution. But again, there is no active promulgation of realistic goals or a responsible approach to the problems. The problems are seen and revealed perceptively, but the solutions remain in the form of broad and general plans which optimistically project the development of the university until it has attained society's ideal concept.¹¹

11. This criticism can be extended to some of the most distinguished and knowledgeable Latin American scholars. They speak vividly of the sorry conditions in particular institutions, but when writing of the general concept of the Latin American university, they seem fascinated with the ideal image. It is too easy to turn from a searching examination of seemingly endless problems to glowing accounts of dreams and sweeping proposals to realize the ultimate. A quite pertinent illustration of this fault in the institution is the university bulletin. The university described in the bulletin is often closer to the ideal than to the actual situation.

Latin American institutions too often seek the ultimate ideal for the present with no provisions for the intermediary steps necessary for real progress.

The basic problem of both the student and the university lies not in their frustrated efforts to fulfill, or live up to, an unattainable ideal but in their continued desire to acknowledge an illusory position which does not exist. Neither can successfully live up to these images but when they continue to assert that the ideal does exist, they are undermining their own future. The results of this paradox, politically active students and poor universities, help to destroy the images they claim to be fulfilling, and often oppose the very goals they claim to seek. The university, an institution encouraging unrealistic objectives, provides a disruptive environment for the student. By failing to separate idealism from reality in its own philosophy, it fails to aid the student trying to find a realistic role. By suggesting that the student could live up to the image of the ideal student, it encourages the student who claims to fulfill that image.

A Political Atmosphere -- There is a historical precedent for the politically involved student and university. Universities and their students have had a role in Latin American politics since pre-Independence days. They contributed substantially to the Independence movements and continued to agitate in the era of dictators. Since 1918 the rallying cry for action has been "La Reforma Universitaria" (University Reform).¹² This memorable declaration

12. La Reforma has been the subject for a multitude of authors. Almost every issue of the numerous university student publications will contain some comments on the reform movement. Most of the books previously listed make some mention of university reform. Others dealing in more detail with the reform include Estudiantes y Gobierno Universitaria by Gabriel del Mayo, Argentina by Edmundo Lassalle, and La Reforma Universitaria en América Latina by COSEC (the "western-oriented" International Conference of Students).

of the students of Córdoba, Argentina, which called upon the students to take an active role in promoting better schools, has spread until today its subsequent interpretations form the philosophical bases upon which are built the concepts of the ideal student and university. It is also used to justify the actual role of the student within the university. Considerable credit must be given the students and universities for their stand against tyranny and corruption; but many unwarranted and destructive actions have also been performed in the name of "La Reforma". Unrelenting opposition to all governments has been so justified as fulfilling the historical role of the university. *(20) The issue is not whether the academic community should oppose all government. Injustice in many student and university political activities seems to arise from the inability to distinguish relatively good governments from substantially poor ones. Essentially progressive governments with somewhat understandable shortcomings often are the victims of the same crushing criticism and active censure which are sometimes less effectively applied to suppressive governments.¹³ The historical precedent for political activity is too often abused.

One traditional problem which promotes political activity on the national level involves the concept of university autonomy. This concept, above any other single one, is singled out to condemn

13. There is naturally great dissension over the relative merits of "good and bad" governments. However, an illustration which arouses a minimum of disagreement is a comparison of Pérez Jiménez and Betancourt in Venezuela. Most students, even those violently opposed to Betancourt, admit to some good qualities in his government when it is compared to the Pérez Jiménez regime. Yet, many students are now actively opposing Betancourt and using the same tactics which they employed in his favor against Pérez. The struggling democracy of Betancourt is much more susceptible to university opposition than the strong-arm government of Pérez Jiménez.

Latin American universities. Its basis lies again in the concept of an ideal university; if the institution is to function outside of the "corrupt" realities of Latin American society, then it must be protected or autonomous from outside pressures and influences. This applies particularly to the traditional power groups — the church, the military, and the government. Both the church and the military have turned to the establishment of their own institutions, but the national university is the educational institution of the government. Hence, the government is portrayed as the declared enemy of university autonomy.

Because of the obvious bonds between this university and the government (e.g., government grants average 80 percent of the university's sustaining funds), any suggestion of irregular government intervention is unequivocally opposed. The degree of semi-autonomy which it can realistically claim varies considerably depending largely on the tolerance of the government.¹⁴ In spite of this, all universities take advantage of the usual government "modus vivendi" attitude, claim complete autonomy and resist real or imagined government attempts to infringe upon their "autonomy". One of the ways the university community marshals opposition to the government is to enlist the active students. These students are already inclined toward political activity, and the institution augments this tendency by promoting student opposition to the government. The student is portrayed as protecting the university from the government.

14. Noticeable differences in autonomy are seen in neighboring national universities in Caracas, Venezuela and Bogotá, Colombia. The fiercely guarded campus of the Central University in Caracas serves as a haven for political refugees, and professors and students effectively dominate the administration; while in Bogotá, a representative from the government Ministry of Education is a powerful member of the National University council, and the campus is open to anyone.

The concept of university autonomy has been much abused. The guarded sanctity of the campus (in some countries, the police are not allowed in the university without permission) has not only fostered a freedom of intellectualism, but also has harbored common criminals. This freedom has further propagated the eliteness of students but has also led them to believe they are not subject to the laws and restrictions set up by society. University autonomy is a mixed blessing.

The politically active professor has a profound effect upon the student and the university. A majority of professors have little time for the student or politics. Ninety percent of them are part-time teachers who must seek other employment to earn a sufficient salary. A generous number, because of their superior knowledge and scholastic reputation, find employment with the government. This provides opportunity, but still little time, for political activity. Most professors are also limited in this contact with students, usually communicating with them only through prepared classroom lectures. Even there they can exert a strong influence upon the students. Those who do maintain personal contact with the students usually do so for a reason, often to promote political activity. *(13) Seekers of political power can use the respected title of professor to further their political fortunes; and the professor is provided with readily available disciples. This man becomes a model for the student; he is an adult, an intellectual, who accepts and promotes political activity.

The Failure of Alternatives - As a result of concentrating upon political activities, the university inadequately meets its scholastic-economic obligations. Most students enter school to obtain an

education and to learn a profession, *(1) not to be politically active. In this regard, all students, even those not willing to actively demonstrate for change, will agree that the university is inadequate.

The failure of the university in its primary function results from numerous deficiencies in funds, facilities, equipment, and professors. Lack of funds is a problem for all Latin American educational institutions since all of the countries (except oil-rich Venezuela) are poor enough to be classified underdeveloped.¹⁵ The economic wealth of these countries is concentrated in the hands of a small elite. While it is true that this elite often coincides with political and social elites, rarely do they commit their wealth to the benefit of social or political causes beyond immediate personal interests. This fact implies an almost total lack of private support for the universities. Support from private institutions, such as the Church, is directed toward parochial schools. This lack of private support may be partially blamed upon the universities themselves which have possibly been overzealous in their protection of academic freedom.

With no other likely sources of support (the virtually non-existent tuition is defended by students as essential to academic freedom *(5)), Latin American universities are forced to depend largely upon national governments for their support.¹⁶ At the same

15. This definition used by Benjamin Higgins in Economic Development is based upon the per capita national income. Underdeveloped countries are those which fall below one-fourth the per capita income of the United States.

16. Sanchez in The University in Latin America estimates that about 80 percent of the universities are supported by the national governments and about the same percentage are in financial difficulties. In most national universities, the student meets less than 5 percent of the cost; in México the government provides 80 percent and in Perú 87 percent of the operating expenses. The United States student's costs average \$2,000 annually, while in Latin America only \$200 is yearly expended for each student.

time, these governments are usually so concerned with other aspects of underdevelopment that those funds allocated to education must be largely devoted to raising the level of literacy before improving the quality of higher education.¹⁷ Government officials, traditionally subject to criticism by the university, are doubly wary of appropriating funds for higher education when the university appears more interested in asserting its independence than in increasing its financial resources.

Poor facilities and equipment, the direct result of small budgets, also limit the capacity of the university to satisfy demands for scholastic excellence. A number of countries (México, Panamá, Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador) have taken steps to alleviate this problem by introducing the concept of ciudades universitarias (university cities). This involves building a completely new complex of buildings, away from the center of town, with modern equipment and room for expansion. However, those designed so far have involved a vast expenditure of money, and are characterized by incompleteness, poor equipment, and rapid over-use. Although a step in the right direction, this situation illustrates the fallacy of projecting an ideal without sufficient intermediary planning.

Both of the above problems, inadequate funds and facilities, contribute to the problem of supplying enough qualified professors. Without adequate facilities and equipment, the country cannot produce an adequate number of qualified professors. In addition, most professors find it impossible to earn a living from university work alone.¹⁸ The outside interests of these professors results in little

17. Beltran, Organization and Structure of Latin American Universities, claims that 10 to 20 percent of the average Latin American government budget goes to education with higher education receiving under 0.2%.

18. Sanchez says only 10 percent of university professors are full time. In The University of San Marcos, Rogers lists 570 professors holding 769 posts with only 26 as full time.

interaction with the students, poorly prepared lectures, "out-of-date information, and a general failure to encourage scholasticism. Faced with such obvious deficiencies, the student is dissatisfied with his scholastic opportunities primarily because he is receiving an inadequate preparation for future economic success. *(2)

The student who wishes to rebel against this situation finds little opportunity for social activity. The myriad of social groups through which a student in the United States might protest do not exist in Latin American universities. They are simply not organized along social lines. Fraternities are non-existent, classes are too amorphous and changing, a substantial number of students work, even more are part-time students, and in some schools as many as 90 percent drop out during their university course. Student dormitories are rarely part of the school, even within the new university cities, and the existing residences which students can afford do not provide satisfactory study or social conditions. University functions of any type seldom attract more than a small percentage of the students. When the student does associate with his classmates, it is usually either within the confines of a political group or the family circle.

The Political University — Faced with these inadequacies and finding few opportunities in the university to express himself, the student who still seeks an active student role — and most do not — turns to political activity. Although both the student and the university have many non-political functions, their political actions are considered their closest approach to the ideal roles society has conceived for them. The politically active student looks to the university for direction and support, and he receives it.

The most obvious university promotion of political activity can be seen in the formal positions available to the politically active student. The Latin American university is organized as a confederation with separate facultades (schools or colleges), such as the faculty of medicine or the faculty of economics, making up the fairly autonomous divisions of the institution. Since there are seldom full-time administrative positions in the university organization, it is governed by a system of consejos (councils). There is one council for the university as a whole, and each faculty has its own council. The university council has wide-ranging powers in all areas of university concern, ostensibly limited only by the power claimed by each individual faculty council. These councils, respectively at the university or faculty level, have the authority to distribute funds, select professors, determine the curriculum, and set requirements for the student body. Membership on these councils is theoretically shared by students, professors and alumni, with outsiders rarely represented. In actuality, since the alumni rarely have an equal voice, the councils become a matter of co-gobierno (co-government), i.e., professor-student cooperation.¹⁹

By granting the student, what becomes in some cases, a decisive voice in running the university, a tremendously powerful position is created for those who seek an active student role. And the university further sanctions political activity by recognizing and dealing with the student federations and associations. Both the federation (a body of students elected to handle student affairs in the university) and the associations (student clubs usually

19. The interpretation of co-gobierno is a frequent source of agitation between students and professors, each seeking to gain the upper hand.

advocating political involvement) are organized principally along political lines. Influenced by the political atmosphere in the university, the student who usually gains positions in these groups is the politically active student.

The politically active students and professors reinforce the political image of the university. A majority of students and professors mutely testifying that this image is not valid do not prevent the active minority from proclaiming their political roles. Nor do they prevent the acceptance of political roles by Latin American Society. The accepted claims of the politically active student and professor result in large part from the passive role of most students and professors. But the university must also acknowledge the encouragement of the politically active student.

UNIVERSITY STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

Latin American university student activity usually takes place within the framework of various student organizations. Three types of such organizations exist in most Latin American universities: the university governments, the student federation, and the student association.²⁰ Because student activity has become political activity, these groups are essentially political — vehicles for the politically active students. Their effectiveness varies markedly among the national universities, determined in each case by the importance of politics in the university, the freedom allowed the politically active students, and the role assumed by the student organization itself. *(6)

University Government: — Students in Latin America play a role in the governing of their university which is unmatched in other areas of the world. Each university is comprised of virtually autonomous schools, or faculties, each faculty is administered by a council and over the various faculty councils stands a central university council. These councils, which govern the university, have a membership composed of professors, students, and alumni.²¹ At the faculty level, the dean of each school serves as chairman of

20. The general and specific descriptions of the student groups are based largely on my notes. Due to the personal prejudices of various sources interviewed, certain disputable statements may appear. Where specific mistakes are made, the fault is probably mine due to incomplete or misinterpreted information.

21. But the fact that the graduates have little or no power leaves the university government divided between students and professors.

the council; the presidency of the university council is filled by the rector of the university. Representatives to the university and various faculty councils are selected in general elections held by each group (professors, students, and alumni). Professors normally elect the greatest number of representatives, followed by the students, with the alumni filling the least number of positions. Student candidates for council representatives are normally sponsored and supported by the various student associations (the political clubs) emphasizing a specific political position or ideology. Students rarely contest an office solely on the basis of their ability to exercise responsibility or to represent the interests of all students; and while personal appeal plays a definite part, in a political contest personality is associated with a political position. Through this unique university government, the student members are given a very effective platform from which they can express their views and are in a position to exercise considerable influence.

The duties of faculty and university councils, in which the student has an important voice, involve decisions vital to the university. The authority of the faculty council includes the making and enforcing of laws governing the appointment and dismissal of professors, the curriculum, the acceptance and dismissal of students, the dispersal of funds, the nomination of the dean (although actual selection of the dean and other formal functions are performed by larger and much less powerful assemblies, also composed of professors, students, and alumni) and the functioning and composition of the council itself. The faculty councils influence nearly every area of concern in their specific schools.

The university council performs functions not exclusively under faculty jurisdiction, deals with matters concerning the entire university, and coordinates the duties and decisions of the faculty councils.

Despite the considerable variations in the amount of influence actually exerted by student representatives on council decisions, the positions are always sufficiently powerful to attract the politically active students. In some instances, the students on the council are held to a relatively controlled voice of protest, but where a very active student body exists these representatives are considered to hold the most important reins of student influence. Because the students can devote more time and interest to the council, their voice is usually the loudest and most persistent, and often enough the most influential. In any case, even when he is allowed only a controlled protest role, the student member still speaks for the largest and most active group represented on the council. Regardless of actual student influence, the prestige of the position itself grants power. Some of the outstanding student representatives to the national university council become recognized national figures. Here is a student whose words can affect governments. With such potential stature and influence accruing to the position, it is clear that many students will consider it as almost a fulfillment of the ideal student role; and those who actively seek to accept the role will attempt to gain the position. *(8) It is also true that the position cannot be attained without a great deal of political activity, even when the candidate is not motivated principally by political ends. Those students who are concerned with the university government must be politically active students.

Student Federations - The second organization which serves as a vehicle for student activity is the student federation. This is a group comparable to the student governments in the United States, composed entirely of students and run by them, which ostensibly represents all students attending the university. In actuality, far from representing all the students, the federation usually represents one, or a coalition of the politically oriented associations. It is therefore often opposed by other associations and occasionally by rival federations. Although there is no official connection between the student federation of a university and the university government, higher officers in the federation are usually found to be student representatives on the various university-faculty governing councils.

The organization of the student federation is comparable to that of the university government. The federation itself represents the entire university while each school, or faculty, is organized into what is called a centro (center). Theoretically, each centro affiliates with the central university federation, which in turn affiliates with other university federations to form the nationwide student confederation. The centro of each faculty, and the federation of the university, each has four or five elected officers. Duties performed by the centro include publication of student newspapers, distribution of information affecting the students, organization of meetings, and establishment of influence in the faculty councils of the university government.

The centro, as the federation, is usually controlled by one of the various student associations and thereby affiliated with a particular political ideology. A large part of the activity of the centro and its officers will be devoted to the promotion of the interests of their association. While more active students are politically independent

at this level, than in the university government, to be a leader in a centro there still exists the necessity to manifest a considerable degree of political activity, best realized through the support of an association, in order to gain adequate support. As a centro tends to gravitate more toward a particular student association rather than toward the federation or the university government, it will definitely not represent all of the students within a particular faculty. In some cases rival centros are established within the faculty by opposing associations; however, it is more common for the opposition to strive for control of the existing organization.

As stated, all centros theoretically affiliate with the university federation. In practice, since the centros are never all controlled by the same political association, rarely do all affiliate with the federation although some alliances are usually affected. Occasionally, the association, or alliance of associations, which controls the federation will form rival centros in those faculties which are not under their control, in order to present a picture of unity. The establishment of rival federations, unlike the more prevalent practice of rival centros, is not frequent because of the greater prestige attached to the existing body. *(11) Depending upon the system of voting, an association-alliance which controls a majority of small faculty centros may or may not win control of the federation from another alliance which controls a smaller number of large faculties. As a result of these power contests, the federation may be controlled by one association and a majority of the student representatives in the university government may belong to another. Although one association may provide the leadership in either the federation, the university government, or both, there will always be a few positions filled by representatives of rival associations.

Elected officials in the faculty centros, and even more those in the federation, often rival the power and influence of student representatives to the university government. The president of the student federation (also usually a member of the university government) and other centro and federation leaders may become national figures along with students in the university government. Although federation representatives as a rule are more closely tied to the political associations than are the students in the university government, they all are elected by the students and maintain that their positions represent active acceptance of the student role. These representatives, whether in majority or minority positions, and whether or not they fulfill the designated functions of their offices, can use their positions to proclaim and influence the student image. The student most inclined to seek these positions will be the politically active student.

Student Associations - The student association is the grass-roots organization for student activity. Because this activity has been focused along political lines, the associations are partisan political groups of students seeking to fill federation and government offices.²² Because they serve as the primary support for student leaders in the centro, federation, and government,

22. It should be noted that only a few student leaders are members of the government, selected as representatives by student elections. All students are automatically members of the federation, but can voice their opposition by supporting rival federations or associations not represented in the federation. Most students are only informal supporters of associations, expressed principally through voting rather than by active participation. The students who hold the positions in the government and federation and who lead the associations are the politically active students.

the associations are usually led by, and become tools of, politically active students.²³

Most students have a very nominal affiliation with an association, but any support is utilized by the leaders. The average student, as discussed, acknowledges that an image of the student exists, but does not accept a role personally. Thus, a certain admiration is felt, and exhibited, by the student for his compatriot who does claim to accept the role, even though he may not admire the role interpretation of the active student. The majority of students are active in the association only to the extent of voting, whether in protest or conviction, but by this single act they grant the more active students permission to claim the student role. At the level of the association, the semi-active students do not often claim to accept the student role for themselves. Their activity, the demonstration, serves, as do the votes of the inactive majority, as additional support for the active role claimant - the politically active student.

No association admits to being a purely political group, just as no politically active student will admit to being a development of only part of the ideal student, but both associations and students primarily seek political power. All associations claim to have an overall philosophy which provides the best foundation for an active student role. However, the extent to which some associations deny their

23. Student associations do exist which make no effort to gain control of the student government or federation. Usually these groups are also non-political and completely separated from the university. Examples are various intellectual, professional, and religious groups which fail to interest most students. UNEC (Union Nacional de Estudiantes Catolicos) and ACUP (Asociación de Catolicos Universitarios Peruanos) are two Peruvian Catholic social groups, and FUSH (Federacion de Universitarios Socialistas y Humanistas) is an intellectual society which seeks political as well as religious and social influence. Because none of these groups propose to have any direct connection with the university, they are not considered true university organizations.

political character denies too completely the political methods by which they seek and obtain power. Any association of importance or tenure attempts to express its power by gaining positions in the student federation or university government. The elections for student representatives to the university and faculty councils, and for positions in the student federation and centros, represent the struggle among the associations to gain influence for their particular political viewpoint. Student representatives on the faculty councils often come from associations other than those which control the most positions on the university councils. But with several important exceptions, the association which gains control of the student federation will also have a majority of student positions on the university council.

Unlike the representatives to the federation and government, the position of association leader does not carry power in itself, but serves as a potential springboard to power. If this were not the case, every politically active student would create an association. The ability of the association to win representation within the federation and the government determines its power and its activities. Nevertheless, it is more than a framework within which federation and government representatives rise to power. It is the bulwark behind the concept of the politically active student as the student leader. The association is organized support for the leaders in their endeavor to better accept the student role by gaining positions of influence through political activity. As the leaders rise to power, so also does the association. Through its representative leaders, the association can rise to control of the centro, the federation, and the university government, and in so doing gains a stimulated and larger membership. The leader, and consequently the association, has then risen from a small obscure group to a large group of national prominence. *(15)

The university government, the federation, and the associations, as can be seen, are closely related. When student representatives in the government carry little influence, this is usually reflected in weak federations and associations. Strong federations, backed by strong associations, can create powerful positions for the students in the university government. University student organizations vary in strength, influence, and effectiveness, each one made distinct by the prevailing conditions within the particular country and university. For this reason, a more adequate picture can be obtained of the student movement in general by reference to a number of specific examples which are illustrative of student activity as it exists in various stages of development.

Venezuela — The Central University of Venezuela, in Caracas, is one of the most active national universities in Latin America.²⁴ This tendency of the average Venezuelan student to be more active than his counterpart in other countries may be contributed to several factors — particularly the historical precedent for politically active students. Many national political leaders, including the current President Romulo Betancourt, were politically active university students, and later effectively used this support in gaining positions in the national government. This prestige, and the related inclination on the part of the national government to be lenient with active students, has allowed students an opportunity for a real role in national politics and enabled student leaders to become figures of national prominence.

There exists a close relationship between student activity and national politics in Venezuela which is manifested in the fact that

24. Exemplified by the fact that more than 95 percent of the students voted in the 1962 federation election.

student associations tend to form along national political party lines. While in other countries the student associations jealously guard their autonomy from national parties, the Venezuelan associations welcome the support and direction of the national parties. This is not seen as a surrender of autonomy as the students control the nature of the relationship between their associations and the youth divisions of the various parties. The association-party relationship is considered mutually beneficial in that combined efforts receive combined support while either group retains the right to disclaim unapproved actions of the other. While it is generally true that the associations take more radical and active stands on issues than are feasible for the national parties, most parties actively seek the support of students in order to gain the enthusiasm, tolerance, and prestige associated with the student image. The associations, while remaining independent, gain the support, organization, and recognition associated with national parties.

The strength of a national party in Venezuela is not indicative of the counterpart student association strength. At the national level, Betancourt's government is based upon the Democratic Action party (Acción Democrática — AD), the principal political group which opposed the Perez Jimenez dictatorship. In the 1958 national elections, AD polled 49 percent of the votes. Other national parties which received a significant proportion of the vote in 1958 were the Democratic Republican Union (Unión Republicana Democrática — URD) and the Social Christian Party (Partido Social Cristiano — COPEI) which received 27 percent and 15 percent, respectively; the Venezuelan Communist Party (Partido Comunista Venezolano — PCV) received 5 percent of the vote.

Since the overthrow of the Pérez Jiménez dictatorship in which all parties cooperated, and especially since AD won the 1958 election, there has been an increasing amount of political splits and factions. AD has split a number of times and remains in coalition only with COPEI. The Revolutionary Leftist Movement (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario — MIR) was formed in a 1960 split from AD, and has evolved into a leftist organization which is generally considered even more prone to violence and radicalism than the PCV. Another split from AD, which occurred in 1962 largely over personal differences, insisted upon calling itself Democratic Action and was labeled AD-ARS to differentiate from the government party.²⁵ AD-ARS claims to be the true successor to AD (now called AD-Guardia Vieja, "old guard") but ideologically differs little from the AD. URD at the national level is roughly split into two groups of middle class and leftist elements, but is hindered even more by personality cults. COPEI, although remaining in coalition with evolutionary-leftist AD, is more oriented toward the Catholic social doctrine. In spite of this factionalism, AD is still considered the single most powerful party in Venezuela.

The major student associations in Universidad Central de Venezuela carry the same names and same general political orientations as the national parties but show significant differences in strength. AD, at one time the leading association, is now scarcely represented in the university. The 1962 candidates of AD-ARS and AD for student representatives to the faculty councils together received less votes than any of the other principal groups. The decline of AD, following the loss of the leftist elements, has followed a general pattern in national politics, but with disastrous results in the university.

25. ARS is a well-known advertising firm in Caracas with the slogan, "Let us do your thinking for you."

AD's loss of university support can be partially attributed to the functional role of the active student; in no Latin American university does the politically involved student directly support the government. Adhering to the ideal image, he seeks to promulgate an ideal society in the immediate future. Because he, and his society, look to the government to fulfill so many functions of society, he blames the government for the failure of society to achieve certain goals which he believes are essential to progress. Thus, his way to realize change is to change the existing government. While students will support a national party in its attempt to gain power, no government can actually accomplish the changes which the ideal student image encourages the active student to support. The politically active student, therefore, opposes the government.

With AD out of the picture, the strength of the moderates in the university is represented by COPEI, the largest single association. Although in coalition with AD both nationally and in the university, COPEI maintains itself as an independent partner of the government, and while the national party is considered to be more conservative than AD, the student association prefers to call itself moderate. As the student leader opposes the government regardless of its label, he will seldom admit to a conservative label regardless of his position. Active students may be rightist or leftist, but conservative has come to signify opposition to those changes supported by the ideal student.²⁶

26. These terms used to indicate the relative positions of the student associations are very indefinite concepts. Labels such as liberal, conservative, moderate, reactionary, extreme, left, right, etc., are open to considerable debate and interpretation in the United States. When the words are translated into other cultures and contexts, the problems multiply. Many confronted with these misunderstood terms suggest the need for a lengthy study into the various definitions of

Occasionally, COPEI students will even claim they are to the left of AD in order to emphasize their opposition to the government and support of change. Nonetheless, the generally moderate position of COPEI resulted in the fact that, while it was the largest association in 1962, it controlled the student centros and a majority of the student representatives to the governmental councils in only two of the larger faculties.

By combining their votes in a united front (frente), the leftist or extremist associations (PCV, MIR, and URD) were able to control the four remaining sizable faculties. PCV, MIR, and URD, like COPEI, also lean to the left of their parent parties. The student URD, more united than the national group, has definitely affiliated with leftist faction of the national party. It contributed the lowest vote (under 8 percent) to the PCV-MIR-URD coalition. The MIR is second in importance in the coalition and constitutes the most radical association of the university.²⁷ The government has sharply repressed both the national and student MIR for fanatic support and violent imitation of Castro's Cuba and Communist China (the president of the student federation, a mirista, has been jailed several times), but its ability to contribute activity, leaders, and 34 percent of the left-coalition vote marks its important role in the university. The student PCV, with some disagreement, is pictured as the coordinating and directing association of the coalition. Certainly, with its contribution of

left-right alone. Although this paper will elaborate when discussing the politically active student, no pretense is made toward having answered these communication difficulties.

27. It is interesting to note that the highly publicized FALN (Fuerzas Armadas para Liberación Nacional — Armed Forces of National Liberation) organization was unknown in December 1962.

almost 60 percent of the coalition vote,²⁸ its tighter organization, direction, and financing at the national level, and its more dedicated and attentive student leaders, the PCV often assumes the central role in the coalition.

The ratio of control in the faculty centros and the faculty governing councils (as mentioned, COPEI controls two of each in the university and the PCV-MIR-URD coalition controls the centros and councils of the other four large faculties) is reflected in the powerful student federation (Federación de Centros Universitarios — FCU). The president is an MIR member, the vice-president is COPEI, the secretary PCV (these three students are also on the university council), and the treasurer belongs to URD. And it can be seen by observing the concentration upon certain elections and the influence associated with those positions that although the student representatives to the university government councils are clearly a powerful group, the real locus of student power in Venezuela lies in the university federation, the FCU. The FCU represents a centralization of the power vested in the associations, and in Venezuela this power is increased considerably by virtue of the close ties between the student associations and the national parties.

The politically active student in Venezuela, utilizing the extremely advantageous opportunities open to him, has risen to a position of national significance and notoriety. The FCU president is in

28. Most of these figures come from unpublished data gathered by Creole Petroleum. This company represents one of the most advanced United States businesses in attempting to understand and aid the immense problems of Latin America. Their efforts in this direction and their generous assistance to my study are most appreciated.

jail, the vice-president also heads the youth division of his national party, the treasurer is confined to the campus by the government, and the secretary is a power within his national party. The achievements of Venezuelan students represent a goal for many politically active students in Latin America.

Colombia — In a reversal of the Venezuelan situation, Colombia has one of the least active national universities in Latin America. The influence and recognition of the politically active students are considerably curtailed because of several factors. Although the national university in Bogotá, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, is the largest in the country, Colombia boasts an additional 24 universities. Of more significance, this national university is one of the rare exceptions in which the university council contains representatives not only of the government but also of the religious and business community. With this compromise of the traditional university autonomy, much less power accrues to the student groups.²⁹

The student who desires to actively accept the student role in Colombia through participation in the university government, the federation, or an association will be relatively unsuccessful. The university council (called Directivo in Colombia), in addition to faculty deans and alumni, contains influential representatives from the National Ministry of Education and the Catholic Church. The students themselves may select one delegate. The real control of the university is exercised by the rector. A similar situation exists

29. The restriction of the national university students in Colombia has led to the recognition of a private university as the center of student activity. Universidad Libre in Bogotá, supported by interested business, labor, and political groups, is the home of the politically active student.

in the faculty councils where each dean of the school, supervised by the university rector, effectively controls the council. The Liberal-Conservative coalition which controls the national government exercises thorough control over the students and the university by careful handling of the powerful rector.³⁰ The active student is given little opportunity to exert influence through participation in the government of the university.

A related lack of real student power and cohesiveness is evident in the student federation of the national university. Even though the present federation is affiliated with the National Union of Colombian Students (Unión Nacional de Estudiantes Colombianos — UNEC), it is nevertheless challenged by several rival federations in the university. At the faculty level, one student from each year's class is elected to the centro; and representation to the university federation is set at one student from each faculty. The student federation, which could be the most important organized manifestation of student activity, is marked by a general lack of competition for the representative positions and by the failure of the leaders to arouse much support for their limited efforts to fulfill the student role.

The lack of large, well-organized, and influential student associations constitutes the final proof of extremely limited student

30. Successful limitation of student influence has not always been the case. The students were able to achieve real power by their activity against Rojas Pinilla, and there are still occasional demonstrations of student strength. The basic problem seems to be an inability to achieve substantial and directed activity, such as the formation of one or more well-supported associations, which could exhibit power and influence through the student role.

activity. Splinter groups at the national level in opposition to the Liberal-Conservative coalition have made little effort to create counterpart associations among the university students.³¹ While no important associations exist in the university, student activity is influenced by several of the smaller clandestine national groups such as the Communist Youth and the revolutionary United Front to Advance the Revolution (Frente Unida para Avanzar Revolución — FUAR).³²

With such definite limitations upon organized activity, the politically active student in Colombia usually bases his leadership upon personal appeal. Deprived of an organized political position and support, he must gain his followers by personal popularity. Regardless of how ineffectual it may be in itself, the leader ordinarily seeks an official student post in order to provide a recognized platform for his individual efforts. Unable to exert much demonstrable influence, he tends to gravitate toward more radical positions in attempting to express his concept of the ideal student which, in this case, is particularly far removed from the realities of his actual role. The average student turns to pessimistic apathy. And it seems that ineffectual and frustrated, the politically active student generally becomes less ideologically inclined and, in fact, is forced into a position of propagating the concept of personalismo (personalism) which the ideal student opposes as the foundation for many of the less progressive Latin American governments.

31. Some activity is noticeable on the part of the leftist Movimiento Revolucionario Liberal (MRL), although much greater efforts are made in Universidad Libre.

32. These two are somewhat comparable, with less power, to the PCV and the MIR in Venezuela.

Perú — The students in Argentina and Perú, both countries with active national universities, represent two different reactions when confronted, as they were in 1962, with somewhat comparable military governments. The active student in the university of San Marcos in Lima, Perú,³³ has reacted in the anticipated manner by taking a leftist position in opposition to the government. An active student role at San Marcos is manifested through advocacy and agitation for fundamental social change. Moderate groups are also active, but through years of activity the leftist groups have taken the initiative and achieved a dominating position.³⁴

Most student associations in Perú have counterparts in the national political parties, but the connection is often very tenuous. Again, the relative strengths of the national political parties do not coincide with the strengths of the various student associations within the university.

At the national level, three relatively equal groups were vying for power in the 1962 presidential elections. The American Revolutionary Popular Alliance (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana — APRA) under the leadership of Haya de la Torre, is an old evolutionary socialistic party which has gradually become less radical over the years. The other two parties are based largely upon personalismo. One of these, the ONU, is named after its leader Odria (a former dictator)

33. Even in an active university such as San Marcos, no more than 30 percent of the students are occasionally demonstrative, and the politically active students number possibly 50 out of 12,000.

34. The prevailing influence of the leftists can be seen in some of the anti-United States, anti-business attitudes of the moderates. Furthermore, conservative students' groups are usually not active in the university and therefore the members are not active as students.

and is identified with the traditional oligarchy. The other, led by Belaunde (the newly elected President), the Popular Action party (Acción Popular — AP), represents the young established intellectuals. Also represented in elections were two minor parties: the young Christian Democrat Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano — PDC) and the leftist coalition, the National Liberation Front (Frente Liberación Nacional — FLN).

APRA has long opposed the successive oligarchical governments of Perú. This party has advocated many of the same reforms and received support from many of the same groups (rural, labor, and students) as did Betancourt's AD party in its successful bid for the Venezuelan government. But Haya de la Torre has consistently failed to gain the support of any of the true power groups in Perú; in fact, he has aroused the determined opposition of influential military groups. In recent years, APRA has become more moderate and has compromised on certain issues in order to gain some actual influence within the government.

In its role as a reform party, and under suppression by the government, APRA was for years the leading influence among the student organizations. When APRA developed its policy of moderation, the student apristas simultaneously attempted to consolidate their control of the university by forcibly eliminating some of the more radical leftist groups. However, the combination of APRA's collaboration with the national government and its strong rejection of opposition groups within the university resulted in the almost complete demise of aprista strength in the university. This rapid decline of APRA in the national university surprised the leftists as much as the apristas and, even though the combined extremist groups controlled the largest

student vote, they did not immediately consolidate their strength. Thus, the relatively young and weak Christian Democrat Party temporarily gained an upper hand in the student organizations.

The strength of the other two major national parties (Accion Popular and the ONU) is not reflected in the university. AP tends to be counted among the various leftist groups despite the fact that Belaunde was probably more popular among the active students than was the candidate of the leftist national coalition, the FLN. ONU finds little support in the university because of its traditionally conservative outlook.

Three factors led to the eventual triumph of the leftist groups in the national university. Many PCD sympathizers remained independent, preferring to be philosophical Christian Socialists rather than formal Christian Democrats, thus weakening the PCD student association. Secondly, the national PDC is not a major party and, in fact, is in a coalition with Accion Popular which, in the university, is cooperating with the leftists. Finally, the leftist groups were able to achieve a working coalition.

The major student associations then are those of the PDC and the member parties of the leftist coalition, the FLN. The FLN at the university is more split by differences among member groups than is the national coalition and thereby often incurs appreciable vote losses. The major parties in the FLN are the PCP (Partido Comunista Peruana — Peruvian Communist Party), the PCLP (Leninist communist) and the PORT (Trotskyite communist). PORT is able to command the most vigorous supporters in the university as a Castro-type revolutionary group which captures the imagination of the students. However, the

better organized and supported PCP student association probably wields the most influence as is often the case in these leftist coalitions.³⁵

Because the student political associations are not closely connected to national parties and are not well-defined groups, the strength of the politically active student in Perú is better demonstrated by the student representatives to the university government and especially by the university's student federation, the Federacion Universitaria de San Marcos — FUSM. Leftist members of the FLN control both a majority of the representatives to the university governing councils and the FUSM. Only the vice-president of the FUSM (a member of the PDC) is not of this coalition. Despite the fact that he is virtually powerless within the FUSM, the vice-president ably demonstrates the power of a federation office with his influence outside the university and among other students.³⁶ Officially, students are permitted to hold only one-third of the positions on the university governing council but because of the disinterest or inability of many of the professors in council proceedings, the student delegates are able to greatly increase their power.

The leftist orientation of the politically active student in Perú, coupled with the usual governmental respect of the university's autonomy, led the active students to openly agitate against the military junta (committee) running the government. The significance which the government attaches to student activity is illustrated by

35. But I would deny the implication often made of communist control of such groups as PORT in Perú and MIR in Venezuela. Some of the dedicated communist students may be able to exert a definite influence, but most active students are too independent to actually be controlled.

36. An even more significant manifestation of student power was the government jailing of the leftist FUSM president. The respected Rector of San Marcos, an aprista, sought his release and was successful.

the jailing of the FUSM president and other active students. While many students oppose the policies and methods of the active leftists, their open defiance of the government in the face of such suppression leads to admiration and support for their interpretation of the student role. The politically active student in Perú, if unable to influence the government, is able to influence other sectors of society.

Argentina — The situation prevailing at the national university in Buenos Aires, Argentina, represents one of the most important triumphs for moderate students in Latin America. Opposition to the Perón dictatorship gave rise to a united student group, led by a historically recognized and well-organized student association, the Reformists (Reformistas). This association grew out of the famous reform movement initiated by a student declaration in Córdoba, Argentina, in 1918 (see footnote 12). Although the group has moved steadily to the left, it has largely retained its position and prestige. Under Perón, the activity and leadership of the Reformistas made them the single most important group in the university.

In 1952, the Humanists (Humanistas), who would eventually challenge Reformista control, were formed largely as a reaction to the anti-clerical policies of the left-leaning Reformistas. The two groups nevertheless continued to cooperate in the fight against the dictatorship. At the time of Perón's downfall in 1955, the Reformistas leading the student groups were in substantial control of the national university; but as the more radical leftists of this group began to exert increasing influence, the Humanistas and other groups left the coalition. Established support (votes cast by habit) maintained the Reformistas in power until 1961 when the steady gains of the Humanistas prevented Reformista control of the university council for

the first time. The Reformistas continue to poll more votes than the Humanistas by virtue of controlling the larger faculties, but the method of compiling the votes gives the Humanistas more delegates to the university council since they control the greatest number of faculties.

Two other student associations of lesser importance in the university control one faculty each. A dissident group of Reformistas (referred to as the Direct Line — La Linea Directa) opposes the leftist tendencies of the majority and claims to represent the true spirit of the declaration of 1918. The other group, the University Movement of the Center (Movimiento Universitario de Centro — MUC), claims to support a middle-of-the-road position between the two major antagonists but actually leans toward the conservative-right.³⁷

During the Perón era, unlike situations in other countries where the students actively opposed a dictatorship, the Argentine students found no national parties with which they agreed sufficiently to lend their support, and thereby developed a degree of aloofness from national politics. To this day, the important student associations have no counterparts at the national level.³⁸ This development has had an important effect on the associations, especially the emerging moderate groups. Claiming little interest in national and international politics, the Humanistas interpret their fulfillment of the student role as an overall development of students with an interest only in those

37. A number of other organizations have little power in the university but have been gaining in reputation. The Christian Democrats have been assisted by the small national party and some ultra-rightist groups have gained undue fame from such publicity as a TIME magazine article on Tacuara.

38. Most groups have national parties for which they express some preference (Humanistas towards Christian Democrats, MUC toward conservatives) but all strongly reject any connection or control. They are explicitly student associations.

national political issues which directly affect the student. The appeal of this claim has prompted even the Reformistas to unenthusiastic endorsement. But in order to overcome the control of the more politically and nationally oriented Reformistas, the Humanistas have been forced to concentrate more upon political activity. And in order to demonstrate their ability to fulfill the student role, the Humanistas first had to make political gains in the university and to show an influence in national issues.

The associations are not lacking in power, but absence of even a loose bond with national parties has limited their influence. In addition, the authority of the student federation (Federación de Universitarios de Buenos Aires - FUBA) to speak for the students is questioned since the Reformistas retain control of it, although no longer controlling the student delegation to the university council. In 1962, six of the nine faculty centros of the university were affiliated with the federation but in only three of them could the Reformistas legitimately claim to represent the student body. In the other six faculties, rival centros affiliated with a variety of student political associations had been formed. Within the Faculty of Law alone, nine different centros were operating. With such dissemination at the faculty level, especially at Buenos Aires where a large and divided campus renders the faculties physically as well as legally autonomous,³⁹ the central university federation is able to exert comparatively little influence within the university.

With dissension and lack of definite control marking the associations and the federation, the real power of the student is centered in that group represented in the university government. The student

39. The Faculty of Medicine alone has a larger enrollment than the University of San Marcos in Perú.

delegates to the faculty and university councils, elected in political contests, constitute the most important centralization of student power and thus serve as the accepted expressions of the student role. Despite the current trend toward a less political and more university-oriented expression of the student role in Buenos Aires, the politically active students still maintain a recognized position and power to mould the student role.

Additional Illustration — A number of additional comments will further clarify the modifications placed upon the general picture of student organizations by each individual university. The national party in México, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional — PRI), presents the politically active student with a unique situation as PRI is probably the only socially progressive, and essentially unchallenged, party in power in Latin America. The student associations do not support PRI, since it represents the government, and tend to support other national parties despite their insignificant power. Yet they acknowledge the probable continuation of PRI dominance at the national level. Faced with this dilemma, strong student associations have not developed in the national university. Because of the autonomy of the faculties and the ineffectiveness of the associations, the locus of student power is in the faculty centros and faculty governing councils. The university federation is newly organized and still weak. The leftist students in México have taken the initiative and gained control in several important faculties. They have been challenged increasingly by rightist groups but these groups are hindered by their inability to coordinate their opposition to the more cohesive left.

Panamá presents the politically active student with a situation in which there is one consistent topic on which political issues are

centered. Leaders of all associations within the university can and do arouse student activity by expressing dissatisfaction over the Panama Canal. Because the line separating them is only one of degree, the group advocating the most radical action, the united left, has managed to gain control of the student federation over other, less explicit, groups. Since the government in Panamá is still run by a small elite, and national elections are principally personal power struggles, the student associations do not support any national party. Students of both the right and the left seek the establishment of new national parties.⁴⁰ Thus far, the small (5,000 students) national university and the lack of clearly defined political associations have combined to promote the same tactics among student leaders as among national leaders — the use of personalismo, personal appeal, to gain support and influence.

The student associations in Ecuador divide roughly along the national party lines and are also based upon personalismo, as are the national groups. Ecuador illustrates again the ability of the politically active students of the left to achieve workable alliances while those of the right are able to unite only in opposition to the left. There are six major student associations ranging roughly from right to left: the Conservatives, the conservatively allied but rival Social Christians, the middle-of-the-road Liberals, the Revolutionary Socialists, who are closely related to the Communists, and finally the violent Young Ecuadorian Revolutionary Union (URIE). The latter

40. An indication of the general confusion over terms such as left and right is the rightist (Christian Democrat) student leader in Panama who considered himself right because he opposed the immediate and violent overthrow of the government.

three groups usually have managed to capture over one-third of the student votes with an ill-defined but effective leftist alliance. With so many and such diverse groups, the student body is split often enough to cause considerable uncertainty as to which groups will control the student organizations. A decline in cooperation between two allied groups can shift a sufficient amount of power to bring a rival coalition into office.

Bolivia, like Mexico, has a one-party revolutionary government, the National Revolutionary Movement (Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario — MNR), but in this case, the revolution is young and shows a tendency to adopt certain characteristics of a leftist dictatorship. Thus, although far from the right in the traditional, conservative sense of the word, the major student association Falange and its closest rivals, Christian Democrats and Social Christians, constitute a rightist opposition to the government. Student strength is felt principally through the Local University Federation (Federación Universitaria Local — FUL). However, with Bolivia under the strict control of the MNR, student activity and influence has been definitely restricted.

Several patterns begin to emerge from these general and specific discussions of the student in relation to student organizations. The student is accepted as fulfilling the student role when he is able to express his power through an office which exercises some influence at the national level. The best way to obtain this office and to demonstrate influence is through political activity. Thus, the leader works through the politically oriented student associations in order to reach positions in the student federation and the university government. The relative power of the student organizations, varying with each country, determines the power of the politically active student. As evidenced

by each illustration, in spite of the distinctness and eliteness claimed by university students, the characteristics, organization, and strength of the student organizations are dependent upon and, in fact, are largely determined by the character and stability of the national political situation.

THE POLITICALLY ACTIVE STUDENT

Elite of Elites — The politically active student is an elite among elites. Presented with an ideal image by society, directed toward a political role by the university, and given the student organization as a tool, the student leader can become a recognized political figure of national importance.⁴¹

Only five percent of the students are the active leaders. The leader is active in gathering and maintaining sufficient support for

41. A number of interesting articles have been written on political activity among the students but a definite need exists for further study. L.R. Scheman, A Gulf That Needs Closing in the January 1962 "Dartmouth Alumni Magazine" contributed some interesting thoughts on factors determining the leftist tendencies of active students. The April 1959 issue of "Foreign Affairs" contained an article by S.W. Washington entitled Student Politics in Latin America which is an excellent if brief appraisal of the student and politics. The Confrontation With The Political University by J.P. Harrison in "The Annals" of March 1961 is a worthwhile summary of current activity in the area. G. Aguirre Beltran in Organization and Structure of Latin American Universities issued by the OAS in 1961 makes some thoughtful statements about the motivations behind activity which is politically expressed. In Report From Latin America in the December 1960 Wayne State "Graduate Comment", N. Guice presents some of the general educational factors which mould the student. The Spanish American University and The University Student is an unpublished USIA manuscript by Filskow and Peck which makes some perceptive observations in a general discussion of the student. El Estudiante Colombiano y Sus Actitudes by R.E. Williamson and issued by Universidad Nacional de Colombia in "Monografias Sociologicas" in September 1962 is a study by a United States professor on student attitudes and their sociological bases. Radical Nationalism, Michigan State in 1961, by D. Goldrich is a case study of political activity among Panamanian university students. While all of these contributed to my general thoughts on the subject, most of the material which I present is drawn from my interpretation of notes taken on discussions concerning and including politically active students.

his particular interpretation of the student role to enable him to occupy a position with power and influence. This position can be as an executive of a recognized student group or a high official in the student federation or government. Leadership is the student role endowed with an influential position. The leader is the student who personifies activity for the majority, directs activity for the minority, and who considers himself a representative of the ideal student. *(11)

A larger group, roughly 25 percent of the students, upon occasion, actively express their student roles. *(10) These students also have their personal interpretations of the student image and will sometimes actively oppose their leaders. Many in this group desire to be leaders, seeking to establish either their own personality in the accepted role, or in some instances, a new interpretation of the role. However, when the semi-active students make an effective demonstration, and they form the bulk of the well-publicized demonstrations, strikes, and riots, the accepted leaders usually direct the coordinated effort. These semi-actives come closer than the student majority to accepting their leaders' interpretations of the student role, and they demonstrate their approval and disapproval beyond the ballot box. This group serves the leader as workers, disciples, and manifest support.

A few aspiring leaders among the semi-active students become so desirous of personal influence they will attempt to initiate new groups for their support. These weak leaders usually head small groups and can manage some activity among the semi-active supporters, but their real lack of power is illustrated by the sparse vote from the student body. They maintain their claims as representatives of the student role, but usually harshly condemn the inactivity of the

average student, attack more powerful leaders, and often urge their small semi-active groups to more extreme demonstrations in order to gain recognition. If feasible, this leader may ally himself and his group with an accepted and more popular organization. With this arrangement, he can still maintain his individual leadership role but for active manifestations of support he can turn to the coalition. In other cases, the minority leader may advocate radical departures from the recognized student role and disassociate his group from the traditional methods of demonstrating student activity. This group may turn into a clandestine extremist organization or into an esoteric philosophic society. Departures from the accepted leader and student role are rare, however, and most minority leaders will continue their efforts to become accepted leaders among the students.* (8)

A majority, possibly 70 percent of the students, go no further than voting and personal discussions in demonstrating beliefs. It is not that these students are uninterested or unaware, they simply are not as motivated toward the student role as the leaders. They may roundly condemn their leaders but rarely will they actively express either approval or disapproval. The leaders can thus claim to represent the students simply by being active since most students, though unwilling to express their individual interpretations, believe in an active student role. A more substantial claim of support can be based upon the vote, for whatever has motivated a student to cast his vote for a particular leader, that vote is expressed support.

The politically active student is widely recognized as most nearly achieving the ideal image of the student. He has managed to fulfill the political aspect of the image while claiming that the complete concept could be fulfilled if the students were not restricted. Others

have either supported this leader or have not identified themselves with other aspects of the ideal image in an active manner. The politically active student is criticized for overemphasizing this side of the ideal student image, but he feels that he is allowed to develop only in this direction. While evidence shows that the student is restricted, obviously even unrestricted student activity could not realize the ideal. It is difficult not to either overlook or overestimate the role of this student.⁴² He represents a partial fulfillment of a partially accepted student role.

More pertinent than the ideal image which the student leader claims to fill is the actual exhibited role of this student. He does not reflect the student image for most university students; nor does he represent the sentiments and opinions of the majority. Most university students are sufficiently imbued with the idealized concepts of individuality and maturity to believe they can formulate their own personal interpretations of the student image. But as long as the average student is not motivated to demonstrate his interpretation of the role, the politically active student will prevail.

His Claims — The student leader claims to be more than a political leader because he compares himself to the ideal student, but student activity is reduced to political activity as the acceptable means of demonstrating the student role. The leader has concluded that the most effective way of seeking progress for the university

42. This problem has contributed to the general misunderstanding of the university student in Latin America. The preceding sections of this paper have possibly overemphasized the role of this student in order to accentuate the factors which contribute to his development. In discussing the student himself, a more realistic appraisal is attempted, but generalizations on such a complex subject are difficult.

and society is political activity. He maintains that his role is endowed with economic and social influence, but admits that his observable influence is political. He claims that he can best fulfill his economic and social responsibilities by utilizing the political role. *(7) Those leaders who object to this interpretation have not yet been able to effectively demonstrate their interests with other concerns, but if they have risen to positions of recognized leadership they have evidenced their political abilities. In Latin American universities and societies, the political governments are so deeply involved in economic and social matters that almost any action can be interpreted as political. Thus, it is not completely valid to picture some student leaders as solely interested in politics while other students are economic and social, as well as political, leaders. Individuals who have attained positions of leadership are sufficiently mature to have a total philosophy of man. It is true that some leaders place more emphasis upon the political side of society, believing that political action is the most important; while others stress the integrated nature of man and believe that combined social, economic, and political activity will best advance the society and its institutions. *(8) In practice, student activity today, both in the university and the society, is expressed principally through the political organizations of the students.

Student leaders have outlined two areas of concern for the student role, the university and society; but the student is primarily active in the university. The role in the university is to guide and direct it toward serving as an institution producing leaders who will guide and direct the social, economic, and political advancement of society. The student concern for society in general arises from the

conviction that university graduates are not satisfactorily advancing the institutions of society; therefore, the students must work for progress now. The student justifies this dual role by stating his obligation as both a student and a citizen. In actuality, the student leader does not separate the two roles but uses his student role to add weight to his actions outside the university. When he attempts to influence society, he does so within the student role.

Some student leaders raise important objections to the role of the student outside the university, but most continue to seek national influence. The objections center on the opinion that the student cannot yet assume his full responsibility as a citizen, *(19) and should concentrate upon preparing himself to be a future leader in society. This is a matter of considerable significance for the future role of the student, but the picture of the student leader inactive in society is not indicative of the present situation. The student is not only a respected citizen but the leaders are active and influential among certain non-university groups. While government officials do not appreciate activity which is often directed against them, the student-citizen has prestige among the underdeveloped masses.⁴³ Few leaders voluntarily reject this opportunity to actively demonstrate the student role, since it adds weight to their personal influence as a student leader. This person needs an active demonstration of his role and if he rejects the image of a student role in society, he has not only

43. Even where a government which is actively attempting to relieve the suppression of the masses is opposed by active students, the historical respect for the student is still evident among the rising populace.

sacrificed potential influence but has also limited his prestige. Latin American universities are very much a part of the societies, and it is impossible to confine the student leader to the university.⁴⁴ If he seeks a better university, then he feels he must influence it and the society which moulds it. *(9)

The student leader is often accused of utilizing his position for personal gain, but he identifies personal achievements as successful realization of the student role. He is no more motivated by individual interests than most students, but being active it can be surmised that he will be more forceful in seeking his personal goals, and will certainly take advantage of his position. Many leaders appear to concentrate upon projecting their personalities outside the normal realm of the defined student role,⁴⁵ however, this is accepted and even approved by the students because they also believe in individual initiative and covet the leaders' position. Moreover, the gains of the leader are expressed through the student role and allow the majority to identify with his successes. In a few cases, he is able to utilize his student position to achieve a higher position and project his personal success, but this also is an accepted use of influence. In other instances, he will work closely with a national group

44. The active role of the university in Latin American societies is far removed from any Platonic position. Beyond the direct monetary connection between the university and the government is the small interrelated-elite society of Latin America which means that the university and the government will influence each other in all aspects. Members of the university will be both government officials and anti-government leaders. With this relationship, any student activity can take on national significance.

45. This is most often charged by rival leaders and by students who do not agree with the student role of the accused leader.

to assure his future personal success.⁴⁶ To justify these personal activities, the leader claims he is also promoting the interests of the students he represents. His primary individual gain is a recognized name; and personalismo is a real force in Latin American universities and societies where personalities are often identified with political parties and philosophies. The student leader seeks identification with the student role.

Leftist — The politically active student in Latin America, although he claims to represent all students, has traditionally been the leftist student.⁴⁷ Defining his role as an attempt to realize the advancement of the university and the society, his activity is politically interpreted. Because the government is associated with the existing order, the leader is against the government, and because the existing power structure is identified as the conservative-right, he often becomes a leftist. The elite-governments have strongly opposed the leftists, and the leftist leader is given a banner for his crusade.

46. Here is the most common instance where the politically active student is actually a professional student, maintained as a student to represent vested political interests. Student leaders often are older students whose activity slows their academic program, but many are following a normal course and will quit the university at the completion of their studies. And most professional students are not leaders. Brief mention should be made of professional agitators, a small group of professional students who normally avoid positions of recognized leadership. This group works principally for personal gain even if within the framework of a group. As these individuals direct student activity for their own ends, they make no claim to fill the student role.

47. It could be maintained that any active student is a leftist. This reasoning lies in a tendency to associate any anti-government activity with the left. (Indiscriminately labeling political enemies comunistas (Communism is popular with many Latin governments.) If such a broad interpretation is applied, then even some neo-fascists can be labeled "left" because of their opposition to the government. And these rightist students often favor policies, such as nationalization, which have been traditionally associated with the left.

Latin America has a history of intellectual leftism which has been strongly evidenced in the universities. These inclinations toward the left were originally based upon desires to foster a peaceful evolution for the advancement of Latin American society. Efforts were, and still are, made to urge the elites to accept the philosophy and program of progressive liberalism. Although these ideas are recently gaining prominence among students, today this is largely a reaction

gaining prominence among students, today this is largely a reaction to extreme leftism. The original ideas were eclipsed by two opposing trends away from this evolutionary leftism. Some of the elites who consistently opposed any reforms, when they realized a growing interest in the ideas, shifted to a policy of verbal leftism and facade reform while continuing to assure no real progress. Reacting to the generally static picture, more extreme elements have been able to gain strength by promising immediate revolutionary reform. Out of this confusion of leftism, the students have a number of paths, but the general direction is left.

Various factors have enforced leftism among the students. The superior knowledge of the student is a basic reason for his eliteness. In the classical disciplines, where most active students are found, Latin American universities have idealized the concept of the broadly knowledgeable, theoretically inclined student. This concept is compatible with the image of a philosopher-king, making generalized and Utopian statements on a variety of subjects. Leftist theories, such as simplified interpretations of Marxism, serve the student well by providing simple and concise explanations for the economic-social-political problems which he is expected to answer. For the student leader, the better organized and single-minded extreme left provides a ready and established group. The leftist proclaims identification with the people, overall advancement for society, goals realized by political means, the government as responsible for all problems, and

a policy of action. *(22) The extreme left gives the politically active student a concise summation of his role: overthrow the government.⁴⁸ The goals of leftism are Utopian as the student goals, but the leader finds reinforcement in a group outside the university advocating similar goals. An additional factor which makes the leftist role appealing is the group acceptance of modified and more realistic goals which provide an opportunity for effective activity. The student can be active in a limited role while maintaining his support of the ideal student image and receive the approval of the leftist group. In the university, active students often urge acceptance of the leftist role as being both Utopian and functional, and thus become identified with the leftist. *(23) The most radical student becomes a communist-nationalist.⁴⁹

Despite the apathy of most students, there have been several responses to the leftist.⁵⁰ Currently, the most important opposition

48. A few leftist groups have actually been able to realize the fairly Utopian dream of overthrowing the government and taking control themselves. However, in the process of achieving power and especially in exercising power in a realistic position of responsibility, many of the Utopian goals have been postponed. The student feels cheated and turns to new opposition groups with unrestricted goals.

49. While most students are nationalistic, not even all extreme leftists are communists. This tag is applied here because for many people it symbolizes the extremist controlling element of the leftists. In actuality, a myriad of leftist groups exist: communists, socialists, nationalists, Castroites, Leninists, Trotskyites, Marxists, etc. Even rightist groups exhibit some leftist influence. The extreme leftists do manage to achieve more cooperation than exists among the other groups, but seldom does one label describe all leftist leaders.

50. These have ranged from splinter left groups to diverse factions on the right. Although all deserve consideration, the left usually manages to affect a coalition and the right is most successfully represented by the moderates discussed. (PCV and COPEI in Venezuela are examples of the major left and moderate groups discussed; PORT and PCLP represent some of the cooperating but separate left in Perú; MUC and Tacuara represent a conservative and an extreme right in Argentina.)

is expressed by a renewed interest in the ideas of progressive-liberalism as redefined and endorsed by the socio-economic-political reform proclamations of the Catholic Church. *(22) One of the basic defects of the leftists was the failure to provide a role for the Church, a debatable but influential factor in the lives of all Latin Americans. The reform measures of the Church have enabled the more moderate students to initiate a positive program which appeals to many of the inactive majority. Although the established power of the leftists still necessitates a largely defensive role on the part of the moderates, they have been able to implant their ideas in the universities and have managed to arouse some defensive moves among the leftists. An emphasis on the overall student role as opposed to a concentration on the political role, and the efforts to concentrate the student role in the university, although still unrealized, have aroused attention and support in the university. The moderate students are not so adamant in rejecting the goals of the leftists as they are in condemning their methods. They claim to also seek an overall reform and advancement for society but believe in realizing these through orderly evolution instead of violent revolution. *(23) In more specific instances of student activity, the moderates voice opposition to the negativistic expression of demonstrations and riots, to absolute opposition of the government, and to the political interpretation of the student role. *(8) They have been able to arouse interest and support from many who were formerly inactive students, and their opposition to the left has brought a new light into student activity. This opposition to the communist-nationalist has been best expressed by the Christian Democrat.

The moderates, despite their gains, are still subject to considerable influence by the leftists. They have not yet taken the

offensive and are still reacting. In ultimate goals, many moderates, while differing in particulars, have adopted basic concepts of the left.⁵¹ The most obvious moderate adaptations to the left are the methods they use to express their new power among the students. In order to actively oppose the leftist and to indicate the influence of their interpretation of the student role, the moderates have sought the same positions using the same methods as the leftists. While not usually going to the extremes of the left, they have become politically active, seeking through the student position to influence the university and the society. The moderate leader represents an important new role in the university, but he is still somewhat left and somewhat politically active.

His Platform — The student leader exerts his influence as a representative of the students through a position in the university. This position is usually an office in the student association, federation, or government. The leader displays considerable political activity, and gains recognition for attempting to fulfill the student role, simply by achieving such a position. An appreciable amount of influence will be exerted in carrying out the special duties of his office. The student who leads an important association and/or occupies a high position in the student federation or university government often has unequalled power in the university. With this recognized influence, the student leader concentrates his activity within the university.

The leader is also interested in expressing his role in society and will seek to influence society through the university. *(4) One

51. Nationalistic, anti-government, and anti-United States attitudes are some of the more common expressions.

who would extend his influence beyond the university turns first to this institution because his designated role is primarily there and also because greater influence can be built upon this established base of power. Few student leaders will attempt to exert influence outside the university until they have realized considerable power within the university. Some smaller association leaders, without federation or government positions, attempt to gain attention and support by demonstrating influence outside the university through cooperating with non-student groups and being extremely radical in nature.⁵² Although the government may be prompted to take retaliatory measures, little success will be gained for these students if the government and society are aware that this group holds little influence in the university. Important leaders are not always adverse to these methods, but they prefer to assure university influence to support their actions outside the university. Those who enter the national picture usually have important positions within all three student organizations; a few actually are directors of important associations, presidents of federations, and representatives to the university government.⁵³ From each of these positions, or a combination of the three, the leader seeks to influence students, professors, and society as a whole.

The student federation can best influence the students if there is one major federation. By gaining this position the leader can base his influence on the student vote. Further power can be demonstrated

52. An individual student can draw attention to himself and his group by committing a crime. Usually these extremes are dismissed by the students, but simply defying authority arouses a degree of sympathy.

53. As this would indicate, not all politically active students can realistically seek national influence. The number of students in each university who can make a justified claim to this role is minute — possibly 15 or 20 in some of the larger universities.

by such activities as federation-proclaimed strikes which the student body as a whole usually observes. Beyond this it is difficult to evidence control among the normally inactive majority but the leader can point to further effect among the semi-active students.

The association influences the semi-active students. These semi-actives are important for the leader since he seeks to portray them as the students in toto.⁵⁴ Theoretically, the leader should be able to assume influence among supporters of the association, since they were the base of support which enabled him to rise to the student federation and government. However, because the association is a semi-active group with many members seeking power for themselves, he must constantly assure their loyalty.

The device by which the leader expresses his support in the association is the student demonstration. There are various types of demonstrations but they all have far-reaching potentialities.⁵⁵ While it is possible for spontaneous, mob-led riots to occur, and while other demonstrations are sparked by professional agitators, these events normally are fostered and directed by recognized student leaders. Thus, while the demonstrations can sway the leader, the normal flow of influence is from the leader to the followers. The demonstration gives the semi-active student an outlet for voicing his opinions and for exhibiting his activity. It also gives the leader an opportunity to actively manifest his influence. In a real sense though, the demonstration is indicative of limited leader influence. When he resorts to this

54. The leader's success in identifying the semi-active students with the majority is indicated by the popular misconception of the Latin American university student.

55. The demonstrations which naturally receive publicity are the violent extremes. Student riots of national significance are not nearly so frequent as the meetings, protests, and strikes which are used to a degree by most groups to exhibit their concern and opinions.

device, it is usually an occasion calling for a substantial display of strength. The size of most demonstrations, when compared to university populations, indicates a lack of real influence among the student majority. The active leaders and semi-active followers have therefore formed associations in order to claim that they, supported by the student vote, represent student activity. The continued support of the association gives the leader a base of influence.

A position in the university government will influence professors. The student who gains this position is accepted by the professors as a genuine representative and respected as serving the student role. If he actively participates in the functions of the university, both his power as a student leader and his potentialities as a future leader will be noted. Because the positions of the professors are also competitive, it is not unlikely that the student's associates on the university council will also be politically active individuals. A number of these professors are usually prominent figures in national politics. The politically active student has established a potential influence in national politics.

Influenced and Influential — The forces which lead the student to concentrate his influence upon the government are basically the same which create the politically active student. He sees the government both as the primary influence on society and the institution in society which most directly influences the university. The impersonal government is also an easy target for condemnation. In the university, the leader rises by political means, and continues to express his influence primarily in political terms. He is encouraged to continue in politics when attempting to demonstrate influence outside

the university, and the government is the most obvious target for political activity. The student feels his influence in the society is a result of political activity directed against the government. A majority of the leaders want to be active in national politics. *(9)

The student is subjected to many influences, but for the student leader who seeks national stature this is particularly true. *(12) When a student becomes a leader in the university, national political forces seek to direct and control his potential influence in society.⁵⁶ Depending upon the source of the pressure, his influence may be prompted, dissuaded, or shifted. Most of the forces which affect the student are an integral part of the society which he seeks to change, but to date, he has not radically changed Latin American societies. Most of the institutions with which he deals influence him but are little influenced by him. The student who does manage to manifest some influence in the society has been the object of considerable influence himself.

The active student, in addition to being the direct object of many pressures, is influenced by the current situation in the society and particularly in the government. In certain countries, in certain situations, student activity is effectively and undeniably blocked. In instances where scarcely any pretense is made to national student influence, the student will often find he is also restricted in the university. Insignificant representation in the university government, unsupported federations, and weak associations check the usual paths of increasing his control. In other cases, the student is able to develop within the university, but is strongly discouraged from

56. Professors, politicians, government officials and clergymen directly and indirectly influence student political activity.

attempting to extend his influence to the society. Steps to limit his power in certain countries and universities are usually initiated by the government, either as a reaction to national student activity or as a precaution against suspected attempts to establish undesired student influence at the national level. No dictatorship has ever been so effective as to cut off all his influence, even in those rare cases where the national universities have been closed. On the other hand, no democracy has ever been so perfect as to allow unrestricted student activity. The basic factor determining their national influence is not the activity of the students but the tolerance of the government. Although their prestige can arise from government suppression of student activity, the government can usually choose to ignore this indirect influence. When the government wants to strongly suppress them, it has the power to cut off the students from the university. In this eventuality, the politically active ex-students often become even more influential in subversive movements, but they have ceased to possess the student role. Student influence in national politics is primarily a government decision.

The student leader recognizes that his influence is directly restricted by the government, and seeks to more forcibly demonstrate his student role in society by influencing other institutions. He seeks support from economic sectors, such as labor unions, and from social sectors, such as the miserably poor, but reveals his commitment to the political sphere by his approach to these other sectors. There is no attempt to influence the workers to negotiate for better wages, or to motivate the poor to rehabilitate their homes. Rather he attempts to politically arouse and encourage these people to assist his efforts to influence the government. The student leader continues to believe that the most direct way to realize the economic and social aims

advocated in the student role is to gain political influence for himself. Thus, when attempting to influence other institutions of society, he clings to political activity and still seeks indirectly to influence the government.

Most institutions have been harshly attacked by a majority of student leaders, although they usually accept any assistance that supports their opposition to the government. The student judges the institutions of his society by his perception of their effect upon the student role and by his desire to influence them. If he expresses general approval of a particular institution and credits it with contributing to his perception and manifestation of the student role, that institution will also be fundamental in his concept of a desirable society. Some changes may be sought, but obviously the more he approves an institution the less will be the desired change. Conversely, the more an institution is disapproved, the less will the student credit that institution with contributing to his role, and the greater will be the desire to considerably change or eliminate it. He will be negatively inclined toward institutions which exhibit little active interest in the student role. While an amorphous society has created the ideal student image, most institutions of the society have failed to support a realistic role for the student. The politically active student has therefore opposed many of them. The more institutions he opposes, and the more strongly he opposes them, the more radical the student.⁵⁷

57. This is clearly a brief inquiry into the influences which the student believes affect his role. A complex of influences exists upon which the student leader readily elaborates. Little credibility can be given to student proclamations of "positive and negative" institutional influences. The ideal image is itself a negative influence upon the student because it is unrealistic. The extent to which the institutions of the society reinforce the ideal image, either by failing to offer positive ways to realize a realistic role or by actively encouraging attempts to realize an ideal role, determines their negative influence.

Very few student leaders, for example, publicly favor the economic institutions of their country. They are influenced by a preoccupation with Marxism in the economic departments of Latin American universities, and it is obvious to them that the economic situation is unbalanced throughout Latin America. However, those who have inherited a comfortable economic situation often advocate changing these institutions by influencing the economic elites to reform. When wealthy students sometimes proclaim their support of radical economic change they rarely apply the measures to their own situations. Those students who have nothing to lose, economically, are most likely to become the leaders who constantly and vigorously advocate bringing the masses into the economic institutions by eradicating the elites.

An institution which arouses both positive and negative responses from the students is the Church. Those who favor the Church, especially the young Christian Democrats, appreciate its influence in their role and believe it will be a leading institution in the progress of society. Opponents, the leftist leaders, see the Church as a long-standing ally of the elites who have held down the masses, and they may go so far as to deny it any future. No intelligent student denies that every existing institution to some extent influences his role, but institutions viewed unfavorably are considered negative influences which would contribute little in the society envisioned by the student leader. Thus a communist leader denies that the Church has contributed to his ideas or could contribute to his society. The influence of the Church upon the leftist is negative and this student seeks to negatively influence the Church.

The government has been the most effective institution in forcibly opposing a realistic role for the active student; the result of this

and the relatively small impact of most other institutions is indicated by the lack of a definite program for the student. Consequently, student efforts to exert constructive influence in national politics usually fail. The blame must be shared by the politically active student and the society which has fostered his development. The incompatibility of the ideal student image and the realistic student role is not conducive to the formation of an outlined and acceptable program of action. But the student leader has not attempted to make a positive expression of his limited role. He has, in large part, been negatively influenced by society, and has reciprocated by taking a negative role. The outcome has been action for the sake of action, indiscriminate opposition to the government, and demonstrations of equal violence against university courses or dictators.

The student leader acknowledges the limited success of his efforts by the methods used to demonstrate student national influence. *(18) The same tool is employed that was used in the university; when he wants to make student influence felt on a major national issue, he organizes a demonstration. The demonstration is politically oriented, directed against the national government, and enables the leader to call forth students and other elements of the society in a recognized and influential expression of the student role. But just as within the university, the demonstration indicates weakness in student influence. Its primary indication is that the student has no better way to convey his influence in national politics; it is a poor substitute for a well-defined student program. The demonstration is a negative expression of student influence, and places him in a negative role. It is against the government, it attacks government policies, and it arouses a negative response and reaction. While influencing the government, it often leads to greater restrictions on student influence.

His Potential — It may appear that a paradoxical picture has been drawn of a student with a powerful role and no influence. The politically active student is emphasized because he is a powerful figure, but his influence is minimized because, at the national level, student influence has been both misinterpreted and overstated. The student leader definitely has influence in the university; he is the most influential student in this institution where student influence is often a deciding factor. Through the university, he does have influence upon the society and government, but direct student influence upon the government is practically nonexistent. University influence is potential influence in national politics.

The university does have a strong influence upon most student leaders, and is the principal institution influenced by the student. Society in general has conceived the ideal student image and the university in particular has supported the role interpreted as the politically active student. The leader sees the university as a positive influence simply because it has supported a student role, but in actuality, its influence is negative because the role of the politically active student is unrealistic. This role has realized little success in its "anti-" program of radical change. The influence of this student in the university has largely contradicted student efforts to better serve society. The active student in the university has illuminated many of the shortcomings of that institution; but he has failed to contribute positively toward meeting the university problems. He has made the politically active role powerful within the university. But from this acquired position of authority, the student leader has not turned toward solving university problems, rather he has sought to project his influence outside the university. The relative failure of student influence outside the university is evidence that the institutions of society do not actively support the politically active student.

The student leader does have some positive influence. While his role has traditionally been negative, he has forced the institutions of Latin America to acknowledge his existence. The usual response to negative student influence has been opposition, but gradually some institutions have begun to realize that an ideal student role can no longer be supported without suffering the consequence of the politically active student. As these institutions take steps toward creating a more realistic student image, a more positive interpretation of the student role will evolve. Latin American societies are being forced to look at the student image for what it has become — the politically active student.

This student is a product of a culture, a historical tradition; he will not change overnight. Even today, facing many problems, there is value in the politically active role. Given a realistic image, the student leader has demonstrated the capacity to make a positive role. The politically active student is becoming a respected and influential individual with a sure future in Latin America.

AN INTELLECTUAL OPPOSITION: PROJECTION

This paper has sought to speak for the politically active students. It is felt that the university student in Latin America has been the object of considerable undue criticism because of a common misunderstanding of the politically active student; but this is not a defense of the student, merely an attempt to state his position. This approach encourages brevity and suggestion in any concluding remarks.

The conclusions speak for themselves because an outsider can often make suggestions, admittedly shallow, which those deeply involved in a situation may fail to observe; and because it is not felt that any significant consensus was expressed about student leaders on their future. The inclination to again turn to the students for speculation on the future is therefore disregarded. With these thoughts in mind, three general observations are offered on the possible future of the student leader.

It should first be realized that the politically active student is a phenomena of Latin America, of each separate country and each university. Many observers are far removed from this student both geographically and mentally, and receive a distorted picture. Even the truth is viewed through foreign eyes. To understand, the basic differences between Latin American and United States universities, and students, and student organizations must be accepted and comprehended. There is a general and intense interest in politics in Latin America which must be assessed, and the different interpretations associated with such terms as left, communist, revolution, and

democracy must be accepted. Finally, this student must be seen for what he is and is not. Student leaders are powerful elites within the university; however, though greatly encouraged, few are actually able to influence national politics. As the politically active student is an expression of Latin American societies, he should be accepted as an integral part of knowing Latin America. If those concerned with this student are to gain any lasting understanding of him the first step is acceptance.

Directly related to the problems created by the student leader is the failure of the university in particular, and society in general, to encourage other student activities and the tendency to simply discourage political involvement. Assistance could be offered in creating more jobs for students, setting up university sports, and promoting interest in these programs among all students. Here is an opportunity for foreigners to contribute their experience and methods; for example, few universities in the United States have the problem of politically active students. Finally, the student could become more involved in the university if sufficient interest was provided in university activities, including politics, to both satisfy the leaders and make them realize the greater problems of national and international affairs and the necessity to be well prepared before assuming responsible positions outside the university. The second step in appreciating this student is for those who are aware and able to suggest feasible modifications for him.

The most important problem is a redefinition of the student image and the creation of a realistic role for the active student. Image and role brought closer together will mean less encouragement to seek unrealistic power and more freedom to exercise real influence. With this realized, the student leader will be able to anticipate a position of

leadership accepted by responsible officials, and he will begin to initiate responsible actions. The final thought, the most difficult, is for those who are interested and influential to direct the politically active student toward cooperating in the advance of Latin America.

It is clear that these three concluding thoughts will not be easily realized; but each step will build upon the next. Progress will eventually depend upon the determination and action of the individual student leaders. From those students whom this writer met, the concluding observation is a difficult but optimistic future for the politically active student in Latin America. He is an important and valuable individual, and can make many positive contributions to his society. Placed in true perspective, he can become a worthy member of the intellectual opposition in Latin America.

EPILOGUE

The politically active student today leads the university; tomorrow he may lead the country. He has both position and role, both ideas and influence — he is a leader. There are many types of leaders and although it is easy to speak of them abstractly, they are all individuals. When I think of these students, I recall communists, leftists, revolutionaries, christian democrats, and humanists because these are the labels they carry; but I also remember Ahumana, Ochoa, Roque, Alvarado, and Bogo because these are the people I know. Tomorrow, when some of these individuals are national leaders, new student leaders will have taken their places.

I know these students and I like them; with all of them, I found points of agreement and disagreement concerning themselves as politically active students. If I could know them better, I believe there would be less disagreement; I might better understand them and they might better appreciate sincere attempts to accept, to modify, and to direct the politically active student. Los conozco, pero no los sé bastante bien.

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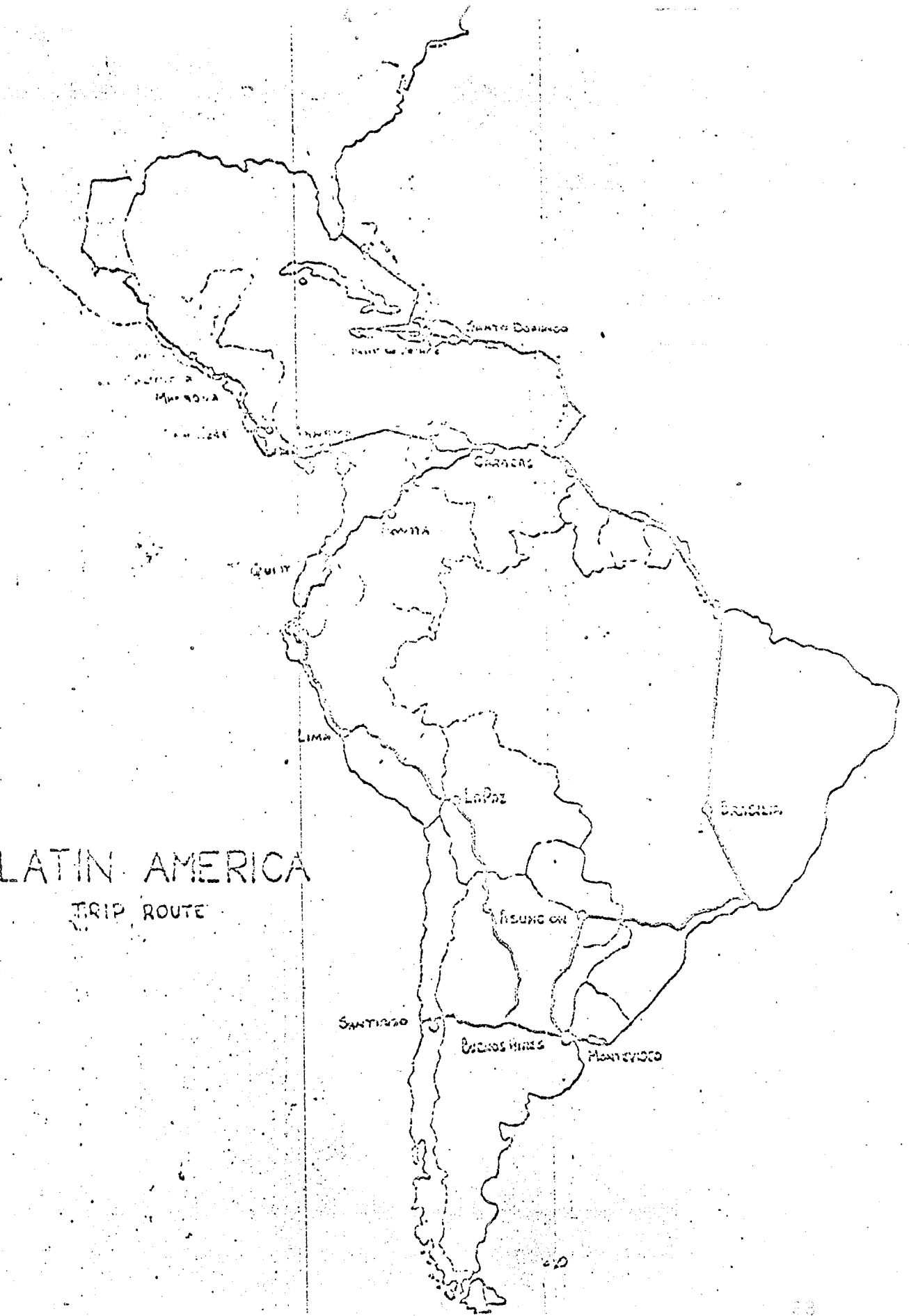
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Also utilized were various student newspapers, pamphlets, and leaf-
lets, as well as some governmental and business reports.

LATIN AMERICA

TRIP ROUTE



Appendix II

Proposed Itinerary:

Mexico	October 10-15	Peru	December 15-30
Central America	October 15-30	Bolivia	January 1-15
Venezuela	November 1-30	Argentina-Chile	January 15-30
Colombia-Ecuador	December 1-15	Brazil	February

Actual Itinerary:

MEXICO October 9-20
 México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México,
 October 10-18 (Buses from Arkansas to Monterray, train to
 Mexico City; to Guatemala)

GUATEMALA October 20-22
 (Bus to Guatemala City; microbus to El Salvador)

EL SALVADOR October 22-26
 (Microbus to San Salvador; to Nicaragua)

HONDURAS October 26

NICARAGUA October 26-27
 (Microbus to Managua; bus to Costa Rica)

COSTA RICA October 27-November 3
 (Bus to San José; train to Puntarenas, boat to Golfito, train
 to Panama)

PANAMA November 3-8
 Panamá: Universidad Nacional de Panamá, November 4-7
 (Trains to Armuelles, David, bus to Panama City, plane to
 Venezuela)

VENEZUELA November 8-December 6
 Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, November 9-
 December 3 (Bus from Maracaibo to Caracas; buses to Colombia)

COLOMBIA December 6-24
 Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, December 10-20
 (Buses to Bogotá; train to Cali, buses to Ecuador)

ECUADOR December 24-30
Quito: Universidad Central de Ecuador, December 24-27
 (Bus to Quito; bus to Guayaquil, boat to Bolivar, truck to Peru)

PERU December 30-January 22
Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, December 31-January 11
 (Bus to Lima; train to Huancayo, buses to Cuzco, Juliaca, cars
 to Puno, Bolivia)

BOLIVIA January 22-29
La Paz: Universidad Mayor de San Andres, January 23-26
 (Car to La Paz; train to Argentina)

ARGENTINA January 29-February 2
 (Train to Jujuy, buses to Córdoba, Mendoza, car to Chile)

CHILE February 2-5
 (Car to Santiago; train to Viña del Mar, car to Argentina)

ARGENTINA February 5-15
Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, February
 6-14 (Car to Mendoza, bus to Buenos Aires; boat to Uruguay)

URUGUAY February 16-17
 (Boat to Montevideo; bus to Punta del Este, boat to Argentina)

ARGENTINA February 18-21
 (Boat to Buenos Aires; bus to Reconquista, boat to Goya, train
 to Corrientes, plane to Paraguay)

PARAGUAY February 21-22
 (Plane to Asunción; bus to Brazil)

BRAZIL February 22-March 12
 (Buses to Curitiba, Rio de Janeiro; plane to Brasilia, Belém,
 French Guiana)

GUYANE FRANCAISE; SURINAM; BRITISH GUIANA March 12

TRINIDAD March 12-13

BARBADOS; MARTINIQUE; GUADELOUPE; ANTIGUA; ST. MAARTIN;
 ST. CROIX March 13

PUERTO RICO March 13-15

DOMINICANA REPUBLICA March 15-16

HAITI

March 16-17

JAMAICA

March 17-18

Miami, Florida, U.S.A. March 18, 1963

Distance: 20,000 miles approximately, including 5,000 miles covered the last week flying from Rio to Miami. Remaining 15,000 miles averages about 100 miles per day.

Time: 161 days, almost 5-1/2 months. Out of this time, 125 days were spent in the eight countries emphasized in this paper, 80 days were spent in the capitals of these eight countries.

Cost: \$1000 each more or less. Of this \$250 was expended on the final week. Over the preceding months, the cost averaged \$5 per day.

Appendix III

ESTUDIO: EL ESTUDIANTE UNIVERSITARIO LATINOAMERICANO

Este formulario, preparado por un estudiante graduado norteamericano interesado en América Latina, está siendo utilizado para obtener información que será, a su vez, utilizada en la redacción de una tesis para un grado de Maestro en Artes. Este proyecto no forma parte de, ni de manera alguna está relacionado con, las actividades de gobierno u organización algunos. Para garantizar la anonimidad, no se requieren nombres ni forma alguna de identificación personal. Por favor conteste las preguntas con la mayor franqueza y de forma explícita.

Lugar de origen (ciudad o área):	Especialización:	
Edad:	Sexo:	Future ocupacion o profesion:
Ocupación de su padre:	Está Usted empleado:	
Número de años que lleva Ud. en la Universidad:	Horas de trabajo semanales:	

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1. ¿Cuál es la razón principal por la cual usted se halla en la Universidad?
 2. ¿Le ofrece a Ud. la Universidad una buena preparación para su carrera futura? Si no, ¿en qué encuentra Ud. esta preparación deficiente?
 3. ¿Le beneficiaría más, en su opinión, que existiera una relación más estrecha entre profesores y estudiantes? ¿Por qué y de qué manera?
 4. Como estudiante universitario, ¿cree Ud. tener una responsabilidad especial para con su país? Explique.
 5. ¿Cree Ud. que número mayor de compatriotas suyos debieran asistir a la Universidad? Explique.
 6. ¿Qué impresión guarda Ud. de las organizaciones y actividades estudiantiles en universidades norteamericanas?
 7. ¿Está usted a favor de que los estudiantes participen activamente en la política nacional? ¿Por qué no o por qué sí?
 8. ¿Cuál cree Ud. que sea la mejor manera de los estudiantes demostrar su interés en la política?

9. Que motivaciones tendría Ud. para participar activamente en la política nacional? Por qué razones no participaría Ud.?
10. Cuantos compañeros de estudios suyos participan en actividades políticas?
11. Diría Ud. que los líderes estudiantiles en esta Universidad representan los sentimientos y opiniones de la mayoría de los estudiantes? Se preocupan los líderes estudiantiles de averiguar cuales son las opiniones y sentimientos de los estudiantes?
12. Que grupos, fuera de la universidad, fomentan actividades políticas estudiantiles?
13. Cree Ud. que sus profesores fomentan o combaten la actividad política entre estudiantes? De que manera?
14. Cuán activo estará Ud. en asuntos políticos cuando salga de la Universidad?
15. Cree Ud. que los estudiantes que más activamente participan en actividades políticas serán con mayor probabilidad los futuros líderes de su país?
16. Respalda Ud. a un partido nacional o se considera Ud. miembro de un movimiento nacional independiente (no afiliado a un partido nacional organizado)? Cual partido o movimiento?
17. Vota Ud. en elecciones nacionales? Da Ud. su respaldo a candidatos con los cuales está Ud. de acuerdo en materia política?
18. Cree Ud. que la actividad política estudiantil ejerce una influencia substancial en la política y gobierno de su país? De qué manera?
19. Cree Ud. que los estudiantes deben ejercer influencia sobre el gobierno o solamente deben demostrar interes y preocupación? De qué manera?
20. Cómo clasificaría Ud. el gobierno de su país? En términos generales, respalda Ud. o es Ud. contrario a este gobierno?
21. Que tipo de programa social y económico cree Ud. que su gobierno estará implementando de aquí a diez años? Por qué cree Ud. esto?

22. Si desaprueba Ud. del programa discutido en la pregunta anterior, que tipo de programa respaldaría Ud. activamente? Que fuersas y/o organizaciones cree Ud. que ayudarían en la implementación del programa que Ud. favorece? Cuales obstaculizarían dicho programa?
23. Cree Ud. que la participación activa de los estudiantes en la política de su país pueda resultar en la realización del programa que Ud. desea? De qué manera?
24. Si este programa deseado por Ud. fuera implementado en el futuro, cree Ud. que habrá necesidad de que los estudiantes participen activamente en la política nacional? De qué manera?
25. Que medidas sugeriría Ud. para ayudar a llevar a cabo el desarrollo económico, social, cultural, y político de su país?

(Sírvasse de volver este formulario con la hoja de contestaciones.)

Se agradece mucho su buena voluntad y sinceridad, así como su prestanza, en contestar estas preguntas. Espero que los resultados de mi estudio sirvan para fomentar una mejor comprensión y apreciación del estudiante universitario Latinoamericano por el norteamericano. Su cooperación habrá contribuido a este fin y ha sido grandemente apreciada.

Gilbert R. Callaway
American University
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