

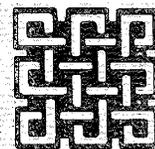
LASA FORUM

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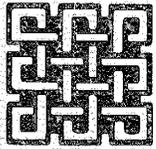
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President's Report

by Cynthia McClintock
George Washington University

I hope that you enjoyed our Washington DC congress. Judging by the size of the congress--it was our biggest ever--Latin American Studies is not only alive, but very well indeed.

The growth of our membership over the last few years is impressive. LASA now boasts well over 4,300 individual members (up more than 25 percent from 1994 and almost double the number in the early 1980s). Also, reflecting our new initiatives with institutions, LASA counts over 100 institutional members thus far in 1995, up 40 percent from 1994. Among these are 20 institutions based in Latin America--a dramatic increase from the three in 1994.

LASA members are more likely to be actively engaged in our association than the members of most other learned societies. LASA task forces and Working Groups now number a record 16. At each international congress awards are made by LASA committees for the best book in English, the best book in Spanish or Portuguese, and for outstanding media coverage by U.S.-based and a Latin America-based journalist. About twenty percent of our members reside outside the United States, and members based in Latin America are engaged in all our task forces and most of our committees.

Although the increase in LASA's size and the expansion of its activities are testimony to the vitality of Latin Americanist scholarship as well as to the diligence and commitment of our Executive Council (EC) and our Secretariat, the increase implies ever-greater complexity. One of my goals as president was to enhance information flows across LASA's increasingly far-flung administrative networks. Now, for example, the program chair is an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Council; the incoming vice-president is notified of the election result in time to attend the EC meeting at the congress prior to the assumption of office; and materials such as the *LASA Forum* and the *Directory of Members* have been upgraded to increase readership and use. I hope that, in our current review of LASA's travel grant policy we establish a process for input in travel grant decisions by task force and working group chairs.

LASA's increased complexity also imposes new challenges for the development of LASA's institutional memory. Although many steps have been taken to enhance that memory, including the compilation of many data by the Secretariat from several sources, the process is inherently difficult given the constant changes--changes in leadership, in the site and date of the congresses, in the most pressing political issues of the time, and in the institutions supporting Congress travel. I hope that various initiatives taken during my term (including a gathering for past presidents at the congress, the submission of an end-of-term report by the president to the Executive Council, and the

establishment of a performance review process for the executive director) will build and enhance LASA's institutional recall.

As LASA's contracts for both our journal and for our headquarters expired during my presidential term, one of my heaviest responsibilities was to assure effective bid processes for both. Bid notices for the *Latin American Research Review (LARR)* and the LASA Secretariat were placed in the appropriate issues of the *LASA Forum*, letters were sent to the directors of 40 Latin American studies centers and telephone calls were made. Ultimately the Executive Council unanimously endorsed the bids submitted by the current host institutions: by the University of New Mexico for *LARR* under Editor Gilbert Merckx, and by the University of Pittsburgh for the Secretariat under Executive Director Reid Reading. My congratulations to Gil and Reid for this recognition of their outstanding accomplishments thus far.

As a result of the foresight of Past President Lars Schoultz and the dedicated leadership of Immediate Past President Carmen Diana Deere, LASA launched its first-ever endowment campaign. Of course, part of the impetus for the campaign was The Ford Foundation's signal that it would not maintain its previous levels of support for congress travel. Now, given the serious challenges by the Republican-dominated legislature to the Inter-American Foundation, the North-South Center, and other institutions that have made generous grants for travel of Latin American scholars to LASA congresses, LASA's prospects for continuing to receive funds for these purposes are further reduced. Also, donor institutions increasingly are themselves naming grant recipients; accordingly, fewer applicants are selected by the criteria of our Program Committee.

LASA's Endowment Campaign is succeeding. There are now 30 Founding Life Members of LASA. Contributions have reached \$135,345 for our General Fund and \$88,406 for our Humanities Fund--a total of \$223,751. Adding to this amount the \$150,000 recently transferred by EC decision to endowment from LASA's own reserves, the grand total in our endowment funds is \$373,751.

Because it will be some time before the income from our endowment provides travel support for significant numbers of scholars, the work of the Finance Committee for each meeting remains crucial. As Chair of the Finance Committee for the Washington DC Congress, I am delighted to report that the amount of travel funding we secured for 1995 was as substantial as for 1994--over \$155,00 in all. We gratefully acknowledge the contributions of \$75,000 from The Ford Foundation for the second phase of the Junior Lecturing Fellow grant; \$25,000 from the Agency for International Development; \$20,000 from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation; approximately \$20,000 from the Inter-American Foundation, which

administered these funds itself on behalf of its grantees; \$10,000 from the North-South Center; \$1,000 from the Boehm Foundation; \$400 from Alice McGrath for travel from Nicaragua; and \$1,000 from an anonymous donor who contributed to the travel support of Mexican scholars. Also, in good part as a result of our Washington-based "Panels-Plus" initiative, several thousand dollars were forthcoming from the Washington Office on Latin America, the Woodrow Wilson Center, and the University of Maryland. Funds for the Welcoming Reception were provided by Georgetown and George Washington Universities.

In the coming months LASA needs your input on a number of important decisions. First, we would welcome your thoughts about our paper distribution system. In particular, how well did our pilot on-line project work out?

Second, we need your advice as we reexamine LASA's resolutions procedures. Should the structure and format of the business meeting be revised as well? If so, how? The business meeting agenda at the Washington meeting was full, especially given the number of resolutions to discuss, so there was no time to air these issues then. Accordingly, an Executive Council subcommittee was established that included Jane Jaquette, Charlie Hale, Gil Merkx and me. Please forward your recommendations to one of us, preferably in hard copy rather than e-mail.

That LASA members entrusted the presidency of this vital association to me has been, and always will be, an exhilarating honor. During the many challenges of the last eighteen months, I have been fortunate to enjoy the support and insights of many people--on the Executive Council, at the Secretariat, and among our members at large. I am especially indebted to the friends, old and new, who helped me struggle with the many difficult issues that have come before the Association. Of course I cannot mention everyone here, but some contributions have been so outstanding not to be mentioned specially.

Numerous individuals were essential to the success of the Washington Congress. Program Chair Tom Holloway assembled a rich and exciting array of panels and produced a beautiful and practical program book. Local Arrangements

Chair John Bailey and his assistant, Diana Bartholomew, recruited nearly 150 volunteer on-site staff, planned a reception for 1,000 and orchestrated a *gran baile* for a similar number--and made such feats look easy. Rose Spalding, a member of the LASA95 Finance committee, moved mountains to secure funds from the MacArthur Foundation and to coordinate our plenary with Nicaraguan leaders. Executive Director Reid Reading not only was responsible for the overall coordination of the Congress, but personally managed the travel arrangements of LASA grantees with extraordinary expertise and dedication. I was especially pleased with the work of our three prize committees for LASA95, chaired by Tulio Halperin, Terry Karl, and John Sheahan, all of whom completed their missions and made thoughtful recommendations for the future. Special thanks also to LaVonne Poteet, Yancy Garrido and Arnaldo Lopez, for enriching our meeting with the LASA95 Film Festival. As with many others who contributed to LASA95, theirs was a labor of love.

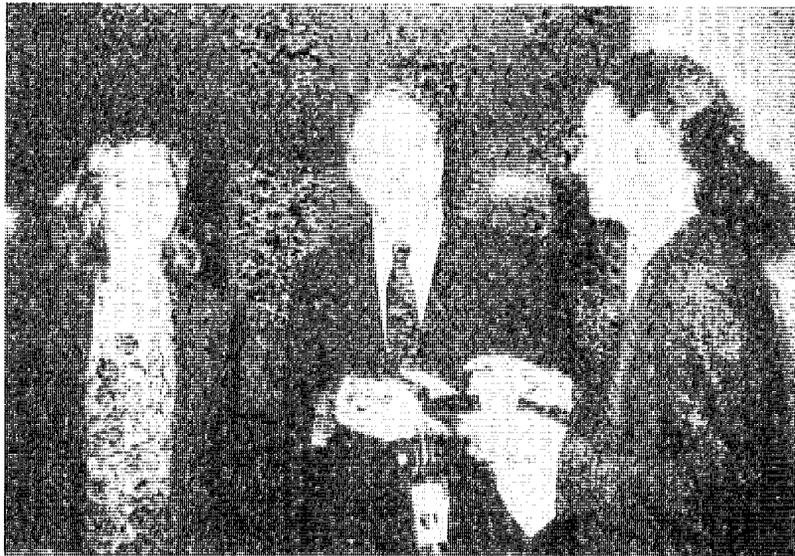
The efforts of several other individuals on LASA's behalf were especially distinguished. Past President Carmen Diana Deere

was both available and informed when I needed advice. As Treasurer until February 1995, Mike Conroy performed outstanding analysis of LASA's financial accounts. EC member Gil Merkx provided crucial institutional memory and also helped us define LASA's role in the broader area-studies and funding communities. The chair of our Nominations Committee, Evelyne Huber, presented a well-balanced slate of excellent candidates that was endorsed unanimously by the Executive Council. Finally, Wayne Smith, chair of our Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba, kept LASA at the forefront of efforts to

challenge the Clinton administration's tightened restrictions on scholarly travel to Cuba. (And, as I write, his efforts appear to have been fruitful).

* * *

On November 1, I happily pass the presidential baton to Jane Jaquette. The burdens of decision making in LASA are heavy, but the rewards--especially observing the fruits of our efforts at each congress--are great. My best wishes to Jane and to incoming Vice President Susan Eckstein, as we strive to retain the best of LASA's traditions as well as to bring about helpful innovations. ■



Scenes from LASA95: LASA President McClintock with LARR editor Gil Merkx and Karen Remmer, Associate Editor of LARR.

Latin America and the Cold War: Oh For the Good Old Days?

by Richard R. Fagen

Professor Emeritus, Political Science
Stanford University

Winner of the 1995 Kalman H. Silvert Award

[Delivered at the 1995 meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, The Sheraton Washington, September 28-30, 1995]

On September 12, 1963, the New Haven Office of the FBI sent a cover note to Director, FBI, in Washington about Richard Rees Fagen. Somewhat triumphantly, the New Haven Office announced that they had managed to secure: "two negatives and five prints of subject's photograph as reflected in Yale University Class of 1954 Yearbook." The Yale Registrar also "made available their records concerning captioned subject. A Yale freshman registration blank dated 7/1/50 indicates the following:"¹

"The following," supplemented later by Yale Alumni and U.S. Army records, was the usual stuff of such forms--including the satisfying (to me) note that while serving as a Private First Class in Puerto Rico, I was awarded the Good Conduct Medal--an auspicious start, I might note, to my career as a Latin Americanist.

In February, 1964, responding to a request from Bureau Headquarters, the San Francisco Office of the FBI sent the following back to Washington:

TITLE OF CASE: RICHARD REES FAGEN

Referenced Bureau letter directed efforts should be made to secure and review copies of papers written by the Subject and the result of this review where pertinent be included in report form.

...[name of cooperating employee at Stanford blacked out] furnished the following papers which have been written by the Subject and which were reviewed with the results as follows:..."²

One has to register a twinge of sympathy for the agent who waded through three self-consciously professional articles published in *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *The Western Political Quarterly*, and *Social Problems*. After all, I was at that time a newly-minted assistant professor, hungry for professional recognition and tenure, not about to stray from the established norms of scholarly discourse. The poor man (I doubt that there were any women field agents at that time), stumbled over my discussion of the concept of charisma as developed by MAX WEBER [all caps in the memo], and finally concluded that "there is none of it that appears to be pro-Communist or indicate sympathies for Communism as far as the Subject is concerned."

This opinion was seconded by a Stanford "asset" [name blacked out] who "stated that FAGEN had had some other papers published, but that he had never had them brought to his attention that any of these papers were in anyway pro-Communist or pro-CASTRO."

More than seven years later, Director, FBI, sent the following memo to Field Offices, Miami, [and] San Francisco:

RE: Richard Rees Fagen, a.k.a. Richard R. Fagen

Review of Bufiles conclusively shows that Dr. (FNU) [First Name Unknown] Fagen is identical with captioned subject. For information of Miami, San Francisco has extensive file regarding subject...[remainder of memo blacked out].³

Why this clumsy snooping, this seemingly inordinate interest in a University professor who both the FBI and CIA acknowledged never belonged to any organization on the Attorney General's list of so-called subversive organizations? The answer is not far to seek: Subject was interested in Cuba, then later interested in Chile, two countries which occupied the majority of Subject's professional attention for the better part of two decades. Despite all the deletions, what the hundreds of pages of my FBI and CIA dossiers make absolutely clear is that mere interest in travel to Cuba (a trip which I was first able to make in 1966 with full State Department permission), and work in Chile--work which was openly supportive of the Allende government and subsequently critical of the Pinochet regime--did not fall within the compass of the understandable or acceptable to either agency. In fact, as soon as the State Department received my first request for passport validation for Cuba travel in 1962, the San Francisco Office of the FBI was "instructed to conduct investigation to determine subject's activities and ascertain if they are inimical to U.S. Subject is an assistant professor at Stanford University, Stanford, California."⁴ What is also clear from the record is the extent to which significant numbers of Stanford University faculty and staff were cooperating with the FBI and the CIA in gathering information about their colleagues. Rereading these materials is a sobering experience, since they suggest how complicitous members of the University community were in all this fishing and snooping. Since I doubt that the CIA was paying Stanford professors tens of thousands of dollars a year to inform on their colleagues--as was the Agency's wont overseas--evidently campus assets subscribed to the official verbiage. I'm sure I'm not the only professor who

heard the following, urged on me in 1968 by an agent using the name of Jerome Rubin (did the man have a sense of historical humor?) when he contacted me after one of my Cuba trips:

I would like to assure you that the analysts I represent are people whose sole interest is in authoritative information and comment. They believe that everyone's interests are served by the accumulation of such information and that ignorance and illusion are what help to escalate international conflict.⁵

* * *

I open with these sordid little stories not because they were in any fundamental way determinate of my personal or professional life. To the contrary, I was never overtly harassed, fired, charged, or jailed. Compared to what happened to others, at home and abroad, my dances with the FBI and the CIA were trivial to the point of invisibility. But therein lies their power as metaphor. All that paper, all that bad grammar and bureaucratic bustle, all those tax dollars, all that attention paid to a young professor who was simply "doing Latin American Studies" as he, at least, thought they had to be done. Obviously I thought my work was important. That other people, charged with the national security of the United States, also thought it was important--or potentially dangerous--tells much about the times we lived in.⁶

The FBI and the CIA were not, of course, alone. The Cold War, if not the specific mentality of the intelligence agencies, permeated our profession and drenched it with meaning for more than three decades. And now that that particular war has ended (with a few notable exceptions), do we miss the urgency it lent to our work, the attention we received,⁷ the moral certainty that guided our policy choices (pro and con), the enthusiasms and commitment of our students, and the money that showered on us and our institutions? I think we do. And like John le Carré's weary agents, many of us are "hunt(ing) wistfully for a new means of dividing the world for our greater comfort and safety, now that the Communist thing, rather regrettably, (has) gone away."⁸

What, more specifically, was this "Communist thing" that has now (almost) "gone away," and how did it affect Latin American Studies? Despite the historic importance of the immediate post-war period--and particularly the 1954 U.S. intervention in Guatemala--the story really begins with the Cuban Revolution.⁹ With my tongue only half-way into my cheek, I propose that as soon as he retires (or is retired) we nominate President, Prime Minister, and Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro for the Silvert Award. At least in the United States, no one did more than Fidel to stimulate the study of Latin America in the 60s and 70s. Furthermore, with a little help from an Argentine and a Frenchman, he turned out to be no mean theoretician--at least as influential in the 1960s as the current President of Brazil and other notables became a few years later.

Shortly after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, foundations, universities, and the U.S. Government began to pour money into Latin American Studies.¹⁰ Although exact figures are impossible to assemble, probably an average of over 40 million dollars was directly allocated within U.S. universities for Latin America-related studies each year from 1960 until well into the 1980s. In other words, approximately half a billion dollars flowed into such studies in the United States in the 12 years running from the Bay of Pigs to the overthrow of Salvador Allende. Conservatively, this represents an eight-to-ten-fold increase over the previous 12 years. Hundreds of millions more were spent (some would say misspent) in U.S. Government contract research by AID, the Defense Department, and affiliated institutions such as the Rand Corporation.

The heavens had opened, and Latin American Studies institutes were founded or revitalized at scores of U.S. universities. Students swarmed to graduate programs, Spanish and Portuguese were validated as "languages vital to the National Security of the United States," and young professors like myself were sent abroad to be "retooled" or "upgraded" as Latin Americanists with fellowships too attractive to be refused.¹¹

Meanwhile, in countries like Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Peru, the Cuban Revolution and its aftershocks gave a major boost to the study of national and regional issues--efforts that were often funded by North American and Western European governments and foundations. I doubt that this room holds a North American scholar of my generation, or for that matter anyone now in his or her forties or fifties, who did not--directly or indirectly--feed at this trough of foundation and government largesse. And many of our Latin American colleagues, although some might still be loath to admit it, were similarly advantaged.

Money talks, but so do scholars. And this talk, in its most refined and prestigious form, we call theorizing. This is definitely not the place to undertake a review of dominant modes of theorizing in the 1960s and 70s. Hundreds of dense articles and a fat shelf of books have been written on or around the subject. But by now can there be any doubt that the basic architecture of theoretical discourse was profoundly influenced if not actually determined by the Cold War? Recall for a moment some key concepts and dualities: capitalism/socialism, modernization/dependency/dependencia, people's democracy/interest group representation, vanguard/mass, imperialism, neo-imperialism, proto-imperialism, etc. etc. etc. Almost all these words were used before the 1960s, but in Latin American Studies the Cold War--particularly as embodied in Cuba and Chile, the two great transformatory experiments of the 60s and 70s--was the prism through which the language was refracted and given new meanings and referents.¹²

Even for scholars who did not engage directly in the theoretical debates, the refracted light of the Cold War suffused their discourse and research. At first glance this proposition is simply a concretization of the well-worn observation that research is shaped by dominant theoretical concerns even when the practitioner is unaware that he/she is being channeled by more

general concepts and propositions. But in Latin American Studies in the years following the Cuban Revolution, the looming presence of the Cold War was dominant to a degree seldom seen across disciplines and concerns as diverse as those represented in LASA.

Let me be bold: **In the hundreds of meetings, conferences, and seminars I attended during the 25 years from the early 1960s to the later 1980s, none was wholly untouched by the East-West conflict as it manifested itself in the hemisphere.** This was *prima facie* true during debates on United States interventions in Latin America, their causes and consequences. But it was also true at the Social Science Research Council when we were struggling with an academically defensible allocation of research monies which would include if possible scholars with alternative views on questions like imperialism and socialism. Even when heroic attempts were made to distance theorizing from the East-West conflict, critics were quick to point out linkages and alternative explanations that were being given short shrift. The history of the influential idea of "bureaucratic authoritarianism" is a case in point.¹³ Like it or not, there was no escape.

It is tempting, but ultimately misleading, to analyze the consequences of the looming presence of the Cold War primarily in terms of paired opposites: Working inside or outside the development paradigm; for or against dependency perspectives; critical or supportive of hypotheses about the military-as-modernizers or, for that matter, the emerging middle classes imagined in a similar role. Much of the debate and polemic was cast in a language of dichotomy, often with strong assumptions of moral rectitude: us against them, *el pueblo versus la oligarquía*, the anti-nation versus the nation, Washington versus just about everyone else (except, of course, trans-national capital).¹⁴

But as vivid as these dualities and their associated imagery are, and as historically important as they have been for talking and thinking about Latin America, what in retrospect is most striking is the extent to which--pro or con on any given conceptual or policy issue--all parties to the debate shared the fundamental assumption that the future of whole nations, even civilizations, hung in the balance. Large historical choices between ideologies, international alliances, political and economic systems, and the futures of tens of millions of ordinary folk were being made. Who could remain unmoved, uninvolved, "value free" and "objective" when at play in those fields?

By the mid-1980s, however, cracks began to appear in the linked domains of theoretical discourse, research, and real events taking place in real countries in real time. At least symbolically, 1986

was a key year. Perestroika emerged as a dominant theme in official pronouncements in the Soviet Union, the O'Donnell/Schmitter volume on *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* was published, and President Ronald Reagan was trying to convince us "of a mounting danger in Central America that threatens the security of the United States....I'm speaking of Nicaragua, a Soviet ally on the American mainland only two hours' flying time from our own borders..."¹⁵

What, you might ask, links these three events as a metaphor of changes-in-the-making? The pairing of Reagan's vintage Cold War speech with the dramatic shifts beginning in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is obvious. Although it wasn't understood at the time, Sandinista Nicaragua was to be the United States' classic last tangle (one might say *tango*) with the evil empire in the Americas. The Caribbean Basin was soon to lose its viability as a cockpit of the Cold War (again, with the notable exception of Cuba). In 1986 Reagan could still have his Nicaragua adventure, but a few years later Bush only got Panama--complete with a CIA asset-caudillo-villain. Then in 1994, President Clinton, the unluckiest of all--damned by reality, unable to weave a viable blanket of strategic myth--had to settle for Haiti and a priest that many in Washington considered unacceptably Red, yet could do nothing about.

[W]hat the hundreds of pages of my FBI and CIA dossiers make absolutely clear is that mere interest in travel to Cuba (a trip which I was first able to make in 1966 with full State Department permission), and work in Chile--work which was openly supportive of the Allende government and subsequently critical of the Pinochet regime--did not fall within the compass of the understandable or acceptable to either agency.

How does *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* fit into the picture? Fundamentally, I would argue, as a harbinger of theorizing-to-come. As conveniently as any single publication, it signals the beginning of a highly consequential shift in Latin Americanist attention away from a primary concern with authoritarian governance to a new concern with the forms and possibilities of democratic rule. As has typically been the case in theorizing about Latin America, scholarship is powerfully pushed and pulled by ongoing events in the hemisphere. When we experience a wave of repressive practice, theorizing hustles to catch up with and interpret the new reality. On the other hand, when democratic openings occur, theory scrambles to get atop the new wave. This linkage is nearly inevitable given the strong empiricist tradition in contemporary scholarship, coupled with deeply felt policy concerns both north and south of the Rio Bravo. So, just as the national security state with all its repressive apparatus and horrors was a necessary focus of theory and research during the Cold War, the democratic or democratizing state--with all its institutional fragility and shortcomings--becomes a necessary focus in a post-Cold War hemisphere.

Are other such trends evident? Of course, for reality hammers theory and research into new shapes as relentless today as yesterday. In a short Foreword to a recent issue of the *Latin*

American Research Review, Gil Merkx offers one perspective on the new reality. He sees a rapidly changing world system in which bipolarity has disappeared and unpredictability increases as the uncertainties of free markets and democratic practice come to dominate.¹⁶ Others offer competing understandings, perspectives, and research priorities.¹⁷ I confess to having my own, although I will inflict only a fragment of it on you today, backing into the subject through a quick gloss on four of the five review essays published in the most recent (as of this writing) issue of the *Latin American Research Review* (Volume 30, Number 2, 1995).

The titles tell part of the story: "The Latin American Left: Epitaph or New Beginning?" by José L. Rénique; "The Politics of Economic Liberalization," by Barbara Geddes; "Democratic Consolidations: Some Broad Comparisons and Sweeping Arguments," by Ben Ross Schneider; and "Sandinista Economic and Social Policy: The Mixed Blessings of Hindsight," by Richard Stahler-Sholk. The four reviews cover 30 books, all but three published in the 1990s. Thus, even with inevitable lags in publication, this is primarily a post-Cold War literature.

How do I "read" (to use the fashionable terminology) these reviews? First, I am impressed by the analytical acuity of the aggregate (I refer to the reviews themselves, not necessarily the individual books). Each author, in his/her way, manages successfully to wring useful generalizations and provocative hypotheses from publications that are diverse both in form and substance. Ideological posturing is at a minimum, and the complexity and diversity of the post-Cold War world are given their due.

But more to the point, my reading suggests a common theme among all four essays, even though none of the authors specifically makes "my" theme the centerpiece of his or her analysis. With due apologies for liberties taken, I propose that this common theme is as follows: **Now that democracy and free markets are in the saddle--and socialism has been summarily unhorsed and discredited--where oh where are we to turn in our struggle to understand and combat poverty, gross inequality, and social injustice?**¹⁸

I assume that no one amongst us is unaware that poverty, gross inequality, and social injustice abound in the Americas. Osvaldo Sunkel, in his 1994 Silvert address *a favor de* a neo-structuralist (as opposed to a neo-liberal) approach to economic reform, reminded us in no uncertain terms of the statistics of what he aptly called social deterioration.¹⁹ The 1980s, the much-heralded decade of the emergence of democracy (or at least semi-competitive elections) and free markets, are particularly chilling. In 1992 the *salario mínimo* stood on the average at two-thirds its 1980 level. Social spending by the state dropped precipitously during the same period. Latin America's income distribution, already among the most unequal in the world, was--in most countries--worse in 1990 than in 1980. Unemployment was up, and the percent of the population living below the poverty line was growing. Driven by population growth, unemployment, inflation, and reduced wage scales, the

absolute number of Latin Americans living in poverty has skyrocketed, topping 200 million by the 1990s. Even in Chile, probably the most robust of all Latin American economies at present, Sunkel estimates that between a quarter and a third of the population is at risk for lack of sufficient income and services to cover basic needs. For the Americas as a whole, Sunkel does not hesitate to use the phrase "a polarization similar to *apartheid*" to describe the gulf arising between the haves and have-nots.²⁰

Let us now return to the four reviews published in *LARR*, keeping in mind that the political, economic, and social forces under analysis are at play in a field marked with acute levels of poverty, unemployment, and misery. With respect to the Latin American left, the subject of the first essay, this playing field has *prima facie* relevance. Despite all the international, national, strategic, and tactical differences among that *bolsa de gatos* we call the left, the ideational core of left movements has always been the social conditions of the *clases populares*. Even though these very same *clases populares* have only occasionally and imperfectly embraced the left as savior, the possibility, the memory, and the hope linger on. And if the left returns as a major political force in Latin America during some coming time of troubles, its appeal will surely be rooted in its promise to address widespread social and economic injustice. Thus in my view our shared theme--what for shorthand we can call "oh where oh where are we to turn?"--will relentlessly evoke the specter and the possibilities of the left. Need we look any farther than Chiapas for confirmation?

Jumping now to the fourth essay, Stahler-Sholk's review of Sandinista economic and social policy, I read this essay as a concretization or case study of the same fundamental issue. As we look back on Sandinista rule from the vantage point of the mid-90s, failures rooted in inexperience, mismanagement and the workings of imperialism are much clearer--as are the consequences of FSLN schisms, *vanguardismo*, and *politiquería*. But none of this calls into question--at least in my mind--the original motivating commitment of both leaders and many ordinary Nicaraguans to a vision of *la patria* freed from the grip of poverty, injustice, and the *Somocismo* that so cruelly articulated and enforced those conditions. This vision is what energized the movement, gave it a necessary minimum of coherence at the outset, and guided--however imperfectly--the initial policy choices. True, over time it proved impossible to extend initial successes into a viable long-term program of governance and change. True, by the mid-1980s--as one insider said to me--"we were painting the walls while the house burned down." True, in February of 1990 Nicaraguan voters rejected the FSLN in the voting booth and embraced a center-right coalition that many thought would usher in the era of the fatted calf, a dollar-lubricated economy mid-wifed by the United States. But for realists among the celebrants, the party was short-lived: market-oriented, "democratic" Nicaragua today, five-and-a-half years after the overthrow of the Sandinistas, is rent from top to bottom by economic and social disparities at least as grievous (although differently configured) as those of 20 years ago.

A central question raised by Barbara Geddes in her essay "The Politics of Economic Liberalization" is why--in situations where elections count--draconian adjustment policies so often do *not* result in incumbents being thrown out of office by the popular sectors (and others) hurt in pocketbook, soup kettle, and soul by those policies. Rather coolly she suggests an answer: "The reason economic reform has posed less of a threat to democratic governments than expected is not that costs are unexpectedly light but that interests are unexpectedly weak." True enough, but a more fundamental question remains: What are the *sources* of this weakness, and how has the systematic and often brutal disarticulation of the left prepared the ground for policies that only a few short years ago would--in many cases--have proven very difficult if not impossible to implement without overt, militarized repression? Should we not grant the liberalizers the courtesy of understanding that at least the brightest among them on the shoulders of their predecessors at home and abroad--hard men, men who knew the value of crowd control? But crowds controlled are not necessarily crowds that have been made to disappear from history's stage. The chorus of the unemployed and the impoverished still stirs in the background, still whispers in the wings. We need constantly to remind ourselves that neo-liberalism and harsh adjustment policies are only the prologue to the coming drama of the 21st Century--a drama which may yet surprise those attempting to write scenarios for the future.

We turn now to the final essay, Ben Ross Schneider's "Democratic Consolidations: Some Broad Comparisons and Sweeping Arguments." I read this review as a cautionary tale. It suggests how difficult it is to arrive at a theoretically satisfying taxonomy for the analysis of collective actors. In everything I have said so far, in the use of concepts such as working class, *campesino*, bourgeoisie, capitalist--not to mention "*clases populares*"--there lurks the danger of misrepresenting the social forces at work through grouping and naming them inappropriately. Yet if we believe, as most of us do, that at base the study of political economy involves groups and classes (articulated and disarticulated) acting in concert and conflict in search of power and the control of scarce resources, then we are ineluctably wedded to a continuing effort at taxonomic construction and refinement.²¹ Methodologically, the alternative is to conjure up the abstraction *homo politicus*, the power-hungry club-carrying brother of that bean-counter *homo economicus*. But giving theoretical pride of place to this parody of a parody, while sometimes professionally rewarding, will not advance our understanding of the political economy of Latin America.

The difficulties of constructing supple and empirically viable categories of collective actors makes what might be called the "ECLA approach" extremely seductive. Statistical arrays, punctuated by appropriate cutting points, will go a long way

toward identifying the losers, the *victims*--if you will--of slavery, colonialism, racism, authoritarianism, militarism, misogyny, and attendant economic policies. I plead guilty to having used just the ECLA approach in my initial formulation of the problematic.²² But when we turn our attention from the victims to the *groups and classes* at the heart of the dynamics of democracy and markets, the ECLA approach fails us.

Do I have a handy list of appropriate categories, the "Silvert taxonomy" at hand? Of course not. But I would like to point out that there is a critical opportunity here. The ideological polemics of the Cold War encouraged, in fact sometimes seemed to demand, dualities and theoretical simplifications. I mentioned some of these earlier: people's democracy/interest group representation, vanguard/mass, national capital/transnational capital. So too did the classic formulations of social theory: Capital/labor, landlord/peasant. More recently--as the four *LARR* essays demonstrate--we have come to appreciate more fully the extent to which social categories must be disaggregated and rethought if we are to understand the actual workings of the emerging political economies of the Americas. This is as true for constructions such as "business interests" as it is for militaries, state bureaucracies, *campesinos*, workers, indigenous people, women, and the poor.

Yes, much of our financing has dried up with the ending of the Cold War. Yes, a substantial part of our audience is looking elsewhere in the world, or is fixated on Court TV and Madonna. But intellectually the field is more open and sophisticated than ever. The Cold War is dead, long live complexity, diversity, and curiosity. Researchers of the world, *a trabajar!* You have nothing to lose but your sacred cows.

* * *

When I retired, lost my Stanford office, and moved to a smaller house on an island in Puget Sound, I gave 90 percent of my professional library to a university in need (not Stanford). I highly recommend this as a late-in-life exercise to anyone with several thousand books, not only because those books are more likely to be opened again by others than by you, but also because the choices you make--what to keep and what to give away--reveal what you have come to value after your 30 or 40 years in harness. It is, in this sense, a clarificatory exercise.

In my case, one of the books that I unhesitatingly packed up to take to Lopez Island was C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*.²³ First published in 1959, when I was a wet-behind-the-ears graduate student, I read it avidly at that time, and reread it this past summer. It is, in part a bare-fangs attack on types of social science that Mills didn't like, in particular "Grand Theory" *a-la* Talcott Parsons and "Abstracted Empiricism" *a-la* the then-current public opinion studies.²⁴ But the book is far more than a brilliant polemic. It is a moving call

In the hundreds of meetings, conferences, and seminars I attended during the 25 years from the early 1960s to the later 1980s, none was wholly untouched by the East-West conflict as it manifested itself in the hemisphere.

to arms, a brief for a humane, involved, clear-eyed social science appropriate to what Mills was already in the 1950s calling the post-modern period, a period in which we must struggle to understand "why Marxism has so often become a dreary rhetoric of bureaucratic defense and abuse; and liberalism a trivial and irrelevant way of masking social reality" (p. 223).

In an appendix titled "On Intellectual Craftsmanship," 30 pages that should be read by every graduate student--and then read by their professors--Mills closes with the following advice:

Know that you inherit and are carrying on the tradition of classic social analysis...Try to understand men and women as historical and social actors...the ways in which the variety of men and women are

intricately selected and intricately formed by the variety of human societies. Before you are through with any piece of work, no matter how indirectly on occasion, orient it to the central and continuing task of understanding the structure and the drift, the shaping and the meanings, of your own period, the terrible and magnificent world of human society in the second half of the twentieth century (p.225).

Change the last phrase to "the first decades of the 21st Century" and you have, I believe, an appropriate credo for Latin American studies in the foreseeable future.

Thank you.

Notes

¹Memo dated September 12, 1963, released to author under Freedom of Information Act.

²Memo dated February 7, 1964, released to author under Freedom of Information Act.

³Memo dated August 2, 1971, released to author under Freedom of Information Act.

⁴As related in Memo dated July 17, 1963, released to author under Freedom of Information Act.

⁵Personal letter dated June 10, 1968, from Jerome W. Rubin, P.O. Box 2409, San Francisco [Domestic Contact Service, CIA, San Francisco]. In both the FBI and CIA files there is substantial evidence of repeated interest in "recruiting" me for unspecified activities related to Cuba. The last indication of such interest appears in a CIA San Francisco Office memo to Headquarters dated July 23, 1971, speculating that "Dr. Fagen may have undergone some revision in his attitudes towards Cuba." However, the memo continues, "If you should decide that the risk and 'flap' potential does not justify an attempt to satisfy requirements in this case, we prefer to withdraw the request." Memo of July 23, 1971, released under Freedom of Information Act.

⁶National security concerns percolated deep into the subsoil of police culture. A "TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN" memo from the Palo Alto Police Department, one item in a package of documents required when I was leaving to work and teach in Chile, first assured the reader that Richard R. Fagen "has never been taken into custody on a charge of being insane," then continued in printed boiler plate, "This Department has no record of this person having been arrested for having any antagonism against the form of government of the United States of America." Form letter in possession of author, dated 28 November, 1971, signed by Lieutenant Leo E. Peart, Field Operations, PAPD.

⁷As an indication of the degree to which attention was force-drafted by Cold War concerns, consider the following: Stanford University Press published *The Transformation of Political Culture in Cuba in 1969*, my rather short academic monograph based on field work conducted in 1966 and 1968. The book received the second lead review in the *New York Times Book Review*, plus at least 50 other reviews in newspapers, magazines, and journals as far-flung as London, Madrid, Rome,

Brussels, Calcutta, and much of Latin America. It sold more than 10,000 copies in the first few years after publication. With all modesty, I think it was a good monograph, but not a great one. Would a similar monograph, similarly published--no matter how excellent--receive that much attention today?

⁸John le Carré, "My New Friends in the New Russia: In Search of A Few Good Crooks, Cops and Former Agents," *New York Times Book Review*, February 19, 1995.

⁹The best account and analysis of the Guatemalan experiment and the overthrow of the Arbenz government is Peiro Gleijeses, *Shattered Hope: The Guatemalan Revolution and the United States, 1944-1954* (Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹⁰See Richard R. Fagen, "Studying Latin American Politics: Some Implications of a *Dependencia* Approach," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1977, footnotes 2 and 3 for a list of citations relevant to funding of Latin American Studies during the 1960s and early 1970s. For a more contemporary perspective, see Stanley J. Heginbotham, "Rethinking International Scholarship: The Challenge of Transition from the Cold War Era," *Social Science Research Council Items*, Vol. 48, Nos. 2-3, June-September, 1994, pp. 33-40.

¹¹The program in which I participated was initiated and administered in its first phase by the Ford Foundation. In its second phase it passed administratively to the Foreign Area Fellowship Program of the Social Science Research Council. Initially, there was no application process. Nominations were made "de dedo" by mini-cabals of University and Foundation officials, fronted for by non-academic "Latin Americanist" notables. In my case, I formally owed my nomination to Emilio Collado, Vice-President of Standard Oil of New Jersey, a man I never met or spoke with, before or after. In reality, I was nominated by the then-head of International Studies at Stanford, with the prior approval of the Ford Foundation (which had already given a major area studies grant to Stanford and saw this as a way of piggybacking additional faculty development funds). Among other recipients of these fellowships were Herbert Klein, Neill Macaulay, Joseph Tulchin, and Maurice Zeitlin, all assistant professors at that time.

¹²I am aware that this discussion has, by this point, assumed a somewhat "policentric" tone. Thirty-five years as a political scientist (an unfortunate moniker--not that *politólogo* is any better) enmeshed me

more deeply in Cold War discourse than, let us say, a typical ethnographer. But my experience suggests that all fields were affected, although obviously not equally.

¹³Guillermo O'Donnell's concept, first articulated in *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, 1973), sought the deep causes of the phenomenon in the exhaustion of the easy phase of import substitution industrialization and the subsequent need to "deepen" the process of capital accumulation. Whatever the validity of that interpretation, it is clear that the "crisis" came in the midst of the Cold War, in the context of competing models of development. In this context, a national security ideology and associated state institutionalism (backed by the United States) took root even in countries that did not fit the development pattern hypothesized in the original essay.

¹⁴For those who wish to sample the debate(s) and polemic, two of the more useful articles are Gabriel Palma, "Dependency: A Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment?" *World Development*, Vol. 6, 1978, pp. 881-924; and Peter Evans and John Stephens, "Studying Development Since the Sixties," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 17, 1988, pp. 713-45.

¹⁵Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). In addition to standard U.S. Government sources, the Reagan speech of March 16, 1986, can be found in full in the Appendix to Eldon Kenworthy, *America/Americas: Myth in the Making of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* (Penn State Press, 1995). The Kenworthy book centers on the Nicaraguan case.

¹⁶Gilbert W. Merx, "Foreword," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 1995, pp. 3-6.

¹⁷Security concerns--reconceptualized--are still foremost in the minds of many. See, for example the essays in Lars Schoultz, William C. Smith, and Augusto Varas (eds.), *Security, Democracy, and Development in U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Transaction Books, 1994).

¹⁸I took a polemical first cut at this theme in "Dependency is Dead! Long Live Poverty, Inequality, Unequal Exchange, International Stratification, Etc., Etc," a

comment prepared for a conference on "Conceptual Approaches to the Third World," Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California, San Diego, May 17-18, 1991.

¹⁹Oswaldo Sunkel, "Un enfoque neoestructuralista de la reforma económica, la crisis social y la viabilidad democrática en América Latina," paper dated February, 1994, presented at the XVIII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association.

²⁰*Ibid.* p. 19.

²¹The interaction of gender with groups and classes is an immensely important topic. So too are race and ethnicity as they relate to issues of class and socially-constructed groups (and gender). Neither race/ethnicity nor gender, however, appear as analytical categories in any of the four *LARR* essays.

²²Oswaldo Sunkel makes the important point that Latin America's historic forms of development produced groups mired in what he calls the "old poverty," while current practice, adjustment, and restructuring are producing victims trapped in "new poverty." See Sunkel, *op. cit.* p. 24.

²³(New York: Oxford University Press, 1959). In similar fashion, I took with me and continue to admire Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton University Press, 1939). Lynd had a highly developed sense of what was worth studying, what problems ought to occupy our attention. Here is a fairly typical Lynd formulation of a problem, more remarkable for the fact that Lynd was in no sense a Marxist:

Private capitalism, which operated with rough-and-ready utility to stimulate raw energy expenditure in the uncouth world of our frontier expansion, is proving a crude, recklessly wasteful, and destructive instrument for creating and diffusing welfare among a settled, highly interdependent population (page 220).

²⁴On pages 32-33 Mills gives a four paragraph "translation" of Parson's *The Social System* which he claims--rightly I believe--contains just about all that is useful in the 550-page book. Of abstracted empiricism, he says, "The details, no matter how numerous, do not convince us of anything worth having convictions about" (p. 55). ■



Scenes from LASA95: Incoming LASA President Jane Jaquette (center) with daughter Sarah (l.) and LASA Executive Council Member Sonia Alvarez.

Stuck at the Crossroads: Nicaragua's Uncertain Transitions

Report on the 1995 Research Seminar in Nicaragua

by

Richard Stahler-Sholk

Pomona College

LASA's eleventh annual research seminar in Nicaragua was held from June 20-30, 1995. This seminar series is open to all Spanish-speaking LASA members, and offers participants an exposure to diverse perspectives on the country's current issues as well as an introduction to Nicaragua's academic/research institutions. The twelve participants (8 women, 4 men) included eight professors, one Ph.D. student, two advanced undergraduates, and one Latin Americanist from the Japan External Trade Organization. The group included two from Japan, one Mexican living in Pennsylvania, as well as representation from California (3), Connecticut (1), Illinois (1), Kansas (1), Maryland (1), Ohio (1), and Oregon (1). Their academic disciplines included political science, economics, literature, history, and education.

This year's program was designed and coordinated by Richard Stahler-Sholk (Politics, Pomona College). The logistical facilitator was Alice McGrath, on her 69th delegation to Nicaragua. Kathy McBride of the Center for Global Education assisted with local arrangements. Among the salient national issues that emerged in interviews and discussions were the constitutional crisis, uncertainty over property rights, rampant unemployment and evident social decomposition, and pre-1996 electoral maneuvering. Amidst a general public backlash against political elites across the spectrum, many in Nicaragua have shifted their focus to grassroots initiatives, including increasing diversity in the women's movement, cultural expression, and a proliferation of non-governmental organizations. Below is a summary of the itinerary, followed by commentary:

Tuesday, June 20: Arrival in Managua, review of program.

Wednesday, June 21: Visit to Barrio Memorial Sandino,

meeting with community organizers José Palacios and Mariana Rodríguez. Impromptu guitar concert by José Palacios and tour of "olla de soya" child nutrition project. Judy Butler, writer for *Envío*, monthly journal of political analysis published by Instituto Histórico Centroamericano (IHCA). Dr. Alejandro Martínez Cuenca, director, Fundación Internacional para el Desafío Económico Global (FIDEG), former Minister of Planning and of External Commerce. Sergio Ramírez Mercado, former Vice President and noted novelist, founder of the Movimiento Renovador Sandinista (MRS), which broke off from the "orthodox" FSLN led by Daniel Ortega.

Thursday, June 22: María Teresa Blandón, La Malinche feminist collective and Corrientes network of Central American women's organizations. Ernesto Leal, Foreign Minister (considered a close political ally of presidential hopeful Antonio Lacayo), and Edmundo Castillo Salazar, Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry. Julio Norori, Director of Policy and Development, Ministry of Health. Comandante Henry Ruíz, member (but dissident voice) of FSLN National Directorate, former Minister of Planning and of External Cooperation. Trevor Evans, British economist, Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales (CRIES). Several seminar participants attended an evening presentation of Sergio Ramírez' new novel, *Baile de máscaras*.



Child nutrition project, Barrio Memorial Sandino, Managua, June 1995.

Friday, June 23: Trip to León. Luis Felipe Pérez Caldera, mayor of León, MRS activist. Dr. Mariano Fiallos Oyanguren, who had just resigned as president of the Supreme Electoral Council--Nicaragua's fourth branch of government--to avoid partiality in the constitutional crisis. (He was subsequently reconfirmed in that post after the executive and legislature reached a negotiated accord on the constitutional conflict.) Trip to Chinandega. Meeting with Eugenio Membreño and other members of banana workers' union, affiliated with the Social Christian CTN labor federation. Tour,

with union and management, of recently privatized banana plantation owned by former Somoza Vice President Alfonso Callejas Deshón (just appointed to the Supreme Electoral Council). Return to Managua.

Saturday, June 24: Dr. Fernando Silva, poet, painter, pediatrician, and MRS deputy in National Assembly. Rodolfo Delgado, Acting Director, Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses (IEN), research institute that has been conducting extensive public opinion surveys. Humberto Marín, Colombian consultant on democratic governability for United Nations Development Program. Managua city tour, featuring the new cathedral (which looks like a cross between a mosque and a nuclear power plant), blown-up photos of pre-earthquake Managua, and some of the highly visible works of Mayor Alemán's administration, such as a carnival-type boardwalk alongside the polluted Lake Managua and a huge fountain at Metrocentro illuminated at night by colored lights.

Sunday, June 25: Trip to Masaya marketplace, known for artisanry. Visit to ceramic cooperative in San Juan de Oriente.

Monday, June 26: Azucena Ferrey, deputy in National Assembly for center-right Unión Demócrata Cristiana (UDC) and member of the legislature's women's commission, former member of political directorate of the Resistencia Nicaragüense ("contra"), founder of Fundación Mujer Nicaragüense. Meeting at the United Nations building with Edgardo Flores Rivas, Ambassador of Mexico, representative of the Support Group of donor countries (Sweden, Spain, Netherlands, Canada, and Mexico) promoting a negotiated solution to the constitutional crisis paralyzing Nicaragua's government. Tour of UN documentation center. Visit to Barrio 380, settled by demobilized contras (RN). Meeting with barrio leader Comandante Leonardo Zeledón (a.k.a. "Chispero"), ex-RN, and other community activists. General Joaquín Cuadra, head of the army, and Col. Ramos & Lt. Col. Calero of the general staff.

Tuesday, June 27: Danilo Aguirre, Sub-Director of daily newspaper *El Nuevo Diario* and National Assembly deputy for MRS. Víctor Hugo Tinoco, member of National Directorate of the "orthodox" FSLN, former Deputy Foreign Minister. Dr. Orlando Trejos Somarriba, President of the Supreme Court, and three other Supreme Court Justices. Visit to Amatl bookstore. Meeting at U.S. Embassy with Ambassador John Maisto and AID mission head George Carner. Roger Alí Romero, general manager of Proterra project which promotes exports of organic agricultural products by small and medium producers. Visit with campesinos staging sit-in nearby to protest lack of secure land titles and credit.

Wednesday, June 28: Dr. Orlando Núñez, director of Centro de Investigación y Promoción del Desarrollo (CIPRES), member of Sandinista Assembly and recent author of several feminist books. Carlos Fernando Chamorro, producer of new television interview program, ex-editor of Sandinista newspaper *Barricada*, son of President Violeta Chamorro. Visit to Editorial Vanguardia bookstore. Visit to National Library and meeting

with director Jorge Eduardo Arellano, prominent literary critic, who explained plans to restore the National Palace which will house both the library and museum. Visit to art gallery in Gran Hotel cultural complex, featuring primitivist and other paintings and historic photographs. Walk around Plaza de la República (formerly known as Plaza de la Revolución), site of the old cathedral and tomb of Carlos Fonseca. Evening entertainment at new music club, "La Buena Nota," with folk musician Carlos Mejía Godoy.

Thursday, June 29: Dr. Arnoldo Alemán, mayor of Managua, front-running 1996 presidential candidate for the far right Partido Liberal Constitucionalista (PLC). Dr. Alemán was accompanied by his political advisor, Dr. René Herrera, on leave from the Colegio de México. Ing. Gilberto Cuadra, president, Consejo Superior de la Empresa Privada (COSEP), the umbrella organization of big business interests. Amílcar Navarro, member of the board of directors of the Unión Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos (UNAG), representing small and medium producers; together with the director of public relations of the new UNAG private bank, Banco del Campo. Meeting with members of the Asociación de Trabajadores del Campo (ATC) holding a sit-in at the UCA to protest government agrarian and economic policies. Father Xabier Gorostiaga, S.J., economist and rector of the Jesuit-run Universidad Centroamericana (UCA).

Friday, June 30: Return home. For those staying on--and brave of heart--dinner choices of iguana, armadillo, or sea turtle at the Flor de Pino restaurant.

* * *

Commentary: [These views are the author's and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of LASA, the Task Force, or seminar participants.]

Nicaragua in June 1995 was in the midst of a prolonged constitutional crisis pitting the executive against the legislature, while the country's 26 political parties jockeyed for position in anticipation of elections in October or November 1996. De facto president Antonio Lacayo and other government leaders were off in Paris, trying to present the best possible face to the Consultative Group of donor countries controlling the vital aid pipeline. Meanwhile, back in Managua union activists and agricultural workers demanding property titles and credit were occupying the National Assembly and other sites.

In this chaotic atmosphere, most Nicaraguans seemed to feel totally alienated from the antics of the political elite, and cheated of the stability and security which they had hoped the end of the war would bring. For example, polls conducted at the end of 1994 showed that 90% of the public felt there was a political crisis in Nicaragua, and 99% said there was an economic crisis; while 87% thought their interests were not represented by the government, and 78% felt that the political parties were not concerned with resolving the country's problems.¹

The Constitutional Crisis

The constitutional impasse revolved around a legislative project to reform the 1987 political constitution. The proposed reforms would shift the balance of powers away from the strong executive branch, giving the legislature greater authority in controlling the budget and approving international agreements. The Supreme Court of Justice and Supreme Electoral Council (CSJ & CSE, representing the judicial and electoral branches) would be expanded, and the National Assembly would have greater control over their composition. The reforms also proposed various "inhibitions" on presidential candidacy, barring consecutive reelection of a president or close family members. The electoral rules would also be changed to require a run-off if no candidate gets at least 45% of the vote. The reforms were passed by the Assembly and sent to the President in February 1995, but when she refused to promulgate them, Assembly President Luis Humberto Guzmán published them himself in April. The executive refused to recognize this step, leading to total confusion over which constitution, court, or electoral council was the valid one (and, for that matter, who would decide).

Behind the legal tangle were calculations of political interest. The presidential inhibitions clause potentially affected the ambitions of Violeta Chamorro's son-in-law, Antonio Lacayo (who offered to get a civil divorce if necessary, a suggestion which did not amuse traditional Catholics). The FSLN, which had suffered a major reduction in parliamentary strength when most of its deputies sided with the breakaway MRS led by Sergio Ramírez, joined the executive in opposing reforms that would strengthen the legislature. Enjoying the show was right-wing populist mayor of Managua Arnoldo Alemán, who coasted on a wide lead in the opinion polls. While the national government seemed paralyzed, the municipality of Managua continued to build highly visible fountains and traffic circles, a constant source of patronage and publicity. Despite widespread charges of corruption in public works projects as well as shady campaign financing, Alemán's popularity could be summarized in the billboards he placed all over Managua: "Alcaldía cumple" [Mayor's office comes through].

The impasse was resolved by a pact, as in so many earlier junctures in Nicaraguan history. The President finally promulgated the reforms, but they were accompanied by a vaguely-worded "Framework Law" allowing a one-time modification in the implementation of the reforms. The compromise accepted the two-round election, which could hurt front-runner Alemán. The legislature gained important new powers, which pleased the MRS and UDC and associated center-right parties. But the Assembly surrendered control of the

budgetary ceiling to the executive, which could leave Lacayo a free hand to channel aid funds to patronage projects of his own. One of the central ambiguities of the pact was whether Lacayo himself would be able to run for the presidency.

Electoral alliances are still extremely fluid and speculation necessarily premature, but four main forces seem to be staking out early positions: the Liberals led by Arnaldo Alemán, the Proyecto Nacional led by Antonio Lacayo, the "orthodox" FSLN led by Daniel Ortega, and a likely Social/Christian Democratic grouping led by Sergio Ramírez for the MRS and Luis Humberto Guzmán for the UDC...

Pre-electoral Positioning

Fittingly, Lacayo announced from Paris his intention to resign as Minister of the Presidency to lead his newly formed Proyecto Nacional (which was quickly dubbed the "Pro-yerno Nacional," or the "Proyecto Matraca" after the wooden noisemakers featured at its inaugural rally). The top levels of the government are almost entirely staffed by engineers and lawyers with no political party history, and the

Proyecto is notably lacking in any organized base. Yet Lacayo's technocratic government has implemented orthodox economic stabilization and adjustment measures that have met with approval from the international financial community. Economic liberalization, and privatization of the 30% of the economy formerly in the state sector, have also brought quiet support from many big business sectors.

If Lacayo has strategic positioning but no mobilized base, the FSLN has just the opposite, which may explain why some say they have been operating in tacit alliance. None other than FSLN National Directorate member Henry Ruíz, the legendary guerrilla commander "Modesto" of the northern front, broke his customary silence to denounce that "The FSLN has turned itself into the principal ally of Antonio Lacayo's government and everything that that neoliberal government signifies for this country." Burned in his attempt at the May 1994 party congress to offer himself as a compromise leader to reconcile the FSLN and MRS, he is now publicly criticizing personal and political corruption in the Sandinista leadership. However unrealistic his own attempt to lead a reunification of the party, Ruíz's declarations may reflect a generalized dismay among once-active Sandinistas.

The "orthodox" FSLN led by Daniel Ortega still rallies a faithful core of perhaps 15% of the electorate, but many supporters are perplexed by the party's apparent inconsistencies. The FSLN on the one hand mobilizes confrontational demonstrations and takeovers, but on the other hand collaborates with the executive to stall constitutional reforms, and accompanies government representatives to Paris to seek financial support for unpopular economic adjustment measures. Possible explanations may include a tactical interest in outflanking Alemán and the far right; a genuine ambivalence over political stability vs. radical redistribution; and narrower political and economic self-interest of a small group of party leaders. FSLN credibility suffers from the widespread belief that some party leaders personally

appropriated major state properties during the "piñata" of February-April 1990. This severely undercuts FSLN efforts to lead the defense of property rights of the hundreds of thousands of poor beneficiaries of the agrarian and urban reforms of the 1980s.

The MRS, for its part, is still mainly a parliamentary party. While it ostensibly split from the FSLN over issues of party democracy and principle, its base of support consists mainly of middle class intellectuals, and the MRS appears quite willing to form conjunctural alliances with a variety of center-right and conservative parties. Clearly the division has weakened the once-unified Sandinista party, and there is general consensus that the schism has gone far beyond any likelihood of reconciliation. Some observers speculate about a compromise candidate for 1996 whose personal integrity might draw support from both wings of *sandinismo* and beyond--the name of Dr. Mariano Fiallos was most often mentioned, before he was reappointed to head the Supreme Electoral Council--but all acknowledged that this scenario was a long shot.

Electoral alliances are still extremely fluid and speculation necessarily premature, but four main forces seem to be staking out early positions: the Liberals led by Arnoldo Alemán, the Proyecto Nacional led by Antonio Lacayo, the "orthodox" FSLN led by Daniel Ortega, and a likely Social/Christian Democratic grouping led by Sergio Ramírez for the MRS and Luis Humberto Guzmán for the UDC (and perhaps including several of the conservative parties). Two troublesome scenarios were repeatedly sketched by observers. In the first scenario, a highly polarized and charged campaign would end in a victory by Alemán, who would proceed aggressively to seek revenge against the Sandinistas. In the second scenario, the FSLN and Proyecto Nacional would form an explicit alliance and win on the second round by electoral fraud. Obviously, neither would bode well for the consolidation of a stable, democratic government.

Economic Stability at a Price

Under the terms of the IMF's September 1991 Standby and May 1994 Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF) loans, there is little room for flexibility in the neoliberal economic program. Nicaragua's per capita foreign debt is among the highest in the world, and access to desperately needed foreign loans is conditional on drastic cutbacks in government spending and credit. On the bright side, this austerity has brought inflation down from the five-digit figures of the 1980s to 12% in 1994. However, unemployment last year was 53.6%, and Nicaragua is now the second poorest country in the hemisphere after Haiti, with an annual per capita GDP of \$425.

The combination of tight credit and widespread uncertainty have meant little investment or reactivation of production. The proliferation of new private banks (9 operating and 2 more approved so far) has mainly facilitated credit for commerce and

speculative financial activity, while capturing deposits that are spirited off to the Grand Cayman Islands. The government claims 3.2% economic growth in 1994, the highest rate in 10 years, though independent estimates are lower. In any event, this does not match population growth, and it partly reflects a temporary increase in coffee prices and an unsustainable flow of foreign aid. One encouraging sign is the increase in non-traditional exports, including some innovative attempts to promote direct marketing of organic produce by small producers. Also, UNAG's new Banco del Campo represents an effort to channel credit to campesinos, along with other small revolving funds and non-traditional credit facilities.

The government announced with some fanfare that the Consultative Group meetings in Paris had yielded promises of \$1.5 billion for 1995-97. In reality, the donors rejected a request for additional financing for public investment; and the actual commitments after deducting debt service would be only \$170 million in liquid funds and \$350 million in tied credit. Meanwhile, Nicaragua continued to import over \$800 million/year and export little over \$400 million.

Aside from Nicaragua's failure to meet some of the strict ESAF targets, donors were clearly unhappy about the constitutional crisis and resulting paralysis of the government. In fact, a group of five donor countries--Sweden (representing the Scandinavian countries), Spain, Netherlands, Canada, and Mexico--had constituted a Support Group for Nicaragua to emphasize the urgency of solving the institutional mess in order to keep existing aid flowing. This pressure seemed to be a key factor in finally achieving an agreement between the executive and legislature.

Both international aid and domestic production have been affected by the continuing conflict over property rights. Privatization of 351 former state enterprises is now virtually complete, but all the revenues from selling off the enterprises were used for compensation of some property owners and administrative costs of privatization. Friends and relatives of high government officials seemed to do particularly well on the bargain-basement sales, increasing the general level of public cynicism. Many demands for property or compensation are still pending, and many property transfers of all descriptions from before and after 1990 have not been fully legalized and titled, hampering access to credit and sowing uncertainty. Labor union resistance had initially delayed privatization, and eventually resulted in a government commitment to transfer 25% of the former state sector to a new worker-owned Area Propiedad de los Trabajadores (APT). However, the APT experience has been mixed and conflict continues, aggravated by divisions among unions and clashes with returning former owners (including *somocistas*). Despite union opposition, the government is moving forward to privatize the lucrative telephone utility, TELCOR. Such a step would satisfy demands from the IMF and World Bank, and also please the holders of property compensation bonds, whose value on the secondary market would rise from 15-20 cents on the dollar to an estimated 40 cents.

One wrinkle on the property question has turned into the major issue in U.S.-Nicaraguan relations. The U.S. Embassy has established a U.S. Citizen Property Office to support over one thousand property claims. In contrast to other countries whose nationals have property disputes, and in departure from international law and practice, the U.S. government is backing the claims of people who acquired U.S. citizenship after their properties were confiscated. While U.S. leverage is not what it once was--U.S. aid has dropped from \$270 million in FY 1990 to a projected \$19 million in FY 1995--this issue complicates relations which had otherwise improved since President Clinton's new hands-off approach to Central America.

With Nicaragua clearly downgraded in U.S. priority, pressure on the property issue seemed to be an administration concession to U.S. Senator Jesse Helms. As chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, Helms had insisted that aid be cut off under a provision of the Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting aid to any country that confiscated property of U.S. citizens without prompt and adequate compensation. On July 31, the Clinton administration issued another waiver to allow a continuation of aid to Nicaragua, citing progress toward resolving property claims as well as a national security interest in promoting stability as Nicaragua's 1996 elections approach.

The Social Fabric

One of the relatively successful aspects of Nicaragua's postwar transition has been demilitarization. At long last, the main bands of renegade ex-combatants have been disarticulated. The army was reduced from over 80,000 to 15,000, a new military code was passed as part of a process of professionalization of that institution, and General Humberto Ortega finally stepped down as head of the army in February 1995.

As in other Central American countries where war raged over the last decade, armed banditry and violence are rampant. Kidnapping of coffee-growers and cattle-ranchers for ransom has become so common that it passes without comment. There are reports that the Atlantic Coast is becoming a major transshipment route for South American cocaine, and the downsized military is ill equipped to respond. Domestic drug use also appears to be on the rise, with glue still the drug of choice for the poor. Other signs of social decomposition include rampant prostitution, not surprising with unemployment over 50%. The media have however devoted extensive coverage to sensational stories of domestic violence, rape and sexual abuse. What is unclear is how much this reflects a sharp escalation of violence in Nicaraguan society, or the success of the women's movement in breaking down taboos about reporting these crimes, or simply the appallingly low quality of the country's four daily newspapers.

During June 1995, the local equivalent of the O.J. Simpson trial was a case of a policeman who shot and killed a suspect during interrogation after the detainee allegedly admitted boastfully to

having raped a young girl. The level of national obsession with the details of the case, and the general outpouring of public sympathy for the policeman, suggested that the incident had a larger symbolic importance. One disturbing interpretation might be that the population was gravitating (or being led?) toward a visceral preference for order over due process.

One of the recent victories of the Nicaraguan women's movement has been the establishment of women-run police stations, to encourage the reporting of sexual abuse and domestic violence. The women's movement is one of the more dynamic forces in society, and it has become notably more diverse and non-partisan since 1990. There are multiple lines of division, but it may be an indication of the strength of the movement that many political parties are beginning to include gender quotas in their statutes.

Another changing force in society is the Catholic Church. Conservative religious figures linked to Opus Dei and the City of God have moved into positions of influence (including the Minister of Education), while the Liberation Theology movement has taken on a much lower profile. Cardinal Obando y Bravo has become an important power broker, serving as mediator and guarantor of the pact ending the constitutional stalemate, and one of his close advisors was named to the Supreme Electoral Council. Obando's influence was also demonstrated when a physician claimed that the country's tetanus vaccine contained a sterility-producing agent, and the Cardinal repeated the charge from the pulpit, causing the vaccination campaign to grind to a halt. Even after samples were sent to the U.S. for testing, Obando withheld his blessing, leading the Minister of Health to publicly break down in tears in frustration.

Perhaps everyone in Nicaragua is close to tears, and frustration might be a good way to summarize the national mood. In many respects, the 1990-96 government has turned out to represent essentially a transitional effort to minimize violence while a series of complex negotiations occurred among social and political actors. As Nicaragua moves into the 1996 electoral cycle, a weary population seems to be wondering when the transition will be over.

Note: These seminars are now a longstanding tradition, and it is likely that LASA will sponsor a twelfth one next summer. The trips are open to all LASA members, and diversity of political opinion is welcomed. For more information, contact: Prof. Thomas W. Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701-2979 (Tel. 614-593-1339; Fax 614-593-0394) or Alice McGrath, P.O. Box 1782, Ventura, CA 93002 (Tel. 805-648-4560; Fax 805-653-6359).

¹Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses, "La gobernabilidad y el acuerdo nacional en Nicaragua: Auscultación de la opinión pública nicaragüense, presentado ante Naciones Unidas-Grupo de Apoyo-Poderes del Estado" (Managua: 14 Mar. 1995), pp. 5-6. ■



Final Report of the LASA95 Program Committee by Tom Holloway, Chair Cornell University

I am pleased to report that LASA95, on the whole, was a successful event. I extend my appreciation a final time to all those who contributed to that success. In a site as physically complex and diverse as the public areas of the Sheraton Washington Hotel, it was a challenge to provide the best venue possible for nearly 560 "events" in the schedule, among regular panels and workshops, special sessions, plenaries, meetings, and receptions. My apologies to those who had an overflow crowd in a small room, on one hand, or those whose intimate group found itself in a vast ballroom space, on the other. Data on the total number of participants, the countries in which they are based, and the breakdown of events by program section and type are presented in the accompanying table. (For an explanation of the process by which the distribution by program section developed, see my interim

report in the Summer 1995 *LASA Forum*.)

Lessons from one Congress are sometimes difficult to apply directly to the next, because both the site and the concerns of the LASA constituency are constantly changing, but I would be happy to receive any comments from the membership on LASA95, and pass on to Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward, Co-Chairs of the LASA97 program, any suggestions that they might find of use as they move toward the Guadalajara Congress.

Finally, the T-shirts sold out, but we still have a few *Gallo con Escoba* posters and tote bags for sale after the fact. For ordering information contact us at 190 Uris Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.
E-mail: LASA95@CORNELL.EDU. ■

LASA95 Final Tally of Individual Program Participants

Western Hemisphere		Other Areas	
Argentina	46	Australia	9
Bolivia	6	Austria	2
Brazil	138	Belgium	1
Canada	36	Denmark	1
Chile	22	France	4
Colombia	13	Israel	1
Costa Rica	13	Japan	1
Cuba	42	Mozambique	1
Dominican Republic	4	The Netherlands	10
Ecuador	7	New Zealand	2
El Salvador	5	Portugal	1
Guatemala	12	South Africa	2
Haiti	3	Spain	15
Honduras	1	Sweden	2
Jamaica	1	Switzerland	4
Mexico	211	United Kingdom	39
Nicaragua	5		
Panama	4	Total	95
Paraguay	11		
Peru	15	Men:	1,256
Puerto Rico	36	Women:	957
United States	1450		
Uruguay	9	Total:	2,213
Venezuela	28		
Total	2,118		

Total Events: 558

LASA95 Events

Section Sessions	
Agrarian/Indigenous	16
Caribbean	26
Central America	25
Democracy/Human Rights	40
Economy/Development	40
Environment	17
Gender Issues	41
History/Historical Processes	42
Inter-American Relations	22
Labor Issues	22
Latinos	15
Literature/Arts	72
Mexico	32
Politics/Public Policy	38
South America	14
Scholarly Resources	10
Total	472
Others	
Special Sessions	27
Plenaries	11
Meetings	32
Receptions	16
Total	86

Report of the LASA Business Meeting XIX International Congress Washington, DC, September 29, 1995

President Cynthia McClintock indicated that it had been an honor for her to serve as president of LASA. She acknowledged that Latin American Studies is alive and "extremely well," particularly if using membership in the association as an example. LASA membership, currently at 4,000, is nearly double that of the early 1980s. Institutional membership, one of McClintock's priorities, now numbers over 100; Latin American institutional members now number fifteen, up from three just a year ago. LASA95 has featured special sessions designed to help attract new institutional members and engage them in dialogue. McClintock indicated that one of her challenges has been the maintenance of communication flow within the organization. A number of initiatives have been undertaken.

A second priority for McClintock was to assure a home for both LARR and the LASA Secretariat. LARR will continue at the University of New Mexico under Gil Merckx and the LASA Secretariat will remain at the University of Pittsburgh under the leadership of Reid Reading.

A third priority was to build on the vision of Carmen Diana Deere with regard to the Endowment Campaign. McClintock then introduced the others seated at the dais: Charlie Hale, who stepped in as Treasurer when Mike Conroy could not continue; Henry Dietz, LASA Parliamentarian; Jane Jaquette, Vice President; Tom Holloway, LASA95 Program Chair; and Reid Reading, LASA Executive Director.

REPORT OF THE XIX CONGRESS PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Tom Holloway, Chair of the XIX Program Committee, indicated that it had been a "long ride" since November of 1994 when the proposals began to arrive. This has been the largest program in LASA's history: as of September 22, there were 2,776 appearances in the program, involving 2,213 individuals, of whom more than 668 were from Latin America and nearly 100 from Europe, the Pacific region and elsewhere. The 16 sections included 472 sessions and 558 events or 35 events in each time block. Holloway acknowledged the opportunity to work with McClintock; the staff at the LASA Secretariat; Mary Jo Dudley at Cornell; and the 16 members of the Program Committee, who did a tremendous job in the primary evaluation and the grouping of the papers. Holloway recommended the swift purchase of LASA95 T-shirts and tote bags, while they were still available. He concluded by introducing Victoria Rodríguez

and Peter Ward of the University of Texas, Program Chairs of the XX Congress.

REPORT OF THE XIX FINANCE COMMITTEE

McClintock herself chaired the Finance Committee for LASA95. The Committee was able to secure approximately the same amount in travel grants as had been obtained for the Atlanta Congress in 1994. With slightly over \$150,000 available, approximately 140 scholars from Latin America were supported.

McClintock acknowledged various granting institutions, including The Ford Foundation for their grant for Junior Lecturers, the Agency for International Development for its grant of \$25,000, the MacArthur Foundation and the Interamerican Foundation for their grants of \$20,000 each, and the North-South Center for its grant of \$10,000. She noted that such support will probably not continue in the future. This is the primary impetus for the Endowment Campaign.

SECRETARIAT REPORT

Reid Reading, LASA Executive Director, reported that the Secretariat has a staff of four, with three that are full time and one half-timer. Stacy Loughner has recently been hired as Communications Specialist to replace Glenn Sheldon, who went on to another position. Reading noted that Stacy has been doing an admirable job of "holding down the fort" at the Secretariat during the Congress, passing on urgent messages that require immediate attention. He acknowledged the contributions of all the staff in keeping the Secretariat running smoothly.

The Secretariat has also made an attempt to make the *LASA Forum* more attractive. A standard cover was developed for the newsletter and the motif has been used as well for the *LASA Member Directory*. Something similar will be used for the program directory. Reading encouraged anyone present who might have information to be submitted for the program directory to submit it as soon as possible. LASA now has a homepage on the World Wide Web, which contains an electronic job bulletin board and general information about the Association.

Reading acknowledged that in bidding to retain the Secretariat, the University of Pittsburgh values LASA, and considers the Association a component in its efforts to internationalize the institution. He is similarly pleased that the LASA Executive Council accepted the bid of the University.

TREASURER'S REPORT

LASA Treasurer Charlie Hale indicated his pleasure in assuming his position under conditions of considerable financial stability at LASA and a steady growth in the reserves over the last eight to ten years, due largely to careful financial management at the Secretariat. At the end of the last fiscal year there were reserves of roughly \$530,000 plus over \$100,000 in the Endowment Fund. During the year over \$150,000 was transferred into the Endowment Fund. Details are available in the audit in the summer issue of the *LASA Forum*. The Endowment Fund total has now reached \$373,751. The growth of the fund is a major priority for the near future.

The stability of the reserves is strong, yet the cost of providing basic services to members has been increasing over the years. Mailing and other costs have caused the Executive Council to consider how they might help guarantee future stability. It was decided to raise Association dues for 1996 approximately seven percent, basically to keep pace with inflation. Dues were last increased in 1990-91.

REPORT ON THE LASA ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN

Retiring Development Committee Chair Carmen Diana Deere reported on the status of the LASA Endowment Campaign. The campaign was initiated in December 1993. Phase I was targeted at LASA members. Initial efforts were directed at securing Life Members, but over time varying giving levels were established. Thus far the LASA leadership, including current and past Executive Council members and past presidents, and members in the top two income categories have been asked for their support.

The campaign is about to undertake a general mailing to all LASA members who have not yet made a campaign contribution. It is important to be able to demonstrate the membership's commitment to the long range financial stability of LASA. The Campaign has been busy identifying prospects for Phase II, in preparation for taking the campaign externally, to foundations, corporations and interested individuals. This next phase will be initiated in December.

The Development Committee has taken two decisions which should have a positive effect on the campaign: 1) to organize a Campaign Advisory Board, composed of distinguished individuals, wealthy patrons, and graduates of Latin American Studies programs; and 2) to create a Campaign Steering Committee which will take responsibility over the next six

months for making initial contacts and producing proposals. There is one proposal still pending: the third attempt at an NEH challenge grant. LASA will know in December if it has been awarded the grant.

Sandy Klinzing acknowledged the role of the membership in bringing about significant changes within the past year: 1) institutionalization of the membership renewal procedure; and 2) the use of Visa and MasterCard for renewal fees and other transactions, including contributions to the Endowment Fund. She encouraged members to communicate their needs to the Secretariat.

The overall Endowment Fund currently stands at \$373,751, with \$135,345 in the General Endowment Fund \$238,406 in the Humanities Endowment Fund. Under discussion is a separate Travel Fund to finance Congress travel.

PRESENTATION OF THE BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD

John Sheahan, Committee Chair, acknowledged the many "great" books among those submitted. He thanked committee members for being marvelous and cooperative. The 1995 award was presented to Florencia E. Mallon for her work *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Post-Colonial Mexico and Peru*. Sheahan quoted Michael Jimenez in praising the book as a

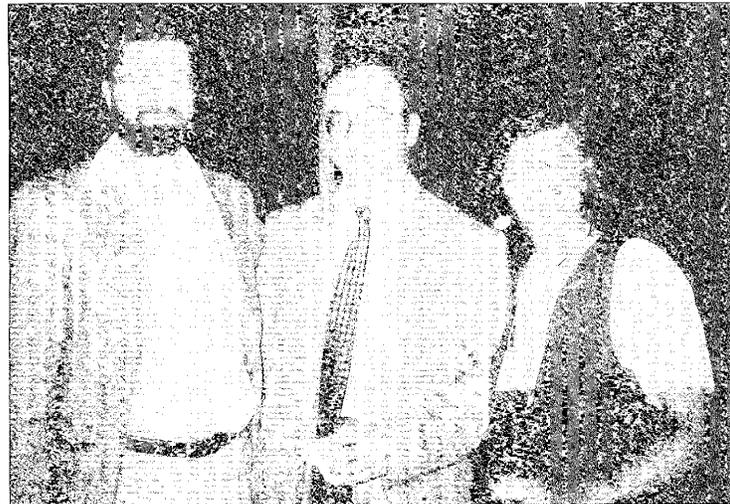
"major contribution both to the substance and to the methodology of Latin American Studies...a rich blend of history and post-structuralism."

For honorable mention the committee selected *States in Social Evolution: Coffee and the Rise of National Governments in Central America* by Robert G. Williams, and *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way* by Gustavo Pérez Firmat.

Sheahan mentioned one other book considered "quite exceptional", a collection of edited versions of the essays on Latin American art by Marta Traba, entitled *Art of Latin America: 1900 to 1980*.

PRESENTATION OF THE PREMIO AWARD

Scott Mainwaring, committee member, presented the award on behalf of chair Tulio Halperin. The recipient was Enrique Tandeter, for his book *Coacción y mercado: La minería de la plata en el Potosí colonial 1692-1826*. Mainwaring quoted Tulio Halperin in praising the book as "a first-rank contribution



Scenes from LASA95: Retiring Past President Carmen Diana Deere (r.), with LASA Treasurer Charlie Hale (l.) and Carlos Iván Degregori.

to Andean colonial history...Tandeter displays exceptional scholarly qualities, an admirably-informed awareness of both the local and the world-wide economic framework and a shrewd understanding of the way in which it impinged on the city's fortunes."

PRESENTATION OF THE MEDIA AWARD

Terry Karl, Chair of the Media Award Committee, indicated that the committee had chosen for best media coverage of Latin America in the United States David Welna of National Public Radio (NPR), recognizing the Mexico City bureau of NPR and the people who covered the story on Haiti. Karl praised NPR's news and specials on Latin American and the Caribbean as providing "the best and most important coverage of the region in many years." Members of the Media Award Committee commended Welna and his team for its "depth of coverage, its innovation in subject matter, its sensitivity and its perception."

The award recipient for media coverage in Latin America was Horacio Verbitsky, of Argentina, for "more than two decades of prolific, rigorous and influential investigative reporting in Argentina." Verbitsky was lauded for his extensive work, including being one of the first and most important investigative journalists in Latin America, publishing at least ten major books and hundreds of articles. Verbitsky is the co-founder of two publications, *Página 12* and *El periodista*, both instrumental in recreating a free press in Argentina.

In accepting the award, Verbitsky acknowledged the role of the press in Argentina and all the countries of Latin America in the construction of a democracy that is more than open markets. He noted that he was honored to accept the award as a recognition of the significant role of the press.

RESOLUTIONS

President Cynthia McClintock asked Vice President Jane Jaquette to read the texts of resolutions to be considered by members attending the business meeting. A version of each of the resolutions appearing below had been submitted in proper form to the LASA Executive Director 30 days or more prior to the first day of the XIX International Congress. The resolutions were passed on to a duly constituted Resolutions Subcommittee of the Executive Council. In some cases suggestions from the Subcommittee to the sponsors of the resolutions resulted in agreed-upon modifications of the original text.

The Resolutions Subcommittee was prepared to present six resolutions to the meeting, but after discussion on Resolution IV, a count of LASA members present was called for, to determine if there were a quorum. President McClintock ascertained that a quorum was not present, so business that would have involved voting ceased.

Earlier in the meeting McClintock had indicated that the "process of resolutions" had been discussed in the meeting of the LASA Executive Council. The discussion was motivated in part

by the number of resolutions proposed for the 1995 congress, and the recognition that there probably would not be sufficient time to discuss all of them thoroughly. A committee consisting of Cynthia McClintock, Jane Jaquette, Charlie Hale and Gil Merx will examine the resolutions process and the structure of the business meeting and make recommendations to the Executive Council.

Each of the resolutions discussed in the meeting appears below in the form in which it was voted upon. Resolutions I, II and IV were approved via secret ballot by a majority vote of those members present and voting. Resolution III was defeated. The approved resolutions will be sent to the membership on a mail ballot.

[Ed. Note: It should be noted that it is unusual for resolutions passed from the Resolutions Subcommittee to the Executive Council, approved by the Executive Council and then presented in the business meeting to be defeated in that meeting. Discussion on the defeated proposed Resolution III was intense, and due in part to the fact that many who spoke both for and against the resolution--and this was true for discussion on all the proposed resolutions-- did not identify themselves at the microphone, it is not advisable to attempt to portray the exchange here. The issues involved in this resolution, particularly, are expected to be debated in various fora for some time to come.]

I. Resolution on Chiapas

WHEREAS the Mexican government, despite its public commitment to negotiate a just and peaceful settlement to the uprising in Chiapas, has continued to strengthen the military presence in the state, now in excess of 60,000 troops, while at the same time delaying, disallowing and dismissing consideration of the demands presented at the Peace Dialogue of San Andrés by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) and at other negotiations in Chiapas by independent peasant and indigenous organizations for land, housing, food, education, health care, work and effective democracy; and

WHEREAS the people of Mexico have repeatedly expressed their desire not only for peace in Chiapas, but for a just, dignified and profound solution to the social, economic and political causes of the uprising, most recently in the National Referendum of August 27, 1995 ("La Consulta Nacional por la Paz y la Democracia"), and in the Proposal for Reform of the State presented to the nation on August 16, 1995, by the joint committee representing the national congress at the Dialogue of San Andrés (La Comisión de Concordia y Pacificación, COCOPA); and

WHEREAS in a larger sense the deeply felt priorities of the EZLN, the unarmed communities in rebellion ("comunidades en rebeldía") and the independent popular organizations in Chiapas coincide with those expressed nationally by the people of Mexico through the Consulta Nacional and the COCOPA for democratic elections and deep economic and political reforms;

and

WHEREAS there has been a dangerous pattern of arbitrary arrests and expulsions of foreign priests;

THEREFORE, in the interest of peace, justice and democracy in Chiapas and Mexico, BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association urges the Mexican government to:

1. Draw back from a military solution to the crisis in Chiapas;
2. Return to the negotiating table at the Dialogue of San Andrés with a renewed commitment to resolve the social, economic and political demands of the EZLN; and
3. Agree to the suggestions of the EZLN, COCOPA and the organizations of civil society that the Dialogue of San Andrés must be opened to include other actors in Mexican society and address peaceful, democratic reform in Mexico as a whole if it is truly to resolve the deeper causes of the Chiapas uprising.

(Resolution to be sent to President Ernesto Zedillo, the parties accredited to the Diálogo para la Concordia y la Paz Digna en Chiapas de San Andrés (CONAI, COCOPA, la Representación del Ejecutivo, y la delegación de la EZLN) and the press.

II. Resolution on U.S. Blockade of Cuba

WHEREAS for more than three decades the U.S. government has maintained an economic embargo and associated measures against Cuba, including the prohibition of trade and travel by U.S. citizens and efforts to enforce the prohibition on trade on U.S. corporations in third countries and on governments and efforts to deny Cuba access to multilateral lending institutions, all of which effectively constitute a blockade; and

WHEREAS the U.S. government has sought to dissuade private business interests from investing in Cuba; and

WHEREAS the U.S. government has also restricted access of Cuban scientists and engineers to opportunities for interchange with U.S. colleagues; and

WHEREAS this policy does not serve any national security purpose;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Latin American Studies Association calls for presidential and legislative action to bring about an immediate cessation of the economic embargo and the associated measures that together constitute a blockade.

III. Resolution on Human Rights in Cuba

WHEREAS the Latin American Studies Association has consistently denounced human rights violations and has asked governments to respond to allegations and/or change their behavior involving abuse of human rights; and

WHEREAS LASA is yet to publicly address the Cuban

government on this matter;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Latin American Studies Association respectfully encourages the government of the Republic of Cuba to respond to the concerns expressed by many different groups and organizations about its human rights policy, and that it remind that government that respect for human rights cannot be subordinated to political expedience.

IV. Resolutions on Controls on Travel to Cuba

WHEREAS although the Supreme Court upheld travel controls in 1984 on security grounds; and

WHEREAS events since 1989 make it very difficult to sustain the position that Cuba is a security threat; and

WHEREAS the Clinton Administration tightened those controls on August 20, 1994, on the grounds that they could be used to put pressure on President Castro to halt the flow of refugees to the United States; and

WHEREAS Cuba complied with these requests, yet the travel controls have not been lifted; and

WHEREAS the effects of controls on scholars is to require them to submit their research proposals to the U.S. Treasury Department for approval and that such proposals are often not reviewed in a timely manner nor licenses issued in a timely manner; and

WHEREAS such controls are a violation of First Amendment rights and an infringement of academic freedom; and

WHEREAS these restrictions also inhibit contact between Americans and Cubans at a time when Cuba's Catholic bishops, the Ecumenical Council, and most of the island's human rights activists are asking that such controls be lifted, which would also make it possible for Cuban-Americans to visit their families;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Latin American Studies Association calls on the Clinton Administration to lift the travel controls immediately;

AND BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Latin American Studies Association affirms the right of LASA members to travel to Cuba in violation of these measures, i.e., to travel without licenses, until the Administration does lift them.

INTRODUCTION OF NEW OFFICERS

President McClintock introduced the incoming LASA officers: Susan Eckstein, Vice President; and new Executive Council members Arturo Arias, Carlos Iván Degregori and Rose Spalding.

The EC will be holding extensive discussions on both the resolutions process and the business meeting process. Comments should be directed to the Resolutions Subcommittee: Cynthia McClintock, Jane Jaquette, Gil Merckx and Charlie Hale. ■

APPLAUSE FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Scores of individuals contributed to the highly successful LASA95, many of whom are recognized in the pages of this *Forum*. Here are more, all of whom, thankfully, performed their tasks with great competence and good cheer!

Mirna Kolbowski, LASA Assistant to the Executive Director, was a key player in the coordination of the Washington conference. Among a myriad of other things, which included the planning of luncheons for LASA awardees, Mirna oversaw the record-breaking preregistration of 2,252 at the Secretariat and managed another (record number) of 1,108 on-site registrants. Great job, Mirna!

Barbara Petit, a local arrangements coordinator of LASA 1994 in Atlanta, was brought on board as manager of all the on-site functions for LASA95. Like Mirna, she worked tirelessly to accommodate the huge crowd and respond to the many demands placed on her. Thanks again, Barbara!

Diana Bartholomew already has received a thank-you personally from LASA President Cynthia McClintock in these pages. Let me add mine to her and to her crew of volunteers, the largest group ever and most certainly among the very best who

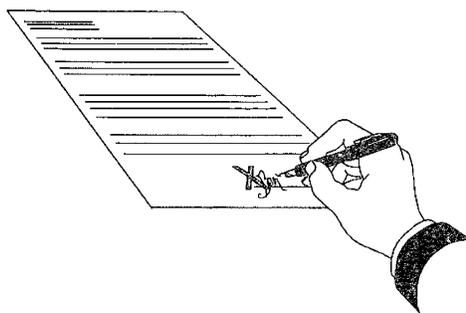
have answered the call to assist LASA at its international congresses. Thanks, Diana and her faithful staff!

Sandy Klinzing had several official duties at LASA95, including the planning and coordination of several sessions dealing with development matters and the recording of minutes for the Executive Council and the LASA business meeting. And Sandy perpetually goes above and beyond, always offering a hand where she sees it is needed. Our gratitude, Sandy!

Michele Ferrier traveled from Pittsburgh to LASA95 to aid in the distribution of travel expense funds for LASA grantees and to help coordinate the panel evaluation project. She was called on many times to help out with other activities, and always was up to the task. Our appreciation, Michele!

Stacy Loughner, LASA's new Communications Specialist, held down the operations in Pittsburgh while we all were away. There was lots of communication back and forth, all of which Stacy handled skillfully. Kudos, Stacy!

Finally, to all those people who made critical contributions to the Washington DC enterprise but who did so behind the scenes, a special word of appreciation! ■



CALL FOR RECOMMENDATIONS ON LASA RESOLUTIONS AND BUSINESS MEETING

At its September 27 meeting, the LASA Executive Council formed a subcommittee to reexamine LASA's resolutions procedures and the structure and format of the LASA business meeting. The subcommittee welcomes your suggestions. Send them to one of the members of the subcommittee: Jane Jaquette, LASA President, Department of Politics Occidental College, 1600 Campus Road, Los Angeles CA 90041; Cynthia McClintock, LASA Immediate Past President, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington DC 20052; Charles Hale, c/o CIRMA A-0022, P.O. Box 669004, Miami Spring FL 33266; or Gilbert Merx, Editor, Latin American Research Review, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NW, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque NM 87131.

XIX CONGRESS PAPERS AVAILABLE

The following papers from LASA95 are now available. Members may order for \$3.00 each, mailed to domestic addresses with nonpriority postage. Nonmembers in the U.S. send \$5.00 for each paper. Send \$5.00 each paper for foreign mailings, \$6.00 if not a LASA member. If your own paper is not listed below, please send a copy to the Secretariat, and we will include it in a future listing, assuming available space in the *Forum*. Please call any errors to our attention. A limited number of LASA95 program books (including supplements) are also available for \$15 each (domestic addresses) and \$20 each for foreign addresses, while supplies last. Send requests for papers and/or program books to LASA Secretariat, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. When ordering, please type or print the title of each paper requested, preferably in alphabetical order by author, or indicate your request on photocopies of the pages below. Payments by check must be in U.S. dollars and drawn on a U.S. bank, and sent in with your request. If paying by Visa or Mastercard (only cards acceptable), please type or print the credit card number, the expiration date, sign your name, and submit with your request. Sorry, no phone orders.

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- Da Costa, Alexandre B., As Experiências de Gestão Ambiental na Periferia do Rio de Janeiro.
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- De Freitas Dutra, Eliana Regina, Imaginário Político no Brasil dos Anos 30: Anticomunismo e Revolução.
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- De Ita, Ana, Movimientos campesinos emergentes en México: Las organizaciones campesinas productoras de granos básicos 1995.
- De Mesquita Samara, Eni, Ma-de-Obra Feminina, Oportunidades e Mercado de Trabalho no Brasil, Século XIX.
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CALLING ALL MEMBERS

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CALL FOR APPLICATIONS

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego invites applications for Visiting Research Fellowships and for non-stipend Guest Scholar affiliations for the 1996-97 academic year. Each year the program brings together about 25 researchers in the social sciences, history and various interdisciplinary fields. Research Fellows and Guest Scholars at both the pre-doctoral and post-doctoral levels will be selected. Researchers of any nationality are eligible. Awards support the write-up stage of research on any aspect of contemporary Mexico (except literature and the arts), Mexican history, and U.S.-Mexican relations. Comparative studies with a substantive Mexico component will also be considered. Special emphasis will be given to research examining the sociopolitical, institutional, and foreign policy implications of North American economic intergration; institutional arrangements and production strategies that promote participatory and socially equitable development in the Mexican countryside; and the role of political parties, power sharing, and new patterns of state-society relations in Mexico's transition from authoritarian rule.

The deadline for receipt of applications is **January 12, 1996**. For further information and application materials, please contact the Center.

Tel: (619) 534-4503; Fax: (619) 534-6447; E-mail: USMEX@UCSD.EDU



NEW LASA OFFICERS

On November 1, 1995, Jane Jaquette became President of the Latin American Studies Association, succeeding Cynthia McClintock. Professor McClintock retains voting membership on the LASA Executive Council as Immediate Past President.

The Secretariat received 1,046 valid ballots by the September 1, 1995, deadline. Susan Eckstein was elected Vice President. Arturo Arias, Carlos Iván Degregori and Rose Spalding were elected to three-year terms on the LASA Executive Council. They join Sonia Alvarez, Lourdes Arizpe and Charles R. Hale, the latter three continuing to serve on the Council until April 30, 1997.

Carmen Diana Deere retires after four and one-half years of service to LASA as Vice President, President, and Immediate Past President. Retiring after three years of service on the Executive Council are Michael E. Conroy, Marysa Navarro Aranguren and Augusto Varas. Peter Ward and Victoria Rodríguez, co-chairs of LASA's XX International Congress; Gilbert Merx, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*; and Reid Reading, LASA Executive Director, are *ex officio* members of the Council.

BRYCE WOOD AWARD GIVEN

The Bryce Wood Book Award Committee is pleased to announce that this year's award was presented to Florencia E. Mallon for her book *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*. In addition, two books were selected by the committee for honorable mention: Robert G. Williams' *States and Social Evolution: Coffee and the Rise of National Governments in Central America*, and Gustavo Pérez Firmat's *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way*. The committee would also like to make special mention of a book entitled *Art in Latin America, 1900-1980*, by Marta Traba. While the book's collective editing hampered its eligibility for the award, the committee states that "there is no other book like it in terms of comprehensive--and beautifully illustrated--analysis of Latin American art in the twentieth century." Congratulations to all those honored. The 1995 Bryce Wood Award Committee consisted of John Sheahan (chair), Williams College; Henry Dietz, University of Texas at Austin; Rosario Espinal, Temple University; Diana Goodrich, Wesleyan University; and Michael Jiménez, University of Pittsburgh.

PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO AWARDEE

Enrique Tandeter, Professor and Chair of the Department of History, School of Philosophy and Letters, University of

Buenos Aires, is the recipient of the second Premio Iberoamericano for his *Coacción y Mercado: La minería de La Plata en el Potosí colonial, 1642-1826*.

On the 1995 Premio committee were: Tulio Halperin, Department of History, University of California at Berkeley; Scott Mainwaring, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame; and Isabel Vergara Rodríguez, Department of Romance Language and Literature, George Washington University.

LASA MEDIA AWARDS

The LASA Media Awards recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate as well as original investigative journalism on Latin America. Awards are made in two categories: to journalists working with U.S.-based news organizations, and to those affiliated with Latin American-based entities.

The 1995 award in the first category was given to David Welna of National Public Radio. In her letter to Mr. Welna announcing the award, Professor Terry Karl, Director of Stanford's Center for Latin American Studies and chair of the committee, noted that "the Mexico City Bureau and the entire National Public Radio Latin America team is also recognized through this award." Welna and his team's "distinguished contributions to public awareness, especially in the areas of the contemporary situation in Mexico, Cuba, and Haiti" were acknowledged.

In regard to David Welna specifically, Karl took note of his "extraordinary breadth of coverage, including topics ranging from drug cartels in Colombia to U.S. businesses moving plants to Mexico, the bribe-ridden nightmare of adopting Peruvian babies, and the establishment of female police forces in Brazil to cope with problems of sexual assault."

The award for a journalist affiliated with a Latin American-based media organization went to Horacio Verbitsky, celebrated columnist and investigative reporter for Argentina's daily *Página 12*. Mr. Verbitsky was selected by the Media Award committee in recognition of his distinguished contributions to public awareness, especially in the area of human rights violations, corruption, and judicial reform in his country. In his letter of award from committee chair Terry Karl, he was informed that the committee was particularly impressed by "[his] innovation in the choice of subject matter and [his] ability to clarify controversial issues with extraordinary productivity under less than optimal journalistic conditions" and was "moved both by the quality of [his] writing and [his] commitment to investigative reporting."

Both award recipients were invited to LASA95 and accepted the invitations. Their awards were presented to them in person at the Friday evening business meeting by Professor Karl. Additional members of the 1995 Media Award Committee included Dennis Gilbert, Department of Sociology, Hamilton College; Alma Guillermprieto of *The New Yorker*; Gino Lofredo, Visiting Scholar, Stanford University; and Carol Wise, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University.

LASA/FORD PRIZE

The LASA Task Force on Higher Education is pleased to announce the result of the \$4,000 competition for the 1994-95 LASA/Ford Prize for scholarly work on Latin American Higher Education. The prize was awarded to Sol Serrano for her *Universidad y nación: Chile en el siglo XIX*, Editorial Universitaria, Santiago de Chile, 1994.

The prize was targeted for scholars in the early stages of their academic careers, especially those residing in Latin America. The competition was opened but not restricted to members of LASA. The winning work shows the author's sophisticated dedication to the field of historical research on higher education. Through "institutional history," Sol Serrano makes an outstanding contribution not only to the history of Chilean education but to the history of the modern professions as well.

It is the LASA Task Force's intention to continue the competition for the 1996 LASA/Ford Prize with the same purpose of recognizing an outstanding scholarly contribution to the subject of Higher Education in Latin America. Contributions may be made in any field, although preference may be given to works informed by substantial interdisciplinary research. Prize money would be used to foster the recipient's professional development and international contacts as an academic specialist on Latin American Higher Education. Total prize money, \$4,000, will go to one recipient or will be divided between two recipients.

GUIDELINES

1. Applicants must hold at least a Master's Degree.
2. Submissions may be journal articles, chapters in edited books, monographs or accepted professional conference papers. They may also be chapters from an authored book or doctoral dissertation. They may not, however, be other drafts or works in progress or miscellaneous paper.
3. Date of publication or paper delivery must be 1990 or later.
4. Maximum of 75 double-spaced pages.
5. Submissions may be in English, Spanish, or Portuguese.
6. In addition to the outlined piece, applicants should submit a) a Curriculum Vitae; b) a one-page statement of research interests; and c) a plan for expenditure of prize funds (i.e. travel to research libraries and other institutions, participation at conferences, research assistance, purchase of book or journal subscriptions, etc.).
7. All materials should be submitted in triplicate to the 1996 Chair of the Prize Committee, Dr. Sol Serrano, no later than

March 1, 1996. The Committee expects to announce its decision by May 1996. Send applications to 0641 Las Perdices La Reina, Santiago de Chile, Chile. Tel: 562-633-8032; 562-273-5005 (home). Fax: 562-231-1146.
E-mail: Postmast@mollis.filo.uba.ar.

NEW STAFFER IN THE SECRETARIAT

Stacy Loughner came on board at Pittsburgh the second week of September to fill the part-time and newly reclassified position of LASA Communications Specialist. She graduated last May from Dickinson College with a dual major in English and Spanish, and also managed to become familiar with several different word processing programs as well as the Internet and Worldwide Web. She is responsible for producing the *LASA Forum* and also to explore the electronic media for ways to help LASA better fulfill its various missions. Welcome, Stacy!

MEMBER DUES RAISED

At its September 27 meeting, the LASA Executive Council authorized a small increase in dues for individual members, amounting to about seven percent for most categories. *See the form on page 51 for details.* The Association had not raised dues in the various income categories since 1991, and increases then were minimal.

This step was undertaken only after much deliberation, and was necessary to allow LASA to keep up with escalating costs. Although the generally low inflation rate of the past few years has kept cost increases low for many products and services the Association must purchase, postage rates have risen dramatically. Preliminary figures indicate that LASA spent 85 percent more in postage in fiscal 1994-1995 than it did in 1993-1994, amounting to 62 percent per member.

LASA has kept its dues low in comparison with the four other major area studies associations. In 1995 the Association for Asian Studies brought in an average of \$42.54 per member, the African Studies Association \$50.00 and the Middle East Studies Association is projected to earn an average of \$62.61 per member in 1996. LASA, on the other hand, has taken in an average of only \$36.26 per member so far for 1995.

In spite of this, LASA has been able to show surpluses each year because it has worked hard on behalf of its members to realize savings and to maximize other sources of income. During the next few months the Secretariat and the Executive Council will carefully analyze costs for the 1994-1995 fiscal year, for years previous and projected costs for the 1995-1996 fiscal year as they attempt to make further decisions regarding the overall dues structure.

Meanwhile, the understanding and support of the membership is appreciated as LASA strives to maintain a healthy financial position.



NEWS FROM LASA (CONT'D)

NEW PROGRAM DIRECTORY TO BE PUBLISHED

LASA is presently gathering materials for the next edition of *Latin American Studies in the United States and Canada: A Select Listing of Institutions with Courses and Programs*. We expect publication in late winter. Thanks to all those institutions that responded to our call to update their materials.

LASA ON THE WEB

LASA's involvement on the World Wide Web is in full-swing. The internet site is set up to offer information on

LASA and its goals, governing structure, task forces, groups, commissions and various activities, and can be accessed in English, Spanish, or Portuguese. LASA's page includes a membership application and also features an employment bulletin board with academic and other opportunities of interest to a wide variety of Latin Americanists. In the coming weeks the board will be updated and expanded to provide the very latest notices and information. The LASA home page is located at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa>, and the employment page can be found at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa.edu.html>. Stay tuned!

ENDOWMENT CAMPAIGN REPORT: STATUS TO DATE

by

Sandy Klinzing, Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement

Early in 1996 LASA will initiate Phase II of its Endowment Campaign, when it begins to approach foundations, corporations and interested individuals on behalf of the campaign. To this end the campaign office has been hard at work identifying possible sources of support and prioritizing them for approach by members of the Campaign Steering Committee. LASA will know on December 1 if it has been successful in securing an NEH Challenge Grant. Because of the potential such a grant holds for the campaign, initial visits to selected foundations and corporations will be postponed until then.

Thus far the campaign has centered almost exclusively on the LASA membership. It was important to be able to demonstrate that our members share a commitment to the goals of the campaign. Letters of appeal to current and past leaders, including LASA Presidents and members of the Executive Council, have resulted in thirty Founding Life Memberships and numerous gifts at various other giving levels. LASA members continue to show their support through contributions made in conjunction with membership renewal and congress preregistration. At the Development Committee meeting during LASA95, committee members were presented with the results of the campaign to date (as of 9/1/95):

Total Endowment Fund support: \$373,751

General Fund: \$135,345

Humanities Fund: \$238,406 (This includes \$88,406 in designated contributions and LASA's commitment of \$5 per individual membership and \$25 per institutional membership, as well as \$150,000 transferred from LASA reserves to the fund.)

Total individual donors to both funds: 593

Total gifts to both funds: 963

Donors in LASA giving categories:

Kalman Silvert Society

(LASA in will or a planned gift): 0

President's Circle (\$5,000--): 0

Founding Life Members (\$2,500): 30

Patron (\$1,000 to \$2,499): 0

Benefactor (\$500 to \$999): 1

Supporter (\$300 to \$499): 4

Endorser (\$100 to \$299): 33

Less than \$100: 527

The Development Committee also named an ad hoc committee to secure noted individuals who share LASA's commitment to comprise a Campaign Advisory Committee. More information will be forthcoming on this committee in the weeks to come.

Very shortly letters will be mailed to all members who have not thus far made a commitment to the campaign. When you receive your letter, we encourage you to give the goals of the campaign your utmost consideration, contact the campaign office (412-648-1907) with any questions you may have, and then return the pledge card with your campaign pledge. ■

LASA Endowment Fund Support

Something special is about to happen at LASA! In 1996 the association celebrates its thirtieth birthday. Much has happened in those thirty years, and you'll hear more about that later. But as a measure of tribute to our association as it enters its 30th year, and to show his own strong commitment to the Endowment Campaign, Executive Director Reid Reading has become LASA's 30th Founding Life Member. Thank you, Reid, for your generous support! The other **Founding Life Members**, all of whom have been acknowledged singly in past issues of the *LASA Forum* are:

Edna Acosta-Belén	Paul Doughty	Cynthia McClintock
Cole Blasier	Richard Fagen	Chris Mitchell
Ronald Chilcote	Cornelia Flora	Marysa Navarro
Jack Child	Bruce Wayne Goldstein	David Scott Palmer
John Coatsworth	Merilee S. Grindle	Helen Safa
Mike Conroy	Nora Louise Hamilton	Lars Schoultz
Wayne Cornelius	Thomas Holloway	Thomas Skidmore
Carmen Diana Deere	Evelyn Huber	Doris Sommer
Bill R. DeWalt	William M. Leogrande	John Wirth
Jorge Dominguez	Christopher H. Lutz	

LASA members continue to show their support for the Endowment Campaign through their thoughtful and generous contributions. We are particularly grateful to the members of LASA's Executive Council for their unanimous support of the campaign, and to the many members who included a gift with congress preregistration. We gratefully acknowledge these donors to the **Humanities Endowment Fund** since our last report:

María Barceló-Miller	Tulia Jiménez-Vergara	Luz Rivas de Wesolowski
Adriana Bergero	Sandy Klinzing	Liceliz Román
Aura Marina Boadas Herrera	Elaine Lacy	Ma. Guadalupe Ruíz
Dain Borges	Ana León	Helen Shapiro
Sylvia Borzutzky	Rafael López-Pintor	Irene Silverblatt
Elizabeth Bucacos Iguini	Juan Maiguashca	Charles Tatum
Pamela Burke	Bruce Maivelett	Ramón Tejada Holguin
Edward Dew	José Manzano	Silvio Torres-Saillant
Mark Evenson	Eric Mercier	Leonardo Valdés
Mireya Fernández Merino	Nancy Mikelsons	Evert-Jan Visser
Marcelo Carlos Gantos	Mechthild Minkner-Bunjer	Barbara Weinstein
Charles Hale	Maag Mitton	Alex Westfried
Howard Handelman	Enrique Obando	Mirna Yonis Lombano
Ramona Hernández	Jean Piel	
Instituto Universitario de Opinión Pública (IUDOP-UCA)		

And these donors to the **General Endowment Fund**:

Lourdes Arizpe	Mark Evenson	Gil Merckx
Sonia Alvarez	Luis Ferrao	Enrique Obando
Maria Barcelo-Miller	Rodolfo Guzmán Morales	Eva Paus
Elizabeth Bucacos Iguini	Raul Hinojosa-Ojeda	Luiz Pedone
Diego Cardona	Thomas Holloway	Liceliz Román
Elsa Cardozo de Da Silva	Jane Jaquette	Ramón Tejada Holguin
David Collier	Margaret Kelly	Rosemary Thorp
Alejandro Carbacho	Jean Kelleck	Sylvia Tognetti
Joan Dassin	Juan Maiguashca	Leonardo Valdés
Edward Dew	José Manzano	Robert Williamson
Susan Eckstein	Gabriela Martínez-Escobar	Clarence Zuvekas

We also gratefully acknowledge Abraham Lowenthal for his gift for LASA Congress travel.

**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. This region is comprised of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, 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 three times a year and LATIN AMERICAN ESSAYS once each year. NEWSLETTER editor is John Inledon (Albright). 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. The Associate Editors of the ESSAYS are: Harold Sims; Vera Reber; and, Juan Espadas. MACLAS also awards, annually, its Whitaker Prize for the best book, the Davis Prize for the best journal article, and the Street Prize for the best article in the ESSAYS.

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. 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 the membership application or renewal form printed below.

1995-96 OFFICERS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President:	Alvin Cohen (Lehigh University)	Additional Members:	Clarence Zuvekas (1994-96) (AID)
Vice-President:	Arvilla Payne-Jackson (Howard University)		Juan Mendizabal (1994-96) (IU of Pa)
Secretary/Treasurer:	Frank Gunter (Lehigh University)		James Baer (1995-97) (Northern Virginia C.C.)
			Judy McInnis (1995-97) (Delaware)

**1996 17th ANNUAL MEETING • BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY
MARCH 29 & 30**

Program:	Millicent Bolden (Delaware)	Local Arrangements:	John Peeler (Bucknell)
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**APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP or MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL
MACLAS**

c/o Frank Gunter
Rauch Business Center #37
621 Taylor Street
Bethlehem, PA 18015

Name _____
Address _____
Specialization/Discipline _____ Institution _____
Preferred Mailing Address _____

Check one:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Less than \$30,000 | \$12.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000 but less than \$40,000 | 20.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000 and over | 25.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Institutions/library purchases of the ESSAYS | 30.00 |



OPPORTUNITIES ON-LINE

ELECTRONIC DATABASES ON LATIN AMERICA

by David Block
Cornell University

This is the first in what the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Resources has promised to make a regular contribution on Latin American electronica. If you have comments on this enterprise--additions or corrections to submissions, areas that you would like to see treated in future issues--please send them to David Block, DB10@CORNELL.EDU.

Latin American Statistical Bureaus on the Internet

Because of their importance to variety of scholarly disciplines and their time sensitivity, statistical data are a logical candidate for mounting on wide area networks. The CIA World Factbook, mounted on several Gopher servers, marked the first entry of Latin American basic statistics on the Internet. In the past year a number of generic databases with Latin American statistics have appeared in HTML format. Among the best of these are the Penn World Tables, located at a site at the University of Toronto (<http://cansim.epas.utoronto.ca:5680/pwt/pwt.html>) and a project in process at the BID (<http://iadb600.iadb.org>) which uses a set of "clickable" maps to reveal basic socio-economic data about each country in the region.

The latest, and most promising, development in this area is the appearance of national statistics prepared and displayed by Latin American agencies themselves. To date the Argentine, Brazilian, Ecuadorian, and Mexican statistical bureaus have Internet sites, and Peru has mounted extensive information paralleling its national agency.

Argentina

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INDEC)
<http://www.mecon.ar/indec/indecnet.htm>

Currently holds a variety of tables from INDEC's Anuario 1994 and separate aggregates of capital markets, financial data, and national accounts.

Brazil

Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE)
<http://www.ibge.gov.br>

Currently holds issues of the Institute's Carta de IBGE, monthly economic indicators, a statistical abstract and a section labeled "Notícias" which in October shows the results of an investigation of national health establishment.

Ecuador

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INEC)
<http://www.ecnet.ec/inec/inechome.htm>

Currently features a wide range of economic, social, vital and regional statistics, most taken from its Anuario.

Mexico

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía y Informática (INEGI)
<http://ags.inegi.gob.mx>

Currently holds statistical compendia on population, economic indicators, communications and transportation infrastructure, industry, geography, and a copy of the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo, 1995-2000.

Peru

Prom Peru

<http://ichu.rcp.net.pe:80/promperu/CIFRAS/cifras.html>

PromPeru has mounted an extensive statistical abstract, Peru en Cifras, with scanned images taken from documents largely compiled by INE.

More reports will be forthcoming. Meanwhile, feel free to contact me. My address is David Block, Ibero-American Bibliographer, 504 Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca NY 14853. E-mail: DB10@CORNELL.EDU
Tel: 607-255-9480. Fax: 607-255-9346. ■



EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The University of Maryland, Baltimore Campus (UMBC) welcomes applications for a tenure-track opening as Assistant Professor of Spanish in its interdisciplinary language department, effective September 1996 (contingent upon funding). Teaching responsibilities include courses in Latin American society; gender relations in Latin America; Spanish language courses; interdisciplinary courses at graduate and undergraduate levels dealing with issues of language, communication, and/or social organization in cultural and cross-

cultural contexts. This post is **not** in the area of literary studies. Ph.D/ABD in appropriate social science or humanities field, e.g., intercultural communication, sociology, anthropology, history, sociolinguistics/sociology of language required, and native or near-native fluency in English and Spanish. Deadline: *December 1, 1995*. Send materials to Dr. John Sinnigen, Modern Languages and Linguistics, UMBC, Baltimore, MD 21228. Minorities, women, and individuals with disabilities encouraged to apply. UMBC is an AA/EOE employer.

The Department of Hispanic Studies, Northwestern University, announces the availability of a **Professorship in Latin American Literature of the 19th and 20th Centuries**, effective September 26, 1995. This position is available to candidates of either tenured associate or full professor status. While the specialty area is open, an interest in interdisciplinary programs in Latin American Studies, Women's Studies, or Cultural Studies is highly desirable. In addition, outstanding publications and a record of excellent undergraduate and graduate teaching is required, as well as a native or near-native fluency in English and Spanish and the ability to teach in both languages. Direct an application letter with c.v. and recommendations to Gonzalo Diaz-Miyogo, Chair, Department of Hispanic Studies, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208-2202 (USA). Tel: (708) 491-8249. Fax (708) 491-8128. E-mail: GDMIYOGO@NWU.EDU. Application deadline: *November 26, 1995*. Interviews at MLA are to be arranged by

December 8. Applications from women and members of minority groups are particularly encouraged. AA/EOE.

Northeastern Illinois University (NEIU) invites applications for a tenure track **Assistant Professor of Spanish**, beginning fall 1996. Any specialization will be considered. Ph.D. and native/near-native fluency required; competency in CAI desired. The person selected will teach courses at all undergraduate levels. A commitment to teaching is essential. Research and service are expected and supported by NEIU. Screening begins January 15, 1996 and continues until the position is filled. Send letter of application outlining your interest in and qualifications for the position, three letters of reference (at least one addressing teaching effectiveness), and current vita to Dr. Angelina Pedroso, Department of Foreign Languages, Northeastern Illinois University, 5500 North St. Louis Ave., Chicago, IL 60625. AA/EOE. ■



RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Latin American Studies Center at the University of Maryland, College Park is pleased to announce its 1996-97 competition for fellowships. The center currently welcomes proposals relating to culture and democracy, governance and civil society, literature and ethnicity, and migration studies. Fellows are required to be in full-time residence at the University of Maryland during the period of the award, and will be asked to teach within the unit appropriate to the Fellow's discipline. Resident fellowships are limited to post-doctoral applicants (Ph.D. or equivalent); senior and junior scholars from any country are eligible. Applicants need not have an academic affiliation. Two fellows, one for fall 1996 and a second for spring 1997, will be selected, and receive \$16,000 for one semester. Applications for resident fellowships must include 1) the application form; 2) a description of the proposed research (2,500 words, approximately, that defines the project to be carried out while in residence); 3) samples of pertinent publications if available (non-returnable); 4) curriculum vitae; and 5) three letters of reference. Complete applications are due by *March 10, 1996*, and announcements of awards will be made on April 1, 1996. For further information and applications, contact the Latin American Studies Center, 2215 Jimenez Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Tel: (301) 405-6459. Fax: (301) 314-9752. E-mail: AL68@UMAIL.UMD.EDU.

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) offers fellowships designed to make it possible for scholars to devote a semester to a year solely to the pursuit of research and take advantage of international meetings and conferences. Application forms for ACLS programs should be requested either by writing to the Office of Fellowships and Grants, ACLS, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017-3398, or by fax at 212-949-8058. The organization will only send forms to individual applicants, and completed forms must contain the following information: highest academic degree held and date received; country of citizenship or permanent legal residence;

academic or other position; field of specialization; proposed subject of research, study, or paper; proposed date for beginning tenure of the award and duration requested; specific award program for which application is requested; for the program of travel grants to international meetings, the request must also include the name, date, and place of the meeting, and the applicant's planned role; for the predoctoral programs, graduate students should include current level of graduate study, department and institution where enrolled, and where the planned work would be conducted. Application forms must be handled only by U.S. Postal Service first-class mail or air mail, and will not be sent or accepted by fax.

The John Carter Brown Library will award approximately fifteen short- and long-term Research Fellowships for the year June 1, 1996-May 31, 1997. 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 pre- and post-doctoral, or independent, research. Graduate students must have passed their preliminary or general examinations at the time of application. Long-term fellowships, funded by the NEH, are for six months and carry a stipend of approximately \$2,600 per month. 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. In addition to long term NEH fellowships, the Library offers a single ten-month fellowship each year to a senior scholar from Argentina, Brazil, or Chile, funded by the Lampadia Foundation. It should be noted that the Library's holdings are concentrated on the history of the Western Hemisphere during the colonial period (ca. 1492 to ca. 1825), emphasizing the European discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of the Americas, the indigenous response to the European conquest, and all aspects of European relations with the New World, including the impact of the New World on the Old. Research proposed by fellowship applicants

must be suited to the holdings of the Library. All fellows are expected to be in continuous residence at the Library for the entire term of the fellowship. Several short-term fellowships have thematic restrictions: the Jeannette D. Black Memorial Fellowship in the history of cartography; Center for New World Comparative Studies Fellowships for research in the comparative history of the colonial Americas; the Alexander O. Vietor Memorial Fellowship in early maritime history; the Ruth and Lincoln Ekstrom Fellowship in the history of women and the family in the Americas; and the Touro National Heritage Trust Fellowship for research on some aspect of the Jewish experience in the New World before 1860. Maria Elena Cassiet Fellowships are restricted to scholars who are permanent residents of countries in Spanish America. For scholars wishing to work at the Library for a period of two to seven weeks, the Library offers a limited number of travel reimbursement grants of up to \$600. Application deadline for fellowships during the 1996-97 year: *January 15, 1996*. Travel grants may be applied for year round, allowing four months lead time. For application forms and fuller information, write to Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, R102912. Tel: 401-863-2725. Fax: 401-863-3477. E-Mail: KAREN_DEMARIA@BROWN.EDU.

The Five College Women's Studies Research Center, a joint project of Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges and the University of Massachusetts/Amherst invites applications for its Research Associate positions for 1996-97 from scholars and teachers at all levels of the educational system, as well as from artists, community organizers and political activists, both local and international. Associates are provided with office space, access to computers, library privileges at the five institutions, and the collegiality of a diverse community of feminists. Although the Center does not usually offer stipends, **for this year only** we have a very limited number of awards for people working in the field of **women's health care in Latin America and the Caribbean**. Research Associates, whether from the Five Colleges or elsewhere, apply to the Center for varying terms of residency ranging from a semester to a year. *Application deadline: February 1, 1996*. The Five College Women's Studies Research Center supports projects in all disciplines. Affiliation with a women's studies program is not necessary, although your project must be centrally focused on women. For application materials, contact the Center at Dickinson House, Box L, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA 01075. Tel: 413-538-2022. Fax: 413-538-2082. E-mail: 5CWSRC@MTHOLYOKE.EDU. ■



FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Latin American Institute of the Freien Universität Berlin and the Faculty of Human Sciences of the University of Cartagena announce an international, interdisciplinary conference on the new historical novel in Latin America, to be held in Cartagena from March 6-9, 1996. Organizers seek the participation of critics, historians, ethnohistorians, anthropologists, sociologists, philosophers, as well as other specialists in the human or social sciences to elaborate on the cultural and political dimensions created by the this new historical novel. The committee organizer invites the submission of proposals for individual discussions of 25-30 minutes on themes including, but not limited to, the following: 1) The Question of Representation: Representations of History as Constructions of Language, Reflection and Imagination; Ahistory and Feminine Contrahistory; 2) Poetry of the New Historical Novel, Narrative Discourse and Discursive Strategies of the New Historical Novel; 3) The Historical Fiction of Gabriel García Márquez: *El general en su laberinto* (1989) and *Del amor y otros demonios* (1994). The deadline for sending a 1-2 page proposal for individual discussions is *December 15, 1995*, and should be directed to Prof. Alfonso Múnera Cavadía, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad de Cartagena, Centro Calle de la Universidad Cra. 6 No. 36-100, Cartagena, Colombia. Tel: (57-53) 641-411/6600-677 Ext. 23. Fax: (57-53) 600-360 OR Prof. Carlos Rincón, LAI der Freien Universität Berlin, Rudesheimer Str. 54-56, 14197 Berlin, Tel: (030) 838 5573. Fax: (030) 838 5464.

The Institute for Advanced Studies of the University of Santiago, Chile is preparing its Second International Seminar in Social Sciences and Humanities, which is dedicated this year to "Ideas and Multiculturalism." The event will be held from

January 8-19, 1996, and will be led by Tulio Halperin, Eni de Mesquita, Humberto Giannini, Hugo Achugar, and Mario Orellana. Theses will be received until November 30, 1995, and the individual fee is \$400. For further information, contact Dr. Eduardo Devés Valdés, Román Diaz 89, Providencia, Santiago, Chile. Tel/fax: 56-2-235 8089; 56-2-236 0136

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee announces a symposium entitled "'Altas de Macchu Picchu' 50 Years Later: The Poetics of Indigenismo," to be held October 17-19, 1996. The event proposes to explore the place of Neruda's poem in his poetic corpus and in the process of contemporary Latin American poetry, and the changing representation of the indigenous cultures of the Americas in a variety of contexts, including the artistic, the literary, the anthropological, the historical, the social, and the political. Proposals dealing with the subject of the conference from one or more of these perspectives will be considered. Papers may be written in English, Spanish or Portuguese and should be no longer than ten double-spaced, letter-size pages. Send a two-paragraph description of your proposed paper by March 15, 1996 to Santiago Daydi-Tolson, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI 53201.

The Institute for the Advanced Study of Culture invites applications from university faculty interested in participating in the second annual Research Seminar on Theory and Culture. The Seminar's field of inquiry for the 1995-1996 academic year is "Fragmentation & Unity." The general intent of the Seminar is to provide an intellectual space outside of the academy, where scholars of diverse disciplines, departments, and universities--scholars who rarely come into personal and

professional contact--work together in an environment conducive to innovation. The Seminar's six meetings focus upon themes relevant to the mentioned field of inquiry, including the following: Body Tropes and Socio-Political Constructs; Pseudosingularity of the Self; Poetics of Fragmentation in Literature and the Arts; Cultural, Clinical and Religious Mutilation; and the Union of Perceived Fragmentations. Each seminar member makes a fifteen-minute presentation at four of the six meetings, drawing upon his or her respective discipline, interests, and independent research. These diverse explorations of the themes serve as the basis for seminar discussions and may subsequently be formalized into papers for an Institute-sponsored panel at the conclusion of the academic year. The 1995-1996 seminar has met on October 20 and November 17. Future meetings are December 15, 1995, and January 19, February 23, and March 22, 1996. All meetings are from 3:30-6:00 pm and are followed by informal discussion at dinner. Because the Seminar is limited to six participants, it is expected that Seminar members attend all meetings. Faculty interested in the Research Seminar on Theory & Culture should send a curriculum vita and a brief letter describing their current or planned research to Professors Sara Castro-Klarén and Frank Graziano, Directors, Institute for the Advanced Study of Culture, Box 2, Waterford, VA 22190.

The Cuban journals *Casa*, *Cuadernos de nuestra América*, *La Gaceta de Cuba*, *Temas*, *Santiago* and *Del Caribe* have organized the **Second Congress of Latin American and Caribbean Publications**, which will take place in Santiago, Cuba from December 12-15, 1995, during the Revista Santiago's XIV Anniversary Congress. The Congress will gather publishers of books and journals from throughout the hemisphere, and will consider the following: Latin American and Caribbean popular movements in the context of the economic, political and social challenges of globalization; globalizing, economic integration, and alternative projects of the left; globalization, the nation-state and sovereignty; globalization and cultural identity; publications of Latin American and Caribbean popular movements in the context of the process of globalization; and the left and the electoral process in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA) is calling for papers to be presented and panels to be proposed at its Third Conference, to be held at King's College Cambridge, from September 7-10, 1996. The theme of the conference is "Brazil and Europe," complementing the theme of the Fourth Conference (1997), which is planned to focus on "Brazil and the Americas." The Conference seeks presentations related to Brazil's historical and current relationship with Europe, but proposals for papers and panels not directly related to the conference theme will also be considered across the entire spectrum of Brazilian Studies. Proposals may be made (and papers presented) in either of the languages of BRASA, English and Portuguese, by fax or letter--not by e-mail. The organizer will endeavor to integrate independent paper proposals in theme-based panels. Interested individuals should request the proposal schedule from the conference organizer at the above address. Panel proposals should be postmarked by *December 1, 1995*. Letters regarding acceptance of proposals will be sent beginning February 15, 1996. Confirmations of participation must be received at Cambridge by June 15, 1996.

The New England Historical Association announces a call for papers to be presented at their Spring Meeting, to be held April 20, 1996 at Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts. The program committee welcomes proposals on any subject, period, or geographical area from scholars within or outside the New England region. Paper and panel proposals on the themes of ethnicity, national identity, and nationality are particularly encouraged for this meeting. The Association does NOT focus on the history of New England or of the United States, but is concerned equally with European and Third World history. Complete session proposals as well as single papers are welcome. Please send proposals with brief vita by *January 15, 1996* to Professor Roland Sarti, Department of History, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003.

The American Ethnological Society invites anthropologists and other interested scholars to turn their attention to the range of transnational conversations held in and outside of their disciplines, as well as in communities outside of the academy. Puerto Rico is an ideal venue for this conversation in that it is a Spanish-speaking Caribbean island that competes as a sovereign nation in the Olympics, is a Commonwealth member of the U.S., and has a long migration history within the region, and to the mainland. We encourage papers and symposia to consider a wide variety of issues including historical explorations of human relocations; movements of capital and labor; cultural identity, nationalism and diaspora; globalization; political economy, popular culture; politics of nationalism at "home" and "abroad;" comparative migration studies; postcolonial discourses in the arts; creolization, race, language theory and methodology; and rights of representation. Please send abstracts for panels and papers to Lynn Bolles (AB64@UMAIL.UMD.EDU), Women's Studies, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Deadline *December 20, 1995*.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill announces that it will host the tenth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, to take place June 7-9, 1996. The event will feature nearly 200 sessions, workshops and roundtables, with participants from across the United States and many other countries of the world. For a program and registration information, please contact the 1996 Berkshire Conference, Division of Continuing Education, CB #1020 The Friday Center, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-1020.

The Association of Borderlands Scholars (ABS) will hold its annual meeting in Reno, Nevada, April 17-20, 1996. Abstracts of 150 words are requested for papers on all aspects of borderlands studies. Also encouraged are proposals from individuals who wish to organize complete panels and/or roundtable discussions. Proposals for papers, panels, and roundtables should be sent as soon as possible. Final deadline: *December 1, 1995*. Please include as much information as possible (name, affiliation, telephone and fax numbers, mailing and electronic addresses). Send proposals to Paul Ganster, Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, 5500 Campanile Drive, San Diego, CA 92182. Tel: (619) 594-5423. Fax: (619) 594-5474. E-mail: PGANSTER@MAIL.SDSU.EDU ■



The 9th edition of the *Feria Internacional del Libro de Guadalajara (FIL)* is set to take place November 25th-December 3rd (trade days November 27-29) in Guadalajara, Mexico. FIL is the forum in which nearly 8000 book professionals and 30,000 individuals convene to conduct book business in the North-South market. The event will feature conferences and courses for bilingual teachers, librarians, and Spanish language editors, and include the presentation of the 5th annual Juan Rulfo Prize in Literature and the third Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz award, as well as a display area of 2000 square feet to be devoted to activities centered around Venezuela, this year's featured country.

The Latin American Series of the **Ohio University Press Monographs in International Studies** is soliciting scholarly manuscripts in all disciplines dealing with Latin America. Such works must be in English and should be at least 300 double-spaced pages in length. Initial inquiries should be sent to Thomas W. Walker, Latin American Series Acquisitions Editor, O.U. Monographs in International Studies, Burson House, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701. E-mail: WALKER@OUVAXA.CATS.OHIOU.EDU

The **Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies** announces its **1996 Summer Institute in the Spanish and Hispanic-American Archival Sciences**, to take place June 24-August 2, 1996. The Institute will be directed by Consuelo Vara, escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos de Sevilla. The institute will provide intensive training in the reading and editing of Spanish and Hispanic-American manuscript books and documents from the late medieval through the early modern periods. The seminar will also offer a thorough orientation in the archives, libraries and manuscript collections available for work in Spanish and Hispanic American Studies. The course will meet at the Newberry Library in Chicago and will be conducted in Spanish. Two sources of support are available for participants: 1) stipends up to \$1,500 funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and limited to full-time faculty, including librarians with instructional responsibilities, employed in American institutions of higher learning, and 2) a number of additional stipends limited to faculty, research scholars, and advanced graduate students at institutions affiliated with either the Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies or the Folger Institute. ■

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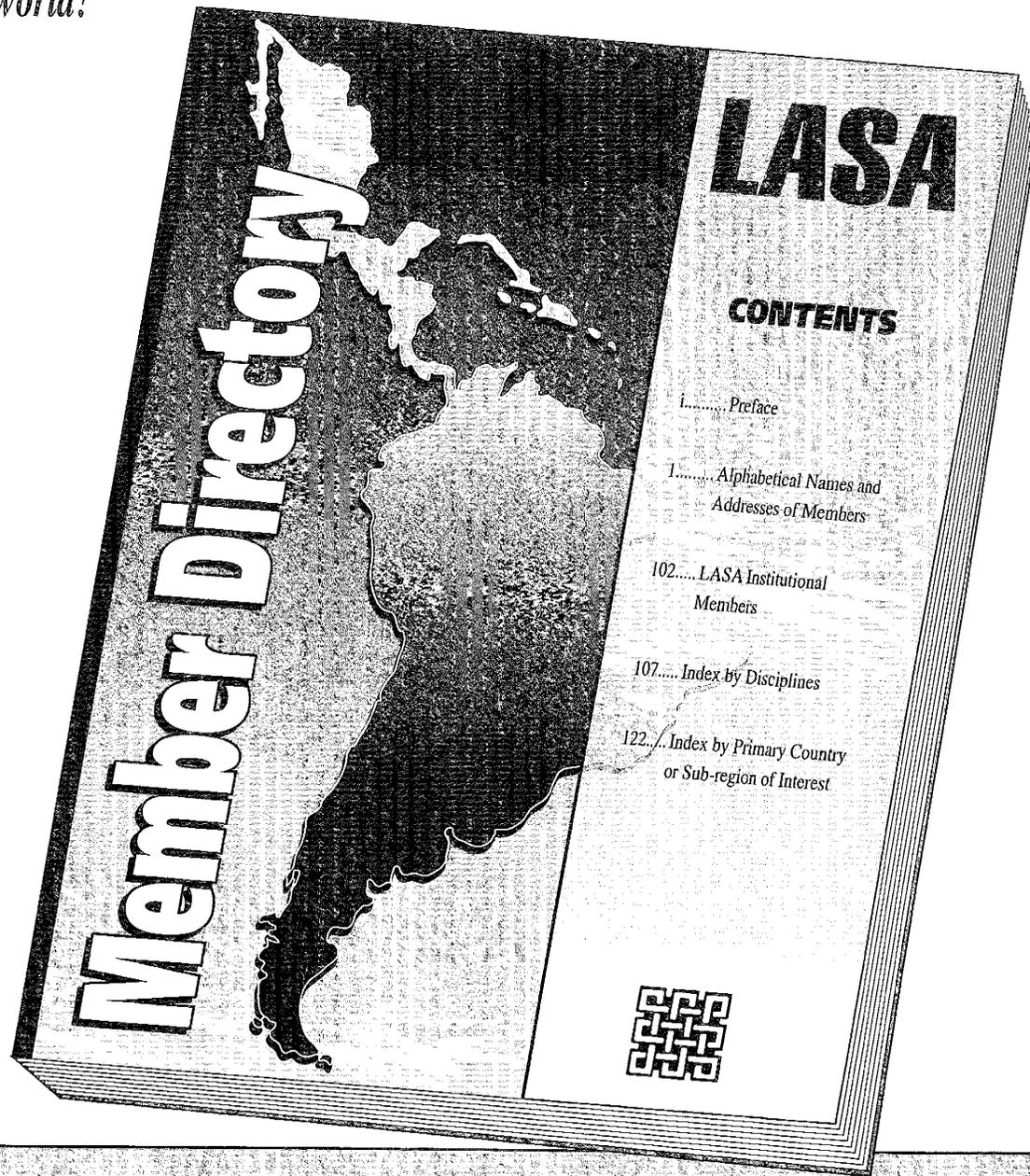
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