

LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

Vol. XXIII, No. 3

Fall 1992

A Report to the Membership by Lars Schoultz LASA President, 1991-92

The initial pages of the first issue of the Latin American Research Review consisted of an invitation to "Nuestros Colegas Latinoamericanos" to join with U.S.-based Latin Americanists in the development of Latin American Studies, and a year later the Latin American Studies Association was founded with the explicit goal of creating a Hemisphere-wide community of Latin Americanists.

For the first two decades of LASA's history, however, only halting progress was made in uniting the Latin Americanist communities in the United States and Latin America, and most of the successful efforts to encourage integration were based upon the initiative of individual LASA members rather than upon activities sponsored by the Association. Then, beginning about a decade ago with an effort to obtain travel funds for Latin American scholars to attend LASA's international congresses, the Association began to take increasingly ambitious steps to encourage the integration of the U.S. and Latin American scholarly communities. LASA became more attentive to the need to include Latin Americans among the Association's leadership, for example, and in recent years two of the six members of the Executive Council have been Latin Americans; scholars from Latin America are also prominently represented on all of LASA's task forces.

Symbolic statements also gained new importance. In 1983 LASA held an international congress in Latin America, in 1991 the Association's Kalman Silvert Award was presented for the first time to a Latin American—the distinguished Mexican scholar, Víctor Urquidi—and in 1991 the Association approved the creation of the "Premio Iberoamericano" to be awarded at each LASA congress to the author of an outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences or the humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese.

LASA's XVII International Congress A Final Assessment

by John A. Booth, Program Chair

On behalf of the Program Office let me thank all LASA members and XVII Congress participants for your advice, involvement, cooperation, and support. This has been an exciting and educational experience, often fraught with challenges, but one that I have cherished especially because of the Program Committee members, the Secretariat, the Executive Council, the Local Arrangements Committee, and the Program Office staff. My most sincere thanks go to everyone who worked so hard to make the Congress a success.

Here are a few facts that convey a bit about the meeting:

There were 361 scholarly sessions distributed among the 16 program sections, about one third more than the Washington approximately five percent of scheduled sessions.

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The LASA Forum is published quarterly. Deadlines for receipt of copy are December 1, March 1, June 1, and September 1; articles should be submitted one month earlier. All contributions should be directed to Reid Reading, Editor, LASA Forum, at the address below. Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. We welcome responses to any material published in the Forum. For a membership application, please see pages 45 and 46. Direct subscriptions to the 1993 Forum only, without LASA membership, are \$30.00 per year. ISSN 0890-7218.

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The Politics and Economics of Reforming the *Ejido* Sector in Mexico: An Overview and Research Agenda by Wayne A. Cornelius University of California at San Diego¹

The purpose of this article is three-fold: to summarize the nature of the sweeping changes in Mexico's agrarian reform law that have been enacted during the last twelve months; to sketch the economic and political goals underlying these changes; and to suggest some of the effects that can be anticipated and should be the object of fieldwork-based research in the short-to-medium term.

Ejido Reform: The Salinista Project

On November 7, 1991, President Carlos Salinas de Gortari announced his proposal to amend Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, the thrust of which is to permit and even to encourage—but not to compel—the privatization of previously inalienable, communally-held *ejido* land.

Both because of the great size of the *ejido* sector—the 28,000 *ejidos* now in existence occupy more than half of Mexico's arable land and nominally provide employment for 3.1 million *ejidatarios* and many more millions of their dependents—and because of the close relationship that often exists in practice between *ejidos* and private farms, the reforms of Article 27 may have a more far-reaching and enduring impact than any other of the economic reforms introduced in Mexico by technocratic governments since 1982. It is already being compared with the Dawes Act in the United States and the 18th-19th Century English Enclosure Movement, in terms of the potential scope of its social and economic consequences.

This is not to imply that all elements of the Salinas ejido reform package represent a striking departure from the past. Indeed, some key provisions (e.g., permitting the rental of ejido land, ending land redistribution by the government) essentially ratify a long-standing status quo. Other elements, however, are qualitatively new and forward-looking.

The amendment of Article 27 is probably the most politically audacious step to be taken by Carlos Salinas during his presidency thus far. Even in a sexenio in which numerous political taboos have been broken, tampering with the historically enshrined institution of the ejido carried some major political risks. Since 1915 the ejido system has been the principal vehicle for state regulation of peasant access to land, and for maintaining political control over the campesinado. And the government's decision to permit for

the first time the legal sale or rental of *ejido* lands represents an official break with postrevolutionary agrarian policy. That the relevant constitutional amendments passed with only the feeblest of dissents, coming from the Cardenista left, is a reflection both of the current weakness of the opposition and of the widespread recognition, even among the most fervent defenders of the *ejido*, that something had to be done to modernize and stimulate this sector of Mexican agriculture.

The key provisions of the new agrarian law can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The government's constitutional obligation to continue redistributing land, in response to peasants' petitions, is ended. This change has been justified on the grounds that further redistribution would only promote *minifundismo*, impoverishment, and insecurity concerning land tenure rights.
- 2) Private landowners who make capital investments in their properties will no longer risk having their land expropriated. For example, the installation of an irrigation system on a large landholding that has been devoted to cattle-raising will not lead to the official reclassification of the property as irrigated land, for which the permissible maximum size is much smaller than for grazing land or rain-fed agricultural land.
- 3) Land rights disputes between *ejidatarios* or between *ejidatarios* and private landholders will now be settled by new, decentralized, supposedly autonomous Agrarian Tribunals, rather than the federal agrarian reform ministry. However, the members of these new tribunals will be presidentially appointed.

^{1.} The author is Director of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies and Gildred Professor of Political Science at the University of California-San Diego. He is also principal investigator of a three-year, multidisciplinary, collaborative research project on reform of the ejido sector, based in the Center, which involves twenty-six U.S., Mexican, and Canada-based scholars. Further information about the project, including opportunities for graduate student participation, can be obtained by writing to: David Myhre, Ejido Reform Project Coordinator, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD, La Jolla, Calif. 92093-0510, U.S.A. (FAX: 619-534-6447). The author is indebted to Jonathan Fox, David Myhre, and faculty associates of the Latin American Centre, Oxford University, for very helpful comments on the original draft of this paper. All remaining errors of fact and interpretation are the author's responsibility.

- 4) Ejidatarios will have the right to legally sell, rent. sharecrop, or mortgage their land parcels, as collateral for loans. However, the decision to authorize the sale of ejido lands to outsiders must be approved by a two-thirds majority vote of the ejido's general assembly, witnessed by a representative of the federal Procuraduría. Individual ejidatarios cannot decide to transfer their land rights, acting independently. A quorum of 75 percent of the ejido's members is required for a vote to privatize; but the necessary quorum goes down to 50 percent, if a second or third meeting of the asamblea ejidal is needed (i.e., if at least 75 percent of the ejidatarios don't show up for the initial convocatoria, which will probably be the case, in most ejidos). Once a legal quorum has been assembled, it takes only a simple majority (50 percent plus one) of the ejidatarios to permit privatization of land within the ejido. The so-called "common lands" held collectively by the ejidatarios for grazing, forests, and so forth can also be sold off for commercial development—not just individually-held parcels—if the majority of ejidatarios so decides.
- 5) Ejidatarios will no longer be required to personally work their ejido parcels, whatever they decide to do with them. Among other things, this means that ejidatarios who spend most of their time working in the United States, leaving their parcelas to be share-cropped or cultivated by landless workers hired from the ejido community or outlying villages, will no longer run the risk of losing their land rights.
- 6) To prevent excessive concentration of privatized ejido land, the government will continue to enforce legal limits on maximum property size. Individual farmers are limited to 100 hectares (254 acres) of irrigated land, or its "equivalent" in less productive, rain-fed lands or pastures. No single ejidatario can acquire, through private purchases, more than five percent of the land in any ejido community. Corporate entities are limited to 2,500 hectares of irrigated land, per company. (Interestingly, it was the conservative National Action Party, the PAN, that proposed this cap.) Mercantile societies that are formed to acquire privatized ejido land are required to have at least 25 individual members. Joint ejido-private firm production associations may not own more land than their total membership would be permitted as individual landowners. Ways to get around these types of restrictions undoubtedly can be found, as they have in the past (e.g., private investors apparently can be members of more than one landholding association); but the Salinas government argues that such evasions will be more difficult under the new law.
- 7) Ejidatarios who opt not to sell or rent their land can enter into joint ventures with outside investors (both individuals and private companies), or they can form associations among themselves to increase the size of the productive unit and maximize economies of scale. They can also sign

- long-term production contracts with outsiders. Much of this was legally possible under the agrarian development law (Ley de Fomento Agropecuario) enacted in 1981; but in the absence of other changes to increase private-investor confidence, very few joint ventures between *ejidatarios* and private firms have been established. As of January 1992, only 110 of these projects were in operation, throughout Mexico.
- 8) The amended Article 27 opens up the *ejido* sector to foreign direct investment. It also eliminates the legal prohibition against formation of production associations between foreign private investors and *ejidatarios*. However, foreign investors' participation in such associations will be limited to 49 percent of equity capital.

The new law has been touted as a reasonable compromise between the status quo and complete absolution of the *ejido*.

These, then, are the main points of the new law. It has been touted by its principal framers as a reasonable compromise between two extremes: (1) the status quo, and (2) complete abolition of the ejido, as a form of land tenure. The reform is described as being well-balanced between free-market and social-protection elements. In fact, the ambivalence, contradictions, and tensions inherent in Salinas's ejido reform reflect significant divisions within the government that put it together.

A "campesinista" faction of officials saw its mission as that of transforming the ejido from a mere instrument of political control into a vehicle for autonomous expression of peasants' needs and democratic participation, freeing ejidatarios from overweening government bureaucracies like BANRURAL (the main public credit institution for agriculture)—agencies that have intervened excessively in the internal affairs of the ejidos, and often operated in league with corrupt ejidal authorities. As Gustavo Gordillo, a former Undersecretary of Agriculture and now Undersecretary of Agrarian Reform, has put it, government regulation of the ejidos all too often has been just a "screen concealing private accumulation processes." In other words, government paternalism toward ejidatarios has not been benign, but pernicious.

^{2.} Presentation to the Research Seminar on Mexico and U.S.-Mexican Relations, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, January, 1992.

Gordillo and like-minded reformers within the Salinas government have seen the privatization of *ejido* land as the appropriate response to more than fifteen years of complaints and mobilization by independent peasant movements. They believe that the *ejido* is not "dead"; that it can be reconstructed economically into a unit that lifts the living standards of its members.

They reject the option of doing away with the ejido altogether and ending subsistence farming, by fiat. In their view, such a drastic change would be too disruptive; the social costs would be prohibitively high, at least in the absence of a national rate of economic growth that is high enough to absorb those who would be displaced into productive employment. Especially for rural dwellers who depend on corn production only as a part-time, income-supplementing strategy (such as ejidatarios who migrate regularly to the U.S. or to other parts of Mexico), agriculture is still an important nutritional safety net. Moreover, subsistence production of crops like corn and beans on ejido land generally uses only the labor of the least economically efficient members of the community. So why discourage it?

Another group of agrarian reformers within the Salinas administration, who could be characterized as "modernizing technocrats," appear motivated by a rather different set of concerns. They seek to expand export production and prepare the agricultural sector for much stiffer foreign competition, under a North American free-trade regime. They want to phase-out costly, indiscriminate subsidies to agricultural producers. In the last two years, the government's support price for corn has been more than double the world price, prompting even large-scale, fully modernized agribusinesses in states like Sinaloa to switch from vegetables to corn. The technocrats see a need to preserve some level of price supports as a social safety net for small corn producers, but they see this only as a transitional measure. In general, they see large-scale, untargeted subsidy programs as a highly inefficient approach to raising rural living standards—a point on which the technocrats and the "campesinista" reformers within the government agree.

Low productivity in the agricultural sector is among the most serious problems facing Mexico in the 1990s.

As Undersecretary of Agriculture Luis Téllez has argued, if Mexico is entering into a global market economy, "we must have institutions that are compatible with free markets," and the *ejido* in its traditional form was not such an institution.³ Nor was the government's ongoing constitutional mandate to continue the expropriation and redistribution of land compatible with the overall Salinista economic restructuring project. Again, Téllez: "There is a need for well-defined property rights, enforceable through the judicial system. The lack of such security has hindered agricultural investment in Mexico."

In the modernizing technocrats' view, it was also necessary to change the legal framework in order to facilitate joint ventures between eiidatarios and the private sector. As mentioned above, such ventures have been legal since 1981, but they have not proliferated, and most of the private investments have been small in magnitude. The explanation for this, given by the technocrats, is that private investments in physical infrastructure (such as irrigation works) were not sufficiently protected, and the contracts that private investors signed with ejidatario groups could be broken too easily. Of course, blatantly illegal land-leasing operations involving ejidatarios and private agribusiness have existed for many years. Indeed, in some regions of Mexico, the bulk of ejido land has been illegally rented out. But the legally enforceable rights of both the ejidatarios and the outside interests involved in such arrangements were nonexistent.

This another point on which the modernizing technocrats and the *campesinista* reformers concur: It is in everyone's interest to bring all the clandestine rental contracts and other forms of de facto privatization out into the sunlight; give adequate legal protection to private investors, protect *ejidatarios* from exploitation by private firms, and reduce the leverage of local power-brokers—the *comisarios ejidales*, who have often been the local caciques, or front-men for them—in determining who gets access to land in *ejido* communities.

The technocrats would like to drastically reduce the number of Mexicans engaged in agricultural production, especially the more than two million small-scale corn producers. In 1988, nearly two-thirds of all *ejido* crop land was devoted to corn. Sorghum was a distant second, with only seven percent of the land. Corn can be produced far more easily and cheaply in the United States; Mexico can import what it needs. The average corn yield in the U.S. is four times higher per hectare than in Mexico (7.4 metric tons per hectare vs. 1.7 tons, in 1990). In the technocrats' view, all

^{3.} Presentation to the Executive Policy Seminar on Agriculture in a North American Free Trade Agreement, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, May 24-25, 1991.

this means that the government should be promoting the exit of people from small-scale corn production and moving them into urban-industrial and service employment. Trying to retain them in subsistence agriculture is the socially and economically incorrect policy.⁵

But the técnicos tend to be vague on how those who are displaced from corn production will be incorporated into other sectors. There is an unstated assumption that the safety-valve of migration to the United States must and will remain open; and that the explosive growth of the informal economy in Mexico's major cities in recent years—the so-called "street-peddler economy"—will continue to absorb large numbers of economic refugees from the countryside. What the technocrats seem to have planned is a near total "market" solution to the problem of reallocating labor within the economy.

Economic and Social Rationales for Ejido Reform

There are some powerful economic and social rationales for basic changes in Mexico's agrarian reform law. The indisputable reality is that low productivity in the agricultural sector is among the greatest unresolved economic challenges facing Mexico in the 1990s. Although at least one-quarter of the labor force and one-third of the total population reside in the countryside, agriculture accounts for less than ten percent of gross domestic product. This productivity gap is reflected in an agricultural trade deficit of more than \$4 billion over the past two years.

Apart from its privileged enclaves of high-tech, export-oriented, mechanized farming—primarily in the northern states—Mexican agriculture remains a technological backwater. According to the 1988 national agricultural census, fewer than half of the country's *ejidos* use any kind of modern technology, be it improved seed, fertilizer, or tractors. Only 42 percent had even a single tractor; the rest used ox-and-plow technology. Only 17 percent of arable *ejido* land was irrigated in 1988.

Mexico's poverty problem is increasingly concentrated in its rural sector. Of the 50 percent of Mexicans whose incomes are below the officially defined poverty line, 70 percent live in rural areas. Per capita incomes among the agriculturally employed population average only one third of the national average; and unemployment and underemployment are heavily concentrated in the countryside. Most of the ten million Mexicans who suffer from what the government itself calls "critical" nutritional deficiencies live in rural areas. In the last ten years, even the consumption of the most basic foods—like tortillas—has fallen drastically in rural areas.

Finally, the agricultural sector—and especially the *ejido* subsector—is clearly the "sick man" of the Mexican economy today, in terms of capital investment. As the post-1988 economic recovery has strengthened, agriculture has lagged far behind all other sectors as a magnet for both domestic and foreign investment. In 1991, for example, agriculture attracted less than one percent of the (U.S.) \$9.2 billion in foreign investment that flowed into Mexico.

Raising agricultural productivity by attracting more private investment to this sector is the main goal of Salinas's ejido reform. Most agricultural experts have concluded that ejidos are as productive as private farms when differences in land quality, access to water and credit, and other inputs are taken into account.⁶ Yet very few ejidos have had access to sufficient capital to make major infrastructure improvements or adopt new production technologies.⁷

The supply of credit to finance even normal agricultural production has contracted sharply in recent years. BANRURAL long served as the principal source of subsidized credit for ejidos, but BANRURAL credits have virtually dried up since 1988, as the Salinas administration implemented deficit-reduction measures. Only 2.5 percent of all ejido production is now financed by BANRURAL. Meanwhile, bad debts have piled up, as small farmers have suffered from the elimination of most government subsidies for agricultural inputs like fertilizer and seeds, and as BANRURAL's own inefficiency and corruption prevented The outstanding loans of most effective collection. "lower-end" ejido producers are now being transferred to another government program, the National Solidarity Program, which will not forgive the debts but will soften the repayment terms.

^{5.} At a conference in May 1992 at Harvard University, Luis Téllez predicted that the economically active population employed in agriculture would fall from 26 percent to 16 percent during the next ten years, presumably as a result of *ejido* reform and trade liberalization.

^{6.} Jaime González Graf, "La reforma del campo mexicano," Nexos, No. 167 (October 1991), p. 48; and John R. Heath, "Enhancing the Contribution of Land Reform to Mexican Agricultural Development," Policy, Research, and External Affairs Working Papers, Agriculture and Rural Development Dept., The World Bank, WPS #285, February 1990, pp. 44-55. For a summary of the cross-national evidence concerning the relationship between farm size and productivity, see Peter Dorner, Latin American Land Reforms in Theory and Practice (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), pp. 23-29.

^{7.} See, for example, Gerardo Otero, "Agrarian Reform in Mexico: Capitalism and the State," in William C. Thiesenhusen, ed., Searching for Agrarian Reform in Latin America (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 276-304.

In short, there is an obvious and urgent need to recapitalize the ejido sector. From the Salinas administration's point of view, the dilemma is how to recapitalize without pumping in money that the government doesn't have, or isn't willing to Because the associations of spend for this purpose. ejidatarios and outside investors that are to be encouraged by the Article 27 reform will be able to combine ejido parcels lands to achieve economies of scale, and because the capital improvements they make will be legally protected, the government expects that these associations will become major conduits for private investment in agriculture. It is also hoped that stepped-up private sector involvement through production associations may increase the flow of World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank credits to Mexican agriculture.

Underlying the Salinas administration's ejido reform project is a fundamental shift in national food policy. In the 1970s and early 1980s the Mexican government used massive subsidy programs to pursue the goal of national food self-sufficiency, especially in basic agricultural commodities like corn, beans, and wheat.⁸ In contrast, the Salinas government defines "food security" in terms of comparative advantage and a niche-marketing strategy abroad. It focuses on encouraging production of those fruits, vegetables, and tropical commodities for which Mexico's climate and geographical location provide a comparative advantage in export markets, while relying on imports to meet domestic demand for many basic commodities.

As we look to the future, there are five major questions to be answered with regard to the economic and social consequences of *ejido* reform:

1) What will be the consequences of ejido reform for land tenure patterns in Mexico?

Some critics of the Salinas initiative argue that authorizing the sale of *ejido* lands will quickly lead to the wholesale destruction of rural communities and rapid reconcentration of land ownership in the hands of private investors, whatever the legal limits may be. In contrast, the principal authors of the reform assume that immediate changes in ownership patterns will be much more modest. They cite results from a privately-sponsored national sample survey conducted in 1991, before the Article 27 reforms were announced, which found that more than two-thirds of the *ejidatarios* interviewed expressed no willingness to sell their land, in the event that such transfers became legal. However, a plurality of the *ejidatarios* interviewed favored production associations with private investors.

There are at least four practical obstacles to massive, rapid

transfers of eiido land to outsiders. First, property boundaries for individual plots are legally demarcated in only about 2,000-3,000 of the 28,000 ejidos in Mexico -in terms of land surface, only 27 percent of all ejido "parcelized"—despite the fact that most of the ejidos have been in existence since the 1930s. Second, in some regions there is likely to be a shortage of buyers. Outside of the desirable, heavily commercialized, irrigated areas, who will purchase ejido land? Third, for many ejidatarios, selling their land and moving to a city or to the U.S. is not an especially attractive option; that is what the available survey data and a lot of anecdotal evidence indicate. Those who were most strongly disposed to alienating their land have already done so; they didn't wait for Carlos Salinas to authorize it. Fourth, even in the agricultural areas that are most attractive to private firms, those firms not be interested in outright ownership of ejido land. They may prefer to lease the land; or they could invest in food-processing plants that would have marketing agreements with ejidatarios. Indeed, Mexican government officials and some academic experts on agribusiness anticipate that most of the new private investment stimulated by the Article 27 reform will go into land leasing, food processing and distribution facilities, rather than directly into land ownership. However, the pressure on some ejidatarios to sell their properties will be strong, especially those whose land is in tourist zones or on the periphery of major cities.

2) How effective will *ejido* reform and related government policies prove to be in increasing capital investment and technological modernization in agriculture?

Again, the conventional wisdom holds that foreign and domestic private investment will flow initially into projects such as warehouses and cold-storage facilities, which would improve the commercial potential of existing agricultural production. However, because of the generally low profitability of agricultural investments (which is, in part, the consequence of low international commodity prices) and because of the availability of more attractive investment opportunities in other sectors of the Mexican economy, it remains to be seen whether ejido reform will actually promote large amounts of private investment in rural infrastructure like irrigation systems. Critics of the ejido reform also question whether private firms entering into joint ventures with ejidos will actually introduce the new

^{8.} The Sistema Alimentario Mexicano (SAM) program was by far the most ambitious and costly of these agricultural subsidy programs. The SAM was abruptly terminated when the oil price "crash" of 1981-82 made it financially impossible for the government to continue the program.

production and marketing technologies that will be needed to assure the *ejido* sector's future competitiveness, or whether they will simply use the *ejidos* as a source of low-cost contract labor.

3) How widely will the new capital flowing into the *ejido* sector as a result of the Article 27 reforms be distributed, in regional and class terms?

Put differently, how much additional inequality within an already dualistic agricultural sector is likely to result from these changes? At least in the short term, most new investment is likely to flow disproportionately to those regions with the greatest potential for strong export performance. This has already begun to occur in Sinaloa and Sonora, states with well-developed agricultural infrastructure (irrigation systems, roads, etc.) and established marketing systems; states which produce vegetables, fruits, and other high-value crops that have strong seasonal demand in the United States. The export potential of regions like this would increase sharply under a free-trade agreement that sharply reduces tariff levels and otherwise improves access for Mexican agricultural products to U.S. and Canadian markets.

Most experts believe that accelerated agricultural modernization in a free-trade context is quite likely to increase social inequality in rural Mexico, at least in the short-to-medium term, as export-stimulated economic growth occurs more rapidly in some regions than others. According to some estimates, only about ten percent of the country's *ejidos* are well-organized, hold good-quality land, have access to irrigation, and have some experience negotiating with outsiders. It is this ten percent stratum that will be in the best position to benefit from the Article 27 reforms.

4) What effects will ejido reform have on migratory patterns?

If ejido reform leads to extensive transfers of land holdings in some areas, and if the Salinas project succeeds in promoting labor-saving technological innovation in agricultural production, these effects could intensify out-migration to urban centers or the United States, unless significant numbers of off-setting, non-agricultural employment opportunities are created in close proximity to the affected ejidos.

But there is an important caveat: A high percentage of ejido families already depend to some extent on wage-labor migration to supplement their incomes from agriculture; indeed, for many of them, working their ejido parcel long

ago ceased to be their primary income source. In high-emigration regions, the number of additional people who may be pushed out of agriculture by *ejido* reform per se may be much smaller than expected.⁹

Previous research on Mexican migration enables us to formulate several alternative hypotheses concerning the migratory consequences of ejido reform. First, we could hypothesize that there will be significant out-migration from rural communities where the privatization of ejido lands is extensive and rapid; where ejidatarios have been engaged primarily in subsistence production; where there are few employment options outside agriculture; and where there is little tradition of wage-labor migration to urban areas in Mexico or to the United States. Alternatively, we can hypothesize that ejido reform will not produce substantial emigration from rural communities where ejidatarios retain ownership of their lands but form joint ventures with private farmers or agribusinesses; where agriculture is already heavily oriented toward export or where government policies stimulate shifts to labor-intensive, exportable crops such as winter fruits and vegetables; where service and manufacturing jobs are readily available in nearby cities or towns; and where temporary emigration to major urban areas or the United States is already a well-established local tradition.

5) What environmental impacts is restructuring of the *ejido* sector likely to have?

In some regions, increased mechanization of agricultural production, more extensive use of chemical fertilizers, pesticides, and insecticides, the opening of grazing lands to farming, and other kinds of changes that are likely to be associated with shifts in tenure patterns and land use will create new environmental problems, especially soil erosion (a high percentage of ejido land already suffers from this problem) and groundwater pollution. Deforestation of peri-urban ejido lands could greatly worsen air pollution problems in Mexico's largest cities. In all of the major metropolitan areas, ejidos constitute the principal reservoir of undeveloped land for housing—if they have not already been invaded by squatters.

^{9.} On the pursuit of income diversification strategies by ejidatarios and other categories of Mexican rural dwellers, see: Sergio Zendejas, "Mexico's Agrarian Dilemma Revisited," Enfoque (Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD), Fall 1992, pp. 1, 8-9; and Merilee S. Grindle, Searching for Rural Development: Labor Migration and Employment in Mexico (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

Guatemala; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA calls for the immediate end to the use of violence to ensure quiescence by sowing fear and suppressing dissent, and for the restoration of full human rights and academic freedom to the entire academic community in Guatemala.

II. Resolution on the Negotiations Between the Government of Guatemala and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG)

WHEREAS the civil conflict which has racked Guatemala since 1954 continues to claim many lives, to undermine programs for social development and to deny any solution to the endemic problems of poverty, inequality and injustice in that society; and

WHEREAS the negotiations between the URNG and the government of Guatemala, which began in April of 1991, are a necessary first step in the resolution of this civil strife and the restructuring of a more broadly serving society; and

WHEREAS these negotiations have proceeded very slowly, with many false starts, under conditions of secrecy and limited participation;

WHEREAS as a result, these negotiations have not yet produced any major public agreement; and

WHEREAS the quality of life of the majority of ordinary Guatemalans continues to deteriorate and human rights violations continue to increase;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) expresses its strong support for the negotiation process now underway between the government of Guatemala and the URNG;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA calls for 1) increased support for the negotiation process from the United States government and from international and multilateral organizations; and 2) more openness in the negotiations process and more participation by a wide array of other groups within Guatemalan society; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA urges concerted and extended efforts on the part of both negotiating parties to end the conflict and to begin the task of rebuilding Guatemalan society.

III. Resolution on U.S. Relations with Cuba

WHEREAS the U.S. ban on travel to and from Cuba has restricted U.S. citizens' ability to travel to or study in Cuba and has restricted intellectual, cultural, and scientific exchange; and

WHEREAS Cuba should be free to choose its form of government and economic system without outside interference; and

WHEREAS the best way to resolve any differences with the Cuban government and to promote democracy in Cuba is to open the free exchange of ideas and persons between Cuba and other countries, including the United States;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that

- 1) the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) calls for the normalization of diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba; and
- 2) LASA calls for respect for Cuban self-determination and an end to U.S. intervention as exemplified by Radio and TV Martí and by aid to opposition forces in and out of Cuba; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA urges

- 1) the lifting of restrictions on the export of medical supplies and equipment to Cuba;
- 2) the lifting of restrictions on U.S. citizens' travel to Cuba; and
- 3) the lifting of restrictions on Cuban citizens' travel to the United States, including Cuban students seeking an academic degree, treating them the same as citizens from other Latin American countries.

IV. Resolution on Haitian Refugees

WHEREAS experts agree that, in contravention of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the United Nations Convention Against Torture, and other instruments, treaties, and covenants of international law, many Haitians have been the victims of human rights abuses since the September 30, 1991 military coup which overthrew democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. These abuses include torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment, imprisonment without charges or trial, disappearance and extra-judicial executions;

WHEREAS many Haitians seek to escape these as well as economic deprivation by fleeing for the United States;

WHEREAS Article 33 of the *United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, to which the United States is a party, prohibits the forcible return of refugees to countries where they have a reasonable fear of suffering human rights violations;

WHEREAS in order to ensure that political refugees are properly identified and given protection from forcible return, it is necessary that all asylum seekers have access to a full and fair procedure for determining the merits of their claims;

WHEREAS Amnesty International, inter alia, charges that the United States government does not provide Haitian refugees with adequate procedures for determining the merits of claims that they have reasonable fear of human rights violations if they are returned to Haiti;

WHEREAS the United States government does not know the fate of refugees already returned to Haiti but by its own admission, one-third of them may have been subjected to human rights abuse;

WHEREAS, under present political circumstances in Haiti, there is no means of determining what in fact happens to returned refugees;

WHEREAS under United States law there is a procedure known as Temporary Protective Status which, when invoked, prevents the forcible deportation of refugees pending the resolution of civil strife or political crisis in another country;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) write to the President of the United States, asking that executive power be used to grant Temporary Protective Status to Haitians pending the political resolution of the crisis in Haiti.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA encourage its individual members in the United States to write to their representatives in Congress, asking them to support Congressional Bills providing for Temporary Protective Status for Haitians.

V. Resolution on Human Rights Violations Against Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States

WHEREAS large numbers of people from Latin America, especially from Mexico and Central America, cross the U.S.-Mexico border;

WHEREAS the independent human rights organizations, Americas Watch and the American Friends Service Committee, inter alia, have documented numerous cases of human and civil rights abuses and mistreatment committed in the United States by Immigration and Naturalization Service and its Border Patrol agents or private citizens acting with apparent impunity against Mexicans and Central Americans who have crossed or are crossing the border;

WHEREAS these abuses include, *inter alia*, acts which constitute cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, and unnecessary deadly force;

WHEREAS such acts are in contravention to municipal, state and federal laws of the United States and also contrary to international treaties and conventions to which the United States is a state party, to wit the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, the Convention Against Torture, the American Convention, the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

WHEREAS such acts are rarely investigated fully and impartially and perpetrators rarely brought to justice;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) calls upon the U.S. government to ensure that its Immigration and Naturalization Service and Border Patrol immediately terminate all activities that violate the human rights of persons apprehended or contacted by them, that they refrain from the use of deadly force unless they or a third party are actually threatened with imminent grave bodily harm or death, and withdrawing from the situation without the use of deadly force cannot be reasonably accomplished with endangering lives;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA requests the U.S. government to conduct an immediate and thorough investigation of all charges of brutality, excessive use of force, unnecessary use of deadly force and other violations of U.S. law and international human rights instruments by agents and employees of the INS. The aim of this investigation must be to prosecute those accused of violating the civil, political and human rights of Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States or of U.S. citizens thought to be Mexicans or Central Americans.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA calls upon the Governors of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas to ensure that civil crimes committed against undocumented Mexicans or Central Americans or people thought to be undocumented are investigated in their states with the same vigor as other crimes, and that perpetrators be brought to justice.

VI. Resolution on El Salvador

WHEREAS the El Salvador Peace Accords, signed February 16, 1992, establish the basis for a negotiated resolution to the civil war;

WHEREAS these Accords create and support the work of a Truth Commission designed to document past human rights abuses; and

WHEREAS implementation of the Accords has been erratic and shaken by many instances of non-compliance;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) commend the government of El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and the United Nations for their roles in negotiating these historic accords, and express its support for the work of the Truth Commission;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA call on all sides to work with greater commitment to comply with all provisions of the Accords, including the complete dissolution of specified security forces, the purging of officers found to have committed human rights abuses and the creation of a new National Civil Police; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA

- 1) strongly urge the United States government to use its resources to press for full compliance with the Accords, including the transfer of all military aid into the Demobilization and Transition to Peace Fund, and ensuring that economic and development aid be distributed fairly, so as to contribute to reconciliation, with a fair portion of funds distributed to NGOs;
- 2) call on the government of El Salvador and the United Nations to investigate the alarming resurgence of "death squad" activities; and
- 3) urge the United Nations to maintain its continuing support for the Salvadoran peace process until peace in El Salvador is assured.

ADDITIONAL NEW BUSINESS

The following sense-of-the meeting motion was approved by voice, with two dissenting voices heard:

U.S. Approach to Anti-Narcotics Operations

"Given that U.S. military assistance under the 'Andean Strategy' has totaled over \$390 million over the past three

years, and;

Given the egregious human rights violations in Colombia and Peru, and the pattern of increasing police and military abuses in Bolivia and;

Given the linkage between economic aid, debt relief, and participation in the U.S. anti-narcotics policy;

The business meeting of LASA resolves to express its deep concern regarding the coercive military and police approach of the U.S. anti-narcotics strategy, which results in human rights abuses, endangers national sovereignty, and conditions economic aid and debt relief in the Andean region."

A final motion, dealing with Peru, was tabled by voice vote. The action called for in the motion read: "Be it resolved that the LASA business meeting urge that the Peruvian state respect international conventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners. That Abimael Guzmán not be brought before a military tribunal as threatened. That he be allowed access to lawyers, journalists, and doctors to ensure his health. That his physical integrity be respected."

2000

PABLO NERUDA

2000 is one of eight books of poems left by Neruda to be published after his death in 1973. It is published here for the first time in a bilingual edition, translated into English by Richard Schaaf and introduced by Chilean writer and poet Fernando Alegría.

"What more auspicious way to celebrate the quincentenary of the discovery of the Americas than with Pablo Neruda's 2000. 2000 is a meditation that celebrates humankind's struggle to survive and regenerate itself at the entrance to the second millennium."

Marjorie Agosin

2000 is an oracular and jubilant poem in which a removed hero, but by no means gone from the scene, weighs in the balance the Cold War and fiery hatreds, in order to tell us that History has not ended: it is just being born with a new, unexpected and wondrous heartthrob."

Fernando Alegría

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Report to Membership continued

The results of these efforts have been positive. More than twenty-five percent of the scholarly contributions published in the latest volume of the Association's Latin American Research Review (LARR) were written by Latin Americans, and the program for LASA's XVII International Congress in Los Angeles in September, 1992, included over 487 Latin American participants—a record 29 percent of the total. In stark contrast to the situation that existed only a decade or so ago, at LASA '92 most panels included at least one Latin American, and several were composed entirely of Latin American scholars.

The structural change toward increased diversity within our association is only an indicator of an even more important phenomenon, the diffusion of scholarship throughout the Hemisphere. Indeed, it is now impossible to work productively in any area of Latin American Studies without depending to a large and increasing degree upon the scholarly output of Latin Americans. The diffusion of responsibility for the creation of knowledge was once primarily a desirable social goal; now it has become critical to the vigorous development of the U.S.-based Latin Americanist community. The reverse has always been true: Latin American scholars have traditionally viewed their contacts with scholars in the United States and elsewhere as critically important to their work.

In short, as we move through the final decade of the 20th century, Latin American Studies is rapidly becoming a single hemispheric community; indeed, the geographic center of Latin American Studies stands on the brink of shifting from the United States to Latin America. As this shift continues, LASA must also prepare to undergo its own form of structural adjustment.

The need for this adjustment is most obvious in the organization of LASA's international congresses, which have become extraordinarily complex meetings to produce. The growth in every area—from 966 participants on 242 panels at Boston in 1986 to 1,657 participants in 361 scholarly sessions at Los Angeles in 1992—greatly complicates program development. By the late 1980s, it had become obvious that LASA was unprepared for this growth. In his preface to the program for LASA '91 in Crystal City, Program Chair Michael Conroy issued a stern warning to the membership:

It is time for the world's largest professional association of Latin American studies specialists to adopt a truly professional approach to conference organizing, suitable to the magnitude of the task and reflective of modern approaches to the problem.... Continuation of the artisan tradition in crafting programs... threatens to leave us with deteriorating communication with the

membership, less creatively organized programs, and the potential, in the not distant future, for the collapse of the whole conference and program organization process.

In response to this warning, in April 1991 LASA's Executive Council appointed a special ad hoc committee composed of Mitchell Seligson (chair) and two elected members of the Executive Council, Susan Eckstein and Steven Sanderson, to examine the need for changes in program development. This committee's immediate response was to implement a number of new procedures, including the creation of program sections that shift much of the organizational and decision-making responsibility from the Program Chair to sixteen section chairs, each of whom is a specialist in one program track. Each LASA member who proposes a paper or session is required to select and identify the program section best suited for his or her proposal, and to direct that proposal to the appropriate section chair. The section chairs, in turn, submit their draft programs to the Program Chair, who determines the final program. In addition, the Association initiated the policy of providing the Program Chair with funds to hire for one year a full-time administrative assistant, and the program itself is now printed and mailed by the Secretariat in Pittsburgh rather than in the city where the Program Chair is based. With these changes, it appears that LASA has successfully addressed the principal problems identified by Professor Conroy.

As the Seligson Committee designed these changes in the process of program development, it uncovered other important issues, including the daunting problem of funding for the travel of Latin American scholars to LASA congresses. At that point the Seligson Committee was expanded to include me as LASA President, Vice-President (President-elect) Carmen Diana Deere, Executive Director Reid Reading, LASA '92 Program Chair John Booth, Treasurer John Coatsworth, and Executive Council member Larissa Lomnitz.

To accelerate and deepen the process of creating a single global community of Latin Americanists, with equal access to resources and equal participation in the creation of knowledge, the LASA Executive Council and the Seligson Committee have spent the past 18 months creating a Strategic Development Plan designed to integrate the professional activities of Latin American and U.S.-based Latin Americanists. This initiative consists of three related programs: (1) an expansion and a re-definition of LASA's travel program for Latin American participants in LASA congresses, (2) the inauguration of a permanent series of thematic seminar-congresses in Latin America combined with lecturing fellowships for younger U.S.-based Latin Americanists, and (3) the sponsorship of planning meetings

FSLN, the country has been buffeted by numerous upheavals [see Jack Spence & George Vickers, LASA Forum, Winter 1991]. Centrists within UNO (led by President Chamorro and her son-in-law, Minister of the Presidency Antonio Lacayo) and the FSLN (led by party general secretary Daniel Ortega and head of the Sandinista parliamentary bench Sergio Ramírez) have negotiated a fragile government consensus, shored up by General of the Army Humberto Ortega. Critics on both the left and right bitterly attack this arrangement as "co-government" which only benefits the political elites.

One factor working against the stability of the Chamorro-Lacayo government is the fragmentation of both UNO and the FSLN since the 1990 election. UNO moderates from Chamorro's "La Palma Group" face a significant far-right challenge from the UNO "Political Council," initially led by Vice President Virgilio Godoy, now eclipsed by the colorful mayor of Managua, Arnoldo Alemán. With a strong presence in the National Assembly and control of a number of municipal governments, this faction attributes all problems to the FSLN's continued role in government, and has a growing appeal among those seeking either patronage or revenge.

Another UNO faction on the right is the group of parliamentary supporters of National Assembly president Alfredo César. Last year the César group reopened the divisive property issue, introducing legislation to derail a negotiated Lacayo-FSLN agreement. That initiative, as well as one to further slash the budget of the military (whose size was already reduced from some 90,000 to 20,000), were stymied by President Chamorro's veto. This year, César called for a suspension of U.S. aid to Nicaragua, reinforcing demands by Jeane Kirkpatrick and Scn. Jesse Helms for accelerated privatization and dismissal of Gen. Ortega from the army command.

The FSLN, as its leaders acknowledge, is in crisis. The respect the party won by accepting the election results and negotiating a peaceful transition was seriously undermined by the "piñata": A significant amount of state property was transferred to Sandinista party functionaries in the period between the February 1990 election and the April inauguration of the new government. During the same period, there was a rush to legalize all the rural and urban property transfers that had been enacted as part of the redistributive reforms of the 1980s, some of which the UNO government has sought to reverse. The enrichment of a few during the "piñata" has made it difficult for the FSLN to claim the high moral ground as defender of the property rights of the poor. Tensions between Sandinista party haves and have-nots have been further accentuated as former salaried officials have turned their energies toward private business ventures.

In addition to ethical issues and the new salience of class divisions within party ranks, the FSLN has not fully dealt with pending issues of ideological redefinition and internal democratization in the wake of its electoral defeat. More conservative Sandinista leaders have openly aligned with UNO moderates in the National Assembly to form a "Center Group." Left critics—who are dispersed among intellectual circles, the military, and the mass organizations—lack coherent expression. They also find their perspectives squelched by a party leadership anxious to avoid fractious debate, and determined to establish the FSLN's credentials as a loyal opposition.

Suspension of some \$100 million in contracted U.S. aid on the eve of the LASA group's visit put the Chamorro government's vulnerability in sharp relief.

The continued economic crisis adds to the fragility of the current government. With an IMF Standby agreement in place since last fall, under- and unemployment exceed 60 percent, medicines and schoolbooks are no longer free, and tight credit policies have severely hurt peasant producers. While production languishes, there is a proliferation of luxury consumer goods and services. This artificial economy is being sustained by external financial flows equivalent to nearly half of national production, and subject to a myriad of explicit and implicit economic and political conditions imposed by the U.S. government, IMF, World Bank, etc. The suspension of some \$100 million in contracted U.S. aid on the eve of the LASA group's visit put the Chamorro government's vulnerability in sharp relief. Under the current neoliberal program of structural adjustment, state enterprises are being swiftly privatized at fire-sale prices. However, given the continued climate of social tension, there is little new private investment.

Despite problems of legitimacy and identity, the FSLN can still potentially draw on a large mobilized base of support, unlike the various factions of UNO. Following the general strikes of May and July 1990, FSLN leaders played an active role in brokering "concertación" agreements between the government, unions, and other social sectors. However, the government is not fully empowered to hold up its end of any bargain, given the heavy conditionality imposed by international financial institutions. Nor is the FSLN sufficiently in control of the popular sectors to be able effectively to deliver social peace. Workers, slum-dwellers, students, women, and

peasants (including demobilized contras and military) are making it increasingly clear that their demands and direct action will not be constrained by Sandinista politicians' timetables. Moreover, efforts by the FSLN leadership to convert these protest movements into political bargaining chips only fuel charges by the right wing of UNO that the Sandinistas are orchestrating all unrest.

In fact, one of the more interesting developments in post-1990 Nicaragua is the emergence of popular movements not bound by political party alignments. Demobilized combatants of the Nicaraguan Resistance (contra) and Sandinista Popular Army (EPS), some of whom had taken up arms again to attack each other, have more recently been working together to seize land which they feel was promised to them by the new government. They say their common interests as campesinos are being neglected by their respective officers, who have cut a deal with the government to lay down arms in return for property rights for the high command. Picking up on these sentiments of campesino unity, the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG) has joined with some of the more moderate ex-contras to form the National Campesino Coordinator, a non-partisan civilian organization with growing rural appeal.

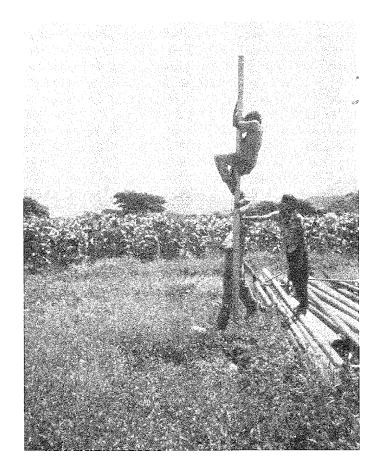
Similarly, in the women's movement, the old FSLN-aligned AMNLAE now coexists with a burgeoning assortment of independent organizations working on abortion, spousal abuse, gay/lesbian rights, and a host of other issues that the FSLN had previously not found politically convenient to move up from the back burner. University students also took to the streets in July, burning tires and marching to protest what they charged was the government's failure to fulfill its statutory obligation to assign six percent of the national budget to higher education. Lack of funding has forced the universities to draw up plans for levying substantial fees, which would in effect exclude the poor.

At the forefront of these movements are many Sandinista sympathizers and grassroots activists who hope to rekindle the spirit of the revolution, in a population that is tired of strife yet severely affected by the steady rollback of social programs. One sign of this spirit was the crowd of some 50,000 that turned out on July 19th, in a lively celebration of the anniversary of the revolution. A faulty sound system made Daniel Ortega's words largely inaudible, but that seemed to matter little to a crowd that was no longer waiting for orders from the National Directorate.

If many Nicaraguans have become cynical, they are also aware that they have been empowered over the last decade in ways that are not easily reversible. However the FSLN ultimately redefines itself, popular organizing is a feature of the political landscape. Many Nicaraguans who voted for

relief from the war find that they now face other stresses from severe unemployment, inaccessible social services, and the rampant crime and social decomposition associated with extreme economic hardship. Ironies abound. Supermarkets are now stuffed with imported goods, and there are night spots where teenagers sport the latest Miami fashions; however for most Nicaraguans, there is only bitter disappointment. Some blame the Sandinistas and the moderates in the Chamorro/Lacayo executive, arguing that the election was a mandate for reversing the social and political transformations of the past decade. For others, the real mandate is to put the war in the past and look for common bases for moving forward.

Note: These seminars are now an eight-year tradition and have proven to be very popular. It is likely that LASA will sponsor a ninth one next summer. The trips are open to all LASA members, and diversity of political opinion is welcomed. For information, contact: Professor Thomas W. Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701-2979. Telephone: (614) 593-1339; fax: (614) 593-1837.



Visit to the "Leonol Valdivia" cooperative in Chagüitillo. Photo by seminar participant Luis Fernández.

REPORT OF THE LASA BUSINESS MEETING XVII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS LOS ANGELES, SEPTEMBER 25, 1992

President Lars Schoultz welcomed those present and introduced the following, who were seated on the stand: Arturo Valenzuela, parliamentarian; Carmen Diana Deere, LASA Vice President; Robert Bach, chair, LASA Task Force on Scholarly relations with Cuba; Reid Reading, LASA Executive Director; Mitchell Seligson, chair, LASA ad hoc Committee on Congress Development; and John Booth, chair. XVII Congress Program Committee. Schoultz then noted the contributions of Manuel Pastor, chair, Local Arrangements Committee, and Delila Sotelo, his assistant; John Booth, and his assistants Steve Lohse and Susan Lebo; and Reid Reading and his staff to the success of the meeting-the largest ever in terms of the numbers of participants and activities, and the longest. Institutions making financial contributions to the congress also were acknowledged.

PRESENTATION OF THE KALMAN SILVERT AWARD

Immediate Past President Jean Franco presented the Kalman Silvert Award, LASA's most prestigious, to George Kubler, Sterling Professor Emeritus of History of Art, and Senior Research Scholar of History of Art, Yale University. (See the Summer 1992 LASA Fonum for the announcement of this award). In her presentation Jean Franco noted that in addition to having founded an entire discipline, Professor Kubler made landmark contributions to anthropology and demography. In his response Professor Kubler declared the Silvert Award to be among the most highly valued of all the acknowledgments of his scholarship.

PRESENTATION OF THE BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD

Professor James Malloy, chair, Bryce Wood Book Award Committee, announced the committee's decision to make three awards for 1992. Honorable mentions were earned by Ramón Gutiérrez, University of California at San Diego, for When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away and Nicolas Shumway, Yale University, for The Invention of Argentina. The 1992 winner was Roberto González Echevarría, Yale University, for Myth and Archives: A Theory of the Latin American Narrative. See this issue of the Forum, page 25, for more on this award.

PRESENTATION OF THE MEDIA AWARD

Susan Bourque, LASA Executive Committee Member and chair, 1992 LASA Media Award Committee, announced a special citation for Alan Riding, Bureau Chief of the New York Times in Paris and former Bureau Chief of the Times in Mexico City and Rio de Janeiro. The 1992 Media Award was presented to Alma Guillermoprieto, formerly South America Bureau Chief for Newsweek, staff reporter for the Washington Post, and now of the New Yorker. For more about the award, please see the announcement on page 25 of this issue of the Forum.

PRESENTATION OF THE PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO AWARD

Saúl Sosnowski, chair, LASA's first Premio Iberoamericano Committee, announced that Néstor García Canclini, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, México, would receive an honorable mention for his Culturas híbridas. Estrategias para entrar y salir de la modernidad. The 1992 winner is Antônio Cândido, Universidade de Campinas, for Capítulos de História Colonial. An article on page 25 of this issue of the Forum provides more about the award.

REPORT OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE ON CONGRESS PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

Mitchell Seligson, chair of the Ad Hoc Committee, noted that he and his committee responded to the concerns of Lars Schoultz and many others about the problems of constructing and administering increasingly large and complex congresses. A new structure, expanding on Michael Conroy's innovations for the 1991 Congress, was implemented by the 1992 Program Committee. Program Committee members, four of them located in Latin America, became section chairs. Seligson invited suggestions from LASA members about how to further improve the structure and process.

Seligson noted a second area of concern, raising funds for Latin American participants in the meetings. He commented that Lars Schoultz has taken a great deal of initiative in this area, working closely with Steve Sanderson and others, attempting to find a new mechanism for supporting the congresses financially.

XVII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS PROGRAM COMMITTEE REPORT

John Booth, 1992 Congress Program Chair, thanked his staff and his fellow committee members for their untiring dedication to putting the 1992 meeting together. His report can be found on page one of this issue of the LASA Forum.

NEW FUNDING PROPOSAL

Lars Schoultz noted the eventual expansion of the Ad Hoc Committee on Congress Program Development to include eight members. The full report of the Committee's work, Schoultz noted, would appear in the LASA Forum. See page one, this issue, for the report.

SECRETARIAT REPORT

Reid Reading noted that, although it didn't get mentioned often enough, it would be very difficult for LASA to operate as it is currently operating without the support of the University of Pittsburgh, which in 1991 extended its contract with LASA for another five year period. He acknowledged the contribution of Mitchell Seligson in bringing to the attention of the upper administration of the University of Pittsburgh the good kinds of things that the Latin American Studies Association is responsible for. Reading also acknowledged Lars Schoultz's strong support for the Secretariat and its staff, especially during recent personnel changes. John Booth was given a vote of gratitude for all his work and good humor. Finally, Reading acknowledged the work of Kim Hurst, who recently left LASA. He also thanked Glenn Sheldon, Director of Publications, and Rane Arroyo, a part-time staffer who has been instrumental in helping with the transition in the Secretariat.

CUBA TASK FORCE COMMITTEE REPORT

Lars Schoultz noted that the finance committee for LASA 1992 was composed of the two previous finance committee chairs, Steven Sanderson, who chaired the finance committee for the 1989 meeting, and Mitchell Seligson who chaired the finance committee for the 1991 congress, Anita Isaacs of Haverford College, and himself. Schoultz noted that while the committee was able to obtain a substantial amount of funding, Robert Bach, co-chair of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba came close to outdoing the committee by himself. Schoultz said that while reports had been submitted by all the LASA Task Forces, and could be commented on in the business meeting, he thought the membership might like to hear about the Cuba Task Force,

among the most active of the Task Forces and one that involves many scholars from both its targeted area of interest and in the United States. Before Robert Bach stood to give his report, Schoultz introduced Rafael Hernández, from the Centro de Estudios Sobre America in Havana, Cuba, and cochair of the Cuban Task Force.

Look for Robert Bach's report in a forthcoming issue of the Forum.

NEW BUSINESS

RESOLUTIONS

Lars Schoultz asked that LASA Vice President Carmen Diana Deere read the following six resolutions, all of which were submitted to the LASA Secretariat and sent to the Resolutions Subcommittee of the Executive Council for consideration. The subcommittee subsequently reported to the Executive Council on September 23, 1992. The Council referred the following proposed resolutions to the business meeting. Each was approved by a unanimous voice vote of those present and voting.

All resolutions will take effect upon ratification by mail ballot of the membership. A majority vote on each resolution is required.

I. Resolution on Violence Against the Academic Community in Guatemala

WHEREAS a recent wave of violence against the academic community in Guatemala has resulted in the deaths of four professors, the disappearance and/or death of a score of student leaders, and repeated death threats to the leadership of the Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios (AEU) of the University of San Carlos (USAC) and to the president of the university;

WHEREAS this wave of violence included 1) the bombing of the AEU offices, 2) the disruption of the *Huelga de Dolores* parade—a traditional student expression of dissent—and, 3) the continuing and intimidating presence of the *Hunapu* Security Forces on the campus of the USAC; and

WHEREAS this wave of violence is clearly designed to intimidate dissenters and to infringe on the academic freedom of the university community in Guatemala;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) deplores and condemns the continuing violence against the academic community in

Guatemala; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA calls for the immediate end to the use of violence to ensure quiescence by sowing fear and suppressing dissent, and for the restoration of full human rights and academic freedom to the entire academic community in Guatemala.

II. Resolution on the Negotiations Between the Government of Guatemala and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG)

WHEREAS the civil conflict which has racked Guatemala since 1954 continues to claim many lives, to undermine programs for social development and to deny any solution to the endemic problems of poverty, inequality and injustice in that society; and

WHEREAS the negotiations between the URNG and the government of Guatemala, which began in April of 1991, are a necessary first step in the resolution of this civil strife and the restructuring of a more broadly serving society; and

WHEREAS these negotiations have proceeded very slowly, with many false starts, under conditions of secrecy and limited participation;

WHEREAS as a result, these negotiations have not yet produced any major public agreement; and

WHEREAS the quality of life of the majority of ordinary Guatemalans continues to deteriorate and human rights violations continue to increase;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) expresses its strong support for the negotiation process now underway between the government of Guatemala and the URNG;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA calls for 1) increased support for the negotiation process from the United States government and from international and multilateral organizations; and 2) more openness in the negotiations process and more participation by a wide array of other groups within Guatemalan society; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA urges concerted and extended efforts on the part of both negotiating parties to end the conflict and to begin the task of rebuilding Guatemalan society.

III. Resolution on U.S. Relations with Cuba

WHEREAS the U.S. ban on travel to and from Cuba has restricted U.S. citizens' ability to travel to or study in Cuba and has restricted intellectual, cultural, and scientific exchange; and

WHEREAS Cuba should be free to choose its form of government and economic system without outside interference; and

WHEREAS the best way to resolve any differences with the Cuban government and to promote democracy in Cuba is to open the free exchange of ideas and persons between Cuba and other countries, including the United States;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that

- 1) the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) calls for the normalization of diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba; and
- 2) LASA calls for respect for Cuban self-determination and an end to U.S. intervention as exemplified by Radio and TV Martí and by aid to opposition forces in and out of Cuba; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA urges

- 1) the lifting of restrictions on the export of medical supplies and equipment to Cuba;
- 2) the lifting of restrictions on U.S. citizens' travel to Cuba; and
- 3) the lifting of restrictions on Cuban citizens' travel to the United States, including Cuban students seeking an academic degree, treating them the same as citizens from other Latin American countries.

IV. Resolution on Haitian Refugees

WHEREAS experts agree that, in contravention of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the United Nations Convention Against Torture, and other instruments, treaties, and covenants of international law, many Haitians have been the victims of human rights abuses since the September 30, 1991 military coup which overthrew democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. These abuses include torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment, imprisonment without charges or trial, disappearance and extra-judicial executions;

WHEREAS many Haitians seek to escape these as well as economic deprivation by fleeing for the United States;

WHEREAS Article 33 of the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, to which the United States is a party, prohibits the forcible return of refugees to countries where they have a reasonable fear of suffering human rights violations;

WHEREAS in order to ensure that political refugees are properly identified and given protection from forcible return, it is necessary that all asylum seekers have access to a full and fair procedure for determining the merits of their claims;

WHEREAS Amnesty International, inter alia, charges that the United States government does not provide Haitian refugees with adequate procedures for determining the merits of claims that they have reasonable fear of human rights violations if they are returned to Haiti;

WHEREAS the United States government does not know the fate of refugees already returned to Haiti but by its own admission, one-third of them may have been subjected to human rights abuse;

WHEREAS, under present political circumstances in Haiti, there is no means of determining what in fact happens to returned refugees;

WHEREAS under United States law there is a procedure known as Temporary Protective Status which, when invoked, prevents the forcible deportation of refugees pending the resolution of civil strife or political crisis in another country;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) write to the President of the United States, asking that executive power be used to grant Temporary Protective Status to Haitians pending the political resolution of the crisis in Haiti.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA encourage its individual members in the United States to write to their representatives in Congress, asking them to support Congressional Bills providing for Temporary Protective Status for Haitians.

V. Resolution on Human Rights Violations Against Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States

WHEREAS large numbers of people from Latin America, especially from Mexico and Central America, cross the U.S.-Mexico border;

WHEREAS the independent human rights organizations, Americas Watch and the American Friends Service Committee, inter alia, have documented numerous cases of human and civil rights abuses and mistreatment committed in the United States by Immigration and Naturalization Service and its Border Patrol agents or private citizens acting with apparent impunity against Mexicans and Central Americans who have crossed or are crossing the border;

WHEREAS these abuses include, *inter alia*, acts which constitute cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, and unnecessary deadly force;

WHEREAS such acts are in contravention to municipal, state and federal laws of the United States and also contrary to international treaties and conventions to which the United States is a state party, to wit the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights, the Convention Against Torture, the American Convention, the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

WHEREAS such acts are rarely investigated fully and impartially and perpetrators rarely brought to justice;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) calls upon the U.S. government to ensure that its Immigration and Naturalization Service and Border Patrol immediately terminate all activities that violate the human rights of persons apprehended or contacted by them, that they refrain from the use of deadly force unless they or a third party are actually threatened with imminent grave bodily harm or death, and withdrawing from the situation without the use of deadly force cannot be reasonably accomplished with endangering lives;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA requests the U.S. government to conduct an immediate and thorough investigation of all charges of brutality, excessive use of force, unnecessary use of deadly force and other violations of U.S. law and international human rights instruments by agents and employees of the INS. The aim of this investigation must be to prosecute those accused of violating the civil, political and human rights of Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States or of U.S. citizens thought to be Mexicans or Central Americans.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA calls upon the Governors of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas to ensure that civil crimes committed against undocumented Mexicans or Central Americans or people thought to be undocumented are investigated in their states with the same vigor as other crimes, and that perpetrators be brought to justice.

VI. Resolution on El Salvador

WHEREAS the El Salvador Peace Accords, signed February 16, 1992, establish the basis for a negotiated resolution to the civil war;

WHEREAS these Accords create and support the work of a Truth Commission designed to document past human rights abuses; and

WHEREAS implementation of the Accords has been erratic and shaken by many instances of non-compliance;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) commend the government of El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), and the United Nations for their roles in negotiating these historic accords, and express its support for the work of the Truth Commission;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA call on all sides to work with greater commitment to comply with all provisions of the Accords, including the complete dissolution of specified security forces, the purging of officers found to have committed human rights abuses and the creation of a new National Civil Police; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that LASA

- 1) strongly urge the United States government to use its resources to press for full compliance with the Accords, including the transfer of all military aid into the Demobilization and Transition to Peace Fund, and ensuring that economic and development aid be distributed fairly, so as to contribute to reconciliation, with a fair portion of funds distributed to NGOs;
- 2) call on the government of El Salvador and the United Nations to investigate the alarming resurgence of "death squad" activities; and
- 3) urge the United Nations to maintain its continuing support for the Salvadoran peace process until peace in El Salvador is assured.

ADDITIONAL NEW BUSINESS

The following sense-of-the meeting motion was approved by voice, with two dissenting voices heard:

U.S. Approach to Anti-Narcotics Operations

"Given that U.S. military assistance under the 'Andean Strategy' has totaled over \$390 million over the past three

years, and;

Given the egregious human rights violations in Colombia and Peru, and the pattern of increasing police and military abuses in Bolivia and;

Given the linkage between economic aid, debt relief, and participation in the U.S. anti-narcotics policy;

The business meeting of LASA resolves to express its deep concern regarding the coercive military and police approach of the U.S. anti-narcotics strategy, which results in human rights abuses, endangers national sovereignty, and conditions economic aid and debt relief in the Andean region."

A final motion, dealing with Peru, was tabled by voice vote. The action called for in the motion read: "Be it resolved that the LASA business meeting urge that the Peruvian state respect international conventions concerning the treatment of political prisoners. That Abimael Guzmán not be brought before a military tribunal as threatened. That he be allowed access to lawyers, journalists, and doctors to ensure his health. That his physical integrity be respected."

2000

PABLO NERUDA

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Report to Membership continued

The results of these efforts have been positive. More than twenty-five percent of the scholarly contributions published in the latest volume of the Association's Latin American Research Review (LARR) were written by Latin Americans, and the program for LASA's XVII International Congress in Los Angeles in September, 1992, included over 487 Latin American participants—a record 29 percent of the total. In stark contrast to the situation that existed only a decade or so ago, at LASA '92 most panels included at least one Latin American, and several were composed entirely of Latin American scholars.

The structural change toward increased diversity within our association is only an indicator of an even more important phenomenon, the diffusion of scholarship throughout the Hemisphere. Indeed, it is now impossible to work productively in any area of Latin American Studies without depending to a large and increasing degree upon the scholarly output of Latin Americans. The diffusion of responsibility for the creation of knowledge was once primarily a desirable social goal; now it has become critical to the vigorous development of the U.S.-based Latin Americanist community. The reverse has always been true: Latin American scholars have traditionally viewed their contacts with scholars in the United States and elsewhere as critically important to their work.

In short, as we move through the final decade of the 20th century, Latin American Studies is rapidly becoming a single hemispheric community; indeed, the geographic center of Latin American Studies stands on the brink of shifting from the United States to Latin America. As this shift continues, LASA must also prepare to undergo its own form of structural adjustment.

The need for this adjustment is most obvious in the organization of LASA's international congresses, which have become extraordinarily complex meetings to produce. The growth in every area—from 966 participants on 242 panels at Boston in 1986 to 1,657 participants in 361 scholarly sessions at Los Angeles in 1992—greatly complicates program development. By the late 1980s, it had become obvious that LASA was unprepared for this growth. In his preface to the program for LASA '91 in Crystal City, Program Chair Michael Conroy issued a stern warning to the membership:

It is time for the world's largest professional association of Latin American studies specialists to adopt a truly professional approach to conference organizing, suitable to the magnitude of the task and reflective of modern approaches to the problem.... Continuation of the artisan tradition in crafting programs... threatens to leave us with deteriorating communication with the

membership, less creatively organized programs, and the potential, in the not distant future, for the collapse of the whole conference and program organization process.

In response to this warning, in April 1991 LASA's Executive Council appointed a special ad hoc committee composed of Mitchell Seligson (chair) and two elected members of the Executive Council, Susan Eckstein and Steven Sanderson, to examine the need for changes in program development. This committee's immediate response was to implement a number of new procedures, including the creation of program sections that shift much of the organizational and decision-making responsibility from the Program Chair to sixteen section chairs, each of whom is a specialist in one program track. Each LASA member who proposes a paper or session is required to select and identify the program section best suited for his or her proposal, and to direct that proposal to the appropriate section chair. The section chairs, in turn, submit their draft programs to the Program Chair, who determines the final program. In addition, the Association initiated the policy of providing the Program Chair with funds to hire for one year a full-time administrative assistant, and the program itself is now printed and mailed by the Secretariat in Pittsburgh rather than in the city where the Program Chair is based. With these changes, it appears that LASA has successfully addressed the principal problems identified by Professor Conroy.

As the Seligson Committee designed these changes in the process of program development, it uncovered other important issues, including the daunting problem of funding for the travel of Latin American scholars to LASA congresses. At that point the Seligson Committee was expanded to include me as LASA President, Vice-President (President-elect) Carmen Diana Deere, Executive Director Reid Reading, LASA '92 Program Chair John Booth, Treasurer John Coatsworth, and Executive Council member Larissa Lomnitz.

To accelerate and deepen the process of creating a single global community of Latin Americanists, with equal access to resources and equal participation in the creation of knowledge, the LASA Executive Council and the Seligson Committee have spent the past 18 months creating a Strategic Development Plan designed to integrate the professional activities of Latin American and U.S.-based Latin Americanists. This initiative consists of three related programs: (1) an expansion and a re-definition of LASA's travel program for Latin American participants in LASA congresses, (2) the inauguration of a permanent series of thematic seminar-congresses in Latin America combined with lecturing fellowships for younger U.S.-based Latin Americanists, and (3) the sponsorship of planning meetings

for additional seminar-congresses.

TRAVEL SUPPORT FOR LATIN AMERICAN SCHOLARS

It is a truism of modern scholarship that by the time a new idea reaches print, it is an old idea. Lags vary from discipline to discipline, but the time between the initial glimmer of an idea and its statement in print is typically measured in years. For at least two centuries, this lag has had a deleterious impact upon Latin American scholarship. Located far from the traditional centers of the production of knowledge, Latin American scholars who are forced to rely upon the printed page to keep up with their field are always behind the cutting edge of their disciplines.

This is a chronic problem that will not yield to quick solutions, but it is not intractable. LASA is proposing to address it with each of the initiatives contained in its Strategic Development Plan; they range from the development of electronic networking to the inauguration of thematic seminar-conferences in Latin America.

While many of these initiatives are designed to move scholarly resources to Latin America, we cannot abandon the more traditional but proven approach of assisting Latin Americans to move into the international scholarly community. One initiative in LASA's proposed Strategic Development Plan will expand the existing program of travel to LASA congresses. A second initiative will create a new program of lecturing fellowships for U.S. institutions by younger Latin American scholars.

Travel to LASA's International Congresses

LASA's international congresses provide all of us with a unique opportunity to meet professionals in our fields and to present our ideas to an interdisciplinary audience committed to vigorous debate and intellectual diversity. From the beginning, LASA's international congresses have served as an especially important mechanism for linking Latin American professionals to the broader scholarly community. Many of the contacts made at LASA congresses result in fruitful scholarly exchanges and lead to the creation of long-lasting networks: they are especially valuable in helping scholars with similar interests to learn of one another's research at the stage when criticism and advice are still useful. LASA's congresses are also particularly important for the development of younger scholars and for scholars who are relatively isolated in smaller institutions in the United States or in Latin American countries that have been underrepresented in scholarship.

For many years, the LASA Program Committee has attempted to obtain funds from foundations and other institutions in order to subsidize the participation of Latin American scholars in LASA congresses. Unfortunately, the demand for travel funds is not only greatly in excess of the supply; it also is expanding at an increasingly rapid rate. For LASA '91 at Crystal City, 241 Latin American scholars requested travel assistance. For LASA '92 at Los Angeles, most of the 487 Latin American scholars who were presenting papers requested travel assistance. With about \$153,000 available, LASA was able to support the travel of fewer than 150 of these Latin American scholars.

As the level of Latin American participation in LASA congresses has grown, LASA has placed increased pressure upon a subcommittee of the Program Committee to write proposals and raise funds from private foundations. For each of the past three congresses, the Finance Subcommittee has been able to secure an average of about \$140,000 from a variety of sources, including a leadership commitment from the Ford Foundation, which has steadfastly assisted LASA since the day the Association was founded in 1966. LASA cannot expect a limited number of major foundations to provide ever-increasing travel funds, however, and we must diversify our sources at the same time we attempt to manage increased demand.

In its Strategic Development Plan, LASA seeks \$625,000 for the next five congresses, from 1994 to 2000. With \$125,000 per congress, LASA can provide 100 travel grants at an average of \$1,250 each. However vigorously LASA may attempt to increase the supply of travel funds beyond this amount, all LASA members should be aware that it is unrealistic to expect a balance between supply and demand in the foreseeable future.

Lecturing Fellowships for Younger Latin American Scholars

As LASA's experience with travel funding has developed over the past decade, it has become increasingly obvious that the Association should think carefully about how best to assist younger Latin American professionals to become active participants in the international scholarly community. For this important subset of Latin Americanists, a travel subsidy should involve more than an airline ticket for the single purpose of attending a four-day LASA congress.

Well-established Latin American scholars often receive invitations to make follow-on visits to U.S. educational institutions, thereby amortizing the cost of airfare over more than one event. These visits serve to cement relationships and to extend the "knowledge loop," with the visitors both bringing their perspectives to students and faculty at U.S. institutions and taking the perspectives of their hosts back to

their own institutions.

Younger, less-prominent scholars are unlikely to receive invitations for follow-on visits after LASA congresses, and they are unlikely to possess the independent resources that would permit them to stay in the United States much longer than the four-day congress. As a result, most younger scholars from Latin America arrive at the congress on Wednesday or Thursday and return home on Sunday.

This is clearly not an optimal use of scarce travel funds, and LASA is therefore proposing a two-congress experiment to alter dramatically its use of travel funds. If funding is obtained, the Association will sponsor extended educational visits by twenty-five Latin American participants at each of the next two LASA congresses. We will focus upon younger, less prominent, relatively inexperienced scholars who would most benefit from a greater exposure to the international academic community.

In addition to self-nominations, these participants will be nominated by panel chairs and section coordinators, and selected by a special sub-committee of the Program Committee. Then, working with the chair of the panel in which a younger Latin American participant is presenting a paper, the LASA Secretariat will arrange a multi-day visit to an appropriate U.S. host educational institution either immediately before or after the LASA congress. At a minimum, the host will arrange for the participants to give at least one public lecture, visit classes, and meet with colleagues to discuss their research. The visit will be to an institution where someone with a common interest (such as the panel chair) is employed, thereby encouraging the development of a collaborative research relationship.

THEMATIC SEMINAR-CONGRESSES IN LATIN AMERICA

There are two reasons why LASA's international congresses cannot accomplish the entire task of merging Latin American Studies in the United States and Latin America.

First, LASA's congresses do not permit in-depth focus upon a single theme. In past congresses, LASA has regularly given special prominence to one or two themes, but the results have not been entirely satisfactory. A series of special panels grafted onto an already-large program often does little more than add to the participants' sensory overload. LASA's congresses are valuable because they are comprehensive, but they have grown too large for participants to give more than a few hours of concentrated attention to a single issue or theme.

Second, the economics of site selection mandates a narrow range of possible locations. With one exception, LASA's congresses have invariably been held in the United States, and this makes attendance by Latin Americans relatively expensive and inconvenient. As a result, the majority of participants are U.S.-based professionals.

On the other hand, nearly all of these U.S.-based scholars find it difficult to attend congresses in Latin America. With rare exceptions, LASA's U.S.-based participants are not well-supported by their institutions; indeed, nearly all of LASA's U.S.-based members work for institutions that subsidize only part of the cost of participation at domestic conferences, and many (perhaps a majority) lack access to funds for international travel.

Thus the cost of international travel becomes a major consideration in site selection, with an implicit trade-off between Latin Americans and U.S.-based Latin Americanists. Almost inevitably, the scale is tipped in favor of the latter by the force of economic necessity: LASA is heavily dependent upon the registration fees paid by participants to offset the costs of the congresses, and only a limited number of Latin American sites are within reasonable travel distance for U.S.-based Latin Americanists. Compromises are possible—LASA met in Mexico City in 1983 and attempted to meet in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in 1989 until Hurricane Hugo damaged our hotel along with much of the rest of the island—but a realistic appraisal of travel costs limits Latin American sites to the Caribbean region.

For as long as anyone can recall, site selection has been a constant issue among the members of the LASA Executive Council. After Los Angeles, we are committed to Atlanta for LASA '94 and Denver for LASA '95. It will not be until LASA '97 that we can return to Latin America for an international congress.

Regardless of how good our reasons might be for holding almost all of LASA's congresses in the United States, doing so has an obvious negative symbolic significance for any international association, and it has the equally negative practical significance of raising travel costs for many Latin American participants. In addition, the spillover effects of a LASA congress—the effects of site-related education of LASA members and the effect on local media and policy makers—are unequally distributed.

To address these two principal concerns—the need for scholars to concentrate their attention on a single issue and the need to move LASA into closer contact with Latin America (rather than vice versa)—LASA's Strategic Development Plan proposes to inaugurate a permanent series of relatively small seminar-congresses in Latin America, one every eighteen months at the halfway point between LASA's

international congresses.

These seminar-congresses will be a unique departure for Latin American Studies. They will:

- 1. be limited to no more than 60 formal participants, drawn disproportionately from Latin America, and especially from among younger professionals;
- 2. be co-sponsored by LASA, with LASA's participation organized by its task forces in conjunction with an appropriate Latin American professional association such as the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (CLACSO) and the relevant community of local scholars at the seminar site;
- 3. be multidisciplinary but focus exclusively upon a single topic of major significance; and
- 4. provide an environment for vigorous discussion of research and policy, organized around workshop-like panels as opposed to large plenary sessions.

Themes will be selected by LASA's elected Executive Council after ample opportunity is provided to all LASA members and Latin American organizations and institutions to suggest themes.

Lecturing Fellowships for U.S.-based Latin Americanists

The principal purpose of LASA's proposed seminar-congresses is to create an environment in which an international, multidisciplinary group of scholars can focus upon a single theme of central importance to Latin American Studies. The number of invited participants has been kept sufficiently small to permit close interaction, but sufficiently large to ensure a broadly representative program. Of the sixty invited participants, a minimum of thirty-five will be from Latin America.

The U.S.-based participants will be a mix of leading specialists and younger professionals, with an emphasis upon the latter group. While these younger professionals have generally not yet made a major intellectual impact upon their disciplines, they tend to represent the cutting edge of scholarship. It is therefore of great importance that they play a major role in LASA's seminar-congresses. Together with their Latin American counterparts, these younger U.S.-based scholars will define the research and policy agenda for

the next generation.

Like their Latin American counterparts, however, younger U.S.-based professionals generally lack the institutional support needed for participation in international conferences. Also like their Latin American counterparts, younger U.S.-based professionals would be poorly served by a format that simply took them to the seminar-congress site for a few days and then flew them back to the United States. Many have only a limited exposure to the region beyond their own country or area of expertise. Few have visited more than one or two centers of higher education in Latin America, and even fewer have actually participated in the activities of these centers.

LASA's Strategic Development Plan therefore includes a proposed program of lecturing fellowships for younger U.S.-based Latin Americanists. Travel by these fellows will be designed to coincide with their participation in LASA's seminar-congresses. Either before or after the seminar-congress, each of ten fellows will travel to one additional site in Latin America, preferably one in which they have not conducted field work, and spend one to two weeks working with colleagues and lecturing to Latin American university students. The actual process will be identical to that described above for lecturing visits by Latin American scholars in conjunction with LASA's international congresses, with a Latin American panel chair or other senior scholar from the region assuming responsibility for the fellow's visit.

PLANNING MEETINGS FOR ADDITIONAL SEMINAR-CONGRESSES

If LASA's proposal is funded, we must begin immediately to plan a second group of three seminars. Rather than move directly to a seminar-congress, however, the longer lead time will permit LASA to sponsor planning meetings whose purposes will be to (1) design the seminar-congresses, (2) develop a funding strategy, and (3) create a close working relationship with co-sponsoring institutions in Latin America.

There are several reasons why these planning meetings will be important steps in reaching the goal of an integrated Latin American Studies community. First, planning meetings will contribute to the creation of a multi-national group of scholars working together. Second, the planning meetings will permit the early incorporation of Latin American scholars. Third, the planning meetings will enable the coorganizers to prepare collaborative grant proposals to support the seminar-congresses.

To implement its Strategic Development Plan, the LASA Executive Council is now approaching the foundation community with a proposal seeking \$1,407,000, most of

which will be expended during the four-year period from 1993-97. Full funding of the Plan will take several years, and there is no assurance that *any* of the necessary funds can be obtained.

What is certain is that LASA has entered a new stage of its development as a professional association. In a diverse number of areas—but especially in the availability of travel funding—our Association has reached limits that can only be overcome by re-thinking and expanding upon traditional activities. With or without major funding, LASA's vitality depends upon the implementation of creative programs to foster a Hemisphere-wide community of Latin American Studies.

LASA's XVII International Congress continued

●In a number of listed program participants (1,657), the XVII Congress was our largest so far, up 23 percent in participation over the Washington Congress and 72 percent over the 1986 Boston Congress. However, attendance, at roughly 1,850, was down about 16 percent from the Washington meeting (figures subject to final tabulation).

•Of the 1,657 persons on the program, 63 percent were from the United States, 29 percent from Latin America, and seven percent from other countries.

Some 638 of the listed XVII Congress participants were women (almost 39 percent). Women constituted over one third of Latin American participants and 42 percent of U.S. participants.

Through all sources, including the Finance Committee, Task Forces, and others, LASA raised sufficient funds to award travel to some 148 Latin American participants from among some 375 who solicited it (air fare and registration costs only). Of the 148 awardees, 60 (41 percent) were women. The 148 Latin Americans who received LASA travel support constituted less than one third of Latin Americans on the program.

I am pleased to report that the programming process as reorganized for the 1992 Congress seems to have functioned fairly successfully. The decentralization facilitated and promoted communication between session organizers and the membership, and smoothed out and rationalized the work load of the Program office.

Thanks again from the Program Office to all of you, and our best wishes to Edna Acosta-Belen and her XVIII Congress Program Commmittee and staff!

A New Twist to the LASA Field Seminar in Nicaragua

The LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America will conduct a field seminar for LASA members in Nicaragua from February 20-28, 1993. As was the case with the previous seminars, it is designed to introduce established Latinamericanists and advanced graduate students to a variety of people, institutions, resources and methods for studying Nicaragua, teaching about it and doing research there. Unlike previous seminars, the focus will be on literature and the arts. This "cultural" field seminar does not replace the social science-oriented seminar traditionally held during the summer, but is designed for LASA members interested in becoming acquainted with or continuing their research on a wide variety of cultural workers and institutions. Of course the social science/culture dichotomy is essentially an artificial one, and participants will inevitably increase their political understanding of Nicaragua via the cultural dimension.

As in the past, the program will be tailored to the major interests of the participants and efforts will be made to accommodate individual interests through special interviews. We are planning meetings with representatives from the fields of art, music, literature, journalism and theater; roundtable discussions with educators; visits to bookstores and publishing houses; guided tours of art galleries and museums. We may also attend selected events at the "Primer Congreso Internacional de Literatura Centroamericana" scheduled to be held in Managua February 24-26. Most of the time will be spent in Managua, although there may be trips to other communities as well. Good comprehension of Spanish is a must for participants as there are no plans to provide translators. All philosophical and political points of view are welcome.

To discuss the seminar and possibilities for institutional conference funding, write, call or fax: Professor Janet Gold, Coordinator, Foreign Languages, Prescott 222, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803. Telephone: (504) 336-4179; fax: (504) 388-6447. Or contact: Alice McGrath, Facilitator, P.O. Box 1782, Ventura, CA 93002. Telephone 8AM-7PM (Pacific Time any day): (805) 648-4560; fax: 653-6359.



BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARDS

In his presentation of the Bryce Wood Book Awards at LASA's XVII International Congress, James M. Malloy, chair of the 1992 Bryce Wood Book Award Committee, noted that the committee faced a daunting task when it reviewed the 110 books submitted for this year's honor. But Malloy saw the experience as a "tremendous opportunity" to view a significant segment of an entire field, and that "it was impressive."

Before announcing the winners, Malloy thanked his colleagues on the committee, Professors Rolena Adorno of Princeton University, and Marysa Navarro of Dartmouth College, whom he saw as "the key to bringing it all off."

The works selected were all adjudged to possess outstanding scholarship, to have adopted innovative approaches to the subject matter, and were all elegantly written. Significantly, the books "spoke across disciplines—to a wide variety of fields," Malloy said. "They affirm the reality and the significance of Latin American studies as a field, and represent us well as a field to other scholarly disciplines."

Second honorable mention went to Nicholas Shumway, Yale University, for The Invention of Argentina (University of California Press). First honorable mention was given to Ramón A. Gutiérrez, University of California at San Diego, for When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away (Stanford University Press). The winning book was Myth and Archives: A Theory of the Latin American Narrative (Cambridge University Press), by Roberto González Echevarría of Yale University. Both González Echevarría and Shumway were present to accept their awards. Paul Drake accepted the award for Gutiérrez.

PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO RECIPIENTS

Antônio Cândido (Universidade de Campinas) is the recipient of the first Premio Iberoamericano for his introductory study and compilation of Sergio Buarque de Holanda's Capítulos de história colonial (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1991). In singling out Professor Cândido for the Prize, the selection committee recognized both the insightful reading that precedes this selection of Sergio Buarque's own monumental works, and his international standing as one of Latin America's leading literary critics. This prize served, moreover, as a tribute to Brasiliense's editor Caio Graco, who died tragically earlier this year. The selection committee was equally unanimous in awarding an Honorable Mention to Canclini (Universidad García Autónoma Metropolitana, México) for his Culturas híbridas. Estrategias

para entrar y salir de la modernidad (México, Grijalbo, 1990). Selected from a significant number of Spanish- and Portuguese-language books submitted by Latin American and U.S. publishers, in crossing linguistic, cultural, historical and disciplinary boundaries, these award-winning books represent major scholarly contributions to the understanding of Latin America's plurality. The 1992 committee was formed by Joan Dassin (Ford Foundation), Enrique Semo (University of New Mexico) and Saúl Sosnowski, chair (University of Maryland), who announced the awards at LASA's XVIIth International Congress (Los Angeles, September 1992).

LASA MEDIA AWARDS

The 1992 Media Award Committee was formed by Susan Bourque (Smith College), Roderick Camp (Tulane University), Abe Lowenthal (University of Southern California), Francesca Miller (University of California at Davis) and Maryssa Navarro Aranguren (Dartmouth College).

For the first time, it was decided to award a citation to an individual who has made long-term contributions to the field, though he is not the winner of the LASA Media Award. The Special Citation was awarded to Alan Riding for a career of exceptionally distinguished contributions to public understanding of Latin America. The former Bureau Chief of the New York Times in Mexico City and in Rio de Janeiro, Riding has written about Latin American affairs for more than 20 years. For many years Riding has set a standard for journalists working on Latin America.

This year's winner of the LASA Media Award is Alma Guillermoprieto for her work in the New Yorker. She was born in Mexico City and before taking her current position as a staff writer for the New Yorker, she was the South America Bureau Chief for Newsweek and staff reporter with the Washington Post. Essays in the New Yorker, in this year alone, on Mexico, Peru, Bolivia and Panama, capture the human face of complex developmental issues with richness and subtlety. Guillermopricto's work is significant for providing insightful, elegant, and well-researched material on Latin America to an audience that has precious little access to such analysis. LASA is pleased to honor Alma Guillermoprieto with the 1992 Media Award.

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Gershberg, Alec Ian. Resource Distribution and Welfare and Poverty Considerations in Solidaridad's Programa para una Escuela Digna.

Gill, Anthony J. Rendering Unto Caesar?: Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy in Latin America.

Glasco, Laurence A. From Assimilation to Integration: The Narrow Spectrum of Afro-Cuban Ideology: Juan Gualberto Gómez, Evaristo Estenoz and Juan René Betancourt.

Goldrich, Daniel and Alan Moore. Toward a Trinational Strategy for Sustainable Development: NAFTA Political Organizing in the U.S.—Challenges and Opportunities.

Golob, Stephanie R. A 'New World Order'? Mexico's Free Trade Decision.

Goméz Tagle, Silvia. Mexico 1991: Democratic Perspectives and Middle Term Elections.

González Pacheco, Cuauhtémoc. Bosques, selvas y los grupos indígenas.

González Stephan, Beatriz. Entre caballeros y bandidos: fundación del imaginario nacional.

Goodwin, Jeff. A Theory of Persistent Insurgency: El Salvador, Guatemala, and Peru in Comparative Perspective.

Gordon, Sara. El PRONASOL en la transformación de las modalidades de representación social y política en México.

Gravil, Roger. Latin American Populist Rulers and the Jews: The Cases of Brazil's Getúlio Vargas and Argentina's Juan Perón.

Green, James N. The Emergence of the Brazilian Gay Liberation Movement: 1977-81.

Grenier, Yvon and Jean Daudelin. Pact-making and Political Violence in El Salvador and Nicargua.

Grinspun, Ricardo and Maxwell A. Cameron. The Political Economy of North American Integration: Diverse Perspectives, Converging Criticisms.

Guardino, Peter. The Origins of Nationalism in México: Guerrero, 1780-1820.

Guedea, Virginia. El pueblo de México y la política capitalina: 1808 y 1812.

Gutman, Pablo. Developing Countries and International Environmental Negotiations: The Risks of Poorly Informed Choices.

Haber, Paul Lawrence. The Art and Implications of Political Restructuring in Mexico: The Case of Urban Popular Movements.

Hahn, Dwight R. Indigenous-State Relations in Bolivian Politics.

Hanchard, Michael. Taking Exception: Race and the Limits of Liberal Nationalism in Cuba, Mexico and Brazil.

Handelman, Howard. The Origins of the Ecuadorian Bourgeoisie: A Generational Transformation.

Hanson, Gordon H. External Economies, Vertical Organization, and Trade: Theory and Evidence from Mexico.

Harvey, Neil. Movimiento campesino y el Estado en México: UNORCA entre el corporativismo y la concertación.

Hataya, Noriko and Carmenza Saldias Barreneche.

Desarrollo regional y descentralización fiscal: el caso del departmento de Caldas - Colombia.

Healy, Kevin. Allies and Opposition Groups to the 1990 Indigenous Political Mobilizations in Ecuador and Bolivia.

Hellinger, Daniel. The Learning Curve of the Rent-Seeking State: Chile During Pinochet.

Hendrickson, Carol. Maya Revitalization in Guatemala: Women and Weaving.

Hernádez, Nicolás. Using Technology in Teaching Latin American Studies: Spanish Software for the Apple II and IBM PC-PS/2.

Hernández Navarro, Luis. Cambio y resistencia en el movimiento campesino.

Hershberg, Eric. Workers and the State in Twentieth-Century Spain: Notes on the Colliers' Critical Juncture Model.

Herzog, Lawrence A. The Architecture of Tourism and Free Trade in Mexico.

Hicks, Emily. Textual Migration: Issues for Chicano/American Culture.

Hiernaux Nicolas, Daniel. Liberalisation and Regional Changes in Mexico: New Territories and New Agents.

Hochstetler, Kathryn. Think Nationally, Act Nationally: Organizing About the Environment in Brazil and Venezuela.

Horan, E. Gabriela Mistral's Public Figure 1909-1991.

Horisaka, Kotaro. Latin America Reverse Migration to Japan.

Horowitz, Joel. Limits of Tolerance in Argentina: The Collapse of Labor's Challenge in 1921.

Howland, Joyce E. Study in Latin America for Students in Technical/Professional Programs: The Experience of California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

Hunter, Wendy. Back to the Barracks? The Military in Post-authoritarian Brazil.

Inés de Torres, María. Ideología patriarcal e ideología en el proceso modernizador uruguayo: una lectura de *Tabaré* de Juan Zorrilla de San Martín.

Ishiguro, Kaoru. Macro-economic Dynamics in México: A Structuralist Model.

Jácome, Francine and Glenn Sankatsing. La cooperación ambiental en el Caribe.

Jameson, Kenneth P. The Financial Sector in Latin American Restructuring.

Jiménez-Muñoz, Gladys M. "Las mujeres del país": Abstract Symbols, Concrete Absences, and Gendered Political Representation in 1927 Puerto Rico.

- Johns, Michael and Fernando Rocchi. The Industrial Capital and Urban Geography of a Primate City: Buenos Aires at the Turn of the Century.
- Jones, Mark P. A Comparative Study of Popular Confidence in Democratic Institutions in Argentina, Chile and Mexico.
- Juárez, Carlos E. The Politics of Trade and Development in Colombia: Export Promotion and Outward Orientation, 1967-1991.
- Juárez, Carlos E. The Politics of Trade and Development in Colombia: Export Promotion and Outward Orientation, 1967-1991.
- Kacal, Sylvia. Developing Strategies for Community Involvement in Protecting Fragile Areas.
- Kampwirth, Karen. The Mother of the Nicaraguans: Doña Violeta and the UNO's Gender Agenda.
- Keck, Margaret. International Issue Networks in the Environment and Human Rights.
- Keil, Linde. Pito, paila y pañuelo: el fenómeno de la Cruzada Civilista Nacional en Panamá.
- King, Robin Ann. Mexican Private Sector Foreign Financing Trends of the 1980s and Public Sector Policy Response.
- Knight, Alan. Solidarity: Historial Continuities and Contemporary Implications.
- Koido Akihiro. U.S.-Japanese Competition and Auto Component Maquiladoras: The Case of Wiring Harness Sector in the State of Chihuahua.
- Kong-Beach, Rosa. The Development of Translation Studies
 Program for Bilingual Students.
- Koonings, Kees. The Collor Policy Reforms in Brazil: Neo-liberalism or Populism?
- Lagos, Maria L. The Politics of Representation: Class and Ethnic Identities in Cochabamba, Bolivia.
- LeBaron, Alan. Was There a Guatemalan Revolution for the Maya?
- Leddy, George. The Political Economy and Ecology of Fisheries Development in Mexico.
- Lehoucq, Fabrice Edouard. Presidentialism, Electoral Laws and the Development of Political Stability in Costa Rica, 1882-1990.
- Léons, Madeline Barbara. After the Boom: Adaptation to Decline in Coca Prices and Processing in the Bolivian Yungas.
- Lesser, Jeff. Images of Jews and Their Effect on Refugee Admissions in Brazil, 1939-1942.
- Levy, Daniel C. The Academic Profession: Changes Tied to the Current Political Economy.
- Levy, James R. and Peter Ross. A Comparison of the Distribution of Social Wealth in Five Argentine Provinces, 1890-1955.
- Lewis, David E. Maximizing Regional Collaboration: Puerto Rico's Changing Caribbean Role.
- Lewis, Steve. Myth and the History of Chile's Araucanians.

- Lind, Amy Conger. Confronting Development on Their Own Terms: Women's Responses to National and Global Restructuring in Ecuador.
- Lira, Elizabeth. Las consecuencias de las violaciones de derechos humanos en Chile y la política de derechos del gobierno de la transición: ¿Qué ha ganado la gente?
- López Springfield, Consuelo. "I am the Life, the Strength, the Woman": Feminism in the Autobiographical Poetry of Julia de Burgos.
- Lord, Montague J. The Comparative Performance of Latin America's Manufacturing Exports.
- Lovell, W. George and Christopher H. Lutz. Conquest and Population: Maya Demography In Historical Perspective.
- Lovesio, Beatriz. El cambio tecnológico en una industria manufacturera uruguaya: género y califación.
- Loyo, Aurora. Políticas públicas y modernización educativa en México.
- Loyola Díaz, Rafael. Los márgenes de la apertura económica y comercial en petróleos mexicanos.
- Lucena, Hector. Restructuración productiva y relaciones de trabajo.
- Ludescher, Monika. El marco legal del conflicto interno y la poblacion indígena.
- Luna, Matilde. Las asociaciones empresariales mexicanas y la apertura externa.
- Maffitt, Ken. Welcome to Austerity: Pueblan Textile Workers Confront the Post-War Era.
- Maguire, Robert E. Protecting Our Patrimony: Antecedents of the National Park Movement in Dominica, West Indies.
- Mahoney, Marc A. Transnational Tobacco Companies and Latin America.
- Mahoney-Norris, Kathleen A. Regimes and Human Rights Policies: A Comparison of Cuba and Nicaragua.
- Malamud, Carlos. La acción parlamentaria de Lisandro de la Torre en la década de los 30.
- Maldonado Prieto, Carlos. Grupos paramilitares de derecha en Chile, 1900-1950.
- Manzetti, Luigi. The Political Economy of Privatization through Divestiture in Lesser Developed Economies: The Case of Argentina.
- Marrero, María Teresa. Cultural Survival Strategy: Yoruba/Afro-Caribbean Religion as Locus of Ethnic Consciousness.
- Marti, Werner J. The Private Sector, the State and Economic Development: The Guatemalan Experience.
- Martinez, Juliana. Poverty and Mortality Gap in Brazil: Methodological Considerations.
- Martínez F., Alicia Ines. Políticas hacia la mujer en el México moderno.
- Martínez Rodríguez, Antonia. Los niveles de la transición mexicana.
- Mattiace, Shannan. The Social Role of the Mexican Catholic Church: Base Communities in Two Mexican States.
- Maymi-Sugrañes, Héctor J. La ideología de la nueva derecha en la reforma universitaria latinoamericana.

- McCann, Frank D. The Brazilian Army 1889-1985: Conservative or Revolutionary?
- McClintock, Cynthia. Revolution and Democracy: Peru in Comparative Perspective.
- McConnell, Shelley. Getting to Elections: Bargaining Toward Mutually Acceptable Electoral Rules in Nicaragua.
- McCoy, Jennifer and Luis Costa Bonino. Political Learning in Reemerging Democracies: Framework for Analysis and Illustrations from Uruguay.
- McGee Deutsch, Sandra. Women and the ABC Right, 1900-1940.
- McGuire, James W. The Causes of Strikes in Argentina, 1984-1991.
- McNamara, Robert E. The Politics of AIDS: Public Health Response in Cuba.
- Mee Kim, Eun and Nora Hamilton. Democratization and Economic Liberalization in Mexico and South Korea.
- Melgar, Lourdes. The Monterrey Industrial Elite: Ideological Contradictions, Political Alliances and Economic Practices.
- Melo, Marcus C. Explaining the Failure to Reform: Social Policy-Making in Brazil's New Republic.
- Méndez, José Luis. Políticas y organizaciones públicas para el fomento industrial en Nuevo Leon, México, (1985-1991) y Pennsylvania, Estados Unidos, (1979-1987).
- Mizrahi, Yemile. Rebels Without a Cause? The Politics of Entrepreneurs in Chihuahua.
- Monteviechio, Blanca R. La identidad negativa en Latinoamerica.
- Morris, Nancy. National Identity Under Challenge: Puerto Rico in the Twentieth Century.
- Motta, Roberto. The Perception of Syncretism in Brazilian Social Thought.
- Motta, Roberto. The "Churchifying" of Candomblé: Priests, Anthropologists and the Canonization of the African Religious Memory in Brazil.
- Moukhaiber-Zhouri, Andréa Luisa. (Re)constituição do (uni)verso ecologista.
- Mowle, Thomas S. Convergence, Consensus, or Compliance? A Model for Understanding Cooperation Between Large and Small States: Applied to the United States and Honduras.
- Moya, Jose C. A Multi-Ethnic Group in a Multi-Ethnic City: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930.
- Mueller, Richard E. Labour Market Experiences of Canadian Immigrants From Latin America.
- Mummert, Gail. Reshaping of Gender and Generational Relations among Rural Mexican Migrants to the U.S..
- Munck, Gerardo L. Between Theory and History and Beyond Traditional Area Studies: A New Comparative Perspective on Latin America.
- Munck, Gerardo L. Democratizing Chile: The View from Across the Andes. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule in Comparative Perspective.

- Mundell, P. Sue. The Handbook of Latin American Studies Enters the Electronic Age.
- Murillo, María Victoria. Argentina: Breaking the Praetorian Circle (or the Hope for Democracy).
- Myers, David J. Imaging Democracy in Caracas: Agenda Setting.
- Nelson, Diane M. Hostile Markings taken for Identity: Questions of (Postcolonial) Resistance and (Core) Authority in a Graveyard in Guatemala.
- Newland, Carlos. La privatización de la educación elemental y sus efectos: el caso de la ciudad de Buenos Aires en el siglo XIX.
- Norden, Deborah L. From Military Movement to Political Party: Argentina's Modin.
- O'Meagher, Matthew J. Students and the Radicalization of the Latin American Church in the 1960s.
- O'Regan, Anthony. What Has Been Done: The Politics of Organized Labor in Argentina, 1976-1991.
- Oquist, Paul. The Sociopolitical Dynamics of the 1990 Nicaraguan Elections.
- Otzoy, Irma. 500 Years of Guatemalan Maya Resistance: A Dialogue Between Maya and non-Maya Scholars.
- Padilla, Luis Alberto. El proceso de paz en Guatemala: implicaciones para los derechos humanos y la democracia.
- Palazón, María Rosa. ¿Feminismo contra etnia? Feminism versus ethnicity?
- Palazzini, Karen L. "Informal" Activities in Latin America: Marginalization or Autonomous Development?
- Parker, David S. The Eight-Hour Day in Peru, January 1919: Anarchist Victory or Political Bargain?
- Parodi, Carlos A. Democracy in International Relations.
- Pásara, Luis. ¿Es el parlamento el lugar donde se construye la democracia? Los casos de Argentina y Perú, comparados.
- Patiño-Tovar, Elsa. 1988: Un hito para las organizaciones populares independientes en México.
- Patterson, Enrique. Teoría y praxis en la revolución cubana: apuntes críticos.
- Paul, Benjamin D. Coffee Production and its Socio-Economic Effects in San Pedro La Laguna, Guatemala.
- Paus, Eva A. The Viability of the Neoliberal Model in Chile.
- Pease Garcia, Henry. La democracia colapsada: Perú 1990-1992.
- Pérez Liñan, Aníbal. Terrorism and Democracy: Argentina, 1983-1991.
- Perez-Aleman, Paola. Gender and Small Industry Development in Nicaragua: Lessons from the Sandinista Experience.
- Perruci, Gamaliel. The Reshaping of Geopolotics in the Southern Cone.
- Peterson, Anna L. Religion and Collective Identity in El Salvador.

RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Center for Latin American Studies and the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida invite junior and senior scholars to participate in an interdisciplinary program on Afro-American identity and cultural diversity in the Americas, including the Caribbean, Brazil, and the U.S. as well as the sending areas of Africa. Funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, the program will enable visiting scholars in the area of the humanities to spend a year or a semester at the University of Florida to do research in this area. The University of Florida has a large faculty specializing in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa, as well as outstanding library collections in each of these areas. Building on these strengths, the program will focus on threeinterrelated issues, each of which will be emphasized in a different year, in the following sequence: 1) (1993-94) the intersection of race, class and gender as seen in research on women and the family, slavery and race relations, social movements, and migration; 2) (1994-95) studies in literature, religion and popular culture which reveal the ways in which Afro-American culture has transcended national boundaries and brought together people living in different regions; 3) (1995-96) studies on historical processes of adaptation to the physical environment through research on material culture, ecological systems and the built environment. Since the intent is to support the best proposals, this yearly framework will be broadly interpreted. Each fellow will receive a maximum stipend of \$35,000 for the academic year, or half that for a semester. Applicants will be selected on a competitive basis related to their expertise and research in these areas. By February 3, 1993, candidates should submit (1) a 100-word abstract, (2) an essay of approximately 1,500 words detailing the proposed research, (3) full curriculum vitae, and (4) two letters of recommendation. Inquiries and completed applications should be sent to: Dr. Helen I. Safa, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2037. Telephone: (904) 392-0375; fax: (904) 392-7682. Fellows will be announced about April 1 and will be expected to take up residence for the fall semester by the end of the following August.

El Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños at Hunter College, CUNY, has been selected as the site of a Rockefeller Foundation Resident Fellowships in the Humanities Program. The Centro will host two full-time scholars each year, from 1993-94 through 1995-96. Rockefeller fellows will join Centro scholars in advancing comparative critical analyses of the following themes: 1993-94—Cultural Rights and Citizenship; 1994-95—Histories and Discourses of Group Poverty; and, 1995-96—The Cultural Politics of Education. Our major concern is to further the understanding of how claims for social equity and cultural rights are asserted within disenfranchised cultural communities. How do demands for

cultural equity, historically and at the present moment, challenge or otherwise engage hegemonic cultural theories, discourses, and national policies? The Centro invites applications from scholars examining these issues in a broad array of cultural communities within North American, Latin American, Caribbean, and Western European contexts. The Centro is the principal U.S. institute for research on the Puerto Rican experience. It offers visiting fellows a collective, interdisciplinary, and comparative structure for work. It is linked to a wide network of Latino and other research institutions in the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean, and provides fellows with an opportunity to draw on the unique resources of the New York area. The deadline for 1993-94 applications will be January 15, 1993. For further information contact Program co-directors: Dr. Rina Benmayor and Dr. Antonio Lauria, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., Box 548, New York, NY 10021. Telephone: (212) 772-5687.

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships announces a competition for citizens of the U.S. for a one-month professional program, scheduled for October 1993 in Argentina. Open to professional fields of: Agriculture, Business Administration, Education, Engineering, Environmental Studies, Finance, Law, Journalism, Foreign Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, Labor/Industrial Relations, Medicine/Public Health, and Public Administration. The four-week program includes travel throughout Argentina for research/inquiry purposes. Open to mid-career professionals with demonstrated leadership and contributions to their field. Benefits include all travel and living costs. Application forms will be sent upon written request only; no telephone or fax requests please. November 30 deadline for submission of completed application. Request application form in writing to: D.M. Shoemaker, Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, 256 South 16th St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

The John Carter Brown Library will award approximately 15 short- and long-term Research Fellowships for the year June 1, 1993-May 31, 1994. Short-term fellowships are available for periods of two to four months and carry a stipend of \$1,000 per month. These fellowships are open to foreign nationals as well as to U.S. citizens who are engaged in preand post-doctoral, or independent, research. Long-term fellowships, funded by the NEH, are usually for six months and carry a stipend of approximately \$15,000. Applicants for NEH fellowships may not be engaged in graduate work and must be U.S. citizens or have resided in the U.S. for the three years immediately preceding the term of the fellowship. Several short-term fellowships have thematic restrictions: the Jeannette D. Black Memorial Fellowship in the history of cartography; the Alexander O. Vietor Memorial

Fellowship in early maritime history; and the Touro National Heritage Trust Fellowship for research on some aspect of the Jewish experience in the New World before 1860. One fellowship is reserved for a scholar from Latin America. For scholars wishing to work at the Library for a period of two to seven weeks, the Library offers travel reimbursement grants of up to \$500. The application deadline for fellowships during the 1993-94 year is *January 15, 1993*. For further information, write to: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

University of Wisconsin at Madison offers summer-intensive Portuguese in 1993. The Fifth Summer Intensive Portuguese Institute will be held at the University of Wisconsin at Madison from June 14-August 6, 1993, funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education. The Institute is rotated with the University of Pittsburgh as part of the

Consortium on Latin American Language Instruction It provides eight weeks of instruction in (COLALI). beginning Brazilian Portuguese, useful to students and researchers who wish to develop communication skills and reading knowledge for research. Instruction is four hours per day, five days per week. The Institute features a newly revised text, guest lectures on Brazilian affairs and culture, films and videotapes. Application forms are available from the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1018 Van Hise, UW-Madison, Madison, WI 53706. The application deadline is April 15, 1993. Fellowships providing tuition and a \$1,500 stipend are available to graduate students. Request fellowship applications from the Institute sponsor, Latin American and Iberian Studies Program, 1470 Van Hiso, UW-Madison, Madison, WI 53706. The fellowship application deadline is February 15, 1993.

PUBLICATIONS

Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas has recently published a number of important anthropological and historical works in its series "Archivos de include Sánchez, Historia Andina." Titles Ana Amancebados, Hechiceros y Rebeldes; Pilar García Jordán, Iglesia y Poder en el Perú Contemporáneo, 1821-1919; Victor Peralta Ruíz, En Pos del Tributo en el Cusco Rural: 1826-1854; and Patrick Husson, De la Guerra a la Rebelión, Huanta en el siglo XIX. Centro las Casas has many other titles in its collection, including the journal Revista Andina. For information, write: CBC, Apartado 477, Cusco, Peru. Fax: (51-84) 238255.

The new journal Colonial Latin American Historical Review (CLAHR) seeks manuscripts that fall within the scope of the colonial era, 1492-1821, in Luso-Hispanic America. Submit three hard copies of unpublished, documented essay, not to exceed 25-30 double-spaced pages including endnotes, plus file on computer disk (WordPerfect 5.1 preferred). English or Spanish essays accepted. Include self-addressed, stamped return envelope, and send to: Dr. Joseph P. Sanchez, Editor, Colonial Latin American Historical Review, Spanish Colonial Research Center, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone: (505) 766-8743.

The Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers (CLAG) will publish its ninth Yearbook in 1993. The Yearbook is a peer reviewed publication which publishes original manuscripts dealing with Latin America and Latin Americans. Submissions from geographers and scholars from other disciplines writing about geographic issues and questions are

encouraged. The deadline for submission of manuscripts for the 1993 volume is *November 1, 1992*. Manuscripts in English, Spanish, and Portuguese are welcome. For further information on the preparation and the submission of manuscripts, please write to: Dr. Gary Elbow, Editor, CLAG Yearbook 1993, Department of Geography, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX 79409.

The Simon H. Rifkind Center for the Humanities and the Department of Romance Languages of The City College of publication of Colonial Latin American Review (CLAR), a journal devoted to studying the colonial period in Latin America from an interdisciplinary perspective. The journal publishes studies, review essays and book reviews in English, Portuguese and Spanish dealing with the art, anthropology, geography, history and literature of Colonial Latin America with the aim of fostering a dialogue among these disciplines. All submissions will be reviewed by specialists. If you are interested in reviewing books, send your curriculum vitae to: Professor Alfonso Quiroz, Book Review Editor, CLAR, Department of History, Baruch College, CUNY, New York, NY 10010. For subscription information and manuscript submission, contact: Professor Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, General Editor, Colonial Latin American Review, Department of Romance Languages (NAC5/223), Convent Ave. at 138th St., The City College, CUNY, New York, NY 10031.



ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE) announces the establishment of an undergraduate prize of \$500 for the best essay written on any aspect of the Cuban economy. The selection committee will consist of C. Mesa-Lago, Distinguished Service Professor of Economics and Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh; L. Locay, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Miami; J.R. de la Torre, Professor of International Business, University of California at Los Angeles; A. Martinez-Piedra, Chair, Department of Economics, Catholic University; and, S. Roca, Professor of Economics, Adelphi University. Selection criterion will be the quality of the essay. The eligibility requirement is that the paper has to have been submitted as part of a course or honor thesis at an accredited four-year college or university in the preceding year and a half. For the initial prize this means between the Fall of 1991 and the Fall of 1992. The deadline for submissions is March 1, 1993. The first prize will be awarded by June 30, 1993. Submissions are welcome at any time prior to the deadline. Submission procedure is to send three copies of the paper, with a cover letter from an administrative officer of the institution where the paper was submitted, to: Ms. Norma Gonzalez, Executive Secretary, ASCE Undergraduate Prize, 8317 Painted Rock Rd., Columbia, MD 21045.

The Primer Congreso Centroamericano de Historia was held July 13-16, on the campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras (UNAH), Tegucigalpa. Approximately 200 historians and other social scientists attended, representing Guatemala, El Salvador Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama, as well as Mexico, Canada, the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France and Spain. Some 60 papers were presented on a variety of topics related to Central American history. At the plenary session on the final day of the congress a resolution was approved for the purpose of creating a permanent international organization of specialists in Central American history. Elected to the committee were Olga Joya (UNAH), Oscar Peláez (Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala), and Elizabeth Fonseca (Universidad de Costa Rica). The plenary agreed to schedule the Segundo Congreso Centroamericano de Historia for July 1994; site and exact dates will be decided by the organizing committee and will be announced later. Contact: Dra. Olga Joya, Carrera de Historia, Edificio 1-2° Piso, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras, Ciudad Universitaria, Tegucigalpa, Honduras, Central America.

Call for papers. Ricardo Salvatore (Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Buenos Aires) and Carlos Aguirre (University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN) are editing a collection on the history of prisons and reformatorics in Latin America (c.1840-c.1940). Scholars interested in contributing to this

collection are encouraged to write to either of the following addresses: Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, 11 de Septiembre 2139, 1425 Buenos Aires, ARGENTINA; or, Department of History, University of Minnesota, 614 Social Science, 267 19th Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55455, USA. Papers that examine the emergence of penitentiaries and women's reformatories in connection with upper-class conceptions about punishment, scientific criminology, gender and racial relations, class composition, economic development, and authoritarianism are particularly welcome.

The Library of Congress reopened its doors to the Hispanic Reading Room's restored quarters on February 3, 1992. The same staff of senior specialists and Iêda Siqueira Wiarda, a Luso-Brazilian specialist, welcome you back to the Division. We will assist you not only in finding books and periodicals. but also direct you to the Library's vast special format collections of government documents, newspapers, manuscripts, maps, films, prints and photographs, recorded sound, musical scores, and other special collections. You will have access to the Library of Congress's automated catalogs, other data bases, and the 51 printed volumes of The Handbook of Latin American Studies, the last two of which are on-line (50 The latter contains annotated bibliographic citations to the cutting-edge of scholarship found in current books, journal articles and conference proceedings. In touch with faculty, Hispanic organizations, and think tanks in the United States and abroad, the Hispanic Division is at the crossroads of scholarship and research in Iberian, Latin American, and Caribbean studies. The Division's staff is usually able to tell you who has published work closest to your particular theme. Scholars are briefed about important archival and library holdings not only in the Washington area but elsewhere. Upon request the Division provides a listing of reasonably-priced housing near the Library for researchers. Everette E. Larson heads the Reading Room. Telephone: (202) 707-5397; fax: (202) 707-2005.

The University of South Florida and Universidad de los Andes will present the second biennial conference on Culture, Society and Change in the Americas, Park Hotel, Merida, Venezuela. The conference will address those issues that reflect continuity and change, issues that focus both on the old as well as the new. Topics range from subjects related to the pre-Hispanic era to those that deal with contemporary arts and literature, politics, economics, language and society. Participants in this conference will represent the diverse disciplines that comprise the arts and sciences, and issues will be explored from a variety of perspectives. For additional information, contact: Division of Conferences and Institutes, University of South Florida, 4202 East Fowler Avenue, EXS 018, Tampa, FL 33620-8700. Telephone: (813) 974-2403; fax: (813) 974-5421.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Ninth International Conference of the Business Association for Latin American Studies (BALAS) will be held at the Malibu Campus of Pepperdine University and at the Doubletree Hotel and Marina at the Via Cabrillo Marina, San Pedro, California, March 25-27, 1993. The conference theme will be "Sustainable Economic and Business Growth in Latin America." Papers and panel proposals are invited on the following general topics: Sustainable Economic and Business Development, Role of Latin America in the Pacific Rim, Role of Latin America in the NAFTA, Government-Business Relations, Political Change and Prospects for Economic Growth, Impact of Liberalization and Privatization on MNCs, Foreign Trade issues, Strategic Alliances and Joint Ventures, Role of the MNC in Economic and Social Development, Free Trade Zones and Emerging Equity The conference seeks to bring business and Markets. government leaders together with academic scholars in a coastal California setting as a forum for the exchange of ideas and the discussion of issues that affect the economies and business environments of Latin America today and in the near future. Accepted papers will be published in the conference proceedings and will be eligible for competitive awards. Papers should not exceed 30 double-spaced typed pages. All papers/panels must include the names, addresses, and fax numbers of all authors/participants. Four (4) copies of papers/panel proposals with two (2) postage-paid, selfaddressed postcards should be sent by December 4, 1992, to: Dr. Alfred J. Hagan, BALAS Program Chair, School of Business and Management, Pepperdine University, 400 Corporate Pointe, Culver City, CA 90230. Telephone: (310) 568-5771; fax: (310) 568-5727.

Call for papers for the XIX International Congress of the Federation Internationale des Langues et Litteratures (FILLM)-International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures—at the Universidade de Brasilia, August 22-30, 1993 on the theme: "Language and Literature Today." FILLM compromises 20 of the major scholarly associations in the area of literary studies, with a membership of around 40,000 scholars in more than 90 countries. This is the first time FILLM organized a congress in Latin America. The sponsors of the congress are the University of Brasilia, the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies (CIPSH), and UNESCO. For more information, contact the officers of the Congress Organizing Committee at the University of Brasilia: Neide de Faria, Chair; Danilo Pinto Lobo, Secretary; or, Gilberto Antunes Chauvet, Treasurer. Address: Departamento de Letras, Universidade de Brasilia, 70.000-Brasilia, D.F., Brazil. Electronic mail address: XIXFILLM@BRUNB.BITNET.

The annual spring conference of the Middle Atlantic Council for Latin American Studies (MACLAS) will be held on the campus of Pennsylvania State University, April 2 and 3, 1993. Local arrangements chair is Charles Ameringer, History Department, Penn State University. Program chair is David Myers, Political Science Department, Penn State University. Paper presenters may submit their manuscripts for possible inclusion in Vol. VII of MACLAS Latin American Essays, a refereed publication. Inquiries about presenting papers on any Latin American-related topic should be addressed to: David Myers, Pennsylvania State University, Political Science, 107 Burrows, University Park, PA 16802.

The New England American Studies Association (NEASA) Annual Conference announces its call for papers for "The Cultures of Technology: Science, Media, and the Arts," April 30-May 2, 1993, Brandeis University. NEASA invites proposals for panels, papers, roundtable discussions, teaching and curriculum workshops for secondary and university faculty, performances, and alternative methods of presentation, with a broadly interdisciplinary focus. Send abstract of 300-500 words to: Lois Rudnick, Director, American Studies Program, University of Massachusetts/Boston, 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston, MA 02125. Proposal deadline: January 25, 1993.

The Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) will hold its 1993 annual meeting April 1-3, 1993 at the Westin Bayshore Hotel, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. For membership information, contact: Karen A. Harris, University of New Mexico, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1016. Telephone: (505) 277-2961; fax: (505) 277-5989. RMCLAS members and new members are encouraged to submit paper titles and suggestions for panels by December 1, 1992 to: William E. French, Department of History, #1297-1873 East Mall, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., V6T 1Z1 Canada. Telephone: (604) 822-5706; fax: (604) 822-6658.

Latin American Segment of 1993 Southern Labor Studies Conference: Following a very successful experiment in the 1991 meeting, the organizers of the 1993 Southern Labor Studies Conference have been designating up to a third of the sessions for Latin American topics. The October 14-17, 1993 conference on "Race and Culture" will be hosted by the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Papers and panel proposals on Latin American labor and comparative topics should be mailed, with brief curriculum vitae of participants, to: Michael Conniff, Institute for Latin American Studies, Auburn University, Auburn, AL 36849-5205. Telephone: 844-6673; (205)844-6768; fax: (205)MCONNIFF@AUDUCVAX.

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MIDDLE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

(MACLAS)

HISTORY AND PURPOSE

The Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS) is comprised of Mid-Atlantic region scholars, researchers, teachers, students, and interested professionals in all disciplines and pursuits. The region includes New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. MACLAS has as its objectives promoting and developing interest in Latin American studies and affairs. The organization was founded in Pittsburgh in 1979 and is one of the Latin American Studies Associations' (LASA) affiliated regional organizations.

ACTIVITIES

The MACLAS annual spring meeting features research-based panels and a business meeting. The association publishes a NEWSLETTER four times a year and LATIN AMERICAN ESSAYS. NEWSLETTER editor is Thomas Gallagher (Ursinus). The ESSAYS are a selection of papers presented at the annual meeting; the inclusion of a paper in the ESSAYS is considered a publication in a refereed journal. MACLAS also awards, annually, its Whitaker Prize for the best book and the Davis Prize for the best journal article.

ORGANIZATION

The affairs of MACLAS are governed by its Executive Committee. The Committee is composed of: President and Vice President, elected for one year terms; Secretary/Treasurer, appointed for a two-year term; and four additional members, elected for two-year terms. The Vice-President is President-elect. Executive Committee members must be from the region; no more than two of its members may be from the same state or the District of Columbia; and, care is taken to maintain disciplinary balance. The Committee must meet at least twice a year.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership is open to persons interested in the purposes and undertakings of MACLAS. The current dues schedule appears on membership application below.

1992-93 OFFICERS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President:

President: Vice-President:	Mark Wasserman (Rutgers) Additional Members: Harold Greer (Virginia Commonwealth)		Barbara Tenenbaum (1992-94) Daniel M. Masterson (1992-94)	
Secretary/Treasurer:	Alvin Cohen (Lehigh)	,	Juan Espadas (1991-93) Ss. María Consuelo Sparks (1991-93)	
		MEETING • APRIL 2 &	k 3	
Program: David Myers (Penn State)		Local Arrangements: Charles Ameringer (Penn State)		
		FOR MEMBERSHIP		
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TIME TO RENEW for 1993

RENEWING EARLY HELPS THE ASSOCIATION

and
assures on-time receipt of *LARR*, the *LASA Forum* and important LASA business.

MEMBERSHIP FORMS INCLUDED

with this mailing of the LASA Forum.

CALL FOR PAPERS

for the XVIII International Congress included with this mailing. Please note deadlines.

JOIN US IN MARCH 1994!

RESOLUTIONS BALLOTING

Included in this mailing.

Note rules for voting and deadlines.

And last but not least. . . .

THANKS from the LASA Secretariat to the LASA 1992 Support Staff—those who worked before the meeting, and on the scene including dozens of dedicated volunteers from the Los Angeles area—and those who stayed behind in Pittsburgh to back us.

GREAT JOB, Steve and Susan!
MIL GRACIAS, Dalila and your volunteers,
and Wendy and Nathan!
GREAT GOING, Glenn, Rane and Paula!