

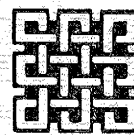
# LASA Forum

## Latin American Studies Association

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# LASA Forum

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# President's Report

by Susan Eckstein

Boston University

With my term as President having ended on November 1, the time has come both to summarize my initiatives and to express my gratitude to some of the many people who helped make my work pleasurable.

## Initiatives as President

As President I did my best to fundraise, to institution-build, and to make the *LASA Forum* more topical, engaging, and personal.

### Fundraising

For years LASA has been committed to raise funds to enhance Latin American attendance at our Congresses and to support other LASA-related activity. I contributed to that tradition, and am pleased to announce that *we had a record fundraising year*. We raised about \$460,000—from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; The Ford Foundation; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation; the United States Agency for International Development, USAID; The Christopher Reynolds Foundation; the Lampadia Foundation; the Inter-American Development Bank; the Washington Office on Latin America; UNIFEM; the Kettering Foundation; the Institute for International Education; and the North-South Center of the University of Miami. Diane Davis raised additional funds from the Lincoln Institute (Cambridge). Meanwhile, LASA members individually very generously contributed nearly \$3,500 to the Association's 1998 Travel Fund.

In addition to supporting Congress travel, funders financed some new initiatives. They helped finance a first-ever Cuban Book Exhibit, a Cuba conference preceding LASA, and a first-ever edited book that will contain articles on the Congress theme, *Social Justice*. A \$185,000 grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation will allow LASA to further develop electronically: to put the *Latin American Research Review* on line; and to initiate on-line services. The Mellon Foundation also financed electronic training sessions and an electronic information-sharing session for institutions in Chicago, similar to projects offered in Guadalajara. Funders, furthermore, also allowed for the continuation of some earlier LASA initiatives, such as our Lecturing Fellowship Program through which younger Latin American scholars visit a U.S. institution before or after a Congress.

I dedicated much of my term also to endowment-building. Carmen Diana Deere, Lars Schoultz, and Cole Blasier (through the Development Committee) oversaw campaigns to increase the number of LASA Life Members (whose contributions go almost

entirely to the endowment) and to establish procedures for making a bequest. It is not too late to sign on and join the generous LASA pioneers! And with the able assistance of Scott Mainwaring, as well as Lars Schoultz, Maryssa Navarro, Reid Reading, and Franklin Knight, I submitted a proposal to the Ford Foundation for substantial endowment funding.

### LASA Institution-Building

I initiated several institutional developments:

- *LASA Sections*: The main change directly affecting LASA members is the Sections initiative. The program has "taken off." As of September 1 there were 20 Sections. About one-half the current members belong to an average of 1.3 Sections each.
- *Investment Committee*: Affecting the everyday life of LASA members less but of great importance to the Association's fiscal health has been the formation of an Investment Committee. This Committee includes individuals with professional financial expertise who have a commitment to Latin America and to LASA. Committee members provide us *pro bono* advice on investment and money-management. LASA is already benefiting from the sage advice of Richard Weinert, Peter Cleaves, and Tom Trebat, who serve along with LASA representatives on this committee. I am most appreciative of their willingness to help LASA.
- *Support Committee*: I followed up on efforts of my presidential predecessors of the 1990s, dating back to Lars Schoultz and Carmen Diana Deere, through Cynthia McClintock and Jane Jaquette, to create a Support Committee. This advisory group met for the first time in the Fall of 1997 and again in Chicago. It provides counsel to the Association on outreach and resource development. The Committee currently includes William D. Rogers, William Luers, Christopher Lutz, Arturo Porzecanski, Richard Sinkin, Richard Weinert, and Juan Enriquez.
- *LASA and the 21st Century Task Force*: The group's mission is to think creatively of how LASA should develop in light of new-age technology. The task force has been ably chaired by Mark Rosenberg, who was instrumental, along with Gil Merkx, the editor of *LARR*, in obtaining the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation grant. If you are electronically inclined and would like to join this committee, please let us know.

- *New Lectureship Recognizing Activism/Scholarship:* Together with Oxfam America, LASA has launched a new Congress Lectureship, named in honor of Martin Diskin. Each 18 months, an individual who has combined scholarship with activism in an exemplary manner will be named the Martin Diskin Lecturer. Ricardo Falla gave the first lecture in the Chicago meeting. Rose Spalding did a superb job of overseeing the selection process. Falla's extraordinary accomplishments are elaborated in this *Forum* issue. Oxfam America will help support this special lectureship for at least four Congresses.

- *Building Institutional Bridges:* LASA and its Congresses provide a wonderful forum for intellectual and person-to-person interchange, but thus far primarily for scholars. We are now attempting to build better bridges to non-academic communities. The Support Committee provides one such means. But I also organized some Featured Sessions in Chicago that included leading people from the media, influential human rights activists, distinguished businessmen with an interest in Latin America, eminent economists who have served in government and international agencies, as well as other public figures. In working with Oxfam America we are, in addition, reaching out to the NGO community.

### **LASA Forum**

LASA publishes the *Forum* quarterly, with quick turnover time. It therefore is ideally suited for articles of contemporary concern. For this reason I introduced two new *Forum* columns: one called *Focus*, which includes different perspectives on topical issues; and one on human rights coordinated by the chair of the Human Rights Task Force, Jack Hammond. I also introduced obituary and personal news columns.

### **My Thanks**

I am, first and foremost, grateful to the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard. The Rockefeller Center housed my presidency. They are an exemplary group and a pleasure to work with. They are bright, energetic, amiable, cooperative, and creative. With luck many of you will have the opportunity to get to know and work with them. My thanks especially to John Coastworth, Director; Steve Reifenberg, Executive Director; Andre Leroux, Assistant to the Director (and

to me); June Erlick, director of publications; and Debra-Lee Vasques and Timothy Stumph, other staff members. As if they had not done enough before the Congress, in Chicago they very generously hosted a reception that many of you had the opportunity to attend.

Boston University also deserves recognition. My Chair, Gerry Gordon was supportive, Scott Palmer and Jim Iffland were true colleagues, and my provost, Dennis Berkey, relieved me of some teaching responsibilities to offset the many hours I devoted to LASA.



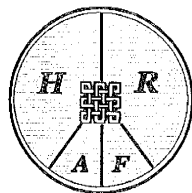
*LASA President Susan Eckstein*

The LASA Secretariat provided much-needed support throughout my term. LASA members should appreciate the committed and over-worked staff the Association has. Reid Reading puts more hours into LASA than you could possibly imagine. Sandy Klinzing, always cheerful and helpful and all-too-modest, has often been the person behind the scenes in our institution and endowment-building as well as outreach activities. And Stacy Maloney, the communications specialist, is responsible for all our electronic developments. Mirna Kolbowski, who moved from Pittsburgh in August, was also a reliable member of the Secretariat Team. Her replacement, Angela Schroeder, has just signed on. She worked very hard for LASA in Chicago.

The list of people to whom I am indebted goes on. It was a pleasure to have committee chairs and committee members who worked so responsibly and energetically. I must, however, single out the fine, fine work of Timothy Wickham-Crowley and Gina Thompson. Tim, as Program Chair, helped organize *our largest Congress ever*. Thanks also to LaVonne Poteet, who organized the LASA98 Film Festival. And Mary Kay Vaughn did a superb job of overseeing local arrangements in Chicago; Fannie Rushing proved a coordinator par excellence for all kinds of local details, including the recruiting of a host of students to help with on-site activities. Meanwhile, it was a delight to have an Executive Council on whom I could always call. In this electronic era, virtual meetings frequently supplemented our face-to-face meetings every nine months.

### **And Now Farewell**

Thank you all, including many who remain unnamed, for all that you did to make my term of office go so well. I now face a new problem. What to do with my free time!



## La comunidad internacional y los derechos humanos en México

por Sergio Aguayo Quezada  
El Colegio de México

México vive profundas transformaciones. Entre ellas está la existencia y consolidación de un poderoso movimiento a favor de la democracia y los derechos humanos. Entre los muchos factores que han influido en su consolidación está una modificación radical en la actitud de la comunidad internacional hacia los acontecimientos mexicanos.

### Una "relación ideal"

En la época de mayor poder del sistema político mexicano, el gobierno había logrado establecer una relación ideal con el mundo. Cuando el sistema de relaciones internacionales se dividía en dos grandes bloques, México había logrado asegurarse el firme respaldo de Washington, Londres y París; y también el de Cuba, la Unión Soviética y los progresistas del mundo entero. ¿Cuáles fueron los ingredientes que hicieron posible una situación tan excepcional? ¿Cuáles fueron las repercusiones para los derechos humanos y la democracia?

En 1927 los revolucionarios mexicanos llegaron a un entendimiento con Estados Unidos que ha servido de marco para las relaciones durante el siglo XX. Los problemas bilaterales se fueron resolviendo pragmáticamente y México tomó en cuenta, siempre, los intereses estadounidenses. A cambio de eso, Washington respaldó al régimen de diferentes maneras. Además de apoyarlo económicamente, minimizó o ignoró los fraudes electorales y las violaciones a los derechos humanos.

Otro elemento del entendimiento es que Washington aceptó que, dentro de ciertos límites, México desarrollara una política exterior independiente. En consecuencia, México respaldó a la España republicana, mantuvo relaciones con la Cuba revolucionaria, concedió asilo a perseguidos del mundo entero y otorgó un sólido respaldo al gobierno de la Unidad Popular en Chile. Los progresistas del mundo entero correspondieron con una política de cuidada indiferencia a lo que pasaba dentro de México.

Esta política tuvo sus momentos de tensiones y dificultades. Por ejemplo, con la llegada de Ronald Reagan a la presidencia en 1980 se inaugura una etapa de muchas tensiones por la política centroamericana de México. Sin embargo, el gobierno mexicano asumió los costos de esa política porque tenía una función vital en la preservación del sistema político. En otras palabras, la política exterior mexicana era un escudo que aislaba a México

porque los conservadores y los progresistas tenían razones para abstenerse de opinar o apoyar opositores.

Buena parte de la responsabilidad cae en los disidentes u opositores mexicanos que guardaban silencio ante los extranjeros sobre lo que pasaba en México. Un componente central del nacionalismo mexicano era la idea de que un buen mexicano no podía narrar las miserias nacionales en el exterior, un sentimiento que era convenientemente manejado por el gobierno que lanzaba acusaciones de anti-mexicanos a todos aquellos que se atrevieran a criticar al régimen en foros internacionales.

Aun aquellos que estaban dispuestos a asumir las consecuencias tenían las limitaciones impuestas por un desconocimiento de los códigos culturales de otras culturas (por ejemplo, fue hasta los años setenta que se establecieron en México programas permanentes para la investigación y docencia sobre Estados Unidos).

### Se fractura el consenso

El aislamiento de México tuvo consecuencias muy graves para los derechos humanos y la democracia porque el gobierno de México cometió fraudes electorales, reprimió y aplastó a sus opositores con la tranquilidad de saber que sus actos no saldrían de las murallas que rodeaban al país (dentro del cual controlaba los medios de comunicación), y que cuando se filtraran al exterior serían ignorados por una comunidad internacional satisfecha con, y cooptada por, la política exterior mexicana.

Esta situación empezó a modificarse a partir del movimiento estudiantil de 1968 y de la solución violenta que le dio el régimen la noche del 2 de octubre en la Plaza de las Tres Culturas de Tlatelolco. La brutalidad fue tan evidente que, a partir de ese momento, el consenso interno y externo empezó a fracturarse. La comunidad internacional—en especial algunos académicos—empezaron a tener conciencia de que en México había un patrón sistemático de violación de los derechos humanos.

### La ONG y derechos humanos

Dentro de México, la tragedia del 2 de octubre hizo ver la necesidad de crear organizaciones para proteger los derechos

humanos. Entre los pioneros de esos esfuerzos estarían José Álvarez Icaza (fundador del Centro Nacional de Comunicación Social, CENCOS) y Mariclaire Acosta que inició su carrera en Amnistía Internacional. Esos pequeños grupos se multiplicaron—en 1998 son centenares—y convirtieron en la columna vertebral de un poderoso movimiento capaz de movilizar a centenares de miles de personas en proyectos concretos.

Temáticamente, las Organizaciones No Gubernamentales mexicanas han actuado en los principales temas de una agenda de derechos humanos y civiles y han modificado leyes y políticas y, sobre todo, han transformado la cultura política de los mexicanos que han incorporado a su conciencia la idea de que tienen derechos y que existen instituciones que pueden ayudarlos.

En la proliferación y profesionalización de las ONG ha sido fundamental el respaldo que han recibido de la comunidad internacional. El apoyo no ha sido automático. Tiene una historia propia que se ha ido tejiendo de diálogos, encuentros y proyectos conjuntos. El punto de partida, por supuesto, fue el reconocimiento de conjunto de que en México hay un patrón sistemático y multidimensional de violación de los derechos humanos. Si ha sido posible es porque existen personas y grupos en México y en otros países que han sido capaces de traducir la realidad mexicana a los códigos de otras culturas, de tender los hilos y tejer las redes por donde transitan los gritos de los marginados y de los golpeados que ahora sí encuentran eco entre la comunidad internacional.

Causa y efecto de este proceso ha sido la apertura de México en otros frentes. La forma como se realizó la apertura económica y comercial mexicana ha tenido costos enormes para las mayorías. Sin embargo, uno de los beneficios ha sido que al abrirse al mundo, el gobierno ha tenido que reconocer que la pertenencia a la comunidad internacional supone la adopción de un código de conducta que incluye el respeto a los derechos humanos.

### Un optimismo relativo

Cuando el siglo XX termina, la transición política mexicana

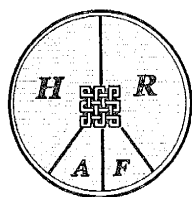
continúa. Es indudable que, como asegura el gobierno, en México hay un marco cada vez más amplio de libertades y que existe una Comisión Nacional de Derechos Humanos. México no es Cuba—afortunadamente—pero está lejos, muy lejos, de ser Suecia o Noruega. El México moderno coexiste con otro más sombrío y siniestro: el México de la impunidad en el cual los indígenas han sido, y son, especialmente vulnerables.

El 25 de agosto de 1998 el diario *Reforma* de la ciudad de México sacó un impresionante estudio mostrando el país de contrastes que somos. Entre las cifras más inquietantes está que el 96 por ciento de las "averiguaciones previas no se concluyen por ineficiencia e ineficacia en la procuración de justicia" y que uno de los grupos más vulnerables es el indígena.

La situación es grave, pero en relación al pasado bosquejado en los primeros párrafos, existe un sólido movimiento de derechos humanos capaz de frenar algunos de los abusos. La insurrección indígena en Chiapas es uno de los ejemplos más claros del peso que tiene una coalición de organizaciones mexicanas e internacionales decidida a buscar una solución pacífica al conflicto.

Existen, por supuesto, muchos otros ejemplos de la importancia que tiene este movimiento. Gracias al trabajo de ONG mexicanas (apoyadas por contrapartes de otros países) el jueves 20 de agosto de 1998 un subcomité de la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la Organización de las Naciones Unidas aprobó una resolución urgiendo al gobierno mexicano a "luchar contra la impunidad de los autores de violaciones graves de derechos humanos, especialmente de aquellas que causan numerosas víctimas entre los miembros de las poblaciones autóctonas". Es la primera vez que esto pasaba y, pese a que el gobierno mexicano reaccionó negativamente, no puede ignorar pronunciamientos de este tipo.

La transición mexicana todavía no termina y resulta aventurado pronosticar el curso que tomen los acontecimientos. Una de las causas para mantener un optimismo relativo es que existe una sólida base interna a favor de la democracia y los derechos humanos, y que una parte importante de la comunidad internacional sigue con interés los acontecimientos mexicanos. ■



## Chiapas: la militarización como forma de gobierno

por Silvia Gómez Tagle

El Colegio de México

En Chiapas han prevalecido estructuras económicas y de poder muy antiguas que han propiciado la presencia de gobiernos particularmente represivos. De ahí que no haya sido extraño que

en 1994, en pleno auge del proyecto neoliberal, apareciera un movimiento armado como el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional. Lo paradójico es que, en un primer momento, ese



movimiento fué un gran impulsor de las reformas electorales que han permitido avanzar en la democratización de todo el país. Pero ahora, la violencia que se ha generado con el pretexto de la presencia del EZLN y la creciente militarización, pone en riesgo esa transición a la democracia que al fin parecía consolidarse.

Debido a las condiciones de injusticia y discriminación en las que vivían los indígenas de Chiapas, desde los años sesentas la Diócesis de San Cristóbal de Las Casas, los jesuitas y otros grupos religiosos, bajo la influencia de la teología de la liberación, apoyaron a las organizaciones indígenas y campesinas independientes que luchaban por mejores salarios, tierras, precios para sus cosechas y justicia. Es necesario subrayar que en Chiapas la identificación entre el poder político y el económico no han dejado espacio a la impartición de justicia. En 1974, primer Congreso Indígena permitió unir sus fuerzas a muchos grupos antes dispersos, pero a medida que se fortaleció el movimiento independiente se incrementó también la militarización como forma de gobierno.

En julio de 1980 tropas de la 31 zona militar, al mando del general Absalón Castellanos atacaron la comunidad de Wolonchán en Sicabá, con ametralladoras, bombas lacrimógenas y lanzallamas. Doce tzeltales fueron incinerados en ese ataque y el resto de la comunidad huyó a la selva; paradójicamente en 1982 el mismo General Absalón Castellanos fue "elegido" gobernador del estado de Chiapas<sup>1</sup>.

Después de la matanza de Wolonchán se persiguió a los dirigentes de indígenas e inclusive de los sacerdotes que los apoyaban. Durante el gobierno de Patrocinio González Garrido (1988-1993), se aprobó un Código Penal que permitió el castigo de la disidencia política, inclusive se prohibieron las manifestaciones públicas, de tal suerte que los líderes indígenas y campesinos se vieron en la necesidad de pasar a la clandestinidad.

Sobra decir que Chiapas fue el estado más sólidamente controlado por el PRI hasta 1994 gracias a que las elecciones nunca se han caracterizado por la transparencia y la legitimidad. Pero en los últimos 5 años, los gobernadores ni siquiera han sido "electos formalmente" por los chiapanecos; el actual gobernador Roberto Albores Guillén es sustituto de Julio César Ruiz Ferro, quien a su vez fué primero interino y luego sustituto de Roberto Robles Rincón, supuestamente electo en 1994 y obligado a "pedir licencia" debido a que un amplio movimiento social cuestionó su legitimidad. Desde entonces, los zapatistas y la oposición han demandado una nueva elección de gobernador.

### **Democracia y Guerra: Opciones Paralelas**

En el contexto chiapaneco no es de extrañar que haya surgido un movimiento guerrillero; sin embargo el Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) ha sido una guerrilla *sui generis* porque no se ha planteado tomar el poder a través de la lucha armada, sino que ha mantenido abierta la posibilidad de

incorporarse a la lucha política. En 1994 EZLN convocó a una tregua para participar en las elecciones federales y locales, habiendo logrado inclusive que la organización electoral en el territorio zapatista quedara en manos de organizaciones civiles.

Sin embargo, donde el gobierno, como siempre, tuvo en sus manos la organización electoral hubo graves irregularidades. Quizás por eso en la tercera Declaración de la Selva en enero de 1995 el EZLN consideró fuera de lugar seguir participando en elecciones y en cambio convocó a los indígenas formar "municipios autónomos", para que las comunidades asumieran en la práctica su derecho a gobernar su propia vida, cuando menos al interior de sus comunidades<sup>2</sup>. De hecho estos "municipios autónomos" han sido expresiones de resistencia civil que han desafiado pacíficamente a las autoridades municipales "ilegítimas" impuestas por el gobierno y por el PRI.

Según un informe reciente de Enlace Civil A.C. en la actualidad hay 32 municipios autónomos, seis menos que los 38 creados en 1996, distribuidos en cinco zonas (para evitar confusiones llamaremos a los municipios autónomos MA y a los municipios legalmente constituidos MC): Francisco Gómez con 6 MA en el

MC de Ocosingo; La Realidad con tres MA en el MC de Las Margaritas; Morelia con tres MA en los MC de Altamirano, Ocosingo, Oxchuc y Huixtán; Oventic con 15 MA en los Altos abarcando toda la región desde Chenalhó hasta El Bosque y Nicolás Ruiz; y Roberto Barrios nueve

MA en la región del norte cercana a Palenque, la Selva y la frontera con Guatemala.

Las autoridades de los municipios autónomos, al ejercer sus funciones de gobierno, definir límites de tierras, otorgar títulos de propiedad, impartir justicia y otorgar documentos de identificación a los ciudadanos, han generado múltiples conflictos que han involucrado a las comunidades zapatistas y los priistas que conviven en la misma zona. Hecho que ha sido utilizado por los funcionarios de los gobiernos municipales con el fin de justificar la violencia.

La narración de los conflictos ocurridos entre las comunidades zapatistas y las autoridades del municipio de Chenalhó que desembocaron en la terrible matanza de Acteal permite entender la dinámica de una violencia que se ha tornado cotidiana. Me dijo el presidente del MA Polhó:

"Hasta el año pasado habíamos vivido bastante en paz, pero fue a partir de conflicto que surgió el 24 de mayo del año pasado cuando compañeros en la Colonia Puebla pertenecientes al Consejo Municipal Autónomo tomaron la decisión de sancionar a unos campesinos de filiación priista, por la invasión de tierras. Por su parte, los priistas de Chenalhó organizaron una expedición armada como con 14 personas para rescatarlos. Antes de llegar, la brigada encontró una emboscada zapatista donde murió uno de ellos [los priistas]. Poco después enviaron a un grupo de paramilitares apoyados por las Seguridad Pública del estado de Chiapas para atacar la

*...la violencia pone en riesgo esa transición a la democracia...*

Colonia Puebla y los zapatistas se vieron obligados a huir porque destruyeron las casas y agredieron a las familias. Después de ese incidente, los policías vestidos de negro, armados con chalecos antibalas, en camiones como los que acaban de pasar por la carretera... empezaron a circular, con armas de alto poder amenazando a las comunidades día y noche, por eso muchos se vinieron a refugiar aquí con la esperanza de que entre todos nos defendamos. Las cosas fueron empeorando hasta llegar a la matanza de Acteal, entonces muchas más comunidades se vinieron a instalar aquí; ahora somos más de 10,000 en Polhó<sup>3</sup>.

Efectivamente, la beligerancia de los grupos paramilitares fue subiendo de tono hasta el 22 de diciembre de 1997, cuando 45 indígenas: 14 niños, 21 mujeres y 9 hombres fueron atacados y ultimados con armas de fuego en Acteal y los cadáveres mutilados con machetes. En un esfuerzo por borrar los rastros de la masacre los cadáveres fueron arrojados a un barranco o escondidos en una cueva, en un operativo dirigido por el Subsecretario de Gobierno Uriel Jarquín Gálvez. Según me informó el presidente municipal sustituto del MC de Chenalhó fué acto "de venganza por el asesinato de diez y ocho priistas" a lo largo de varios años mismos que han sido atribuidos a los zapatistas<sup>4</sup>.

### La Militarización

En la militarización de Chiapas, el gobierno del presidente Ernesto Zedillo no ha escatimado recursos: un estudio de la Coordinación de Organismos no Gubernamentales por la Paz (CONPAZ), señalaba en 1977 que se encontraban 40 mil soldados (o sea el 30 por ciento del total de militares del Ejército Mexicano) distribuidos en el 70 por ciento de los 111 municipios de Chiapas. En agosto de 1997 había 20 mil soldados en 40 campamentos, cinco cuarteles y una zona militar solamente en los municipios de Ocosingo, Las Margaritas y Altamirano, mismos que han avanzado sobre la zona zapatista de la selva en los últimos meses. Casi todas las comunidades zapatistas son vigiladas por campamentos militares localizados a menos de un kilómetro y en algunos casos inclusive han ocupado el centro de los poblados, desplazando a los indígenas<sup>5</sup>.

Por ello resulta impensable que el ejército haya pasado por alto la presencia de grupos paramilitares, que constantemente han atacado a las comunidades zapatistas, como Máscara Roja, Los Chinchulines, Alianza San Bartolomé, Fuerzas Armadas del Pueblo, Paz y Justicia, MIRA (Movimiento Indígena Revolucionario Antizapatista), Los Degolladores, Tomás Manzer y otros grupos menos conocidos, que han actuado principalmente en las regiones de Los Altos, Las Cañadas (Ocosingo, Altamirano y Las Margaritas), la Selva Norte, la región de Palenque, Tila y Sabanilla, los Valles Centrales y Venustiano Carranza<sup>6</sup>. Las características de estos grupos son similares en varios sentidos, primero han estado específicamente

orientadas en contra de los municipios autónomos zapatistas, son grupos políticamente identificados con el PRI, en algunos casos abiertamente apoyados por autoridades de ese partido como los diputados federales por el VI distrito, Rafael Ceballos Cancino; y por el VII distrito, Samuel Sánchez Sánchez; los presidentes municipales de Venustiano Carranza Darío Gordillo, de Sabanilla Benedicto Pérez; el de Chenalhó, Jacinto Arias Cruz (actualmente preso por la matanza de Acteal); el de Oxchuc, Sebastián López Balté; el coordinador regional de la sección séptima del Sindicato Nacional de los Trabajadores de la Educación, Enrique Alfaro López. También se ha mencionado con frecuencia el apoyo que estos grupos han recibido de la Seguridad Pública del Estado y hasta del mismo exgobernador sustituto Julio César Ruiz Ferro.

### *Resulta impensable que el ejército haya pasado por alto la presencia de grupos paramilitares...*

El nuevo gobernador sustituto, Roberto Albores Guillén, ha incrementado la presencia militar y la violencia en contra de las comunidades zapatistas<sup>7</sup>. A partir de enero de 1998 la estrategia ha cambiado, ya no son los paramilitares, sino directamente el Ejército Mexicano y las fuerzas de Seguridad Pública los que han atacado a las comunidades zapatistas pretextando que las autoridades de los municipios autónomos cometen "delitos de orden común" al ejercer sus funciones como gobiernos municipales. Las acciones más destacadas en contra de los municipios autónomos han tenido lugar en Taniperlas municipio de Altamirano, ocupada primero por paramilitares del grupo MIRA y luego por el Ejército y la Seguridad Pública<sup>8</sup>; en Tila el grupo PAZ y Justicia obligó a 1500 indígenas choles a abandonar sus tierras<sup>9</sup>; el primero de mayo con el pretexto de rescatar a un guatemalteco que había sido detenido por las autoridades del municipio entró el Ejército a la comunidad de Amparo Aguatinta municipio de Las Margaritas<sup>10</sup>; en Navil municipio de Tenejapa, entraron Ejército y Seguridad Pública para destruir un "centro de entrenamiento guerrillero" que resultó ser una casa de artesanías<sup>11</sup>; a principios de junio el municipio de Nicolás Ruiz también fué "desmantelado" por negarse a aceptar la autoridad municipal oficial<sup>12</sup>. En el municipio de El Bosque, más de mil efectivos militares y policías, guiados por un grupo de priistas de la comunidad de Los Plátanos, atacaron las comunidades de Unión Progreso y Chavajeval con gases lacrimógenos, armas de fuego, bazukas y hasta bombardearon las laderas boscosas con mortero<sup>13</sup>. Fueron saqueadas 26 casas y dos tiendas de las comunidades, los animales que no mataron, fueron dejados en libertad y se perdieron, los alimentos y refrescos que no consumieron los soldados y los policías fueron destruidos. Seis indígenas con heridas leves que fueron apresados por la policía fueron asesinados.

El saldo de las agresiones gubernamentales a los municipios autónomos ha dejado, según el informe de CONPAZ antes citado a cerca de diez y nueve mil indígenas desplazados: 5 mil 500 en la región norte, 10 mil quinientos en Los Altos, y 3 mil en La Selva. Esta población desplazada carece de medios de subsistencia, vivienda, salud, educación y, desde luego, está privada de sus derechos políticos porque tanto el ejército, como



la policía y los paramilitares han tenido especial empeño en destruir la documentación oficial de estas comunidades: registro civil, actas de nacimiento, matrimonio y defunción, documentos escolares y todo tipo de identificaciones.

Los municipios autónomos son "ilegales", pero son legítimos porque las comunidades indígenas tienen el derecho de buscar formas de organizar su propia vida. Las acciones tanto de las fuerzas de Seguridad Pública como del Ejército son ilegales e ilegítimas, al cometer robos, destruir propiedad privada e inclusive agredir físicamente, torturar, violar o asesinar a los indígenas "supuestamente culpables".

Desde 1995 el presidente Ernesto Zedillo ha manejado un doble discurso, por un lado ha ofrecido el diálogo a los zapatistas que culminó con la firma de los acuerdos de San Andrés; y por el otro ha desarrollado una estrategia de militarización que hace recordar la guerra sucia en Guatemala. No deja de preocupar a los ciudadanos mexicanos que nuestro gobierno defienda enfáticamente la soberanía nacional cuando se trata de observadores de los derechos humanos y en cambio asuma acríticamente la asesoría de los Estados Unidos en una estrategia de contrainsurgencia. Bajo el disfraz de la lucha contra el narcotráfico, se ha recibido cada vez más apoyo, tanto para la adquisición de equipo bélico como en entrenamiento de militares mexicanos en escuelas norteamericanas. Entre 1996 y el año 2000, 3200 miembros de los Grupos Aerotransportados de Fuerzas Especiales (GAFE) tomarán un curso de doce semanas con el Séptimo Grupo de Fuerzas Especiales de los Estados Unidos<sup>14</sup>. Numerosos militares mexicanos también asisten a la Escuela de las Américas, conocida como *Escuela de Asesinos* por su especialidad en contrainsurgencia con métodos "poco ortodoxos": en 1991 fueron 43 alumnos, en 1992, 23, en 1993 34 alumnos, en 1995 24 alumnos, en 1996 148 alumnos y en 1997 333 alumnos<sup>15</sup>.

La militarización es un recurso fácil para "poner orden" en una situación como la de Chiapas, donde el gobierno local no tiene legitimidad y el gobierno federal ha sido incapaz de distanciarse del grupo político y del partido que desde el poder local, han sido responsables de la represión y el racismo. En este contexto se entiende la respuesta que recibió el presidente Zedillo de las comunidades zapatistas en su reciente visita a Oventic, simplemente desfilaron con carteles que decían: "Es usted un asesino.. eso es todo".

La incapacidad del gobierno mexicano de encontrar vías de negociación entre actores políticos opuestos en el caso de Chiapas es un rasgo autoritario de un régimen político en decadencia, que pone en riesgo los avances logrados en la democracia electoral.

## Notas

<sup>1</sup>Antonio García de León "Prólogo" en *EZLN documentos y comunicados* tomo I, editorial ERA, México, 1998 4a/ reimpresión, pp 11 a 29.

<sup>2</sup>*EZLN documentos y comunicados* tomo I, editorial ERA, México, 1998 4a/ reimpresión, pp 11 a 29.

<sup>3</sup>Entrevista con el presidente del Consejo Municipal Autónomo de Polhó, municipio de Chenalhó, 20 de mayo de 1998.

<sup>4</sup>Información de prensa *La Jornada* 23 de diciembre de 1997, entrevista al presidente municipal interino de Chenalhó el día 20 de mayo de 1998.

<sup>5</sup>Juan Balboa *La Jornada* 18 de agosto 1997, pág.3 y 19 de agosto 1997, pág. 3.

<sup>6</sup>*Chiapas la guerra en curso*. Centro de Derechos Humanos Miguel Agustín Pro Juárez, A.C. México, 1998.

<sup>7</sup>Arribaron 5 mil soldados a Chiapas, 2 mil destinados a la zona de Chenalhó. *La Jornada* 26 diciembre de 1997, pág.5.

<sup>8</sup>*La Jornada* 18 de abril pág. 1 y 24 de abril de 1998 pág.1,

<sup>9</sup>*La Jornada* 25 de abril de 1998, pág. 13.

<sup>10</sup>*La Jornada* 3 de mayo de 1998, pág.5.

<sup>11</sup>*La Jornada* 27 de mayo de 1998, pág 5.

<sup>12</sup>*La Jornada* 4 de junio de 1998.

<sup>13</sup>*La Jornada* 11 de junio de 1998, pág. 5.

<sup>14</sup>Douglas Fara and Dana Priest "Mexican Drug Force is U.S. Bred" *The Washington Post*, feb 26, 1998, pA01.

<sup>15</sup>Darring Wood Director, Nuevo Amanecer Press-Europa, <http://spin.com.mx/-floresu/FZLN/archivo/soa/soa-4.htm>. ■

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### Chicago! Chicago!

#### Final Report from the LASA98 Program Committee

by Timothy Wickham-Crowley, Chair  
Georgetown University

#### What Happened at LASA98 and How to Make Things Even Better

Many thanks go out to you, LASA members both longstanding and brand-new, who did so much to make the LASA98 Congress such a success. For the first time in this column, I also must thank our Local Arrangements keypersons, Mary Kay Vaughan and Fannie Rushing of the University of Illinois at Chicago, who carried out so many crucial tasks throughout the hours of the Congress, largely behind the scenes. Far more than I, they gave their utmost to make sure that things happened when and how they were supposed to, despite the difficulties of herding an occasionally unwieldy staff of volunteers. Those of us who now have acquired some rough idea of just how hard it is "arrange" these "local" matters also can best appreciate their work, particularly that of Fannie, who spent much time next door to us in the Program Offices trying to resolve crisis after crisis. A thank you here, no matter how heartfelt, is not enough recompense for such herculean efforts, but perhaps it is a start. It is also no burden, yet again, to thank deeply my co-worker Gina Thompson, all the members of the Program Committee, and the staff at the LASA Secretariat as well: without all of them and Fannie and Mary Kay, there would simply have been no LASA98.

All roads of course, lead back to our president, Susan Eckstein, who pulled together the details of at least two-thirds of LASA98's featured panels that were so popular among those attending the Congress. Had such matters been left in my hands—I can assure all LASA98ers of this with no false modesty at all—those featured panels would not have happened. And, yes, Susan, despite all the burdens this task that you asked me to assume has brought down on my shoulders (with a few extras that you supplied), it was very worthwhile to have undertaken this task through these 18 months; and, yes, we are still good colleagues and good friends, even better than before.

I must confess to you all that, so much time did I spend dealing with the problems that such a large event inevitably generates for the Program Chair, that I saw far less of the Congress than I wanted, especially the academic sessions. (Every LASA member repeat after me: "For LASA2000, I will arrange my equipment requests for my sessions in my original proposal, and not eleven months later after I arrive in Miami.") Still, each one of you should believe that I wanted to attend and hear the ideas in *your* session rather than doing program-office stuff: I really think the scholarly substance of the congress was that good, that interesting, right across vastly different disciplines and interests.

(Personal digression: despite my own core interests in social-scientific theories of revolution and of development, the best single paper I have ever heard at a LASA congress, some years back, was one entitled "Caruso in the Bull Ring," about the great tenor's concerts in Mexico.) LASA congresses have such wonderfully varied treasures to dip into and take away delights from, and you are the ones who made it so for Chicago.

One of the two major structural innovations for LASA98 was the debut of the sessions that were directly organized by the newly inaugurated Sections of LASA. These sessions did not go through the normal vetting and evaluation process by which members of the program committee accept or create some sessions and must (alas) reject others; instead, the section officers were given free rein to create sessions that had wide appeal to their section-membership and/or tried to tap into state of the art or critical issues. Based on their titles and the details of the panels that passed through our offices, I can only believe that the sections succeeded superbly in creating panels of high scholarly quality and broad interest to LASA as a whole. The number of these sections is already rising, as is the membership in the existing sections; indeed, 43 percent of all LASA members have chosen to pay dues to and join at least one of our sections and, of those who do so, they average joining 1.3 sections per person. Therefore, at the next LASA congress we are going to see, almost surely, at least 40 or 50 sessions guaranteed to and organized by the LASA sections themselves.

A second debutante at LASA98 appeared when a single session gathered multiple roundtable discussion groups within a broader umbrella topic. Now, LASA congresses had always made some type of provision for gatherings of scholars that did not automatically entail formal paper presentations; that is why we have had workshop discussion groups, or single-"roundtable" discussions with several-to-many authors talking to a single topic in one room. Those have worked well and continue to work well. Indeed, one such LASA98 roundtable (LIT79, in our shorthand) gathered together most of the writers who came to Chicago (for various and sundry other sessions), and organizer Sara Castro-Klarén pronounced the roundtable a rousing success, and the format one that should be retained and expanded for future LASA congresses (as well as put into bigger and more amenable rooms, I hear Lucia Melgar chime in). The newer version of roundtables, in contrast, gathers multiple topics into a single room, at (literally) round tables seating 12-14 persons. These sessions can involve open, free-form discussion about the issue at hand, or presentation of a paper or two followed by such

discussion. Both the Central America section (seven tables at once) and the Culture, Politics, and Power (CPP) section (four tables) organized one session each along such lines. Tommie Sue Montgomery reported back to me that the Central American roundtables were a big hit, the main problem being that one intense, laughter-peppered discussion sometimes drowned out conversation at a neighboring roundtable. Daniel Mato got a somewhat more mixed, but still largely positive, report from the CPP roundtables, yet also endorsed the overall structure and suggested useful modifications in how the program chairs can help the section officers to put them together more effectively.

For LASA98 we made several changes to the Program Tracks (as they are now called) we inherited from LASA97. These changes were made by myself with much input from Susan Eckstein and further input from a few members of the Program Committee, and it is only to topical changes that I address my comments below. In general, I made changes to widen the "umbrellas" and the coverage of our topics, to capture themes and issues that seemed to have fallen between the cracks, and did this largely by adding complementary words to those already present: "Arts and Culture" from LASA97 became LASA98's "Arts, Music, Culture, and Mass Media"; "Economic Development" became "Economic Issues and Development"; "Gender" became "Gender and Sexuality"; "Indigenous Groups and Issues" became "Indigenous and Ethnic Groups and Issues"; "Labor Studies" became "Labor Studies and Class Relations"; "Law and Jurisprudence" became "Law, Jurisprudence, and Crime"; and "Social Movements" became "Social Movements and Revolution." Brand new topics were also introduced, including one provided to mirror the LASA98 congress theme, "Social Justice." Also introduced for the first time were a track devoted to two central areas of institutional analysis in sociology and anthropology, "Family, [Community,] and Religion"; one devoted to sessions offered by the new LASA sections; and one devoted to "Rethinking Latin American Studies: Transborder, Transnational" (this topical area also was mirrored in two featured sessions as well).

LASA97's "Urbanization and Demography" was changed, too, dropping the latter term altogether and turning it into LASA98's "Cities, Citizenship, and the Quality of Life" (Diane Davis's neo-term). Dropping the reference to population studies was hard for me—a sociologist, who unlike most, has trained and taught courses in demography—but interest in that topic as such was too low to provide it with a separate terminological home. We also thought that, since much of population study concerns women's fertility patterns and changes, the topic of "Family" or "Gender" might capture such scholarly interests, while national policies and programs regarding abortion, contraception, and family planning would naturally fall under "Politics and Public Policy." Likewise, I know that education and medicine are both topics of great interest to more than a few LASA members, but believed

that papers on those issues could also be readily absorbed into the "Politics and Public Policy" track which, in fact, came to house several panels on education. One point that I have made to my successors is that we still have no "natural" track-home for discussing issues of pedagogy: how we *teach* Latin American Studies. Many of us—believe it or not, all you hotshot researchers—think of ourselves as teachers first (if also researchers), and therefore there may be pent-up demand to form sessions that talk about pedagogical issues, problems, and solutions. One possible home for such a topic would be to blend it in with the small track currently devoted to "Technological and Scholarly Resources," which is where occasional teaching panels have already appeared in the past.

Even though I could not session-hop as much as I wished, I tried to hear what you had to say. Virtually all of the comments were compliments, and only a small minority were followed by the

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*LASA congresses have such wonderfully varied treasures to dip into and take away delights from, and you are the ones who made it so for Chicago.*

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"but...." that I expected to hear. For those of you who expressed complaints to me, gripes whose solutions might better the procedures for creating congresses and programs, or the substantive results that occur on-site, rest assured that I am trying to communicate those concerns effectively to my successors as program chair: Marysa Navarro of Dartmouth College and Tony Maingot of Florida International University,

who will co-chair our 22nd International Congress, LASA2000 in Miami. I will communicate with them as part of the process of working with Gina Thompson, the LASA98 Program Coordinator, while also drawing on the long and deep experience of LASA's Executive Director, Reid Reading. I/we will draft and then revise a guidebook for program chairs on how to go about the nuts and bolts of successfully selecting and organizing hundreds of sessions and meetings, creating an official program book, and carrying out a congress on site.

One issue that came painfully to our attention more than once at LASA98 was the case of "no-shows": far too many individuals and, in a few cases, entire panels all of whose members failed to appear in Chicago. We are not concerned here with the odd case of a pregnant wife whose imminent delivery date clearly superseded her husband's scholarly commitments to join us in Chicago (but we hope such familial matters turned out well). Nor are we in the least worried—except in a very different manner—about the two panels composed entirely of Puerto Rican panelists which failed to materialize because, alas, Hurricane Georges was doing a great deal of material damage to people's homes and lives. However, all LASA members should know that we were and are trying to keep some track of people who simply fail to fulfill their scholarly commitments with no advance warning and no reason offered, and to prevent them from disappointing future Congress attendees in like manner (Werner Baer and colleagues: we heard your voices and those of others).

## I'm a Sociologist, and Therefore You Have to Expect Some Statistics

LASA98 now stands as the largest such Congress the Latin American Studies Association has ever assembled. As of early September we had slotted in 620 sessions, meetings, and so forth, in which 2,728 papers were scheduled to be delivered. Those numbers are up from those of LASA97, even though the Guadalajara congress itself had experienced a very sharp upsurge in applicants from its predecessor in Washington D.C. The LASA Secretariat, for its part, estimates that about 3,700 persons actually attended the Congress. Certainly that is a testament to the great depths and breadth of Latin American Studies as a field of scholarly endeavor.

But let's also get real here: one crucial and obvious reason was the sheer size and generosity of the Palmer House Hilton and its staff. Not only could the Palmer House provide for all our sessions (with space to spare) once the Congress panels began to meet on Thursday, but they were cheerfully generous and cooperative whenever we came to them in the six months preceding the Congress with requests for more meeting spaces, which we did more than once. They maintained such a demeanor throughout the Congress itself. Thank you, thank you, thank you, Margaret Barrett, Director of Meetings and Conventions at the Palmer House. The size of the hotel also allowed us to reduce the proposal-rejection rate below that of previous congresses, which is the opposite of what happened at LASA97 in Guadalajara: their location in Mexico greatly increased applications from Latin America, and in that case drove up the previously typical rejection rate.

The flip, and less congenial, side of our unprecedented space in Chicago is that the next Congress is likely to be somewhat smaller, a "return to normalcy" (of size) and more like previous Congresses in that respect. Whereas even the larger predecessors in previous congresses might be able to count on "only" 35 to 38 rooms for every time-slot, we housed sessions in an average of about 42 or 43 rooms for the 3 days and 15 time-slots that the structure of our congress provided. As noted, we had just under 620 sessions, meetings, and so forth programmed in by the time we gathered in Chicago. That number was then changed by very late cancellations, but also by a few interesting additions to the program. For example, we created an impromptu session on NEH funding opportunities when the NEH representative I met at the UIC-hosted opening

reception expressed pleasant surprise at Latin American Studies and LASA as very large and vigorous "sites" that the NEH had not really yet explored and developed. In addition to the on-off panels that constitute most congress activity, we had one room devoted solely to continuous Film-Festival screenings beginning on Wednesday evening, courtesy of the energies and expertise of Bonnie Poteet of Bucknell. Another room we dedicated to computer- and internet-training workshops, hosted by Kent Norsworthy of the LANIC group at the University of Texas at Austin. All in all, an amazing amount of stuff was going on at any one time (indeed, perhaps too many simultaneous riches, according to some scuttlebutt from attendees).

Unlike our counterpart-associations that study—and try to gather scholars from—other world regions, we in LASA are committed to raising large sums of money solely for the purpose of bringing scholars from Latin America to the congress-site whenever we gather every 18 months. Many of the LASA President's energies during the 18-month stint in office are dedicated only to that money-raising activity. The entire procedure absorbs an *amazing* portion of the time of the president, the Secretariat staff (especially Reid Reading), and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the Program Committee. Very large headaches ensue even after money has been awarded selectively to the list of applicants: contacting the awardees; confirming (or not) their intent to use their grants; purchasing their tickets; arranging for expense money to be paid them on-site; and many big "et ceteras" too wearying even to list here, let alone carry out. (The Cuban cases and stories alone provide stuff that could fill both reference works and gossip columns!) Since *none* of those travel monies come out of your normal membership dues, our ability to fund Latin Americans' travel to our congresses hinges closely on the efforts of our President and our Secretariat. This time the energies were those of the tireless (well, almost) Susan Eckstein, working closely with Reid Reading, and the result was yet another set of unprecedented numbers: about 300 persons who were accepted to the Congress had applied for travel grants (a small percentage of them also requesting junior lecturing fellowships), and when the smoke had cleared we had been able to provide funds for (our best estimate) 193 scholars from Latin America. Our proportion of awardees was virtually identical to the two-thirds of accepted funding-applicants funded for LASA97, but the overall total was substantially higher, as the figures at the end of the accompanying table reveal. These numbers are fine testimony not only to the appeals made by our representatives, but also to the appeal of Latin American Studies to such funding organizations.

## CALL FOR PAPERS FOR LASA2000

mailed with this *Forum*  
*Please note instructions and deadlines*  
**We'll see you in Miami!**

**ACCEPTED APPLICANTS FOR LASA98 WITH COMPARATIVE  
(BUT NON-INVIDIOUS) DATA FROM LASA97**

(estimated numbers stem from incomplete data, especially from late program changes)

	<b>ACCEPTED TO LASA98 ( ) = rejected</b>	<b>ACCEPTED TO LASA97</b>		<b>ACCEPTED TO LASA98</b>	<b>ACCEPTED TO LASA97</b>
<b>Unique Names &amp; Affiliations</b>	3,449 (c.320)	2,910	<b>Uruguay</b>	15 (0)	< 5
<b>Percent Male</b>	55 percent	51 percent	<b>Venezuela</b>	69 (4)	59
<b>Percent Female</b>	45 percent	49 percent	<b>LATIN AMERICA</b>	1,133	> 1,235
<b>Rejection Rate (%)</b>	c. 9 percent	21 percent	<b>Denmark</b>	0 (0)	4
<b>COUNTRY</b>			<b>France</b>	17 (0)	12
<b>Argentina</b>	129 (16)	74	<b>Germany</b>	8 (0)	8
<b>Bolivia</b>	4 (0)	10	<b>Italy</b>	4 (0)	5
<b>Brazil</b>	228 (23)	243	<b>Netherlands</b>	6 (1)	15
<b>Chile</b>	41 (7)	50	<b>Norway</b>	5 (0)	5
<b>Colombia</b>	45 (2)	31	<b>Portugal</b>	1 (0)	5
<b>Costa Rica</b>	10 (4)	17	<b>Spain</b>	31 (0)	26
<b>Cuba</b>	93 (37)	65	<b>UK</b>	40 (0)	69
<b>Dom.Repub.</b>	3 (0)	6	<b>EUROPE</b>	112	152 (?)
<b>Ecuador</b>	22 (1)	16	<b>Japan</b>	13 (0)	no data
<b>El Salvador</b>	15 (1)	13	<b>Australia</b>	6 (0)	7
<b>Guatemala</b>	15 (0)	18	<b>New Zealand</b>	4 (0)	4
<b>Honduras</b>	1 (0)	< 5	<b>Canada</b>	61 (4)	61
<b>Mexico</b>	417 (33)	584	<b>USA</b>	2,120 (182)	1,690
<b>Nicaragua</b>	5+ (0)	17	of which: [Puerto Rico]	[17]	no data
<b>Panama</b>	5 (0)	< 5	<b># Requesting Trav.Grants</b>	299	155
<b>Paraguay</b>	6 (0)	6	<b># Awarded Trav.Grants</b>	193(est.)	100+
<b>Peru</b>	33 (0)	26	<b>Percent Awarded</b>	65 percent	c. 66 percent

# Ricocheting Through A Half Century of Revolution<sup>1</sup>

by Richard N. Adams

The Kalman Silvert Award was established to celebrate Kal and I am fortunate to join in that commemoration because he was important to me. Kal was a kind of Old Testament prophet for whom the world was constructed in moral dimensions. His vigorous and fervent positions could so envelop one that it might take days to disengage. He passionately decried authoritarianism, whether from the right or the left; democracy was the only regime that could provide the opportunities that human beings deserve. When Kal died in 1976 the hemisphere was still dominated by authoritarian governments and revolutions. He worked hard to convince the U.S. political establishment of the importance of Latin America<sup>2</sup> and that it should not play along with the entrenched regimes. Related to this concern was his role in bringing a group of us together to create a Latin American Studies Association. His position in the American Universities Field Staff enabled him to network Latin Americanists in many universities and his situation in the Ford Foundation provided the basis for the organizing meetings we held in 1964 and 1965. The timing of the founding and much of the original design of LASA stemmed from Kal's vision. Were he alive today, he would have completed a half century of Latin American studies by now.

I have been lucky enough to spend most of this half century in Latin American studies. This afternoon I want to talk about how my attempts to cope with the outstanding dynamic of this era, the revolutions spawned by the fragmentation of empires after World War II, determined much of the course taken by my career in Latin American scholarship<sup>3</sup>. Nation states, both industrialized and underdeveloped, were unprepared to cope with the challenge of aspiring peoples. Facilitated by the Cold War, guerrilla forces emerged and militarism took over governments. Civil life was punctuated by banditry and rocked by ethnic, religious, and class movements. Foreign and international corporations and NGOs competed with drug and arms merchants for a piece of the state.

Revolutions are a compelling dialectic product created by those who find life's conditions intolerable, and by those who are unprepared to improve them. Irrespective of their success, their impact penetrates society, reforming the lives of many who are not immediately involved. In the hope of changing and defending the status quo, civil life is brutalized and humanity is sacrificed. Because the protagonists of both sides are willing to risk their own lives, they arrogate the right to violence, to require allegiance, impose dogma, and kill anyone they choose. Those who keep their distance are at best tolerated, and may also be regarded as dangerous.

I grew up in a midwestern academic community. Both

authoritarianism and the intolerable conditions generating revolution were beyond my personal experience. Along with millions of others, I joined World War II to end dictatorships in Germany and Italy, but it also turned out to consolidate those in Russia and China. After the war I shifted my studies from philosophy because anthropology promised to put me in closer touch with the real world. And so it did.

When I started my doctoral research in Peru in July of 1949 revolution had long been prevalent in the Andes<sup>4</sup>. A few years earlier Bolivian president Gualberto Villaroel, who had himself taken power by a military coup, was hanged in front of the presidential palace by revolutionary crowds and somewhat later, Gaitán, the Colombian Liberal leader, was assassinated. In Lima, Haya de la Torre, the founder of the APRA<sup>5</sup>, had (recently) sought asylum in the Colombian Embassy. APRA had a strong agenda against U.S. economic and political imperialism. The community I chose to study, Muquiyauyo, was in the Huancayo Valley, a center of Aprista activity. In the early 1930s young Muquiyayinos studying with José Carlos Mariátegui, APRA supporter and founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, raised a red flag over their municipalidad and founded the *Club Atlético Lenin*. A few months into my visit a high school student cursed me during a fiesta, charging that Gringos had no right to study his town and I should go home.

During the war I witnessed "underdevelopment" in the South Pacific and India, but Muquiyauyo impressed me because of its efforts at self-development. In the 1920s it had, for example, installed a hydroelectric plant and sold electricity to surrounding communities. I came away thinking that I would like to see what anthropology might have to offer people in these circumstances. Back at Yale when I mentioned that I was tempted by applied anthropology, one of my Ph.D. examiners<sup>6</sup> admonished that anthropologists had no business doing that kind of thing and that I should seek an academic career. I had further reasons, however, for thinking otherwise. Having grown up during the depression when my father's young Ph.D.s sold insurance and used cars if they were lucky, the poor scholar's route was not all that appealing.

Guatemala's revolution of 1944 provided the opportunity to choose a different direction. The revolutionary government had directed anthropologist Antonio Goubaud Carrera to establish the Instituto Indigenista Nacional. Jorge Ubico, the (now) displaced dictator, had rejected such an institution some years earlier because, as he pointed out, Guatemala simply had no problems with its Indians. Goubaud was then named ambassador to Washington, and asked the Smithsonian's Institute of Social Anthropology to send an anthropologist to

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Guatemala. I was hired and arrived in Guatemala in December of 1950 to find a six-year old successful revolution and the second elected president, Jacobo Arbenz, due to take office in three months. Although some conservative backlash had been developing, the revolution was still broadly popular and the incoming president was reputedly very progressive.

Within a year of arriving in Guatemala I met and married Betty Hannstein, an intelligent, lovely, and engaging Guatemalan. It took me a while to realize that with Betty, I also married a country. Fifty years of watching the evolution of that beautiful, complex and troubled country has, with her help and that of my three great children, been immensely rewarding. Some friends thought that Betty was a good choice but that the country was a mite small. Wouldn't it shrink my thinking about world affairs and human dynamics? In fact, there was some truth here. Guatemala's problems concentrate the attention of its intellectuals. Living in Guatemala makes it easy to focus locally. Nevertheless there has always been plenty to learn and keep me busy in Guatemala.

In those first years I also acquired a new friend, Joaquín Noval, then director of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional. Unlike other *indigenistas* who were in the main assimilationists, Joaquín saw the central problems confronted by Indians to be those of how to develop economically while retaining their cultural integrity. The primary responsibility for this lay with the state. Late in the 1950s his frustration with the government's refusal to meet its obligations to the Indians and rural poor led him to join the Communist Party in which he later became a central figure. Although our long friendship created problems for both of us, it continued until his death by cancer during the 1976 earthquake.

My main professional work in that early period was as an adjunct to rural public health programs throughout Central America. This work had many rewards, not the least of which were the people with whom I worked. After some years of applied work<sup>7</sup>, research and teaching anthropology to health workers, I became increasingly disturbed that public health's dedication to increasing survival and life expectancy was not matched by planning for population growth. Here was a developmental paradox. Public health, by all accounts a good thing, was creating a Malthusian monster by lowering the death rate and thereby expanding the population with no concern for the consequences. It also became clear that public health never consulted anthropology as to what might constitute sound development; anthropology was the bridesmaid destined never to become a bride<sup>8</sup>.

New dynamics further complicated the scene when, in 1954, Guatemala underwent a counterrevolution by Castillo Armas with the now infamous guidance of the CIA. In the Cold War perspective, it was alleged that the Arbenz regime had infected the rural population with pro-Communist propaganda and the new regime jailed some 3000 rural leaders and supporters of the former regime as Communists. I was disturbed because I had

just finished a culture survey of Guatemala that, oddly enough, showed limited evidence of this. Because time was short, I sought financing from the State Department to interview some 250 people in the jails. The results<sup>9</sup> did not support the allegations, so it was not odd that two years later no one in the Embassy remembered having heard of it.

The study did have far reaching consequences for me. Because of the Embassy's financing, some Guatemalans were convinced that I worked for the CIA. The Cold War had started, but I was still naively seeing the world in a World War II perspective. I was unaware of the depth of the revolutionary potential and feeling. The study, which I saw merely as providing novel information about the revolution, introduced me to an insoluble dilemma: to describe something in a political context invariably will make others perceive

one as a political actor. More productively, this experience also alerted me to the dynamic importance social power, a subject that had received little attention in anthropology. It was a theme that was to engage me for the next two decades.

The problems of keeping some distance from political events were magnified by the 1954 events. My father-in-law had built a small airstrip on his piedmont farm and although it was abandoned as too dangerous, the government thought it could provide an invasion site and issued a warrant for his arrest. Since it was rumored that arrested people were being killed, we hid my parents-in-law in our home. While there, Joaquín Noval came by one afternoon to say goodbye because he was going underground. He later turned up among the prisoners we found in the jails, so I hired his wife, Afda María, to interview him for two days while the rest of us worked with 249 other inmates! The dilemma evolved: I had friends on both sides: Noval, whose *indigenista* goals were entirely admirable and who was my closest Guatemalan friend; and my wife's parents, people whom I quite admired.

It was a few years before this that I first met Kal Silvert. He was in Guatemala studying the revolutionary government. In following years we often discussed how the greater part of foreign social science research started in Guatemala in the 1920s, was published in foreign languages and effectively inaccessible to most Guatemalans. The advent of Castillo Armas provided an opportunity to correct this. With the intent of making this research more available, Kal, Jorge Skinner Klee, a Guatemalan lawyer who had studied sociology, John Gillin, and I concocted a plan for conference that would establish a base for translating existing works into Spanish. Skinner Klee took the lead together with Gillin and Silvert in convincing Castillo Armas to finance a conference and a translation center. Kal suggested the name, "Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteco." The Seminario eventually published forty volumes of studies, half-Spanish translations and half works by Guatemalan scholars. In recent years Mayan leaders have criticized the Seminario because the term "integration" sounded as if the intent was to further Indian deculturation and

assimilation. The intention was not "assimilation," but to promote the democratic opening of the state to political participation by the Indians. Even though there was some feeling that the publishing of the American works was an effort to impose "imperialist" anthropology on the Guatemalans, I have always regarded the Seminario to be a useful effort.

While Castillo Armas supported the Seminario, it became clear that there no intention of resolving the major agrarian, labor, health, educational, and nutritional problems, the work that had begun under the revolutionary government. In the growing shadow of the Cold war, almost any progressive program was seen to be "Communist." While unlike Noval, I had no interest in promoting a revolution, I doubted that social research could be effective without government support. In Latin America, where social scientists are more highly regarded than in the United States, faith is sometimes placed in the effect of social research. In the dark days in Brazil a young North American colleague imbued with this idea found some of my immensely crude analyses to be so dangerous that he denounced me. I could never take my work that seriously. Although research done by Latin Americans often receives serious attention, I shared Kal Silvert's observation that if he had "learned anything in Latin America it [was] that by and large American behavioral social science is inefficacious"<sup>10</sup>.

Given Latin America's past social history, it was impossible not to sympathize with most of the social goals of the revolutionaries simply because they offered hope of improvement. I nevertheless stopped far short of open advocacy for either side because both advanced political goals that I found socially unacceptable. Above all, widespread killing, especially as practiced by state military and paramilitary forces, was not a convincing formula for improving the human condition. As I realized that my scholarly research had no place in the evolving scheme of things in Guatemala, remaining there made less and less sense. The only alternative I saw was to retreat to American academics. In 1955 I was to give a talk at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association in which I alluded briefly to how Honduras and Nicaragua only showed interest in public health along the Rio Coco when they were disputing the territory. A few hours before the scheduled delivery my employers, then the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, called to forbid me to give the paper, reasoning that it might offend member countries. While the issue was minor, it so clearly symbolized my problem that I resigned on the spot<sup>11</sup>, without even consulting Betty. When she heard that she might become an academic wife, she thought I had gone mad; then she realized that, no, it was probably she who was going to go mad. From my perspective, since I had resigned with no job prospects, I felt immensely fortunate to be taken on at Michigan State University in 1956. Six years later we went to the University of Texas where we remained until I retired. Betty was particularly pleased with this move because, as she said, at least Austin was "half way to Guatemala."

My first six years in Guatemala were hugely rewarding. I came away with a sense that the world could be understood, but was totally unclear as to how to handle it. Shortly after my return to the U.S. I had the good fortune to meet Eric Wolf, a sensitive man destined to become the finest anthropologist of my generation. Eric told me to expand my vision. Applied anthropology in Guatemala may or may not have been valuable, but the events I wanted to understand were generated in its earlier history and far beyond its borders. Eric's intellectual precursors included Marx and the dynamic conflict theorists of the preceding century. I had no such imprinting experiences and while I gradually found Marx's social dynamics brilliantly invigorating, his politics were discouraging and destructive.

I was then nudged back to a more philosophic track from which I have never departed. I recognized that my own conceptual equipment—composed principally of American historicism and British functionalism—was totally inadequate. To make sense of things, I needed to find or construct better concepts and more dynamic theories. To get out of my cognitive impasses, I found a device, which I have often used since. When confronted with a widely accepted "fact," I develop and explore an opposite or contrary proposition to see how it fits the facts. It is amazing how many truths totter under this attack. The practice also illustrates my unsuitability for the revolutionary life. Had I been active on either side of a revolution, I would certainly have tried to explore the other side...and probably have been shot in the process.

I feel comfortable with contrariness. After giving up applied work I looked to things that it seemed to me other anthropologists were not doing. I have never been sure how much my avoiding Marx was simply because everyone else seemed to find him *de rigueur*. Few anthropologists saw the nation state as being another level of human organization that merited holistic study, so it seemed the right thing to give Guatemala a try. Few anthropologists—including the Marxists—were genuine materialists. So it seemed the right thing was to explore the early notions of Leslie White who argued that whatever form society might take, there was a fundamental physical, energetic, dynamic that drives the system. I found the model I needed for this in the dissipative structures of Ilya Prigogine, Nobel physical chemist who commuted between Brussels and Austin. While post-modernism has enchanted many colleagues to declare order to be out of order, I have preferred to look to disorder as it is revealed in studies of complex systems.

In the early 1960s I brought this contrary strategy to bear on the then popular assumption that the Third World could enjoy an economic development that would bring them up on a par with the first world. This led me to the argument<sup>12</sup> that in human terms the existing technological gap<sup>13</sup> would keep the Latin American countries socially underdeveloped for the indefinite future. I decided to submit a manuscript (later published as *The Second Sowing*) for a critique to my old friend and sometime

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colleague, André Gunder Frank. Gunder, although an economist, had a strong anthropological bent. He was a Marxist with a healthy suspicion of how Marxists constructed socialism. Above all, he was an iconoclast who loved to build icons. At the time he was living in Mexico, finishing his first book on what became known as Dependency Theory. It argued a dynamic of underdevelopment that was, of course, different than mine. On our family's annual summer drive from Texas to Guatemala I left my manuscript with him for a few days in Mexico City for his reactions. When I returned, he gave his opinion generously: "No goodnik!" he declared. "See you on the barricades!" I left disconcerted, unsure of exactly where he thought he might find me.

No matter how revolutions were affecting Latin American countries, they were having little impact on the U.S. academic and intellectual establishment. In the early 1960s I had a difficult time convincing the Society for Applied Anthropology to replace a twenty-year-old code of ethics that essentially recommended to "not rock the boat." Also, while I preferred to keep the issues of the revolution at a distance, others would not have it so. In the 1960s some Guatemalan scholars began to accuse me of not taking a sufficiently revolutionary and Marxist position and of being in the employ of the U.S. State Department and/or the CIA. In fact, although unaware of the situation at the time, I had fallen into a dispute between revolutionary factions stemming from my old association with Joaquín Noval. I have always been amused by the charges of my connection with the CIA because I did in 1950 briefly explore a job with them. It was then a new agency constructed out of the World War II OSS. Since I was looking for a way to avoid academics, my interviewers were delighted that I liked fieldwork. When they declared that I would need further training, I was puzzled as to why my newly minted Ph.D. was not enough training. Oh, they explained, I would have to learn to dynamite bridges. I am not sure just what expression appeared on my face, but I fled and they never offered me the job. Late in the 1950s I was also considered for a position in the State Department, but I withdrew because it would have required acquiescing to U.S. policies and activities that I had by then come to distrust. Moreover, since Betty was Guatemalan, the security prohibition on discussing my work at home would have been intolerable.

Of the criticism I was under at the time it was the polemics that I found to be really disagreeable. To paraphrase Dr. Johnson, polemics "give me no ideas and do not let me think of my own." Hegemonic and revolutionary ideologies may advance political and social positions, but intellectually they are no substitute for rich social theory. I had no confidence in grand models of how the world *ought to be*; I wanted to find out how the world was and *had been*. My critics' comments were not entirely lost, however, as they prodded me further to construct my own models. In 1970, together with a group of students, I published *Crucifixion by Power*<sup>14</sup>, a study of Guatemalan society that

described an empirical model of the current power structure. While Guatemalan authorities regarded it as a "Communist" document (it received very little distribution in Guatemala) and it drew some fire from Marxists<sup>15</sup>, I was happy with it as an innovative effort by an anthropologist to deal with a model of a state<sup>16</sup>.

By 1970 the accumulating events made me realize that the revolution made it impossible to both study and publish in a perspective that I could respect. I therefore decided to abandon research in Guatemala. In fact, for some years the only students I encouraged to work in Central America were those who already had their own good reasons to do so. Among the few who did was Ricardo Falla—now to be LASA's first Martin Diskin lecturer—much of whose subsequent career has been dedicated to working with people involved in and affected by the revolution. For myself, I would turn to exploring theoretical dynamics of some of these issues.

This change of direction was aided by Kal Silvert who invited me at this time to go to Argentina as a social science advisor for the Ford Foundation. I gratefully accepted, partly because it again allowed me to do some quasi-applied anthropological work, but also because I could leave the conflictive context of the revolution. Much in Argentina was new to me, but the most disconcerting novelty appeared when I turned to initiate new research. Since my work with Ford required me to spend much time in Buenos Aires, I thought to study

Argentine and Bolivian migrants in the *villas miserias*. There, however, I waded into sociological overkill. Residents who had been the target of a bevy of student research teams from the University of Buenos Aires, told me in picturesque terms that all those interviews had not helped them, so why should they answer questions? The same message came from a priest who had been working with the Bolivian migrants. Why should the migrants waste time with investigators? I could only agree, and decided to waste neither their time nor mine.

Finding research to be unpopular was, of course, not a new experience. In Muquiyauyo I was told to get out of town, but in Costa Rica I was actually escorted out in the early 1950s. I had intended to undertake a culture survey there, as I was doing in all the Central American countries as a part of my work in public health. Upon my arrival in San José, the Director General of Sanitation generously had me delivered to his office. There was no need for an anthropological study of the culture of Costa Ricans, he explained, because they were all Aryans; they need not be studied as one might study Indians. I was returned to the airport.

The period of 1969-70 spent in Argentina and Brazil introduced me to the experience of being accepted as a member of a Latin American academic community. In Argentina my intellectual horizons were stretched by Jorge Hardoy, Torcuato Di Tella, Francisco Delich, Ruth Sautu, Pepe Nun, and Ester Hermitte, and others in the Instituto Torcuato Di Tella; in Brazil Roberto

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Cardoso y Olivera and Roberto Da Matta and their colleagues at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. For me, whose total anthropological experience consisted of working with peasant agricultural communities, the visit with Da Matta to the forest dwelling Apinajé Indians briefly gave me the illusion that I was a real anthropologist.

After returning from Argentina, I was invited into another community of scholars when Angel Palerm asked me to participate in his anthropology program in Mexico. Palerm was engaged in reinventing the anthropological profession in Mexico, and could view Latin American events in the light of his experience as a former Spanish revolutionary Anarchist. He had a critical understanding of Marxist literature<sup>17</sup> and asked me to prepare a volume for publication by his program in Mexico<sup>18</sup>. I worked with Mexican students in Mexico City, Jalisco and Morelos. Among those were Roberto Varela, Larissa Lomnitz and Guillermo de la Peña, all of whom I still count among my most valued friends<sup>19</sup>.

Most of the 1970s were dedicated to exploring and developing my theoretical interests. Some of these ideas began to find a response in Latin America. In Guatemala Ricardo Falla arranged for me to speak on the *Crucifixion by Power* at the Universidad Landívar. Somewhat later Edelberto Torres Rivas, in exile from Guatemala, invited me to Costa Rica and published the first Spanish version of the social power model that I was developing, and *The Second Sowing* was translated into Spanish and published in Mexico<sup>20</sup>. Later Victor Urquidí encouraged my work and facilitated the publication of *Energy and Structure* in Spanish. The wide intellectual hospitality of these Latin American scholars and colleagues did much to offset the polarized situation in Guatemala.

Living at the University of Texas would not have alerted anyone to the fact the revolutions were a dominant feature of the Latin American landscape, although more progressive faculty and students did become involved. As Central American political refugees increasingly sought asylum in the U.S. some of my Texas colleagues<sup>21</sup> founded off-campus the Central American Resource Center to provide expert affidavits to support their requests. The center also tried to educate the North American public by organizing trips of legislators, church people and others to learn first hand the nature of the situation and the effects of the policies of the Reagan regime.

Cutting off research in Guatemala helped insulate my professional work from the revolution, but real life was something else. While I was in Mexico one summer, my wife and daughter in Guatemala were attacked by guerrillas trying to steal their car to effect an escape from an urban bust in Guatemala City. Later, my daughter, Tani, and I were placed on military hit lists in 1980 so we stayed out of Guatemala for some years. Probably related to this, Betty narrowly escaped being taken in and "disappeared" in the Guatemalan City airport by the infamous Estado Mayor Presidencial<sup>22</sup>. Later my father-in-law's

farm, which had been previously occupied by the army, was burned down by the guerrillas in a reprisal for his efforts to keep the farm going under the conflicting demands of the two armies<sup>23</sup>.

As has been the case in so many Latin American families, the revolution began to drive a wedge into ours. When young, my wife supported the 1944 revolution but a decade later she entertained doubts when Arbenz police sought to arrest her parents. In the 1980s, when the guerrilla burned her father's farm, extorted "war taxes" from her, and her farm became a battlefield, her sympathies expired. In 1976 my daughter Tani came to Guatemala to do an honor's thesis and I asked Ricardo Falla to provide her with assistance should she need it. The Jesuits were, at the time, doing research and "consciousness raising" in the central highlands directly exposing the military's corruption of the electoral process. Mother and daughter increasingly saw and lived with different sides of the revolution.

The Jesuit association later led Tani to further friendships with various Central Americans at the University of Chicago. Ignacio "Nacho" Martín Baró, the psychologist later killed in the massacre of Jesuits in El Salvador, was in this group, as was Galio Gurdíán, a Nicaraguan then finishing his MA in anthropology. Galio and Tani joined Ricardo Falla's research on the economic and military expansion in northern Guatemala<sup>24</sup> and later she worked with Galio on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua<sup>25</sup>.

After the Sandinistas' 1979 victory Galio asked me to visit Nicaragua's Atlantic coast to do a general overview of the situation. Although the visit was brief, this was my first research in Central America in a decade, and again it was dictated by revolution. Some 400 Indians were massed in Puerto Cabezas for their first meeting with the new revolutionary government represented on the Atlantic Coast by *comandante* Daniel Ortega. I prepared a report for the Nicaraguan Ministry of Agrarian Reform (MIDINRA) in which I indicated that failing to attend the concerns of the Indians could have serious political consequences. I do not know how this report was received, but history has indicated that the government's efforts left something to be desired.

While in Puerto Cabezas I talked with Miskito leaders, including Stedman Fagoth, Brooklyn Rivera, and Hazel Lau, in which they expressed apprehension about their forthcoming meeting with Ortega. Since the interview constituted, at the time, an unusual and probably unique statement by what may have been the first American indigenous population to confront incorporation into a western socialist regime, I sent it to the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano in Mexico; they declined to publish it. Implied criticism of the Sandinistas was not in vogue among social scientists at that time. It was, however, rewarding to watch the development of the anthropological work of Galio and his colleagues in subsequent years on the Atlantic Coast. I had the

opportunity to pursue this when the Ford Foundation asked me to review support they were providing this group<sup>26</sup>.

In 1983 I made a quick trip to Guatemala where I asked an old friend, Julio Vielman, if he thought it possible for me to return. Sure, he said; just keep your head down. So, after fifteen years of self-imposed withdrawal from work in Guatemala, I decided that I would—keeping my head down—start research there again. The decision was based on three independent realities. First was that retirement—better said, liberation—was looming and I wanted to be deep enough in research that I could pass into it with no bumps. I had gone as far as I felt I could go with theoretical work on power and energy and I needed to get back to empirical research. Second, after thirty years in bondage as an American faculty wife, Betty was developing a coffee farm. After I had yanked her unceremoniously to the U.S. a third of century before, it was now her turn to call the shots and Guatemala was where we were going to live.

Third, Guatemala in the early 1990s was different from the one I first knew in 1950, and from the one I stopped studying in 1970. The collapse of the Soviet Empire brought an end to international support for the revolution and the peace process became serious. The militant revolution had failed but the forces unleashed by the breakup of the empires a half century earlier were in no way diminished. There were now more poor people than ever before in history. The two million Indians who were in Guatemala when the Spanish arrived had now more than doubled, and the total population was twice that. What had failed was a Marxist-Leninist socialist revolution, and with it class ideology ebbed. In its place other bases for identity and solidarity were emerging, most prominent among which were ethnicity and religion. No one—particularly the state—had a clear vision of how such exclusivistic and dissonant identities might comfortably coexist.

In 1950 the term "Maya" referred to a prehistoric peoples, a language family, or some Indians in Yucatán. By the 1990s it had been adopted as a self-identifying ethnic label for Mayan language speakers in Guatemala, and by some extended to Chiapas, Yucatán, Honduras and El Salvador. The opening of the ground by the 1944 revolution finally began to flower in the 1960s with the emergence of a Maya cultural renaissance, and it grew in spite of—perhaps because of—the political violence. Now, however, the Maya could venture political visibility with

less fear of being slaughtered as "insurgents" or "Communists." Their demands were for an as yet not explicit degree of cultural and political autonomy within the Guatemalan State. They wanted respect and democratic access, an ethnic and cultural niche that the Guatemalan society was not entirely prepared to provide.

In returning to Guatemalan research I focused on the recent history of this evolving ethnic situation. In choosing this topic, however, I once again found myself in a confrontational field, that growing around the Maya movement. I faced the same problems of distancing that I had during the three decades of militant revolution. As with the revolutionaries, I sympathized with the Maya's social and cultural goals. In this I had not advanced much beyond Joaquín Noval's position of the early 1950s. Again I had a problem with the political objectives, this time because they were by no means clear.

The Maya have good reason to be dissatisfied with the state as they find it, but workable alternatives are not easy in complex societies. I see the state as Weberian in that it should control violence, but at the same time it has an imperative duty to be intelligent, humane, and dedicated to providing equal opportunities and security for all peoples under its control. It should encourage the definition of identities and cultures, be they ethnic, religious, national or what you will. However, in so doing it must protect same rights of others. For me neither Mayan Indians nor non-Indian Guatemalans, not to speak of Gringos, anthropologists, or Latin Americanists, have exclusive access to define what is right.<sup>27</sup>

When I arrived in Peru a half-century ago I had no idea how vulnerable I was going to be to the push and shove of world processes. In retrospect, I would not have had the imagination to design a more interesting life or a more challenging series of opportunities, although I should doubtless have found some better answers and solutions. I have also benefited from extraordinary good fortune in both my personal and professional life. Even playing hooky from Latin American studies for fifteen years apparently did not prevent the awarding of the Kal Silvert award! Apparently no one noticed that I was gone.

Thank you for retracing some part of this trip with me. I wish Kal were here with us. May you all have a good 21st Century!

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>While this account is my own, much of its perspective and tone stems from severe critiques it received from my family. While I cannot blame its final form on them, I am deeply indebted to them for their help.

<sup>2</sup>Some of this is detailed in the obituary that I prepared: "Kalman Hirsch Silvert, 10 March 1921 - 15 June 1976," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, pp. 189-194.

<sup>3</sup>Because the focus of these remarks concerns the effects of revolution on my career, I must apologize for having little to say of the greater part of my life as an anthropologist and Latin Americanist at Michigan State University and the University of Texas at Austin, and for omitting commentary on the many

colleagues and friends with whom I have shared many stimulating and happy years.

<sup>4</sup>A number of Peruvians—especially Jorge Muelle, Luis Valcarcel, Alfonso Trujillo, and José Matos—were important to my work at this time, as was George Kubler who was there at the time.

<sup>5</sup>APRA: Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana.

<sup>6</sup>George Peter Murdock.

<sup>7</sup>Some of this is evaluated by Bruce Barrett, "Identity, Ideology and Inequality:

Methodologies in Medical Anthropology, Guatemala 1950-1995," *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 44, No. 5, pp. 579-587, 1997.

<sup>8</sup>Beyond this it was becoming evident to me that much of what was called "applied anthropology" was merely "common sense," derived more from a liberal middle class upbringing than from anthropological theory. To know that one should treat people decently, respect them as individuals, and not push them around was part of the Ph.D. curriculum at Yale.

<sup>9</sup>Stokes Newbold (pseudo.), "Receptivity to Communist-Fomented Agitation in Rural Guatemala," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, V:4:338-361. In order to do the study I took leave from the Pan American Sanitary Bureau. They agreed to let me do the study so long as their name was not associated with it. I therefore used a pseudonym of two family names. Beyond this I never hid the fact that I was the author, but it was some years before it became widely known. For a further account, see my *Etnias en evolución social*, México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Iztapalapa, 1995, p. 22.

<sup>10</sup>*Coming Home: the U.S. Through the Eyes of a Latin Americanist*. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, 1978, pp. 17-18.

<sup>11</sup>My Friend Chuck Wagley agreed to read the paper for me.

<sup>12</sup>Later published as *Second Sowing: Power and Secondary Development in Latin America*. Chandler Publishing Co., San Francisco. 1967. (Spanish version translated by Alfonso Esparza, published by Editorial Roble, Mexico, 1971.)

<sup>13</sup>See also, "La brecha tecnológica: algunas de sus consecuencias en el desarrollo de América Latina," *Foro Internacional* X:1:28-40, El Colegio de México, México 1969.

<sup>14</sup>*Crucifixion by Power: Essays on Guatemalan National Social Structure, 1944-1966*. University of Texas Press, Austin. 1970. For two critiques of this model see Norman Whitten, "Structure, Control and the Evolution of Power," *Reviews in Anthropology*, Vol. 43, No. 6, 1977, pp. 567-574; and Eric Wolf, "Facing Power—Old Insights, New Questions," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 92, pp. 586-596.

<sup>15</sup>Susanne Jonas Bodenheimer, "Crucifixion by Adams," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 16, pp. 60-74, 1971-72. Twenty years later the author modified her evaluation and said she wanted to "correct my own very misconceived review of Adams' book," and felt that her review had been "one-sided and obscured the contribution" of the book. (Susanne Jonas, *The Battle for*

*Guatemala*, Westview, Colorado, 1991, p. 71, footnote 1.)

<sup>16</sup>As were some reviewers: Norman Gall, "Slaughter in Guatemala," *New York Review of Books*, Vol. XVII, No. 9, pp. 13-17, May 20, 1971; Peter Calvert in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 4, Part 1, pp. 136-138, 1972.

<sup>17</sup>*Modos de producción y formaciones socioeconómicas*, Tlalpan, 1976; *Antropología y marxismo*, (México: 1980), reissued in 1998 with an new introduction by Eric Wolf (México: CIESAS, 1998.)

<sup>18</sup>*La red de la expansión humana: un ensayo sobre energía, estructuras disipativas, poder y ciertos procesos mentales en la evolución de la sociedad humana*. Traducción de Megan Thomas. Centro de Investigaciones Superiores del Instituto de Antropología e Historia, México, 1978.

<sup>19</sup>On September 7th 1998 a full day of homage was offered to Palerm's work at CIESAS, Mexico City.

<sup>20</sup>*El poder y el desarrollo secundario en la América Latina*, traducción por Alfonso Esparza, México: Editorial Roble, 1971. 280 pp.

<sup>21</sup>The Central American Resource Center (CARD) was founded by Chula Sims, Milton Jamail and Michael Conroy and was supported by various local sources, principally the American Friends Service Committee and later the Ford Foundation. I participated marginally in these activities, mainly by providing source materials and preparing some affidavits.

<sup>22</sup>The Estado Mayor de la Presidencia.

<sup>23</sup>ORPA: Organización Revolucionaria del Pueblo en Armas.

<sup>24</sup>Tani Marilena Adams, *Mining Guatemala and Nickel*, ms, 1982.

<sup>25</sup>Published in Centro de Investigación y Estudios de la Reforma Agraria, *La mosquitia en la revolución*, Managua, 1981.

<sup>26</sup>At the time two young American anthropologists, Edmundo (Ted) Gordon and Charlie Hale, were working with Galio. They both later found their way to the University of Texas.

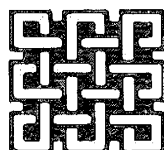
<sup>27</sup>I think we are stuck with the state and favor what some call civic nationalism, using the term pretty much as does Michael Ignatieff (*Blood and Belonging*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.) ■

## Images of LASA98





## Images of LASA98 (cont.)



# Report of the LASA Business Meeting

## XXI International Congress

### Chicago, Illinois, September 25, 1998

President Susan Eckstein welcomed everyone to the combined LASA98 awards ceremony and Business Meeting.

#### Presentation of LASA Awards

Eckstein indicated that the recipient of the Kalman Silvert Award is selected for a "lifetime of contribution to Latin American Studies". The selection committee is comprised of the immediate past three LASA presidents and the editor of the *Latin American Research Review*. For 1998 the committee consisted of Jane Jaquette, Cynthia McClintock, Carmen Diana Deere and Gilbert Markx. The 1998 recipient is Richard Adams, a founding member of LASA and its second president, who was feted earlier at a luncheon in his honor and was officially presented with his award at the Kalman Silvert Lecture. (See his talk in this issue, pages 14-20.)

Jane Jaquette, committee chair, lauded Adams talk "Ricocheting Through 50 Years of Revolution" and praised him for his "sustained history of scholarship throughout this period" as an author of 17 books, over 150 articles, and for his strong support of institutions in the field.

The Bryce Wood Book Award is presented for the best book on a Latin American topic published in English. Florencia Mallon, Committee Chair, acknowledged the other members of her Committee, including Walter Goldfrank, Philip Oxhorn, Julio Ramos and Kay Warren. The Committee received 65 submissions for the award. They then identified 10 excellent finalists, from among whom they chose the award winner and an honorable mention. The Committee also highlighted a third book, Carlos Monsivais' *Mexican Postcards*. Although his work is relatively well-known among U.S. Latinamericanists, this translation of selected chronicles and essays by John Kraniauskas makes this work available in English for the first time. Mallon praised Monsivais' work as chronicling "the emergence of social movements as major agents in Mexican politics, inscribing a major shift in the post-1968 intellectual field."

Honorable Mention was awarded to Terry Karl, for her work *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Mallon indicated that the committee found Karl's book on development in politics in Venezuela to be a "lively and insightful comparative work that breaks regional conventions. Karl's basic approach is to question why 'more' does not turn out to be 'better' in the case of oil." While the book focuses on Venezuela, its findings are relevant to other countries in the region that "depend on economic rents and have suffered the consequences of politicized states." Mallon accepted the award on Karl's behalf.

The recipient of the 1998 Bryce Wood Book Award is Mary Kay Vaughan for her work *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940*. Mallon praised Vaughan's book as the "first in-depth regional study of post-revolutionary education to examine the local processes through which the Mexican state constructed its own official revolutionary history and socio-political practice". Vaughan concludes that the people in each region forced "certain issues of culture and identity onto the post-revolutionary national stage while remaining dissatisfied with the institutions created for the ongoing articulation of resistance and consent...."

Mary Kay Vaughan indicated she was flattered and proud to accept the award. She took the opportunity to honor the memory of Sergio de la Peña, whose "intimate intellectual relationships with his students, friends and colleagues had helped her to write this book". Eckstein thanked Mallon for her contribution as chair of this committee and acknowledged a "wonderful dynamic among the committee members."

In the absence of Jeremy Adelman, Committee Chair, Carmenza Gallo presented the Premio Iberoamericano to Tomás Moulian for his *Chile actual: anatomía de un mito* and Marcos Cueto for *El regreso de las epidemias: salud y sociedad en el Perú del siglo XX*.

Quoting from Adelman, Gallo described Moulian's work as unraveling "many of the claims of Chile's capitalist success story, examining especially the legacies of the claims of Pinochet's dictatorship. Moulian depicts a country deprived of debate over its future and its past...hostile to an expansive idea of citizenship...Moulian presents a cautionary account for those who would like to transplant Chile's experiment to other post-dictatorial societies".

Continuing for Adelman, Gallo heralded Marcos Cueto's book as a "landmark study in Latin American emerging social history of poverty and disease, culminating in a powerful description of the cholera epidemic in the 1990's...Cueto explores the recurring efforts by the Peruvian state to tackle epidemics and the responses of the afflicted both to their own plight and to public policies..."

Marcos Cueto thanked LASA, the selection committee, and his home institution, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos de Lima, Peru.

Francisco Rojas of FLACSO, Chile, accepted the award for Tomás Moulian, his former professor.

The LASA Media Award was presented by Susan Eckstein on behalf of Frank Manitzas, Committee Chair, who was forced to leave LASA98 early to prepare for the approaching hurricane.

Eckstein praised the 1998 winner, Gustavo Gorriti, as "a journalist of the Americas." Gorriti was lauded for his reporting on *Sendero Luminoso*, for his book, and his reporting in *Carretas*. One of the nominees called him "a remarkable journalist, dedicated to his craft, and the advancement of genuine democracy in America." Members of the Media Award Committee included Ted Cordova Claure, Catherine Hochtetler, Elizabeth Mahan and Frank Manitzas.

Gorriti acknowledged Enrique Saleri of *Carretas* as having provided him with an opportunity to learn his craft, and Howard Simons of the *Washington Post* as an example of a "first-rate American journalist." He credited for his inspiration many of his countrymen in Perú who had demonstrated considerable bravery in the face of extreme danger and indicated he was deeply honored to accept the award.

The LASA Oxfam America Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship honors the late Martin Diskin by identifying a lecturer who combines activism with scholarship. Rose Spalding, Committee Chair, acknowledged the other members of the Committee: Ray Offenheiser, President of Oxfam America; Jonathan Fox; and Zander Navarro. The 1998 recipient of the Award is Ricardo Falla, a Guatemalan Jesuit anthropologist and the author of "major works on the impact of military violence on Guatemalan indigenous communities, especially during the 1980s." Selection criteria emphasized scholarship that employed new methodologies, established the terms of reference for future work in the field, and demonstrated a lasting impact. The Committee sought examples of activism directly connected to the candidate's scholarship, that entailed the taking of personal risk and that "had a direct impact on people's lives."

Falla thanked LASA for the distinction which he said he did not deserve, and invited the audience to his talk the next day. He reminded the audience of the dangers of "unearthing the truth" by recalling the work and death of Monseñor Gerardi, who had continued work on human rights in Guatemala.

Eckstein acknowledged the contribution of the LASA Secretariat and the Executive Council to the efficient functioning of the Association. She then introduced the new LASA officers, Thomas Holloway, Vice President, and the new members of the Executive Council, Jeremy Adelman, Guillermo de la Peña and Manuel Pastor. Their terms will begin November 1.

### **LASA President's Report**

Eckstein noted that she had dedicated much of her time during the previous 18 months to Congress fund-raising. She acknowledged the support of several foundations, including the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Ford Foundation, and the Ford Foundation regional offices; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation; United States Agency for International Development, USAID; The Christopher Reynolds Foundation; the Lampadia Foundation; the Inter-American Development

Bank; Washington Office on Latin America; UNIFEM; the Kettering Foundation; the Institute for International Education; and the North-South Center of the University of Miami. Additional funds were raised by LASA members from the Lincoln Institute.

Eckstein noted that she had continued Past President Jane Jaquette's initiatives in the area of electronic communication. She sought and received a generous grant from the Mellon Foundation to enable the *Latin American Research Review* to be put on line. A "cyber-session workshop" the next day would provide an arena for institutions to discuss their own efforts in this area.

Eckstein went on to say that efforts to secure a firm endowment base also figured importantly in this presidency, and noted that a proposal has been submitted to The Ford Foundation for a substantial grant to the LASA Endowment.

Institution-building internally and establishing links externally have also figured prominently in her presidency, Eckstein stated. There are now 20 LASA Sections. The creation of a LASA Support Committee will help the Association reach out to the external community, Eckstein went on to say. She also noted new departures in the *LASA Forum*, with newly created columns on Human Rights and a *Focus Column*, and member news of a professional nature.

Finally, Eckstein gratefully acknowledged the Rockefeller Center at Harvard for its support of her presidency during the past 18 months.

### **Report of the XXI Congress Program Committee**

Program Chair Tim Wickham-Crowley provided the following data on LASA98:

- 3,449 individuals were accepted
- Of these, 1,333 were from Latin America
- 45 percent of those accepted were women; 55 percent men
- Most highly represented countries apart from the United States include Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, Venezuela, Canada, and Colombia
- The rejection rate on proposals was about nine percent
- Of 300 applications for travel grants, 193 were funded—a record for LASA

Wickham-Crowley thanked the members of his Program Committee, Gina Thompson, his assistant, the staff at the LASA Secretariat and the staff of the Palmer House Hilton Hotel for their cooperation and thoughtfulness.

### **Treasurer's Report**

LASA Treasurer Scott Mainwaring praised Eckstein for her "ceaseless energy and very successful efforts on behalf of LASA." He acknowledged Reid Reading, LASA Executive

Director, for his careful stewardship of LASA resources. The LASA Reserve Fund now stands at \$554,000; the Endowment Fund has reached \$538,000. He declared LASA to be on firm financial footing. The Ford Foundation proposal provided impetus for the establishment of the LASA Investment Committee. Comprised of the LASA President, the Executive Director, the LASA Treasurer, and Committee members Richard Weinert, Peter Cleaves and Tom Trebat, this Committee will monitor and advise the EC on LASA's investments, Mainwaring noted.

### Vice President's Report

President-elect Franklin Knight indicated he would continue with the excellent initiatives undertaken by his predecessors. He provided a preliminary report on LASA2000, which will take place March 16-18 in Miami. Program co-chairs are Marysa Navarro and Anthony Maingot. The LASA2000 theme is "Hands Across the Hemisphere: Cooperation and Connections in the New Millennium."

Knight indicated he would articulate a series of specific programs for his presidency and looked forward to working with the membership during the coming months.

### Proposed Resolutions

Arturo Valenzuela was welcomed back as parliamentarian for the meeting. Past President Jane Jaquette explained the established procedure for reviewing resolutions, including proposal by a minimum of five individuals at least 30 days before the Congress date; review by the Resolutions Subcommittee; review by the Executive Council; and presentation at the Business Meeting. A quorum (10 percent of the members of LASA registered for the Congress) must be present for a vote to be taken. Resolutions approved at the Business Meeting go to the membership via mail ballot. Jaquette had introduced two procedural changes, including the submission of resolutions in sufficient time to publish them in the *LASA Forum* prior to the Congress and the use of email to poll EC members regarding their opinion as to the level of preparedness for submission of the proposal to the membership.

Franklin Knight read the first resolution.

#### 1. Proposed Resolution on Cuba

"WHEREAS the people of Cuba have borne the brunt of the U.S. embargo;

AND WHEREAS the U.S. embargo against Cuba includes food and medicine, and no other U.S. embargo constricts the sale of these two items essential for the satisfaction of basic human needs;

AND WHEREAS the Cuban Democracy Act (1992) and the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act (1996) have been condemned by the international community, leaving the United

States isolated from its principal allies on the subject of Cuba;

AND WHEREAS Cuba is a signatory to the joint statement issued by the heads of state gathered at Viña del Mar, Chile for the sixth Iberoamerican Summit in November 1996;

AND WHEREAS this joint statement affirmed a common belief by Iberoamerican nations that "the separation of powers, checks and balances and adequate representation by the majority and the minority, freedom of expression, association and of assembly, full access to information, the free, periodic, and transparent elections of the political leadership, constitute essential elements of democracy;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Latin American Studies Association supports lifting the ban on the sale of food and medicine to Cuba, urges the U.S. government to open negotiations with the Cuban government aimed at normalizing relations between the two countries, and requests that the Cuban government fully adhere to the democratic principles of the joint declaration signed by its president at the sixth Iberoamerican Summit."

The resolution was seconded and Eckstein invited those in favor of the resolution to speak. Marifeli Pérez-Stable, one of the resolution's proponents, indicated that she and the other 13 signatories wished LASA to recognize the folly of the embargo, particularly on food and medicine, and the imperative of "seeking new ways for Cubans to live with each other in Cuba".

Tim Harding proposed an amendment deleting the paragraph which began "AND WHEREAS this joint statement affirmed a common belief..." and also the end of the last sentence beginning with "and requests that the Cuban government fully adhere to the democratic principles..." Harding stated his belief that the United States should not tell Cuba how to structure its democracy. He also indicated that the process was a mockery of the resolutions procedure as established.

Eckstein asked if there were a call for the quorum. Jaquette responded with a call. Two hundred eighty-nine LASA members had to be present to constitute a quorum. It was established that 69 members were present, thus there was not a quorum. Eckstein indicated that while discussion could continue, no binding vote on proposed resolutions could take place without a quorum present. She also indicated that she would establish a committee to review the issue of LASA resolutions.

Abraham Lowenthal praised the resolution as "one of the most thoughtful and most cogent...presented at LASA". He suggested alternative procedures to draw attention to the resolution, such as a written statement to be published in the *LASA Forum*.

Tim Harding presented the following as a "sense of the meeting" motion:

WHEREAS after the Guadalajara Congress the LASA Executive Council, after considerable discussion, changed the quorum

necessary for discussion and vote on resolutions from ten percent of the members in attendance at the Congress to five percent to provide for dialogue, discussion and debate;

AND WHEREAS subsequently the new Executive Council changed the required quorum back to ten percent;

WHEREAS this decision virtually abolishes the resolution process and closes the organization to discussions and deliberations of Latin American issues that concern a large majority of the membership;

WHEREAS resolutions approved by the Business Meeting must still be sent to the entire membership who must vote by mail ballot;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Executive Council is requested to change the required quorum from ten percent to five percent of the members attending the LASA Congress.

There was a second.

In a discussion of the motion, concern was expressed that the current process too severely limits the number of resolutions which are sent by ballot to the membership. This view was reaffirmed by Michele Weber, speaking on behalf of the proponents of a proposed resolution in opposition to the Multi Lateral Agreement on Investment and its potential effects on the people and environment of Latin America. Although properly submitted under the guidelines, the proposal was not presented at the meeting and the authors of the resolution were given no prior notice that it would not be. Weber urged the EC to change

the quorum to five percent so that the entire membership has an opportunity to vote on resolutions, and that proposed resolutions be dealt with in a timely and responsible way.

Jaquette explained that the EC believed that this particular resolution was not clear enough for presentation to the membership and that the authors would be asked to prepare an article for the *LASA Forum* to inform the membership.

Ron Chilcote expressed his desire that the resolutions process be democratic and open to the membership, and that the EC respect the procedures it had established. He also favored a reduction of the quorum to five percent.

Eckstein called for a voice vote on the motion to reduce the quorum to five percent. There was unanimous approval.

Eckstein called for new business items, and in their absence, adjourned the meeting.

*[Executive Director's note: Article VI., Section 5., of the By-Laws of the Association states: "All votes in the Business Meeting shall require a quorum, which shall consist of ten percent of those members registered for the Congress." Technically, any business requiring a vote, including a vote on a motion as a "sense of the meeting," should not have been allowed to go forward. However, it has been traditional for LASA officers conducting the Association's business to allow votes on motions as "sense of the meeting," and it was done here. Because it was, the motion, discussion, and vote on the motion are included in this report.]* ■

## Thanks from the Executive Director

It may seem that people have been thanked for LASA98 until they are blue in the face (shy ones may be red-faced), but when one muses about this tremendous LASA that was, it seems that no one can be over-thanked.

From the record fund-raising of **Susan Eckstein**; to the intellectual guidance she and the amazing **Tim Wickham-Crowley** provided the XXI International Congress; to Tim's extreme competence, good humor and dedication (and as if he hasn't done enough, Tim now is compiling a comprehensive guide for future program chairs!); to Tim's Program **Track Chairs**; to **Gina Thompson**'s great success as program staffer; to **LaVonne Poteet**'s masterful creation of the LASA98 Film Festival—she sees this program through from start to finish and it is a substantial feather in LASA's big cap; to **Mary Kay Vaughan**'s oversight of all that needed to be done locally; to Chicago heroes like **Fannie Rushing** who has been thanked by others, but not for all the myriad of things she did, including taking many hours to arrange alternative housing for scores of people; to those Chicago area **on-site volunteers**, among them a few stalwarts who can never be thanked enough; to my Pittsburgh staff, **Sandy Klinzing**, **Stacy Loughner Maloney**, **Angela Schroeder** and **Flora Calderón-Steck** who are the heroes I happen to know the best—ALL of you are a great credit to our Association and to this latest attempt of ours to convene the world's largest assembly of scholars and practitioners in our field. THANKS AGAIN!







## NEWS FROM LASA

### LASA AWARDS CONFERRED

Eight individuals received honors with distinction at LASA98. See Report of the Business Meeting, pages 22 and 23, for the presentations.

### THE LASA SECRETARIAT SAYS GOODBYE...

With a great deal of sadness the LASA Secretariat bade farewell this past August to our long-time colleague and friend Mirna Kolbowski. Mirna ably served as Assistant to the LASA Executive Director for the past five years. During that time there were few association members who did not benefit in some way from her gracious assistance. No matter how busy she might be at the time, Mirna always took time to provide member contact information for a phone caller; to greet a visitor to the Secretariat, or to make our "almost-Spanish" communications sound more like the real thing. We will very much miss Mirna's graciousness, her wonderful sense of humor, and of course her cheesecake! Mirna and her family, husband Ariel Armony, recent Ph.D. in Political Science, and sons Ianni and Alan, have moved to Waterville, Maine, where Ariel has assumed a position with Colby College. We are happy for them as they embark on a new life, and wish them well.

### ...AND WELCOME

Angela Schroeder joined the LASA staff in mid-August as Assistant to the Executive Director. In the weeks since, she has not had a moment to call her own. Congress pre-registrations and a myriad of questions about things all very new to her, the demands of the Congress itself, followed by the "post-Congress" "clean up" at the Secretariat, have presented a formidable challenge. Through it all Angela has remained amiable, efficient, and always professional. Angela comes to LASA from Valparaiso University, Valparaiso, Indiana, as a recent graduate with a B.S. degree in International Economics and Cultural Affairs, and Spanish. As part of her college experience Angela participated in the International Studies Program in Puebla, Mexico, and served in various roles for her university's office of admissions and the office of the registrar. Fluent in Spanish and experienced in management and leadership, Angela is a excellent addition to the Secretariat staff. We hope you all will have an opportunity to meet her soon.



*The Secretariat Staff: (l-r) Stacy Loughner Maloney, Angela Schroeder, Sandy Klinzing, Mirna Kolbowski, and Reid Reading*



*Angela Schroeder, the LASA Secretariat's newest team member*



## LASA VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

### LASA Endowment Fund Update

At the LASA98 meeting of the Executive Committee we were able to report that the total Endowment Fund now stands at \$547,000! The recent market downturn affected the value of the equities component of the Fund, but continued contributions have made it possible for the Fund to increase in total value.

#### LASA Life Members:

Forty is a magic number! With the most recent additions of Peter Cleaves and Leonard Kurz, LASA now has forty members who have made the commitment to a Life Membership. Mr. Kurz indicates that his interest in Latin America is both professional and personal. As chairman of Forest Creatures Entertainment he is involved in a number of projects with a relationship to Latin America. As a history student he lived in Costa Rica and did work in Mexico. Peter Cleaves, long-time member of the association, has recently dedicated much of his time to chairing the ad hoc Committee to name the members of the LASA Support Committee; Peter is also a valued member of the LASA Investment Committee. We are indebted to both of these members for their support of the Endowment Fund and of the association.

#### General Endowment Fund:

Once again, several members have taken advantage of membership renewal and Congress pre-registration to include a gift for their fund of choice. The following donors have contributed to the General Fund since our last report:

Barry Ames	Kevin Healy	Marisol Pérez Lizaur
Craig Auchter	Terry Karl	Alejandro Portes
Frank Bonilla	Margaret Keck	Russell Rhoads
Marcelo Bucheli	Elizabeth Leeds	Cesar Rodríguez
Luciana Castro-Galvin	Teresa Méndez-Faith	Lidia del Carmen Schiavoni
Alvaro Augusto Comin	Juan Mercado-Nieves	Jennifer Schirmer
Thomáz Costa	Gilbert Merckx	Kenneth Sharpe
Jerome Crowder	Kenneth Mijeski	Mitsuhiro Shigaki
Arcadio Díaz-Quñones	Sharon Mujica	Rose Spalding
Lessie Jo Frazier	Victor Muñoz Patraca	Barbara Tenenbaum
Liesl Haas	Orlandina De Oliveira	Joseph Thome
Howard Handelman	Christine Pendzich	Angus Wright
Laura Hastings		

#### LASA Humanities Fund:

These donors provided support for the Humanities Fund:

José Luis Bizelli	Arcadio Díaz-Quñones	Kenneth Mijeski
Fred Bronner	Michael Doudoroff	Victor Muñoz Patraca
Luciana Castro-Galvin	Regina Harrison	Miguel Ramírez
Lúcia Helena Costigan	Jayne Howell	Alicia Rolón-Alexander
Edith Couturier	Amy Kaminsky	Mitsuhiro Shigaki
Jerome Crowder	Elizabeth Lira	Alexander Springer
Santiago Daydi-Tolson	María Marvan	Charles Tatum
Margarita De La Vega-Hurtado	Teresa Méndez-Faith	Maria Eugenia Valdés Vega
Rut Diamint	Walter Mignolo	

#### LASA Bequests

Long-time member Cole Blasier, chair of the Planned Gift Committee, has been instrumental in helping the Secretariat develop a Bequest Brochure, which is available for the asking. The brochure provides basic language which members may find useful in tailoring their own bequests.

## John Martz Fund Established

The John Martz Fund was established in September, 1998, to honor the late John Martz, Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Department of Political Science, Penn State University. The Fund celebrates John's unswerving commitment to human rights and good government, particularly in Latin America; it is housed in the LASA Endowment Fund and proceeds will be used for Congress travel. When the Fund produces sufficient income, a "John Martz Awardee" will be named for a LASA Congress. Contributions may be sent to the attention of the John Martz Fund, LASA, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

## LASA Travel Fund

The LASA Travel Fund receives contributions for each subsequent Congress. LASA98 benefitted from the largesse of 167 donors who contributed \$3425! These funds provided support toward the travel of several of the over 190 grantees. We gratefully acknowledge the following donors to the Travel Fund since our last report. (Please note also that contributions received from the first day of the month following each Congress are credited to the next Congress.)

Fidel Fernando Astorga Ortiz  
Craig Auchter  
Jonathan Benjamín-Alvarado  
Luis Berlanga-Albrecht  
José Luís Bizelli  
David Bray  
Luciana Castro-Galvín  
Kenneth Coleman  
Maria Lorena Cook  
Luís Miguel Córdoba Ochoa  
Lúcia Helena Costigan  
Jerome Crowder  
Evelina Dagnino  
Arcadio Díaz-Quñones  
Cornelia Flora  
Michael Foley  
Lessie Jo Frazier  
Henry Frundt

Mark Ginsburg  
Douglas Graham  
Charles Hale  
Priscilla Hayner  
Anne Hornsby  
Jon Jonakin  
Beth Jorgensen  
Gilbert Joseph  
Margaret Keck  
Lenauro Lobato  
Mary Long  
Dale Mathews  
Paul McKay  
Johanna Mendelson-Forman  
Walter Mignolo  
Kenneth Mijeski  
Marilyn Miller  
Gabriela Mossi

Víctor Muñoz Patraca  
Gloria Rudolf  
Victoria Sanford  
Maureen Shea  
Mitsuhiro Shigaki  
Lynn Stephen  
Mariana Stoddart  
Susan Stokes  
Clark Taylor  
Joseph Thome  
Diana Valencia  
Paul Neufeld Weaver  
Martin Weinstein  
Cliff Welch  
Allan A. Wood  
Angus Wright  
María Cecilia Zuleta

For information on any of these funds, please contact Sandy Klinzing at the LASA Secretariat 412-648-1907, or via e-mail ([lasa+@pitt.edu](mailto:lasa+@pitt.edu)). ■



## PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Marc Becker will be a visiting scholar at Gettysburg College for the 1998-1999 academic year. He will teach courses on social movements in Latin America, and participate in the year-long Area Studies symposium of visiting lecturers and films focusing on social movements in Latin America. Becker's speciality is agrarian issues and indigenous movements in Latin America.

Avi Chomsky (Salem State College) and Aldo Lauria-Santiago (College of the Holy Cross) are proud to

announce the publication of their edited collection *Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State: The Laboring Peoples of Central America and the Hispanic Caribbean, 1850-1950* (Duke University Press, 1998). The volume includes essays by Jeffrey Gould, Julie Charlip, Patricia Alvarenga, Darío Euraque, Cindy Forster, Eileen Findlay, Barry Carr, and Richard Turits, as well as the editors, and conclusion by Francisco Scarano and Lowell Gudmundson.

*continued, page 30*

## IN MEMORIAM

**John D. Martz III**  
1934-1998

*John D. Martz III, Distinguished Professor of Political Science and former head of the Department of Political Science, died on August 16, at the age of 64. At the time of his death he was in Caracas, Venezuela, directing cross-national research on the problems of governability and democratic consolidation.*

*A native of Latrobe Pennsylvania, John was the only son of the late Col. John D. Martz, Jr. and Margaret Sipe Martz. In 1983 he married Corazón Cruz. He received his A.B. from Harvard University, his A.M. from George Washington University and his Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Before coming to Penn State in 1978 to head the Department of Political Science, he served as an officer in Army intelligence and as chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill. Martz stepped down as department head to resume full-time research and teaching in 1985, and returned as interim department head during 1991/92.*

*When not writing books or teaching, John Martz immersed himself in classical music. His favorites included Schubert, Bach and Gershwin. He was an accomplished violist with the Nittany Valley Symphony Orchestra and also played the piano. John enjoyed the company of dogs and in his younger days showed his Russian Wolfhounds competitively. He took great pride in his Western Pennsylvania roots and his knowledge of regional folkways was legendary.*

*His research focused on political parties, transitions to democracy, and United States - Latin American relations. His prolific work drew heavily upon the experience of Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela. John explored every angle of an issue, but his commitment to responsive government and human rights was unflagging. During an academic career that spanned more than thirty years he held visiting academic appointments at universities in Quito, Bogotá and Caracas. He was a consultant to the Departments of State and Defense and to the National Intelligence Council. John Martz served as editor of the *Latin American Research Review* (1973-78), and at the time of his passing he was editor of the highly respected journal,*

*Studies in Comparative International Development.*

*Students found John to be a knowledgeable, dedicated and inspiring teacher. His finely honed sense of humor and wit sparkled in the classroom. Martz influenced numerous undergraduates to choose careers that took them to Latin America for business, diplomatic work, or to study. His graduate students teach at some of the finest universities in the United States, Europe and Latin America. Without exception, students remember John as a mentor who guided their professional development and cared about them as individuals.*

*He received grants and fellowships from the National Science Foundation, the Agency for International Development, the Fulbright Commission, the Guggenheim Committee and the Raul Leoni Foundation. Penn State recognized Martz's path-breaking research with a Social and Behavioral Sciences Faculty Scholar Medal and in 1991 named him Distinguished Professor of Political Science.*

*Professor Martz is survived by his wife, Corazón Cruz Martz of State College; a son David Sobrepeña of Abbotsford, British Columbia; a daughter, Joy Sobrepeña Wagner of Orlando, Florida; and three grandchildren.*

*The Department of Political Science has established a fund in John's memory to assist Penn State graduate and undergraduate students with international educational travel. Contributions to this fund may be made as follows: The John Martz Memorial Fund in Political Science, Alumni Relations & Development, the Pennsylvania State University, 101 Sparks Building, University Park, PA. 16802. The Latin American Studies Association has also established a fund in John's memory to assist Latin American scholars with travel to LASA Congresses. Contributions to this fund may be made as follows: John Martz Fund-LASA; Latin American Studies Association, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.*

*Submitted by  
David J. Myers  
Penn State University*

Jorge Heine, a past president of the Caribbean Studies Association and of the Chilean Political Science Association, and currently Chile's ambassador to South Africa, recently presented his credentials to King Mswati III of Swaziland, where he will be cross-accredited. Heine is also concurrent Chilean ambassador to Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Miguel Korzeniewicz, Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico, has been awarded tenure and promoted to the rank of associate professor.

William M. LeoGrande has written *Our Own Backyard: The United States in Central America, 1977-1992*, recently published by the University of North Carolina Press (1998). The book is a comprehensive history of the conflicts in the region and Washington's response during the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations. Professor LeoGrande is currently Acting Dean of the School of Public Affairs at American University in

Washington, DC.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has just published *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy* by Jennifer Schirmer (Harvard University). The book, based on ten years of interviews with high-ranking Guatemalan military officers, is part of the University of Pennsylvania Press's Human Rights Series ([gaines@pobox.upenn.edu](mailto:gaines@pobox.upenn.edu)). The book has also been translated into Spanish and is being published under the title, *Las intimidaciones del terror: el proyecto político de los militares en Guatemala* by FLACSO-Guatemala, with an introduction by Edelberto Torres-Rivas ([flacso@concyt.gob.gt](mailto:flacso@concyt.gob.gt)).

Thomas Ward, Associate Professor of Modern Languages, Loyola College, Baltimore, has published a book: *La anarquía inmanentista de Manuel González Prada* (New York/Bern: Peter Lang, 1998). ■



## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

### LASA98 PAPERS IN HARD-COPY AND ELECTRONIC VERSIONS

**Hard Copy Versions:** Because so many LASA98 paper presenters mailed copies of their presentations to the Secretariat, or took them to the meeting (where we helped ourselves to one copy), the list of hard-copy papers available for distribution through the Secretariat was so long (over 1100 papers) that it wouldn't fit in the *Forum*. Hence a separate packet, sent with this mailing. Please follow the instructions for ordering hard copies.

**Electronic Versions:** With the generous support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, LASA is able to post papers from the Chicago XXI International Congress on its website. In line with the guidelines of the Task Force on LASA and the 21st Century, these papers will be made available to members via password entry.

Thanks to all those who already have provided LASA with diskettes or email attachments of their papers. We are seeking many more, however, and are asking paper presenters who have not already done so to send us email attachments or diskettes of their presentations as soon as possible.

Papers sent by email must be contained in an attachment, and not in the text of the message itself. Diskettes must be 3.5 inch, high-density, virus-free, and *clearly labeled with the*

*NAME of the author(s) and title of the paper.* Documents may be submitted in the any of the following languages, although Word and WordPerfect are preferable:

For a PC: Ami Pro 2.0, 3.x; Claris Works 1.0, 3.0; DCA/RFT; Multimate 3.x, 4.0; MS Word DOS 5.5; MS Word Windows 2.0, 6.0, 7.0; MS Works 2.0, 3.0, 4.0; Text; WordPerfect 5.1, 6.x; WordPerfect Windows 5.x, 6.x; WordPerfect Works 2.0; WordStar DOS 5.5, 6.0, 7.0.

For a Mac: Claris Works 1.0, 2.x, 3.0; MacWrite II; MacWrite Pro 1.0, 1.5; MS Word 4.0, 5.x, 6.0; MS Works 3.0, 4.0; RFT; Text; WordPerfect 2.0, 2.1, 3.x.

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Because of its commitment to broaden and deepen the stream of communication about topics of interest to the profession, LASA works hard to gather these papers—and considers this activity among the very most critical we provide. Members can become more aware of research in progress along a variety of dimensions of the field thorough this program. Thanks for helping us with this task! ■



### U.S.-Colombian Relations

#### Recent Developments

by Cynthia J. Arnson

Woodrow Wilson Center

and Andrés Franco

Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá

Today marks a new beginning in U.S.-Colombian relations," President-elect Andrés Pastrana optimistically announced after a meeting with President Bill Clinton at the White House on August 3, 1998. Indeed, the pre-inaugural warm welcome extended the new Colombian head of state stood in sharp contrast to the past four years of bitterness between Washington and Bogotá. Before, and prompted by information linking former President Ernesto Samper's presidential campaign to funds from the Cali drug trafficking cartel, the Clinton administration twice "decertified" Colombia as a partner in the war on drugs, curtailing some trade and investment and most aid except that designated for anti-narcotics programs. In addition, in 1996 the State Department yanked Samper's visa to enter the United States—a largely symbolic measure but unusual in that it was applied to an elected leader of a country with a wide range of cooperative relations with the United States. Many Colombians themselves viewed Samper as a rogue, and were less troubled by the visa revocations than was the government itself. But even in a country where levels of anti-Americanism have historically been low, unilateral and highly public judgments such as decertification are widely resented, even as they satisfy powerful domestic constituencies in the United States concerned to "do something" about drugs.

#### A New Beginning?

The election of Pastrana provides an opportunity for a new turn in U.S.-Colombian relations. But it is still unclear how much relations will improve. Already there are signs that Colombia and the United States differ radically over such critical issues as how to manage the peace process with the guerrillas and how to combat narcotrafficking; it remains to be seen whether goodwill between the two countries will depend, as it has in the past, on Colombian acceptance of U.S. priorities and strategies. As if to underscore the underlying differences, Pastrana made an unscheduled visit to Washington in late September following a vote in the U.S. House of Representatives to increase spending on anti-drug programs overseas. The section pertaining to Colombia would cut off U.S. aid if anti-narcotics operations were imperiled by a proposed Colombian military withdrawal from several municipalities—a step Pastrana has agreed to in order to open peace talks with the insurgents.

Perhaps more critical to future relations, the U.S. government has failed to sort out its multiple priorities in Colombia, which include security, counter-narcotics, and the promotion of democracy, human rights, and the peace process. Contrary to the liberal creed that 'all good things go together,' different U.S. goals may not be complementary, but rather, in open and direct conflict.

The basic parameters of the U.S.-Colombian relationship have been set for some time. The United States is a powerful and relevant political actor in Colombian internal affairs, but the reverse is not true, except inasmuch as Colombian drug lords provide some 80 percent of the cocaine entering world markets and a growing share of the heroin consumed in the United States. The United States retains the ability to set the bilateral agenda, long dominated by the preoccupation with stopping narcotics at its source. In pursuit of that goal, the United States has made common cause with Colombian security forces—primarily the National Police, Air Force, and Navy, and, increasingly, the Army. According to the State and Defense Departments, between fiscal years 1990 and 1997, the United States provided \$731.3 million to the Colombian police and military, making Colombia the largest recipient of military aid in the Western hemisphere during the last decade.

That components of the Colombian guerrilla movement have entered the drug racket in some areas of the country, protecting crops and laboratories in exchange for political support and huge profits, has made it possible for the military establishments in both countries to pursue counterinsurgency operations in the name of counter-narcotics. According to senior U.S. officials, Colombian military officers have explicitly manipulated the narco-guerrilla connection to obtain U.S. aid, all the while maintaining that the war is being fought on behalf of the United States. While aid to the army, in particular, was curtailed in the early and mid-1990s, a widening military relationship has been established despite the fact that Colombia has the worst human rights record in Latin America, and despite recent measures passed by Congress linking U.S. military assistance to human rights performance.

## From Black and White to Vast Areas of Gray

To be sure, what Colombians refer to as the "narcotization" of U.S. policy has been somewhat of a misnomer in recent years. In the late 1990s, and in stark contrast to the early days of the 'drug war' declared in 1989, Clinton administration officials have portrayed Colombia's "narco-democracy" in subtler hues of gray. In 1997 and 1998, for example, the State Department's human rights bureau issued scathing reports on the human rights situation in Colombia. The 1998 report, for example, attributed only 7.5 percent of political killings directly to government forces, but noted that "killings by paramilitary groups...increased significantly, many times with the complicity of individual soldiers or military units, or with the knowledge and tacit approval of senior military officials." The report elicited a firestorm of protest from the Colombian armed forces, and was interpreted in some political circles in Bogotá as part of the ongoing effort to isolate the Samper government. Its candor was widely hailed by human rights groups, however.

Beginning in 1995, moreover, U.S. officials began to finger the army's 20th Intelligence Brigade for its involvement in the assassination of political activists. Colombian officials formally disbanded the unit in May 1998, although some suspect that its functions have simply been shifted elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> U.S. diplomacy by visa denial continued, by May 1998 including army Inspector General (and former head of the 20<sup>th</sup> Brigade) Iván Ramírez and other officers linked to paramilitary and death squad activity.

Just as important as the growing attention to human rights, the precise relationship between drug trafficking and guerrilla organizations (primarily the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, FARC, and the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional*, ELN) underwent review. A 1996 U.S. intelligence assessment concluded that the FARC was heavily involved in protecting coca crops and drug refining installations, but barely, if at all, involved in export, transshipment, and marketing—key elements of the drug trade. The ELN, meanwhile, despite regularly blowing up oil pipelines and kidnapping business executives, was less involved in the drug trade, and the smaller *Ejército Popular de Liberación* (EPL) not involved at all. The assessment softened Colombian military claims of a narco-guerrilla or "FARC cartel," a notion actively promoted by the Colombian armed forces among conservatives in the U.S. Congress and one that still resonates in some policy circles in Washington.

### Looking Beyond Samper

For most of 1998, U.S. policymakers explicitly looked ahead to the post-Samper period and the possibility of warmer relations with a new government. In February, Colombia was granted a "national security waiver" under the law requiring certification, something short of a clean bill of health but a status allowing for a resumption of military and economic aid ties. Moreover, as

the pace of the guerrilla war has quickened and the peace process gained greater prominence in Colombian public and political debate, the U.S. embassy in Bogotá has spearheaded a series of meetings on peace negotiations. These consultations for Colombian and international elites represent a break with the typically reactive mode of U.S. policy, although their utility in redefining that policy overall is less clear.

The new strategic reality shaping U.S. policy is that the momentum of the guerrilla war has turned sharply against the government. A minority in Colombia and official Washington share the Defense Intelligence Agency's dire 1997 assessment that the Colombian government could fall in the next five years unless changes are made. But there is genuine alarm over the poor performance of the army in several major engagements

over the last two years. Starting with an episode in September 1996 in which guerrilla units took scores of government soldiers hostage, through the March 1998 routing and decimation of one of the army's crack mobile brigades to the destruction of the Miraflores counter-drug base in August, the guerrillas have seized the initiative. By some estimates, they

operate in up to half of the national territory, a figure that may exaggerate their strength given the state's historic lack of presence in rural Colombia. Guerrilla incursions into neighboring Venezuela, meanwhile, have destabilized the border, raising the specter of threats to oil fields critical to U.S. supplies. Perversely but perhaps not surprisingly, a near consensus holds in Washington that for a peace process to bear fruit, the armed forces must be strengthened and the guerrillas stopped and even rolled back. But that means more military aid and training for the Colombian armed forces, whose troubling human rights record has already complicated relations with the U.S. executive branch and Congress.

Counterinsurgency experts in the Pentagon appear to view the national security waiver granted Colombia in February as an opportunity, in the words of General Charles E. Wilhelm, head of the U.S. Southern Command, to "open the doors for better, more comprehensive, and more effective security support to the security forces of Colombia." But during fiscal year 1998, a provision of the foreign aid bill named for its sponsor, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), prevented the United States from assisting units or individuals that violate human rights with impunity. The provision was flouted by the Pentagon, which under the Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) program planned approximately 24 deployments of U.S. Special Forces to Colombia in fiscal year 1998, under training and military exercise programs not explicitly covered by the Leahy amendment.<sup>2</sup>

Vocal constituencies in the U.S. Congress, moreover, have lobbied hard for more sophisticated equipment, including Blackhawk helicopters, to be sent to Colombia. The Republican-sponsored bill passed in the House on September 16, for example, earmarked \$72 million for Blackhawks, as part of a \$208 million anti-narcotics package. The bill has yet to pass

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*The new strategic reality shaping U.S. policy is that the momentum of the guerrilla war has turned sharply against the government.*

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the Senate, and is opposed by the Clinton administration. Meanwhile, opponents of increased aid have protested the use of counter-narcotics assistance for counterinsurgency. This distinction has tied policymakers in semantic knots, but has all but lost any practical relevance on the ground in Colombia for those in the armed forces who see no difference between guerrillas and narcotraffickers.

### Competing Agendas, Competing Priorities

What of the Colombian perspective? Pastrana in July took the unprecedented step of meeting with FARC leader Manuel Marulanda, as a way of demonstrating his commitment to peace. (For a number of reasons, including the kidnapping and murder of U.S. citizens and attacks on U.S. property, the FARC and the ELN are officially designated in Washington as terrorist organizations.) Following the meeting, Pastrana agreed in principle to create the conditions for dialogue by demilitarizing five municipalities where the insurgents are active, a huge swath of territory roughly twice the size of El Salvador. Not coincidentally, this region in southern Colombia includes important areas of coca cultivation. The Clinton administration has avoided a direct confrontation over the demilitarization issue; meanwhile, the Republican-controlled Congress has made U.S. aid contingent on the continuation of anti-drug operations during the *despeje*.

Pastrana also signaled his desire to obtain more international financing for crop substitution, hoping thereby to wean Colombian peasants from coca growing and guerrillas who protect it. And a growing chorus of senior Colombian officials has openly opposed U.S.-favored crop eradication programs, arguing that they are environmentally harmful and politically counter-productive. It thus remains to be seen whether U.S. anti-narcotics policy comes into open contradiction with the peace policy and anti-drug approach of the new Colombian administration.

Further tensions may arise over an additional tenet of U.S. counter-drug policy: retroactive extradition of Colombian drug lords to the United States for prosecution. While the Colombian Congress approved a constitutional reform in December 1997 allowing for extradition in future cases (a reform upheld by the Constitutional Court), applying the waiver retroactively will

require further amendment of the 1991 Constitution's ban on extradition of Colombian nationals to foreign countries. How will Pastrana spend political capital? On swimming against the tide of nationalistic sentiments—and murderous narcotraffickers—in Colombia that oppose extradition, or on pressing Congress for the innumerable political reforms inherent in any peace process? While it is difficult to speculate far into the future, a clash in U.S. and Colombian perspectives is not hard to envision.

Ultimately, differences in perspectives may be less definitive to the U.S.-Colombian relationship than the profound divisions in Washington over policy priorities. U.S. policymakers—in the executive branch and in Congress—have yet to decide whether or not the key to defeating narcotrafficking is defeating (not containing) the guerrillas; whether human rights are enhanced by increasing the firepower of the Colombian armed forces; whether the guerrillas and the drug trade are any more intimately linked than the paramilitaries and narcotraffickers; whether aerial spraying of coca crops in the name of source reduction helps or hurts the guerrilla cause; or whether military efforts to reverse the tide of the war will lead toward, rather than away from the bargaining table. Past experience in Latin America suggests that when security issues dominate U.S. concerns, "softer" issues like human rights and peace take a back seat. The question, then, for Colombia is how it will maneuver in this thicket of U.S. confusion.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>According to press reports, General Ramírez had been on the CIA payroll until such contact was severed in the mid-1990s. Ramírez had served as the first commander of military intelligence after the United States helped reorganize Colombian intelligence structures in the early 1990s. See Douglas Farah and Laura Brooks, "Colombian Army's Third in Command Allegedly Led Two Lives," *Washington Post*, August 11, 1998, A14.

<sup>2</sup>A 1991 law allows U.S. Special Forces to train abroad if the training primarily benefits U.S. troops. In practice, hundreds of Colombian soldiers have been trained through such deployments in the 1990s. See Dana Priest and Douglas Farah, "U.S. Force Training Troops in Colombia," *Washington Post*, May 25, 1998, A1; and Diana Jean Schemo and Tim Golden, "Bogotá Aid: To Fight Drugs or Rebels?" *New York Times*, June 2, 1998, A1.

## LASA SECTION ON GENDER AND FEMINIST STUDIES: AN UPDATE

The last eighteen months saw the transition from the Women's Task Force of the Latin American Studies Association to the establishment of the LASA Section on Gender and Feminist Studies. Once the Section was created, a network on electronic mail was established to encourage Section participation in planning for the 1998 International Congress in Chicago.

As a result of the active network of scholars we have established, the Section on Gender and Feminist Studies is the largest one in the Association. There are currently 357 members, indicating

that there is great deal of interest in our plans and projects.

Following is a summary of the events sponsored by this Section at the XXI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association:

1) Engendering Social Justice in Education: A plenary session for the conference, "Gender and Education in Latin America." This plenary presented the policy recommendations of the upcoming pre-LASA98 Conference on Gender and Education in

Latin America at the University of Illinois, Chicago. The conference was supported by a grant of \$20,000 from the Spencer Foundation.

2) LASA98 Gender Award: The Section created a committee charged with selecting the best two manuscripts on gender issues written after April 1997. Committee members included Alicia Martínez, Helen Safa, Narda Henríquez and Sara Poggio (chair). The LASA98 Gender Award first prize was awarded to Karen Kampwirth for her work "Also A Women's Rebellion: The Rise of the Zapatista Army of Chiapas"; second prize went to Sara Makowski Muchnic for "Las flores del mal: justicia social y mujeres en prisión." A third prize was awarded to Maria Cecilia MacDowell dos Santos for "Gender, the State and Citizenship, Women's Police Station in São Paulo, Brazil. The award was instituted to promote the diffusion of studies on the condition of women and gender-related topics in the Latin American and Caribbean regions. Funding for the awards was provided by UNIFEM and The Ford Foundation, México Office.

3) Panel Discussion of juried papers for a two-volume edition of Gender and Culture in Latin America. The papers were selected from those presented on the topic of women and gender at the LASA Washington D.C. Congress in September of 1995. One volume will include articles on political participation and

development, and the other will have articles on literature, cinema and education. The publication of these books is a project of the Section with financial support from UNESCO and El Colegio de México.

4) The Gender and Feminist Studies Section also sponsored other panels at the Congress. Complete information about them is available in the Congress program.

I have served as co-chair for three years, and am pleased to be able to turn over the Section leadership to two highly qualified individuals. They are Sara Poggio ([poggio@umbc7.umbc.edu](mailto:poggio@umbc7.umbc.edu)) and Montserrat Sagot ([msagot@cariari.ucr.ac.cr](mailto:msagot@cariari.ucr.ac.cr)). They will serve for 18 months. I encourage you to be in touch with them so they may benefit from your suggestions and offers of assistance.

Thanks to Cathy Rakowski and Victoria Rodríguez for organizing the nomination and selection of the new chairs and council members. And thanks to all of you for all the help you have given me over the years.

Regina Cortina  
New York University  
[regina.cortina@nyu.edu](mailto:regina.cortina@nyu.edu)

## NEW LASA SECTIONS

Three new Sections will appear on the 1999 LASA membership form. Their brief mission statements, and e-mail addresses for the Section chairs, follow. Please feel free to contact the chairs directly for any additional information.

### LATIN AMERICA AND THE PACIFIC RIM

The primary mission of this Section is to promote academic research, curricular development, and public understanding of relationships between Latin America and countries of the Asia-Pacific region (including Japan, Korea, China, and Southeast Asia). A related goal is to stimulate collaborative research and joint activities in all academic disciplines between scholarly communities in the Americas and the Pacific Rim. Peter Smith ([phsmith@weber.ucsd.edu](mailto:phsmith@weber.ucsd.edu)) and Shoji Nishijima ([nisijima@white.rieb.kobe-u.ac.jp](mailto:nisijima@white.rieb.kobe-u.ac.jp))

### PERU

The mission of the Peru Section is to increase awareness and understanding of present-day political, economic and social realities of Peru. This mission will be undertaken through an interchange of data, ideas and opinions via: 1) occasional e-mail "discussions" of specific topics; 2) the periodic publication of a Section newsletter containing announcements of upcoming

conferences, brief articles by Section members, book and film reviews, information on grants, etc.; 3) Section sessions at LASA Congresses; 4) the issuance of policy statements to the U.S. and Peruvian press; and 5) the sponsoring of conferences and research activities of particular interest to Section members. Jim Rudolph ([jrudolph@msp.org.pe](mailto:jrudolph@msp.org.pe)) and Julio Carrión ([julio-carrion@worldnet.att.net](mailto:julio-carrion@worldnet.att.net))

### RURAL STUDIES

The general goals of the Rural Studies Section are to facilitate interdisciplinary and international communication and cooperation among scholars and practitioners whose work relates to any dimension of rural studies, past or present, theoretical or applied. Issues to be addressed include, but are not be limited to, social structure, politics, economics, geography, the environment, culture, religion, the arts, and development. In addition to sponsoring panels, sessions, or round tables at LASA congresses, the Section will pursue other methods of facilitating communications such as an electronic newsletter, an e-mail list, and a web site. The Section will make a concerted effort to foster collaboration between experts from Latin America and other regions of the world. Ronald Waterbury ([waterbury@qc.edu](mailto:waterbury@qc.edu)) ■



## Ferreting Out the Resources

by David Block  
Cornell University

Harold Colson of the University of California at San Diego has become an expert at ferreting out Latin American resources from the digitized subject and general content aggregations that have become a feature of the Internet. The following summary comes from his presentation on social sciences resources given at the May 1998 Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials.

**Resource:** IDEAS (Internet Documents in Economics Access Service (<http://ideas.uqam.ca/>)). IDEAS is a database of working papers in economics run out of the Center for Research on Economic Fluctuations and Employment at the University of Quebec. As of this spring it held 8,000 articles, many of which were downloadable. Although it is unclear how many "Latin American" sources IDEAS holds, its contents, drawn from the RePEc database provide documents on a wide range of subjects. An Excite search engine runs at <http://ideas.uqam.ca/ideas/search.html> and provides the flexibility to tease Latin American items from the documentary universe. Harold demonstrated the search "pension +latin" which located eight papers with high relevance characteristics. The resulting abstracts allow readers access below the title level, and one of the citations linked to the NBER Working Paper, "After Chile, What? Second-Round Pension Reforms in Latin America," by Olivia Mitchell and Flávio Ataliba Barreto.

**Resource:** JOLIS (<http://jolis.worldbankimflib.org/>) is a service presented by the World Bank/ IMF Joint Library, indexing and linking to materials in economics, policy and finance published since 1980. This resource duplicates the for-fee INTLEC database. Here the "pension" search produced 32 full-text citations held in the JOLIS database, including several Spanish-language sources from Latin American

periodicals.

**Resource:** World Reporter, a business news service owned and operated by DIALOG, Dow Jones Interactive and Financial Times Information, with separate URLs for each, <http://www.info.ft.com/> is the Financial Times connection. This is not a free service; there are both connection and use fees, but it provides very current information on its selected subjects, including abstracts from Ambito financiero (Buenos Aires), Buenos Aires económico, Business Mexico, Business Venezuela, CHIP (Chile Information Project), El Cronista (Buenos Aires), Gazeta mercantil (Sao Paulo), The News (Mexico), O Globo (Brazil) and South American Business Information.

**Resource:** Academic Universe (AU). This is the web-based successor to Lexis-Nexis, now owned by Reed Elsevier Inc. The differences between Academic Universe and its predecessor are complex and changing. Suffice it to say that the web product's content is not as deep, but many of the former restrictions on use—it is now available over campus networks—have disappeared. The content is segregated by "family," which means that a single search will not cover the entire database. However, Harold demonstrated a search on the Mexican "prd" qualified by the family "Spanish Language News" and then additionally qualified by "publication (jornada)" which sifted citations into meaningful groups. [More on AU follows.]

**Resource:** World Development Sources <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/imagebank2/> is a database of World Bank Reports, now totalling more than 6,000 or half a million pages online. A search engine allows searching by key word and a special viewer, available at the site as a plug-in, provides access to scanned images for most of the documents.

### SPOTLIGHT ON ACADEMIC UNIVERSE

More than 600 college and university libraries nationwide have purchased campus subscriptions to Academic Universe, the new WWW version of the vaunted LEXIS-NEXIS research service. Academic Universe provides an approachable yet powerful search and display interface to more than 5000 full-text newspapers, magazines, newsletters, wires, transcripts, and more, instantly ranking it as perhaps the most current and comprehensive online news facility now in wide use across academe. Access to the database is open to all students,

faculty, and staff at each subscribing institution: just point your browser to <http://www.lexis-nexis.com/universe>, click a content area on the main menu ("General News Topics" works very well), and complete the resulting search form. Articles matching your search criteria are retrieved promptly—often within seconds—and then displayed in citation style with clickable links to the actual texts. Printing, e-mailing, and downloading are performed through your browser.

The thousands of searchable full-text publications on Academic Universe reach back years to form a substantial electronic archive and feed of press reports on Latin America, with many such articles drawn from standard news sources (e.g., The New York Times, Associated Press, Economist), some from specialty media (e.g., Jane's Defence Weekly, Emerging Markets Debt Report, Communications Daily, Inter Press Service), and still others from titles devoted to or even published in the region (e.g., Latin American Energy Alert, Gazeta Mercantil). Among the major clusters of prime Latin Americanist content layered within Academic Universe are:

- \* The complete family of weekly and monthly reports from London-based Latin American Newsletters, Ltd., including their flagship Latin American Weekly Report. Coverage dates back to 1967, one of the longest online runs anywhere of a news publication. To search the content library containing these reports, select main menu: General News Topics, then pull down search form source material: Newsletters

- \* The Latin America Data Base (LADB) weekly newsletters from the University of New Mexico, presently consisting of SourceMex, EcoCentral, and NotiSur. Coverage starts in 1987 with early LADB titles. General News Topics : North/South America News Sources

- \* The BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (SWB) report covering Latin American current affairs, with translations of selected radio and television news transmissions, wire service stories, and newspaper articles. Coverage dates back to 1979, far longer than the counterpart online product from the U.S. Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). General News Topics: North/South America News Sources

- \* Some 40 Mexican newspapers, newsletters, magazines, and wires sourced from the information provider InfoLatina, S.A. de C.V. Titles include general dailies (e.g., Excelsior, El Nacional, La Jornada, El Diario de Chihuahua), news and analysis magazines (e.g., Proceso, Este Pais, Voz y Voto), and several business and industry trade publications. Date coverage for most works extends back two or three years, but Nexos is online from its first issue in January 1978. General News Topics: Spanish Language News.

Searches within a single newspaper or other publication can be constructed, but Academic Universe really delivers as a research tool through its convenient, enriching aggregations of so many variously benchmark, specialist, or just plain eye-opening information sources, some of which scholars and academic libraries typically have not enjoyed before in either print or electronic form. Overall, no other WWW product in general distribution across college and university campuses offers as much desktop ease, searching precision, historical depth, content power, and timeliness for global news retrieval and viewing.

Academic Universe is a welcome full-text companion to major area studies indexes like our HAPI Online and HLAS Online, bringing ready-to-go current affairs and business articles that seem destined to show up in legions of student term papers this year and beyond. Official source lists and search manuals for the new service are posted at its home website <http://www.cispubs.com/acaduniv/index.html>, and some university libraries have already prepared and placed their own user guides on the WWW for public reference, too. Help screens and content listings are also available during your Academic Universe search session.

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**Traducción** is a list devoted to translation in Spain. It's a restricted list for persons that are interested in translation aspects such as history, theory, teaching, learning, rese bibliography. Contents of the list depend on the participants who must be rigorous and honest with the cited data. It's very important to differentiate between science and opinion or beliefs. This is an academic list and could be also a good tool for working in the Spanish translation field. If you would like to subscribe to Traducción you may send e-mail to

[listserv@listserv.rediris.es](mailto:listserv@listserv.rediris.es) with the body of the mail containing the single line: sub Traducción yourfirstname yourlastname. For example: sub Traducción Carlos Herrero. Owner: [traduccion-request@listserv.rediris.es](mailto:traduccion-request@listserv.rediris.es). More information about Traducción: <http://www.rediris.es/list/info/TRADUCCION.html>. More information about distribution list speaking Spanish language: <http://www.rediris.es/list/buscon.es>. ■



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Amherst College Department of History invites applications for a full-time, tenure-track position in Latin American history, beginning in the fall of 1999, at the assistant professor level. The appointee will be expected to teach two courses per semester. Courses will include both general and specialized courses in Latin American history as well as departmental courses for majors. Strong commitment to undergraduate and interdisciplinary teaching expected.

Completion of requirements for the Ph.D. by August 1999 is required. Amherst College is a private, coeducational liberal arts college of 1600 students and 165 faculty located in the Connecticut River Valley of western Massachusetts and participates with Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, and Smith Colleges and with the University of Massachusetts in the Five-College Consortium. Send application (with vita) to the Departmental Search Committee, c/o Ms. Rhea Cabin,

Department of History, Box 2254, Amherst College, PO Box 5000, Amherst, MA 01002-5000 by *December 1, 1998*. As an affirmative action, equal opportunity employer, Amherst College especially encourages the applications of women and minority candidates.

The University of Arkansas is seeking applications for the position of Assistant Professor of Latin American Studies. This is a tenure-track position, Ph.D. required, to begin August 1999. Field of major discipline open (sociology, geography, anthropology, history, etc.). The University seeks candidates whose training reflects significant experience in a quality Latin American Studies Program and strong commitment to development and innovation in multidisciplinary area studies. Quality teaching, an on-going program of research and proficiency in Spanish are expected. Send c.v., transcripts and three letters of recommendation to James F. Horton, Director, Latin American Studies, Dept. of Foreign Languages, KIMP 425, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, AR 72701. The review process ends *January 15, 1999* or until a suitable candidate is found. AA/EO. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply.

The Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC), a private, nonprofit research organization dedicated to independent, nonpartisan research on economic, social, and political issues that affect the lives of Californians, is seeking regular full-time Research Fellows to join our multi-disciplinary team

### **M.A. Program in Latin American and Iberian Studies**

#### **University of California, Santa Barbara**

The Program in Latin American and Iberian Studies (LAIS) at the University of California, Santa Barbara offers an interdisciplinary M.A. degree that can be earned in one to two years. Drawing on a strong and diverse research faculty of 35 from ten different departments, covering Latin America, Spain, and Portugal, and the Latino population in the United States; considerable university resources; a vibrant community and a spectacular natural setting, the program seeks applications for admission from talented undergraduates across the humanities and social sciences. To receive a brochure and application form, please write to the Program in Latin American and Iberian Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106.

Tel: 805-893-3161. E-mail: [gd-span@humanitas.ucsb.edu](mailto:gd-span@humanitas.ucsb.edu). Visit our website (<http://www.gisp.ucsb.edu/lais>).

on July 1, 1999. The first discipline area sought is Race and Ethnicity. Applications are invited from new or recent Ph.D.s in political science, public policy, social psychology, sociology and related fields. We seek candidates whose research is in the areas of race and ethnicity and public policy, with interests in substantive issues such as civic participation, criminal justice, education, employment, housing, immigration, political behavior, poverty, public opinion, voting and welfare. Candidates must have solid academic training in theory and research methodology in their discipline and a strong interest in public policy. Experience in research on state and local policy issues is desirable, since PPIC conducts California-focused, policy-related empirical research. A second Fellow is sought in the field of Education. Applications are invited from new and recent Ph.D.s in economics, political science, public policy, education, sociology and related social science fields. We seek a candidate to do policy-related research in the area of California education, especially in K-12. Candidates must have rigorous training in quantitative research methodology and strong interests in public policy. Please submit vita, letter describing research interests, three letters of reference and samples of written work by *December 1, 1998* to Research Fellow Search Committee, c/o Michael Teitz, Director of Research, PPIC, 500 Washington Street, #800, San Francisco, CA 94111. Please note which position you are applying for. Very competitive compensation and benefits package. For more information visit [www.ppic.org](http://www.ppic.org). PPIC is an equal opportunity employer.

Reed College invites applications for a tenure-track position in comparative politics, beginning Fall, 1999. The Assistant Professor level is preferred but applications from more advanced candidates may be considered. Candidates should have a broad research program and scholarly interests that reach into other parts of political science. The College is especially interested in candidates in comparative/international political economy to participate in Reed's interdisciplinary program in Comparative and International Policy Studies, but is flexible as to the precise combination of specializations and research interests. In all cases, pedagogy emphasizes the conceptual and theoretical foundations of the discipline. The College expects the Ph.D. to be in hand or very near completion by the start of the appointment. Above all, candidates should have a strong commitment to teaching excellence at the undergraduate level, a lively and serious program of scholarship and an interest in treating their specialties explicitly in the light of the broader problems of the liberal arts. Although review of applications has begun, materials will be accepted until the position is filled. EOE. A letter of application, curriculum vitae, at least three letters of recommendation and a writing sample (not to exceed 25 pages) should be sent to Darius Rejali, Chair, Political Science Search Committee, Reed College, Portland, OR 97202. Fax: 503-777-7776. E-mail: [darius.rejali@reed.edu](mailto:darius.rejali@reed.edu).



## DIRECTOR, WENDY & EMERY REVES CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

*The College of William & Mary*

The College of William and Mary seeks nominations and applications for the position of Director of the Wendy and Emery Reves Center for International Studies. The Reves Center is the university locus for international programs and activities (see Reves Center website at [www.wm.edu/academics/reves/](http://www.wm.edu/academics/reves/)). The Director supervises undergraduate degree programs in international relations and area studies, and study abroad. The Director is responsible for continued development of the Borgenicht Peace Project. Working closely with the faculty, the Director serves as an advocate for the internationalization of the curriculum and actively encourages the interests and involvement of students and faculty from across the university in international affairs. The Director works with an external Advisory Council and is expected to play an active role in private fund-raising and grant-writing. The Director reports to the Provost and supervises the Center's professional and clerical staff.

Successful candidates will have a record of significant achievement in academia or a distinguished career in international affairs (or a combination of both), and possess scholarly credentials and teaching experience appropriate for appointment to the faculty with academic tenure. They will be committed to excellence in teaching and research. The position requires outstanding leadership and administrative skills and the ability to communicate effectively with academic and foreign policy communities.

Letters of nomination or application with resume should be sent to: P. Geoffrey Feiss, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Chair, Reves Center Search Committee, College of William and Mary, P.O. Box 8795, Williamsburg, VA 23187-8795. Names, addresses and telephone numbers of at least four referees should be included with applications. The Search Committee will begin its review 1 December 1998, and will continue the process until the position is filled. The preferred starting date for the position is 1 July 1999. The College of William and Mary is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer.



UNIVERSITY of WISCONSIN  
MILWAUKEE

## Director of the Center for Latin America

Nominations and Applications



The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee invites nominations and applications for the position of Director of the Center for Latin America, a federally funded Title VI interdisciplinary National Resource Center for Latin American Language and Area Studies. Candidates should be scholar-teachers in a discipline of Latin American studies, with substantial records of publication and professional service. The successful candidate must have a Ph.D. or its equivalent and qualify for a tenured appointment at the rank of Associate Professor or Professor within the appropriate department of the College of Letters and Science. The person chosen as Director must have administrative experience and leadership ability, and the capacity to work with faculty and students, professional organizations, outreach constituencies, and funding agencies.

**Application deadline:** November 30, 1998. **Starting date:** August 1, 1999. Direct nominations and applications (including vita and three letters of recommendation) to: Professor Howard Handelman, Chair, Center for Latin America Search Committee, College of Letters and Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201.

The College of Letters and Science and UWM are affirmative action, equal opportunity employers. The names of those applicants who have not requested that their identities be withheld and the names of all finalists will be released upon request.



The Department of Political Science at Allegheny College invites applicants for an entry-level, tenure track position in comparative politics with a special emphasis on Latin America, to begin in September 1999. Candidates can concentrate on any aspect or area focus of Latin American politics but should bring both field experience and language proficiency to the position. In addition to being able to offer general comparative politics courses at the introductory and intermediate levels, the Department is particularly interested in soliciting applications from those whose expertise will expand the department's curriculum and connect with strong all-college interests in areas such as international political economy, development, environmental studies, social movements, NGOs, or women's studies. Allegheny places great emphasis on strong classroom teaching, from introductory and intermediate-level courses to the junior seminar and advising seniors on their senior research project. Candidates also must be willing to participate in the college's new freshman-sophomore liberal studies program. The teaching load is three courses for each (fall and spring) semester. A Ph.D., while not required, is expected at the time of the appointment. Salary is competitive and commensurate with experience. Allegheny is an EO employer, fosters diversity in its faculty, and strongly encourages applications from women and minorities. Review of applications began October 15. Send a curriculum vitae, three letters of recommendation, appropriate examples of scholarship, teaching evaluations, and other supporting materials to: Prof. Robert Seddig, Chair, Department of Political Science, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA 16335. Tel: 814-332-3345. Fax: 814-332-2789. E-mail: [rseddig@alleg.edu](mailto:rseddig@alleg.edu).

The University of California/Davis is seeking applications for an Assistant, Associate or Full Professor, with a strong background in Chicana/o Studies and/or relevant comparative cultural and gender studies that would advance the interests of Chicana/o Studies. Joint appointment with another department or program may be possible. This is a full time, ladder-rank tenure track position. Responsibilities include the ability to teach "Introduction to Chicano Studies" or "Introduction to Chicana/o Culture". The appointee is expected to develop upper division and graduate courses in his or her area of interest, and to actively contribute to the formation of Chicana/o Studies and theories through research and practice. S/he is expected to conduct research in his or her field of interest, and interact with faculty and students conducting research in our program. The applicant must have a Ph.D. and an intent and/or record of research and teaching in any of the following areas: multi-ethnic and Latina/o studies (Central American, Caribbean), transnationalism and globalization, gender and sexualities, or performing arts and popular culture with an emphasis in the critical analysis of cultural productions and their social impact. Starting Date: Fall Quarter, 1999. Salary will be commensurate with experience within his/her rank at the University of California. Chicana/Chicano Studies at U.C. Davis is an interdisciplinary program offering a major, minor and

graduate courses; an emphasis in feminist studies and an integrated approach to research, teaching, and community interests. The University of California, Davis is an equal opportunity/ affirmative action employer with a strong institutional commitment to the achievement of diversity among its faculty and staff. The application deadline is *December 8, 1998* or until filled. Applications should be sent to Malaquías Montoya, Chair, Chicana/o Studies Search Committee, One Shields Avenue, University of California, Davis, Davis, CA. 95616. Tel: 916-752-2421. Fax: 916-752-8814. Applicants should submit a curriculum vitae; a statement of research and teaching interests; copies of published articles or other examples of scholarly writing or portfolio; and the names and addresses of at least three people from whom letters of reference may be requested.

The University of Texas at Arlington invites nominations and applications for the position of Director, Center for Mexican American Studies. The Director will be a tenured faculty member at the rank of either Associate or Full Professor. The successful candidate must exhibit a strong disciplinary expertise in Mexican-American Studies. The Director must be bilingual in Spanish and English and demonstrate the ability to provide administrative leadership. The Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas at Arlington was created in 1993 with the goal of involving faculty, students, and the community in academic programs, curricular development, and outreach efforts related to the Mexican American experience. The University of Texas at Arlington is a comprehensive, diverse, metropolitan university situated in the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex, enrolling approximately 20,000 students. The University, as well as the larger metropolitan community, provide significant resources for scholars committed to Mexican American Studies. Send letter of application, Curriculum Vitae, and two (2) letters of reference to: Neil Foley, Search Committee Chair, Center for Mexican American Studies, P. O. Box 19444, The University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas 76019-0444. The deadline for applications is *December 31, 1998*. UTA is an Equal Opportunity/ Affirmative Action employer.

The University of Memphis seeks a Latin American historian for a tenure-track assistant professorship beginning in August 1999. Will teach Latin American survey. Specialization in any or a combination of the following desired: Caribbean history, comparative slavery, and the African diaspora. Ph.D. required, but the department is especially interested in applicants with publications and teaching experience. Will interview at the AHA annual meeting. Send letter of application, transcript, and three letters of reference to Kenneth W. Goings, Chair, Latin American Search Committee, Dept. of History, University of Memphis, Memphis, TN 38152. Deadline: *December 15, 1998*, or until position is filled. AA/EOE.

The University of California, Berkeley announces its search for a Vice Chair for its Center for Latin American Studies. In collaboration with Center Chair and faculty, the successful

candidate will be responsible for developing academic programs; initiating, writing, and supervising grant proposals for extramural funding; engaging in strategic planning and fundraising activities on behalf of the Center; designing and implementing research conferences and workshops; and organizing and writing public information and outreach materials. Required qualifications include a Ph.D. or equivalent in a Latin American field; proficiency in at least one of the major languages of the region; and evidence of success in fundraising, effective writing, and administrative practice. University teaching experience is also helpful. Salary range is \$33,204 - \$56,328 per year, depending on qualifications. Approximate starting date: January 4, 1999. Initial appointment will be for twelve months, or through January 4, 2000. The application deadline is *November 30, 1998*. Send curriculum vitae and name/address of three references to Professor Harley Shaiken, Chair, Center for Latin American Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2334 Bowditch Avenue, #2312, Berkeley, CA 94720-2312. Tel: 510-642 - 2088. The University of California is an equal opportunity/ affirmative action employer.

The Undergraduate Drama Department at New York University's Tisch School of the Arts seeks a full-time, tenure-track assistant professor in Theatre Studies, 1999-2000. Candidates must have a Ph.D. in Theatre, Performance Studies, or related fields, substantial scholarly publications, and teaching experience, including experimental course design and innovative pedagogical strategies. Possible specializations include performance traditions of Asia, Latin America, or Africa and African Diaspora. Knowledge of multiple historical periods is particularly valued. The position will involve teaching five courses per year in dramatic literature, theatre history, performance studies, substantial advisement, auditioning, and committee work. Compensation includes an excellent benefits package. Please send a letter, curriculum vitae, and three recommendations by *December 1, 1998* to Professor Una Chaudhuri, Chair, Department of Drama, NYU/TSOA, 721 Broadway, Room 301, NY, NY 10003. NYU encourages applications from women and members of minority groups.

The Women's Studies Program at the University of Kansas seeks an accomplished scholar to serve as director at the associate or full professor level, starting fall 1999. The University of Kansas Women's Studies program is one of the oldest in the United States. It offers a bachelor's degree and will soon offer a graduate concentration. The program currently has more than 30 undergraduate majors and teaches several hundred students per year in listed and cross-listed courses. There are seven faculty members in the program, all with joint appointments and a large multi-disciplinary advisory board. The university seeks candidates with a strong record of teaching and publication in areas related to Women's Studies; administrative experience is desirable. The successful applicant will have a 1/4 appointment in the relevant department and a 3/4 appointment in Women's Studies during their term as director. Salary is commensurate with experience. The process of reviewing applications will

begin after December 15 and will continue until the position is filled, contingent on funding. Please send a cover letter, C.V., selected publications and three letters of reference to Ann Schofield, Women's Studies Search Committee, Women's Studies Program, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045. KU is an AA/EOE.

Duke University is seeking an experienced librarian to develop, manage and evaluate the collections from and about Latin America, Spain and Portugal and to provide specialized reference assistance to library users; position reports to Interim Head, International and Area Studies Department. Responsibilities include selecting materials in all formats and relevant languages; monitoring approval plans and exchanging relationships; managing materials budget, including grants and endowment funds; regularly evaluating collections, especially in areas of cooperative agreements with the University of North Carolina; consulting regularly with other collection/resource specialists throughout the library system and in other libraries of the Triangle Research Libraries Network (TRLN) on acquisitions, especially those that are multi-disciplinary, multi-regional, and/ or expensive; serving as liaison with faculty and students in the Duke-UNC Program in Latin American Studies; providing reference assistance and bibliographic instruction in areas of subject and language expertise, including teaching a one-semester, for-credit course on research methods in Latin American Studies; creating print and electronic guides to Latin American and Iberian resources and developing and maintaining Web pages and links; coordinating Mellon post-doctoral training program in Latin American research librarianship; and participating actively in national projects and professional associations. Requirements include significant experience as Latin American studies librarian (including acquiring Latin American research materials from a variety of sources) or comparable academic experience; excellent language skills in Spanish and/or Portuguese; knowledge of the history, politics, economics, literatures and cultures of Latin America, Spain and Portugal; familiarity with Latin American and Iberian publishing industries and book trades; knowledge of computer hardware and software. Must be flexible and a self-starter, possess excellent oral and written communication skills, and have the ability to work effectively and creatively with faculty, students and other library staff. Preference will be given to candidates who have a Ph.D. in a relevant subject area or a master's degree from an ALA-accredited program. Salary and rank dependent on qualifications and experience; \$30,550 minimum for Assistant Librarian; \$36,000 minimum for Associate Librarian; \$42,500 minimum for Librarian. Review of applications will begin in early November and continue until the position is filled. Send cover letter, detailed resume and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of three references to: Sharon A. Sullivan, Director, Personnel Services, Perkins Library, Box 90194, Duke University, Durham, NC 27708. Duke University is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer. The Perkins Library System has a strong commitment to Affirmative Action and is actively seeking to increase the racial and ethnic diversity of our staff. ■



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

Princeton University announces the availability of the Sawyer Postdoctoral Research Fellowship in Migration and Citizenship in the Americas for 1999-2000. The fellowship is intended to further interdisciplinary and comparative studies on the relationship between migration processes and the meaning of citizenship in the Americas. The postdoctoral fellow will participate in a year-long faculty-student seminar supported by the Sawyer Seminar program of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, led by Professors Jeremy Adelman (History) and Marta Tienda (Sociology) of Princeton University, and coordinated by the university's Program in Latin American Studies. Candidates with interests in migration and meanings of citizenship from any relevant discipline are invited to apply. The committee is especially interested in receiving applications from young scholars of any nationality whose work comparatively examines how migration leads to the redefinition of political communities within and between the countries of the Americas. The seminar is organized around four thematic modules related to the central theme of migration and citizenship in the Americas: (1) perspectives on states, political practices, and markets, (2) law and human rights, (3) new conceptions of ethnicity, gender, and race in the Americas, and (4) cultural practices. The deadline for receipt of completed applications is *February 15, 1999*. For information about eligibility, responsibilities, benefits, and application procedures, point your web browser to the seminar's web site: <http://www.princeton.edu/plasweb/sawyer/>. Princeton University is an affirmative action, equal opportunity employer and strongly encourages applications from women and minority group members.

The John Carter Brown Library will award approximately twenty short and long-term Research Fellowships for the year June 1, 1999-May 31, 2000. Short-term fellowships are available for periods of two to four months and carry a stipend of \$1,100 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, partly funded by the NEH, are for five to ten months and carry a stipend of approximately \$2,800 per month. Recipients of 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. This Fellowship carries a stipend of \$35,000. 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, and the African slave system. 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. The application deadline for fellowships during the 1999-2000 year is *January 15, 1999*; envelopes must be postmarked no later than that date. For application forms and fuller information, write to Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912. To request application forms by e-mail, messages should be sent to [JCBL\\_Fellowships@Brown.edu](mailto:JCBL_Fellowships@Brown.edu). Announcements of Fellowship awards will be made before March 15, 1999. Website: [http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John\\_Carter\\_Brown\\_Library](http://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library).

The Center for Global Education at Augsburg College announces three study abroad programs in Mexico and Central America for the 1999-2000 year: "Women/Gender and Development: Latin American Perspectives," to take place August 30-December 10; "Gender and the Environment: Latin American Perspectives," January 29-May 14; and "Sustainable Development and Social Change in Central America," September 1-December 12 or February 1-May 14. Financial aid at your home school may apply; transfer students to Augsburg are eligible for federal funding. Deadlines are *April 1, 1999* for Fall programs and *October 15, 1999* for Spring programs; admission is on a rolling basis. For more information, contact the Center for Global Education, Augsburg College, 2211 Riverside Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55454. Tel: 612-330-1159. E-mail: [gloaled@augsborg.edu](mailto:gloaled@augsborg.edu). Website: <http://www.augsburg.edu/global/>.

The International Migration Program of the Social Science Research Council announces a competition for fellowships to research international migration to the United States during 1999-2000. The goal is to foster innovative research that will advance theoretical and interdisciplinary understandings of a wide range of subjects including, but not limited to, the causes, processes, and patterns of migration and refugee flight; economic, political, social and cultural outcomes of immigrant and refugee settlement; and the transformative impact of migration on both immigrants, refugees, and native-born Americans. Applicants are strongly encouraged to develop the theoretical implications of their research by adopting comparative area, group, and/or historical perspectives. Fellowships are available to support twelve months of dissertation or postdoctoral research and a summer dissertation workshop for students from minority backgrounds to develop research topics, methods, and proposals. Deadline for submitting applications: *January 13, 1999*. For

information regarding eligibility requirements & application forms contact the International Migration Program, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Avenue, New York,

NY 10019 USA. E-mail: [migration@ssrc.org](mailto:migration@ssrc.org). Website: <http://www.ssrc.org>. Funds provided by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. ■



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Association of Third World Studies issues a Call for Papers for its 17<sup>th</sup> annual meeting, to take place November 18-20, 1999 at the University of Costa Rica-San José. The conference theme will be "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Third World Studies." Papers and panels from all academic disciplines that deal with the study of Africa, Latin America, Near and Middle East and Asia (except Japan) are welcome. Interdisciplinary approaches are especially encouraged. Persons interested in presenting panels or papers **must** submit a 200-word proposal abstract. Persons interested in serving as chair and/or commentator **must** submit a brief statement on their area of expertise. The deadline for submissions is *April 1, 1999*. Please send proposals from Central and South America to Mercedes Muñoz Guillén, Directora, Escuela de Historia, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Costa Rica, San Jose, Costa Rica. Fax: 506-207-4695. E-mail: [cariari@ucr.ac.cr](mailto:cariari@ucr.ac.cr). All other proposals should be sent to Tom Leonard, International Studies Program, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32224. Fax: 904-620-1018. E-mail: [tleonard@unf.edu](mailto:tleonard@unf.edu).

The Kellogg Institute for International Studies invites papers on Christian Democratic Parties in Latin America for an international conference the Institute will sponsor with the Nanovic Institute for European Studies. The conference, on the History and Legacy of Christian Democracy, will meet at the University of Notre Dame on April 9-12, 1999. European, American and Latin American experts on Christian Democracy will participate. They include former Ecuadorian President Osvaldo Hurtado, Former Netherlands Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, Chilean congressman Ignacio Walker, Josef Thesing (Konrad Adenauer Institute, Germany) and Mariana Alwyn. Several panels will focus on Christian Democracy in Latin America. If you are interested in presenting a paper on Christian Democracy in Latin America, please send an abstract to Scott Mainwaring, Director of the Kellogg Institute ([mainwaring.1@nd.edu](mailto:mainwaring.1@nd.edu)) and Timothy Scully, Senior Vice President ([scully.1@nd.edu](mailto:scully.1@nd.edu)), Christian Democracy Conference, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5677.

The Romance Studies Department and the Latin American Studies Program at Cornell University will sponsor a Conference on Latin American Literature and Mass Media to be held at Cornell University on March 5-6, 1999. Possible session topics include, but are not limited to, the following: Latin American Literature in the context of the visual and auditory culture of the second-half of the twentieth century; mass media fantasies, subjectivity, and the manipulation of

reality in modern fiction; the relationship between literature and popular culture and the marketplace; writers' engagement with the new technologies of the information age; theorizing mass media: Sarlo, Richards, Monsiváis, García Canclini; "the crónica de cine" as the literary genre; exploring the photographic image in narrative and poetry; the Onda and Mass media; the use of poems and novels on film; the digital word and the future of Latin American Literature; the intellectual and TV; and the influence of film—form and content—on fiction. Presentations can be given in Spanish, English or Portuguese, and are limited to 20 minutes. Send a one-page abstract with a separate title page (including name, institutional affiliation, address, telephone, and e-mail), to Professor Edmundo Paz-Soldán, 281 Goldwin Smith Hall, Dept. of Romance Studies, Cornell U, Ithaca, NY 14853. Deadline: *December 31, 1998*. For further information, contact Professor Paz-Soldán at [jep29@cornell.edu](mailto:jep29@cornell.edu), or 607-272-1414.

The Latin American Jewish Studies Association announces its Tenth International Research Conference, to be held March 14-15, 1999 at Princeton University. The theme will be "Migration, Borders and Displacement: The Jewish Diaspora in Latin America." The event is a scholarly conference of an interdisciplinary nature on immigration, multiculturalism, historical events and conflicts, sociological and anthropological views, literary expression of nationality, ethnicity, identity, and anti-Semitism. The deadline for proposals for papers or panels is *January 7, 1999*. For full information consult the conference site at <http://www.princeton.edu/lajsa99/> or write to PLAS-LAJSA '99, Princeton University, Joseph Henry House, Princeton, NJ 08544-1019.

Arizona State University—Northern Arizona University anuncian una Conferencia De Literatura Y Cultura Centroamericana en honor a los escritores Manlio Argueta y Roberto Sosa. La conferencia se realizará en Tempe, Arizona, abril de 1999. Patrocinadores incluyen Arizona State University, Department of Languages & Literatures; Northern Arizona University, Latin American Studies Committee; Arizona State University, Center for Latin American Studies; y Northern Arizona University, Department of Modern Languages. Para participar, envíe un resumen de su propuesta antes del 1 de febrero a uno de los siguientes: 1) Alberto Acereda, Department of Languages & Literatures, Arizona State University, PO Box 870202, Tempe, AZ 85287-0202. Fax: 602-965-0135; 2) Beatriz Cortez, Department of Languages & Literatures, Arizona State University, PO Box 870202, Tempe, AZ 85287-0202. E-mail: [Bcortez@asu.edu](mailto:Bcortez@asu.edu).

# ***Hemispheric Integration and Canada's Future***

**Robarts Centre For Canadian Studies Summer Institute for  
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Fax: 602-965-0135; 3) Marta Serpas, Department of Languages & Literatures, Arizona State University, PO Box 870202, Tempe, AZ 85287-0202. E-mail: [sem1957@imap3.asu.edu](mailto:sem1957@imap3.asu.edu). Fax: 602-965-0135; o 4) Edward Hood, Department of Modern Languages, Northern Arizona University, PO Box 116004, Flagstaff, AZ 86011-6004. E-mail: [Edward.Hood@asu.edu](mailto:Edward.Hood@asu.edu). Fax: 520-523-2361. No olvide regresar periodicamente para obtener mas información sobre este evento: <http://www.public.asu.edu/~bcf2362/ca.htm>.

"1999: Hispanic Literature and Film at the End of the Millennium," the **Second Biennial Florida International University Conference on Iberian/Iberian American Literatures**, will be held in Miami, Florida from October 21-23, 1999. Our first biennial conference on October 23-25, 1997 attracted over 150 participants from colleges and universities from all parts of the country, as well as from Mexico, Spain, Brazil, and Argentina. Our second conference will be open to a variety of critical approaches related to Iberian and Iberian-American literature, film, culture, and identity. Comparative approaches with other cinematic traditions and interdisciplinary perspectives are also welcome. Possible panels include, but are not limited to, the following: Apocalypse and Utopia in the Americas; Messianism and Millenarianism in the Hispanic Tradition; Making Canons: 1900-2000; Cannibalizing Theory; Dissolving Boundaries: History, Fiction, and Film Intersecting Colonial Latin America

and the Spanish Golden Age; 500 Years of La Celestina; Latin America's Imagined Identities: The Making and Remaking of Tradition; Twice-Told Tales: Contemporary Reconstructions of the Past in Literatures and Film; Critical Theory From an Hispanic Perspective; Theorizing Modernity and Postmodernity; History, Herstory: Women's Autobiographical Practices; Cultural Studies and Postcolonial Theory in Latin America and Spain; From Stage to Screen: Hispanic Drama into Film; Primitivism and Postmodernism: Reconceptualizing Magical Realism; Computers and the Internet: Practical Applications for Teaching and Research; Feminism and Film Theory; Post-Franco Postmodern Fiction and Film; Contemporary Hispanism and the Impact of Literary Theory; Cuban Literature and Culture; Hispanic Literature in the United States. Plenary speakers include Gustavo Perez Firmat (Duke University) and Jenaro Talens (Universidad de Valencia/University of Minnesota). Papers may be written in Spanish, Portuguese, or English. Length should not exceed 10 double-spaced pages (reading time: 20 minutes). Registration is \$65 for professors and \$20 for graduate students. Please send a one-page abstract with the author's name, address, and phone, postmarked by *March 1, 1999*, to Santiago Juan-Navarro, E-mail: [navarros@fiu.edu](mailto:navarros@fiu.edu); OR to Ricardo Castells, Department of Modern Languages, Florida International University, Miami, Florida 33199. Fax: 305-348-2130, Phone: 305-348-2130.

"Third World and Global Development: Reconstruction and Redefinition" is the theme of the **25<sup>th</sup> Annual Third World**

**Conference Silver Anniversary Celebration**, to be held March 17-20, 1999 at Swissotel, Chicago, IL. The Conference will comprehensively examine the complexity of the Third World and global development since the Bandung Conference in 1955 and explore the perspective of constructive change in preparation for the next millenium. Broad issues in economic, political, cultural, educational, gender, environmental, health, technological and many other social perspectives will be critically examined. The objective of the Conference is to pose original questions, pursue in-depth analyses, and formulate practical solutions to key issues confronting the contemporary global system, especially the Third World and Diaspora societies. In particular, the Conference also seeks to initiate new thinking about the general concept of "Third World" from broad perspectives in a rapidly changing global context. To make the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference a successful and historic event, broad participation

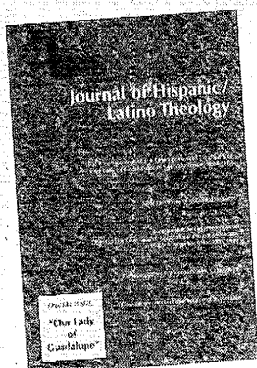
is being sought. Internationally renowned leaders and scholars from throughout the world will address the Conference. All presentations will contribute to a comprehensive volume of works on the Conference theme. Meanwhile regional conferences will be held in Beijing, Africa and Latin America to further explore the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference theme as we approach the millenium. The Conference Program Committee cordially invites people from all backgrounds including universities, international organizations, government, NGOs, education, and business to participate in this special event. The deadline for early registration is *February 19, 1999*. Please contact the following for additional information: Dr. Roger K. Oden & Dr. Winberg Chai, Program Committee Co-Chairs, 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Third World Conference Foundation, 1507 E. 53<sup>rd</sup> Street, Suite 305, Chicago, IL 60615-4509. Tel: 773-241-6688. Fax: 773-241-7898 ■



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