## Latin American Studies Association

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# LASA FORUM

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## President's Report

by Franklin W. Knight

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The end of every Congress marks another significant milestone in the history of LASA. For me, LASA XXII in Miami marked the end of my presidential term. On May 1 the mantle of office passed on to the able and experienced Thomas Holloway. Soon the preparations will begin for another LASA Congress in another city—LASA XXIII in Washington, DC in September 2001—and the memories of the extraordinary meeting in Miami will begin to fade.

Over the past eighteen months I discovered that I had much to be exceedingly thankful for, and my gratitude only deepened with the experience of helping to plan and carry to fruition the Miami congress. First and foremost I remain profoundly appreciative

of the wonderful staff at the LASA secretariat. Reid Reading and Sandy Klinzing are highly unusual, consummately competent people whose tireless industry, spontaneous courtesy, and boundless creativity provided wind beneath my wings. Angela Schroeder and Stacy Maloney served tirelessly and with unfailing enthusiasm and grace. I consider myself fortunate to have served along with these fine people.

My program co-chairs, Anthony Maingot and Marysa Navarro were simply marvelous. Managing any Congress constitutes a uniquely challenging operation but this one was made more so by its potentially volatile location. When the going got rough—and that was quite often—the chairs invariably rose to the occasion.

A special word of thanks goes also to President Modesto Maidique, Provost Mark Rosenberg, and Eduardo Gamarra of Florida

International University. From the beginning they supported LASA strenuously by word and by deed, and defied all odds to host the wonderful opening reception. Eduardo Gamarra, Astrid Arrarás and her committee, and coordinator Tammy Bowers constituted a local arrangements "powerhouse" without which LASA2000 could never have taken place.

Finally, but not least, LASA is indebted to Lavonne "Bonnie" Poteet of Bucknell University for her superb efforts in producing once again the excellent Congress Film Festival and Exhibit!

#### LASA2000

The meeting in Miami was the largest ever, in keeping with the predictable trend. The principal purpose of each Congress is to

bring together the membership to discuss issues and engage in activities of common interest. Miami clearly indicated how changed the membership of LASA had become over the last few years. LASA was manifestly global with strong delegations from various countries in Latin America, as well as Europe, Australia, and East Asia. Spanish and Portuguese were as commonly heard in the lobbies and hallways as English.

LASA was able to respond favorably to requests for travel support from more than 240 scholars from Latin America and the Caribbean, the most generous level of support ever. The book exhibits were extensive and the *gran baile* with its outstanding Colombian-Cuban band, was an extraordinary success.



LASA President Franklin W. Knight

#### LASA Sections

Although we are still working out the optimal way to integrate the Sections and the Secretariat, we have made considerable strides over the past eighteen months. I appreciate the understanding and cooperation of the Sections as we recently modified the Sections Manual to reflect our common experience over the past three years. Of the changes made in the latest version of the Manual, the most important will create a more consistent dues structure and require Sections to present their program and planned activities to the Program Committee at the same time as general program submissions. Sections are also asked to take full responsibility for the creation and maintenance of their web pages, but will of course be linked from the LASA site.

I think as LASA and the Sections gain more experience, LASA should consider devolving to the Sections themselves greater responsibilities for their own fund raising. Such an activity need not be in conflict with the continuing LASA effort to strengthen the endowment and its central finances. Eventually LASA might also consider adding a delegate from the Sections to the Executive Council, thereby integrating more directly the basic interests of both groups.

#### The LASA Endowment

When I assumed the presidency I announced that my most important activity would be directed toward the endowment. LASA was fortunate to receive such a wonderful boost to its Endowment Fund from the Ford Foundation in 1999. With the

enthusiastic support of members, the Fund now exceeds three million dollars, and LASA can now begin to think more constructively and independently of its future. The growth of the endowment has already had two positive results. The first is that, increasingly LASA presidents and the Secretariat can contemplate having to spend less time seeking travel support funds for Congress participants from Latin America and the Caribbean; much of that support will be provided from the income of the endowment. Secondly, thanks to the Ford Foundation gift and the recently-constituted financial advisory structure, the Association can now approach other foundations and individuals far more confidently than before. More and more foundations seem receptive to proposals for less reticent to make substantial contributions to the LASA Endowment Fund, and some that cannot have indicated a willingness to provide specific program support.

I still firmly believe that continued strong attention should be directed to increasing the endowment. The short-term goal ought to be somewhere in the vicinity of five million dollars with

an eventual long-term objective of between fifteen to twenty million dollars. With a fund of more than fifteen million dollars LASA could envision a seamless integration of projects that would truly represent regional and global efforts in intellectual as well as practical cooperation and connection. This, then, is no time to rest on our laurels but to

make even stronger efforts to build LASA's financial base.

The Secretariat

The solicitation in last winter's LASA Forum for bids from institutions to host the Secretariat of the Association produced two institutional responses. The Executive Council at its meeting in Miami decided to accept the offer of the University of Pittsburgh to continue to provide a location for the central offices of LASA. Not only will LASA remain at Pittsburgh, but the university also agreed to an automatic annual renewal of the relationship subject to mutually acceptable conditions. This gives LASA the type of permanence that should facilitate better long term planning. The decision by Pittsburgh to make such a strong offer to host LASA indefinitely constitutes a resounding vote of confidence in our Association. The decision of the Executive Council to accept the offer represents a ringing demonstration of gratitude. If the past is prelude, LASA and the University of Pittsburgh can contemplate a felicitous future.

#### The LASA Committees

The new Investment Committee chaired by Richard Weinert, and the new Support Committee chaired by Marc Blum, have been active and influential. Both committees have taken their missions seriously and LASA is extremely fortunate to have found such an enthusiastic pool of outstanding and helpful experts. The Investment Committee advises the president and the executive director in matters pertaining to the endowment, while the Support Committee offers ideas about directions of cooperation and exploration that should serve LASA constituents. The next presidential report (by my successor) may include some of the concrete suggestions made at the last meeting of the Support Committee.

A new entity that has begun its work on a high note is the Membership Committee, chaired by Marifeli Pérez-Stable. This committee is looking at ways to recruit new members and to boost the retention rate, along with improving services to the membership. The committee will focus much of its effort on the needs of graduate students, a group that consistently has comprised more than one-fifth of the membership over the years and represents our future. I was enormously impressed with the stimulating suggestions expressed by graduate students with whom I chatted during a lunch meeting with them in Miami. The LASA Executive Council may wish to consider including a

permanent representative from this constituency. I look forward to more fresh ideas from the students and the membership committee itself in the months ahead.

The work of most of the other LASA Committees was announced and celebrated at the awards section of the LASA Business Meeting.

All the committees functioned well, and all included members from outside the United States. Thanks to the technological revolution in communication, LASA now has the potential of truly universal contact.

#### A Final Word of Gratitude

The opportunity to serve as the president of LASA has been a great honor. I enjoyed the spontaneous support of friends and colleagues from all across the Americas and other distant places. These friends gave freely and readily of their advice and responded to my entreaties to assume additional burdens for the good of the Association. To all of you, who as true friends already know who they are, I can plainly admit that you lightened my burden, brightened my dark days, and vanquished my recurring doubts. If I succeeded in anything it is all because of you, but where and when I failed you bear none of the responsibility. It is good to know that I will continue to see you in all the old familiar places.



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# The Presidential Election of 1999/2000 And Chile's Transition to Democracy

by Paul W. Drake, University of California/San Diego pdrake@weber.ucsd.edu and Peter Winn, Tufts University pwinn44@hotmail.com

It has been thirty years since Chile elected a Socialist president. In the interim, the country has experienced its worst dictatorship and its most dramatic restoration of democracy, beginning with the plebiscite of 1988. Does the election of 1999/2000 represent the culmination of that transition to democracy? Is Chile entering the new century as an "untrammeled democracy," as a "democradura," or as something in between?

As members of the International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association to Observe the Chilean Plebiscite in 1988, we were fortunate to have witnessed the beginning of this process. We were also fortunate to be able to observe the several stages of the election of Ricardo Lagos as Chile's second Socialist president, from the first round in December, 1999 through the runoff balloting in January, 2000 to his inauguration in March, 2000. In this report, we will highlight the similarities and differences between these elections and assess their implications for the consolidation of democracy in Chile.

Both contests were a showdown between the right and the center-left. As has been true in Chile's multiparty politics throughout most of the twentieth century, such polarized confrontations have been decided by the allegiance of the centrist forces, dominated by the Christian Democrats since the 1960s. When the polarizing cleavage has been defined as right versus left, the centrists have tended to side with the right, as they did against the government of the first Socialist president Salvador Allende, culminating in the coup of 1973 that put an end to Chile's traditional democracy and brought General Augusto Pinochet to power. When the cleavage has been defined as democracy versus dictatorship, the centrists have tended to side with the left, as they did against the government of Pinochet in the 1988 plebiscite and the subsequent presidential elections of 1989 and 1993.

The 1999/2000 elections represented a combination of these two patterns. Because some Christian Democrats interpreted the 1999 election as a standoff between the right and left, they defected from the governing coalition to back the right wing candidate, Joaquín Lavín. Because a majority of them saw it as one more face off between the coalitions that had represented democracy or dictatorship since 1988, most voted for Lagos, providing his margin of victory.

#### The Setting

The setting for the 1999/2000 election, however, was very different than in 1988. The 1988 plebiscite followed fifteen

years of dictatorship, complete with censorship that was only lifted a month before the vote and a secret police surveillance that left doubts as to the sanctity of the ballot. It occurred at a time of economic prosperity following a severe economic crisis, under a neo-liberal, open market model, but with high rates of poverty and unemployment.

The 1999/2000 elections followed a decade of democratic rule by the center-left Concertación coalition that won the plebiscite and every subsequent election. Although there were some limits on this democracy imposed by the authoritarian 1980 constitution-including appointed senators and military prerogatives—civil liberties and freedom of speech, press and assembly were generally assured, as was the integrity of the electoral process. The Concertación had also presided over a decade of peace and prosperity under the same neoliberal model, the longest period of sustained growth with low inflation in modern Chilean history, but with social policies that halved the 1988 poverty rate. The center-left government also maintained the shrunken neoliberal state and the market as regulator. In 1999, the two sides were more in agreement on the neoliberal model than they were in 1988; they even coincided on the need for targeted state assistance to the victims of the model.

Although the context had changed between 1988 and 1999, the two coalitions displayed strong continuities in their political alliances and social bases. Just as the pro-Pinochet "Yes" in 1988 had enjoyed solid backing from the armed forces, the entrepreneurs, and the right wing parties (principally the hardline Independent Democratic Union (UDI) and the more moderate National Renovation (RN), so did Lavín. He also enjoyed more support from the urban poor-despite the Concertación's massive reduction in poverty—a product of their alienation and his populist campaign. The "No" had relied heavily on political parties in 1988, mainly the Christian Democrats, Socialists and their instrument in the plebiscite, the Party for Democracy (PPD), with the Communists giving grudging last minute support. So did Lagos in 1999/2000, although the Communists ran their own candidate in the first round and did not formally support him in the runoff. In addition, the same social groups-intellectuals, students, human rights organizations and workers—threw their support to Lagos as they had to the "No," but with much less enthusiasm, as a result of a decade of demobilization and unfulfilled promises of social and judicial justice.

Meanwhile, female voters reverted to their pre-1973 pattern of voting much more conservatively than men. In Chile, as in the

United States, there is a gender gap, but it cuts the other way. Lastly, where the plebiscite had mobilized a nation eager to vote after fifteen years of dictatorship, the alienation of many Chileans in 1999 from a democracy whose political class had grown distant and where participation was discouraged except at the polls, was reflected in large numbers of unregistered citizens, particularly youth, and a significant number prepared to abstain or spoil their ballots in protest.

#### The Candidates

The two candidates exhibited differences in age, personal style and political trajectory, which were reflected in distinct campaign strategies. A former ally of Salvador Allende, Ricardo Lagos had earned a U.S. doctorate in economics and constructed himself as a modern social democrat in the mold of Tony Blair. During the 1980s, Lagos had been one of the heroes of the struggle for the restoration of democracy. In the 1990s, he had served as a minister in both *Concertación* governments, although he had never held an elected office. During the *Concertación* primary, however, he had proved himself a formidable vote getter, winning more than 70 per cent of the ballots against a popular Christian Democratic senator, with a campaign critical of the failure of two Christian Democratic presidents to address the social and economic inequality the neoliberal model generated.

Lagos would continue this theme in the national election, with a slogan: "Growth With Equality" that was an extension, but also a critique, of President Eduardo Frei's "Growth With Equity." In style, Lagos was professorial, not charismatic, more comfortable giving lectures than soundbytes. His preference, therefore, was for a top-down campaign, in which Lagos presented himself as the experienced statesman, who could represent Chile well abroad and could implement complex policies at home. He campaigned in a tie and jacket, combining an executive image with a message of measured reform.

Joaquín Lavín, on the other hand, is a "Chicago Boy" economist and a journalist, who was a Pinochet publicist in the 1980s, a leader of the hard-right UDI, and a member of the socially conservative Opus Dei. In 1992, he was elected mayor of Chile's wealthiest comuna, Las Condes, where he reinvented himself as a pragmatic administrator who solved problems, including social ills. Re-elected with a record 79 percent of the vote, Lavín positioned himself for a presidential run by adopting an anti-party and anti-politics stance that was traditional in the Chilean right (viz. Jorge Alessandri and Carlos Ibáñez). It also resonated with the many Chileans who were alienated by the limits of Chile's restored democracy and the distance and self-absorption of its leaders. His candidacy reflected as well the impact of decentralization, which gave more power to local government, making a successful mayor a potential president.

Unlike Lagos, Lavín has a gift for simplifying his message into soundbytes, is telegenic and thrives on direct contact with people. At 46, he represented a new political generation and was prepared to inaugurate a new political style. He decided on a bottom-up campaign, a "marathon for change." His slogan

would be "Viva el cambio!"—an empty phrase akin to "Its Time for a Change" in U.S. politics, but one that resonated with voters tired of a decade of Concertación rule. This situated Lagos, who had won the primary as an agent of change, as the candidate of continuismo, despite his own message of reform. Lavín's "Walk Through Chile" also familiarized him with the concerns of the kinds of Chileans absent in Las Condes-miners, fishermen, Indians, shanty town dwellers. His 60-point populist program promised to resolve the concrete problems they spoke of, particularly with regard to jobs, education, crime and health care. Where Lagos continued the Concertación's anti-populist stance, Lavín embraced a rightist neo-populism, promising everything to everyone. Where Lagos' top-down statesman seemed distant, Lavín's bottom-up caminata projected him as in touch with the lives of ordinary Chileans—reversing the right-left imagery of the 1988 campaign.

#### The Campaign

Lavín's campaign also benefitted from a business-school approach to selling the candidate and an estimated \$50 million from Chilean entrepreneurs in a country where there are neither limits on nor regulation of campaign contributions, nor public financing of campaigns. As in 1988, television time could not be bought by the candidates but was restricted to a limited spot at certain times of day. As a result, the Lavín campaign invested its overwhelmingly superior resources in dominating visual propaganda—painting the walls of Chile from north to south, saturating urban streets with billboards, and hiring teenagers to campaign at key intersections. It also created catchier video spots, adopting the positive style of the *Concertación* in 1988.

Probably most salutary for the consolidation of Chilean democracy was the attempt by both camps to avoid confrontation by putting the past behind them. Both candidates pitched their appeals to centrist voters. The big change from 1988 was that Lavín, even more than Lagos, projected a conciliatory, positive message of reform and unity. Both sides played down the two most polarizing figures in Chilean politics—Allende and Pinochet—and avoided fear campaigns, such as those in the "Yes" propaganda in 1988. Lavín set the tone by declaring to Lagos when the latter tried to link him to Pinochet: "I am not Pinochet, and you are not Allende." Both candidates had to maintain a delicate balance between honoring their predecessors and falling under their shadows. For Lavín, this meant visiting Pinochet in London but softpedaling any ties thereafter. For Lagos, this involved praising Allende and his widow at his final mass rally in Santiago—to the most thunderous applause of the night—but insisting that he intended to be the third Concertación, not the second Socialist, president of Chile.

Despite the difference in campaign styles from 1988, there were some carryovers. Like Pinochet, in 1988, Lavín ran a personalistic campaign disdainful of political parties and politics. From this stance he refused to answer questions that he deemed "political." As in 1988, Chile's rightist-controlled press did not press their candidate for answers to difficult questions he wished to avoid. Lavín, however, was more successful than Pinochet had been in competing with the *Concertación*. Far more than

Lagos, he was able to appropriate the "No" 1988 banner of change, reform and a better future that transcended the past. His TV spots, visual propaganda and personal appearances exuded the same feel-good quality that had served the *Concertación* well in 1988.

This left Lagos, whose overconfident and underfunded campaign had begun late, trying to devise an effective response to an opponent whom he had underestimated. Lavín's populist style was different from any previous rightist candidate, thus capturing part of the *Concertacion's* historic lower-class base. In April, 1999, Lagos enjoyed a commanding 10-point lead in the polls. By September, Lavín had cut this in half, and as the December election approached, some polls projected a Lavín victory or a dead heat.

#### The First Round

On December 12, 1999, Chileans went to the polls to choose their first president of the new century, but there was little of the apocalyptic tension that gripped the country on October 5, 1988, the day of the plebiscite. At stake was the identity of their president, not the definition of their political regime. Although turnout was slightly higher in 1999 than in the 1997 congressional balloting, rising from 87 percent to 90 percent of registered voters, it did not reach the record set in 1988, when 98 percent of registered voters went to the polls, nor even the levels of the presidential balloting of 1989 (95 percent) or 1993 (91 percent). Over a million eligible citizens failed to register, most of them youth, a far cry from the eagerness with which potential voters flocked to the polls in 1988.

The voting procedures were equally transparent in all these contests, but there were many more choices in the presidential election of 1999 than there had been in 1988, when the only alternative was "Yes" or "No" to Pinochet. The other big difference was in the results: the *Concertación* had won 55 percent of the vote in 1988 and 1989 (with Patricio Aylwin) and 58 percent of the vote in 1994 (with Eduardo Frei). On December 12, 1999, Ricardo Lagos barely eked out a plurality of 47.96 percent to 47.52 percent, a virtual dead heat.

In some ways, both candidates' percentages were surprising, as many polls had predicted they would not win more than 44% of the vote. The main shock was that Lavín broke through the normal ceiling for right wing presidential aspirants so decisively. His remarkable showing reflected the desertion of the *Concertación* by centrists, including Christian Democrat women, but also Lavín's greater appeal to the poor and to a new middle class created by the *Concertacion's* economic policies—called "los Faúndez," after a television character—but loyal only to their own consumerism and economic self-interest. Lavín's 47.5 percent of the vote was stunning, as no rightist candidate had won a majority of the vote since the previous restoration of democracy in 1932. It owed much to the candidate's charisma, his campaign's superior resources, and his managers' shrewd marketing.

Lagos' 48 percent share, although disappointing to a coalition accustomed to winning handily, was also impressive, as it came after a decade of Concertación rule, with its inevitable attrition worsened by the bad luck of running at a time of economic recession and double-digit unemployment (after a decade of record growth and low unemployment that had made Chile's per capita income the highest in the region). Moreover, the sense that the Concertación had come to represent the status quo had been heightened by Frei's lackluster presidency. At the same time, as a Socialist, Lagos lost votes of centrists who feared another Allende, despite the great differences between them, and lost Catholics who refused to vote for a divorced agnostic. Lagos' relatively strong showing owed much to the enduring machinery and support base of the Concertación parties, which had still snared half the vote in the 1997 congressional elections, even though Chilean voters increasingly operated independently of the parties. Lagos' ability to exceed the 44 percent level predicted in 1999 also reflected the lower than anticipated vote for Gladys Marín, the Communist candidate, who was expected to receive a large leftist protest vote, much of which went to Lagos because of leftist fears that Lavín might win.

That night, the Lagos headquarters put up a brave front, in the face of a result that all knew represented a major setback. They held a tiny, subdued rally outside the presidential palace, and vowed to go "door to door" to win the required majority in the runoff election to be held in January, 2000. By contrast, the Lavín camp treated the first round result as an electoral triumph. His supporters flooded the streets of the capital on foot and in cars celebrating his unprecedented near victory. It seemed as if Lavín had the momentum and might well capture enough uncommitted voters to go over the top in January.

#### The Runoff

The brief ten-day campaign leading up to the runoff election of January 16, 2000 had the tension of a close race whose outcome was uncertain that had been missing from Chilean politics since 1988. Both candidates targeted the "soft" supporters of the other while trying to remedy their own perceived first round weaknesses. In addition, in a situation where only 31,000 votes separated them, both camps tried to attract voters who in the first round had supported minor candidates, spoiled their ballots or abstained from casting them. Stylistically, the runoff campaign was also different from the first round, as both camps avoided mass rallies and stressed grassroots efforts and door-to-door campaigning.

Lavín, sensing that victory was within his grasp, continued the direct, pragmatic campaign that had worked for him in December. However, he polished his image, appearing in his new TV spots as an executive in a tie and jacket, trying to look presidential. With solid support on the right, he bid for the votes of centrists and undecideds with promises of prudent reform and images of a bandwagon for change that they could still join.

Lagos' second-round situation was more complicated and so was the strategy that he pursued. His advisers were divided in two camps. The *autoflagelantes* (self-flagellating) argued that the Concertación had lost popular support because it had become identified with the status quo and that Lagos had to run as a candidate of reform to recover the support of those hurt by the neoliberal model. The voters they targeted were on the left of the coalition. The autocomplacientes (self-satisfied), on the other hand, maintained that the Concertación governments had been the most successful in Chilean history and that Lagos should run a positive campaign on those achievements. Their focus was on the centrist voters who might desert to Lavín.

During the first round, the *autoflagelantes* had Lagos' ear and ran his campaign. Rightly or wrongly, they were blamed for its disappointing result. For the runoff, Lagos turned to the *autocomplacientes*, who reshaped his message into the positive, if vacuous, "Chile Mucho Mejor," and his media image into a shirt-sleeved unifier a la Lavín. Lagos also brought in a moderate Christian Democrat, Soledad Alvear, to run his campaign, with the goal of recapturing the votes of centrists and women who had supported Lavín in the first round. And he made special efforts to woo Protestants away from the ardent Catholic Lavín.

Yet, at the same time, Lagos had to win the votes of leftists who had supported minor party candidates in the first round. This extra-parliamentary left—principally Communists, but also Greens and Humanists—had won nearly 4 percent of the vote in December. These were protest votes that could be spoiled ballots in January, but they were leftist votes that should go to a

Socialist candidate. Moreover, given the close contest, they could well be decisive. Although his national campaign tilted to the center in the runoff, Lagos went after these disaffected leftists through a grassroots campaign that the *Concertación* had almost forgotten how to wage during a decade of easy elec-

toral victories and growing distance between party leaders and their mass base. Moreover, it was in a far weaker position to carry out this kind of campaign—so important in 1988—after a decade of demobilization that had weakened local party organizations and social movements.

On the eve of the second round, the dramatic announcement from London that Pinochet would soon be allowed to return home on grounds of ill health led one newspaper headline to scream: "Se Pinochetizo La Eleccion." (La Hora [Santiago], 12-I-00). In the end, it did not prove decisive. Polls showed that most Chileans did not consider Pinochet a major issue in the election and while most wanted him returned to Chile because of sovereignty concerns, they also wanted him to stand trial at home because of human rights violations. In reality, the British announcement probably cut both ways in the voting booth. Because of Concertación pressure on London to release Pinochet, Lagos may have lost Communist votes that might otherwise have gone to him. On the other hand, the prospective return of Pinochet may have solidified some centrist voters for Lagos by reminding them of the dictatorship/democracy cleavage and Lavín's past.

As January 16, 2000 approached, with the election too close to call, both sides trained their poll-watchers to protest any violation of the rules and to fight for every vote. Some pundits even anticipated the presidency being decided by a "third round," in which the Electoral Tribunal would judge the disputed votes. Concerns about an uncertain result led the two camps to take the unprecedented step of negotiating the terms of an early public concession by the losing candidate if the voting trend was clear. In the end, these concerns proved unwarranted. The balloting was exemplary, the vote count transparent, and the announcement of the official results timely and unmanipulative —in sharp contrast to 1988. Moreover, from the first returns, Lagos enjoyed a lead of roughly 2.5 percent that he maintained throughout the count. In keeping with their agreement, with 50 percent of the vote reported, Lavín and his wife went to the Lagos campaign headquarters where he congratulated the victor before the television cameras and graciously promised his cooperation in the six years to come.

Although the predominant emotion among *Concertación* leaders was relief, this time the Lagos celebration was for real, with Lagos setting the tone in a victory speech that offered something for everybody, including his opponents, who also had reasons to be pleased, if not satisfied. The final results showed gains for both candidates from the first round, with Lagos rising to 51.3 percent , but Lavín increasing to 48.7 percent. Moreover, not only had Lavín broken through the historic ceiling for rightist presidential candidates, he had also transformed Chilean politics,

forcing Lagos to imitate both his message and his style in order to win. Only 47, Lavín is now in a good position to launch another presidential bid in 2005, particularly if he can win election as the mayor of another municipality in the meantime.

The balloting was exemplary, the vote count transparent, and the announcement of the official results timely and unmanipulative—in sharp contrast to 1988.

As in 1988, business magnates were disappointed in their candidate's loss, but quickly expressed their willingness to cooperate with a Concertacion government. It was clear that the election of a Socialist in 2000—unlike in 1970—did not portend major changes in the economic model or rules of the game. Significantly, the stock market rose after the election.

From the perspective of the consolidation of democracy, the election was also positive. It brought the right and the left closer together around the moderate center within a democratic framework, giving them both the highest vote in their recent history. The results indicated that either could win with an attractive moderate candidate and centrist support. From a theoretical perspective, a Lavín victory might have been even more salutary for Chilean democracy, alternating the presidency between the two sides and teaching the right that it can capture the executive branch with ballots instead of bullets. But Lavín's near victory probably communicated the same lessons.

Lagos' triumph, moreover, at least represented an alternation within the *Concertación*, between the centrist Christian Democrats and the leftist Socialist-PPD polo progresista. It also

offered Chile the opportunity to experience a Socialist presidency that promised to avoid confrontation and economic turmoil. The outcome confronted Lagos with the challenge of both modulating and meeting his supporters' expectations, especially pent-up hopes from leftists. When Lavín embraced Lagos on January 16, 2000, it symbolized the possibility that a 30-year cycle of class conflict and ideological polarization might be coming to an end.

Both traditional party practices and new campaign tactics played a role in the elections. Many voters still adhered to partisan right, center, or left positions, but one sign that Chilean politics in the 21st century might be different than it had been in the 20th were the changes in the electorate. Although claims that Chileans were now consumers, not citizens, might be overstated, it was clear in the elections of 1999/2000 that the extraordinarily strong class, party and ideological loyalties that had shaped voter decisions in the past have eroded in the face of neoliberalism's economic success and individualist message, together with the failure of historic socialism and the absence of a competing economic model. As a result, a growing percentage of Chilean voters no longer have firm party loyalty, and are available to vote for the candidate that most appeals to them for reasons that may vary from age and image to religion and personality, political style and experience. If this made many Chilean voters seem "Americanized" and its campaigns more like those in the United States, the attraction of the poor to Lavín's populism suggested its politics were also becoming more similar to some of its Latin American neighbors.

Equally significant, the alienation of Chilean youth from politics, evident in the many youngsters of voting age who did not register, is a sign that some of these changes may be problematic for democracy. It also underscores the need to reinvigorate the bonds between the political leaders of the *Concertación* and their mass base and to amplify citizen participation in both politics and the governing process. Political distance may insulate leaders from public pressure, but it can also weaken citizen attachment to democracy.

Another potential problem for Chilean democracy that the elections of 1999/2000 revealed was campaign financing. As party loyalty declines and campaigns become more Americanized, the importance of money increases. The right's vastly superior resources, in a country without limits on or regulation of campaign contributions and with no public funding of even presidential candidates, could lead to bought elections. This underscores the importance of campaign finance reform, but also explains the difficulty of legislating it, given the right's slim Senate majority, which in turn heightens the significance of constitutional reform.

#### The Implications for Democratization

The elections of 1999/2000 also left several obstacles to democratic consolidation to overcome. It did not solidify full civilian control over the armed forces, perhaps the most serious flaw remaining in Chile's restored democracy—as the defiant military reception of Pinochet as a victimized hero on his return

shortly before Lagos' inauguration underscored. The elections also did not solve the question of whether to try Pinochet in Chile and how to deal with the numerous legal accusations against him and other military officers for human rights violations under his regime. During the campaign, both candidates advocated depoliticizing the issue and respecting judicial decisions, but Frei's promotion of legislation giving Pinochet immunity from prosecution even if he retires as Senator-for-Life has thrust the issue back into the political arena.

Moreover, the elections did not eliminate the "enclaves" of authoritarianism inherited from the Pinochet regime, notably the appointed senators and the binomial electoral system (which creates two-member congressional districts in which the winning coalition has to double its opponent's votes or else they divide the congressional seats from that district). Lavín has hinted that he would support constitutional reforms, which would strengthen his democratic credentials, and the right may soon be willing to surrender the designated senators as they increasingly favor the *Concertación*. The binomial electoral system creates a bias for the right in the distribution between popular votes and congressional seats and is thus less likely to change, but that bias is slight now, and Lavín and others have demonstrated that attractive rightist candidates can win election without such advantages.

At the end of our 1988 report, we posed the question whether the Concertación would be able to translate its plebiscite victory into a complete transition to an "untrammeled democracy." It exceeded our optimism by negotiating significant changes in Pinochet's 1980 constitution, winning the presidency three times in a row, and presiding over the most successful economic growth and poverty reduction in Chile's history. It justified our pessimism, however, by failing to fully reform the authoritarian constitution, discipline Pinochet and the military, resolve the legacies of human rights atrocities, and reform the neoliberal economic model to curtail income inequality, environmental degradation, and labor relations skewed in favor of business. Moreover, the Concertación parties created new problems for democracy that we had not anticipated by pursuing a politics of demobilization that weakened grassroots party organizations and social movements, discouraged political participation, and distanced the political leaders from their followers.

Ricardo Lagos has become Chile's first president of the new century at a crossroads of opportunity and danger. A recovering economy will give Chile the resources with which to address many of the issues of inequality that both candidates stressed. Their convergence on these and other issues during the campaign may signal an opportunity for removing the obstacles to full democracy as well. If these issues are not settled, however, they will fester. The result could be either a rightist triumph in 2005 or popular alienation from the political process and even a delegitimation of democracy. After the virtual tie of the first round in December, Ricardo Lagos stressed that he had "heard the message of the people." His ability to transform that message into policy and deliver on the unkept promises of the 1988 plebiscite will shape the future of the *Concertación*—and the quality of Chilean democracy.



## Trials and Tribulations of Justice Reform in Guatemala

#### by Hugh Byrne, Independent Consultant

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Justice reform has risen high on the agenda in Latin America. Effective and accessible justice systems are recognized as a crucially important step in the consolidation of democracy and a prerequisite for economic development in the region.

Perhaps nowhere is the challenge of creating an accessible, effective and respected justice reform so crucial or so difficult as in Guatemala. A comprehensive peace agreement in 1996 put an end to a 36-year armed conflict in which 200,000 people were killed or disappeared, and promised a complete overhaul of the justice system. But the persistence of impunity for past abuses and the election in 1999 of a government dominated by some of their perpetrators creates great uncertainty about the potential for reforming the system that permitted the abuses of the past.

The Historical Clarification Commission created by the peace accords to examine rights violations during the conflict concluded that repression had substituted for law and that statesponsored military, security, and paramilitary forces had committed 93 percent of violations, including massacres and acts of genocide. The judicial system "failed to guarantee the application of the law, tolerating, and even facilitating, violence," and the courts were "incapable of investigating, trying, judging and punishing even a small number of those responsible for the most serious human rights crimes."

But while the justice system played an egregious role in violating the rights of perceived regime opponents, the system has in other ways been an equal opportunity denier of rights of the majority of Guatemalans. Assessments of justice in Guatemala paint a picture of a deeply dysfunctional system characterized by lack of access, impunity, corruption and intimidation, a politicized judiciary, lack of planning and coordination, insufficient resources, poor legal education, a weak public defense system, overcrowded prisons, a growing crime wave, increased public insecurity, and low levels of public confidence in the system.

With the signing of the 1996 peace accords, the nation committed to building a more democratic, equitable and inclusive society. Justice reform would be a key element of this transition and require coming to terms with the past, ending impunity, and creating a justice system that would protect the rights of all Guatemalans.

Three years after the signing of the accords, there have been improvements in the working of the justice system and in access to it. But justice reform is being undercut and the peace process weakened by the lack of progress in confronting impunity. And prospects for tackling impunity and continuing reform of the justice system under the new Portillo government are uncertain at best.

#### Advances in Justice Reform

The 1996 peace accords provided an overall framework for current justice reform efforts rather than a detailed blueprint and built upon some advances of recent years. The Guatemalan government committed to promote constitutional reforms to guarantee access, judicial independence, and full rights for the country's indigenous people. The accords provided for a 50 percent increase in the budget for justice along with steps to modernize the system. A commission would be created to propose reforms to strengthen the justice system.

The composition of the Justice Strengthening Commission set up under the accords was itself a step forward in its inclusion of members of Mayan, human rights, and business groups, as well as lawyers, judges and academics. The Commission issued its final report, 'A New Justice for Peace,' in April 1998 which proposed measures to ensure judicial independence and the separation of powers, professionalize the justice system, protect the rights of all the cultures in Guatemala, and strengthen certainty in the law. The Commission also addressed specific problems of the justice system, including corruption and intimidation, and weaknesses in legal education; it also pressed for implementation of reforms following publication of its report.

An important reform came two years prior to the peace accords with the entry into force of a new Criminal Procedures Code in 1994—one of the most far-reaching changes in this area of law in Latin America. The code separates the role of judge and prosecutor, promises more transparent and accessible processes, and provides for public trials with oral evidence presented, the right to public defense, the presumption of innocence, and the right to be heard in one's own language. The move to an oral, adversarial system in criminal proceedings—from one that relied

on written evidence with the judge as investigator and judge—has been slow and uneven, but promises to be a significant advance for justice in Guatemala, if accompanied by other necessary changes in the justice system.

In October 1999, in an important step toward greater openness, the first new members were appointed to the Supreme Court since the peace accords through an unprecedentedly transparent process of selection and election. The United Nations Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA) reported favorably on the participation of organized sectors in the process of nomination, selection and election of candidates for the Supreme and appellate courts and on the efforts made in the Guatemalan Congress to reach consensus.

In October 1999 the Guatemalan Congress also took a belated but crucial step in passing the Judicial Career law, which provides for the selection, evaluation, promotion, investigation and disciplining of judges; and promises to free judges from both internal and outside interference.

Other advances in justice reform include a 50 percent increase in the budget for the judicial branch as specified in the accords; establishment of an independent Public Defender's Office; expansion of justices of the peace to all the country's municipalities; the establishment of pilot mediation and conciliation centers; the creation of five experimental community courts of the peace; and the training of interpreters in indigenous languages to increase access to justice.

Guatemala's justice reform efforts have been actively supported by civil society organizations and the international community. Family members of victims and human rights organizations have been co-plaintiffs in key cases (murdered anthropologist Myrna Mack, Bishop Gerardi, Xam n massacre) and have won a

measure of justice that would have been very unlikely without their intervention. New and effective organizations working on justice reform and related issues have been formed out of these efforts and from relatives and family members concerned about crime and violence or impunity. The advocacy capacity of

civil society groups has grown in recent years and coalitions have pressed to ensure accountability for human rights violations, an end to impunity, and continued reform of the justice sector. Despite these advances, civil society groups working on justice reform are still weak and have a very difficult task in confronting the powerful entrenched interests that have perpetuated impunity in Guatemala.

The international community made large commitments—totaling over \$100 million—to support justice reform, but most of the funds have yet to come on line. However, invaluable support has come from smaller, innovative projects carried out mainly by the United States Agency for International Development (AID), MINUGUA and the United Nations Development Programme

(UNDP). AID has supported the establishment of justice centers in five departments (with three new centers planned) to streamline and improve access to justice by bringing all the justice sector institutions together in one location, offer access to interpreters, and provide for alternative dispute resolution mechanisms. AID has also helped develop the country's first course in indigenous law, supported the training of 90 interpreters, and trained all trial court judges, prosecutors, and defenders in the use of the new criminal procedures code.

MINUGUA has worked to deepen understanding of Mayan customary law and reduce discrimination against indigenous people through the use of Mayan languages in the administration of justice; helped provide access to justice by establishing a somewhat different version of a 'justice center' in an area (Nebaj) that had suffered greatly during the armed conflict and where justice institutions had been absent; and worked to strengthen entities in the justice sector through a program carried out with the UNDP. These efforts by AID, MINUGUA, and UNDP—costing in the region of \$20 million—are an attempt to address some of the most pressing needs of Guatemalan society identified in the peace accords—notably access to justice for the poorest and hitherto-excluded sectors of society. Though it is too early to assess their overall effectiveness, the success (or otherwise) of these programs is likely to have an important impact on larger justice reform efforts in the country.

#### Setbacks and Difficulties

Given the depth and complexity of the changes required, the process of reforming Guatemala's justice system is likely to be measured in decades rather than years. In the past three years, there have been important advances in providing access and improvement in services. But there have been setbacks—notably

the defeat of a referendum on constitutional (including justice) reforms, in May 1999. Justice sector institutions are still very weak; and there has been little progress in the struggle against impunity.

MINUGUA reported attitudes of prosecutors in the Public Ministry

that "favor impunity" in human rights cases.\ The UN Mission noted that public defenders are poorly prepared and lack vigilance for their clients' rights, and that the justice system projects an image of being "incapable of...clearing up crimes and violations, thereby fomenting a social perception of impunity.\(^2\) The prison system is in deep crisis, with 69 percent of inmates not convicted of any offense and highly dangerous prisoners apparently able to escape with ease. The creation of a new National Civilian Police (PNC)—a key element in providing public security and restoring confidence in justice—has been highly flawed: while 17,339 police have been trained and deployed throughout the country, serious problems in training, recruitment, leadership, internal discipline, and criminal investigations raise concerns that the PNC may reproduce the

problems of the corrupt, repressive, and ineffective forces that preceded it.<sup>3</sup>

These problems contribute to low public faith in the system, but they are not surprising given the gravity of the challenges to be faced. More damaging, however, is the failure of Guatemala's political and judicial leaders to tackle the impunity that continues to reign and erode public confidence in justice in Guatemala.

In Guatemala today the state is not, as a matter of policy, carrying out the kinds of rights violations that were common during the years of military domination. But, after a promising start, the Arzú government failed to tackle impunity and helped perpetuate it in certain ways by permitting military intelligence to carry out operations on the margins of the law; allowing the army to withhold information from the truth commission and in major human rights cases; failing to ensure a full and effective investigation in the Gerardi case; taking insufficient action to protect prosecutors, judges, and witnesses, in human rights cases; and failing to implement the recommendations of the truth commission.

Lack of government will, combined with intimidation and the profound weaknesses of the justice system, has contributed to a lack of overall progress in major human rights cases that are viewed as barometers of impunity. The case against the alleged intellectual authors of the murder of Myrna Mack is still mired in the courts ten years after the crime. Arrests have been made in the investigation of the murder of Bishop Juan Gerardi, but the case has shown Guatemalan justice at its worst and is still far from resolution. In the Xam n massacre of eleven returned refugees by an army patrol in 1995, some soldiers were sentenced, but the proceedings were severely criticized by MINUGUA and human rights groups. In other major cases, such as the killing of student leader Mario Alioto, and of political leader Jorge Carpio Nicolle, the accused were acquitted following questionable investigations. In another setback, alleged crime boss, Alfredo Moreno, whose arrest symbolized the Arzú government's initial commitment against corruption and impunity, was recently acquitted of tax evasion.

In two recent cases progress was made in the struggle against impunity. Three former civil patrollers were convicted in October 1999 as material authors in the Rio Negro massacre of 1982. And Cándido Noriega, a former military commissioner accused of murder, kidnapping, and other crimes in 1982 and 1983, was found guilty and sentenced to 240 years in prison, after being found not guilty in two earlier trials. International visibility and pressure helped prevent miscarriages of justice in these cases, but the overall balance in the struggle against impunity has not been favorable.

It seems unlikely that justice reform can succeed without impunity being confronted. Even if such changes as incremental improvements in access and services increase public confidence, continued impunity weakens institutions and public faith in them. For example, threats that force a prosecutor or judge to flee the country may prevent justice in that particular case. But

it also sends a chilling message to justice sector personnel that may easily affect their actions in other cases. Most damaging and corrosive of all is the message sent to ordinary citizens who have never had good reason to believe in the justice system.

So, even while real changes are taking place in Guatemala's justice system, the ability of powerful interests to evade justice undercuts these efforts. Strong political will and decisive action from the executive branch (and support of the legislature) are essential if progress is to be made in tackling impunity. After last year's elections, the prospects appear very uncertain.

#### Justice Reform and the Portillo Government

Alfonso Portillo won by a landslide in the run-off for president in December 1999; his party, the Guatemalan Republican Front (FRG), won a majority (63 of 113 seats) in Congress. Their victory makes the challenge of justice reform and the struggle against impunity more complex.

The new president has made strong commitments to carry out the recommendations of the truth commission (and the Catholic Archdiocese's Recovery of Historical Memory [REMHI] report) and promised to ensure the Gerardi case is resolved, and to tackle corruption and impunity. He has also appointed respected human rights advocates to key government positions. But the FRG's founder, General Efraín Ríos Montt, is now president of Congress and a major force within the FRG. He and many others within the FRG leadership and party are linked to the repressive past and have much to lose from an active policy against impunity. Despite Portillo's commitments, the old guard appears stronger in the FRG than the more recently arrived reformers.

The problem facing Guatemala is that genuine peace and reconciliation will require dealing with the past and tackling impunity. But this will demand political will from the new government—both the legislative and executive branches—which is controlled by a party closely identified with major violations of human rights. Though these factors do not make real justice reform in Guatemala impossible, they indicate the very difficult road that Guatemala must travel in the years ahead.

Hugh Byrne works on issues of democracy and development in Latin America.

#### Notes

- MINUGUA, "Décimo Informe sobre Derechos Humanos," Guatemala: United Nations System in Guatemala, 21 December 1999, p. 7.
- MINUGUA, "Eighth Report on Human Rights," Guatemala: United Nations System in Guatemala, 15 June 1998, p. 11.
- <sup>3</sup> For a detailed assessment of problems in building a new civilian police force, see Hugh Byrne, William Stanley, and Rachel Garst, Rescuing Police Reform: A Challenge for the New Guatemalan Government. Washington, DC: Washington Office on Latin America, January 2000.

## ON LASA2000

# Final Report From the Co-Chairs of the LASA 2000 Program Committee

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This Final Report need not be long. The thousands who attended the LASA2000 Congress in Miami require no descriptions of the event. Those who lamentably could not be there will find that even a detailed description will not do justice to a meeting that was large and international in participation and had a packed academic and social agenda. Especially difficult to convey is the mood, the milieu, the climate within which it all evolved. From the Opening Reception, held al fresco on a moonlit night on Miami's beautiful Cultural Plaza, the bullicio was a happy one. And, this mood held until the very end. Making the rounds, one sensed that LASA has become one very large extended family and that, because of the commitment and proper planning by literally hundreds of folks, Miami had provided a good setting for a satisfying family reunion. Again, no report could do justice to that planning: the months of discussions and negotiations with important opinion makers in this city, discussions which had one agenda item: help keep the meeting peaceful and decorous. They did and it was. As the Miami Herald asked rhetorically: "Downtown Miami, intellectual center of the Americas?" That it was, at least for three exhilarating days in March!

With our now considerable experience, we will soon pass along several suggestions to the LASA2001 Program Committee. Our recommendations are designed to help the Committee deal with

some of the problems we encountered in programming LASA2000. Specifically, we will offer advice about the setting of deadlines, the format of the application forms, the harmonization and coordination between Program Tracks and LASA Sections, and the thorny issues of scheduling conflicts and multiple appearances.

Finally, on the issue of acceptance/rejection rate, the following. This rate often is held up as an important indicator or measure of scholarly standards. This is certainly the case with the associations representing specific disciplines. Should the standards and practices of the latter also hold for LASA? There are those who answer this in the affirmative. We have yet to see, however, an open and serious discussion of the issue. For LASA2000 we received specific instructions to accept as many proposals as basic standards of scholarship and space allowed. This we did, and are satisfied with the results. As LASA continues to grow, and as its multidisciplinarity and multinational membership broadens, we need to be engaged in serious discussion about how to maintain high standards of scholarship. We can only hope that any resolution of this complex issue will do nothing to minimize the sense of gemeinschaft which is so distinctively a feature of LASA congresses.



LASA President Franklin Knight and LASA2000 Program Co-Chairs Marysa Navarro and Anthony Maingot

#### LASA 2000 Participant Appearances Listed in Program by Country of Origin

Argentina	202	France	31	Portugal	2
Australia	11	Germany	29	Puerto Rico	55
Austria	3	Guatemala	21	Russia	1
Barbados	1	Honduras	2	Spain	31
Belgium	7	India	1	Sweden	2
Belize	1	Italy	7	Switzerland	2
Bermuda	1	Jamaica	5	Trinidad and	3
Bolivia	15	Japan	9	Tobago	
Brazil	239	Korea	8	United King- dom	87
Canada	96	Luxembourg	1	Uruguay	31
Chile	58	Mexico	425	United States	2788
Colombia	51	Netherlands	19	of America	
Costa Rica	24	New Zealand	4	Venezuela	71
Cuba	170	Nicaragua	7	TOTAL	4622
Denmark	4	Norway	5	*Editou's Note: TI	ne number of discrete indi-
Dominican	16	Panama	1	viduals among this	s number is about 3,512.  termined by counting the
Republic		Paraguay	11	names that appear	ed in the index of the
Ecuador	17	Peru	31	that were added in	m book, adding new names the program supplement
El Salvador	14			and subtracting th	ose in canceled sessions.

## A Further Take on LASA2000

### by Reid Reading, Executive Director

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Finland

2

In the normal course of events, LASA Inter national Congresses rarely make a dent in the life of the cities in which they are convened. I remember being more than a bit envious when some years back the then Executive Director of the African Studies Association

informed me that the mayor of Baltimore had proclaimed the days of its annual meeting "African Studies Week!"

It became apparent some days before LASA's XXII International Congress convened in Miami March 15-19 that LASA's traditional fortunes in this respect were about to change. Someone very close to the Miami program proclaimed just before the meeting that "The intellectual history of Miami may

well be seen in the future in terms of 'pre-LASA' and 'post-LASA.'" In certain respects this would seem to have occurred—I guess we shall see. What is beyond dispute is that LASA2000 had more of an impact on its host city proper than was the case for any previous Congress. Although there might be others closer than I to the entire story of LASA2000, permit me to take a stab at highlighting several dimensions of this rather unusual encounter.

#### The Press of the Media

First of all there was the front-page article in Miami's Spanishlanguage *Nuevo Herald* of March 6, announcing city-wide, "Vienen de Cuba más de cien académicos." The names and affiliations of each of the Cubans were listed on page two. (Information on meeting participants was available in the LASA2000 program booklet, sent to all Congress preregistrants). Since it was clear from the program book that the Cubans were to number less than five percent of all the presenters at LASA2000, the article seemed destined to agitate those in the Miami community who would not take kindly to the presence of Cubans in our meeting.

#### LASA2000 Security, the Miami Police and the FBI

The article quickly caught the eye of the community (our taxi drivers seemed to know about us right away, for example), but especially acutely the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Miami Police Department. Before my arrival on the scene on the Saturday before the meeting began, I already had been informed that our local arrangements colleagues had been contacted by the Miami Police about the need for heavy police protection to prevent possible harm to LASA2000 participants from individuals in the Miami community bent on disrupting the meeting.

In a meeting on March 14 with Major Gerald Darling, Commander of the Miami Police Support Section and other officers and FBI liaison, Darling informed FIU's Eduardo Gamarra and me that LASA would be billed more than \$15,000 for the security the Department would need to provide to assure the safety of meeting participants. I noted at that meeting that it was difficult to see the need for extensive police presence at the Congress and that LASA would be in good hands if the Miami police could respond to any emergency that LASA staff or the security people in the meeting hotels might report.

I pointed out that LASA already had contracted with Garrison Protective Services for nearly \$7,000 of private security, mostly for checking badges—this was done in part to allay the concern of participants from Cuba, who months before had expressed their preoccupation with possible incidents at a Miami meeting. It was reasoned that the number of potential disrupters might be limited by their having to pay the on-site registration fees.

The only concession Major Darling granted LASA was that the contingent of ten armed officers originally budgeted for the Friday night gran baile could be decreased to eight, thereby reducing LASA's bill to \$13,408. Because it still seemed to me that LASA2000 was going to resemble an armed camp, the image of which the Congress organizers already had said they were most anxious to avoid, a request was made in the meeting to allow discussion about the list, assignment by assignment in hopes of coming to an agreement on a reduced force. At that point, we were informed in no uncertain terms that none of the remainder of the assignments was open for negotiation. (Because there are possible legal actions pending in this matter, no further comment is advisable at this time).

#### The Saga of the Venue for the Welcoming Reception

The local arrangements folks at FIU worked hard over several weeks to wholly finance and make the traditional Wednesday evening Welcoming Reception a wonderful event, investing a great deal of time and scarce resources in the process. Invitations to the Reception were extended, via the *LASA Forum* and other correspondence, to all LASA2000 attendees to gather in the plaza of the Historical Museum of Southern Florida. Caterers were contracted and stood ready to serve up their fare.

On March 6, however, FIU was informed by Miami-Dade County officials that the contract for the use of the facility would be canceled. The decision to cancel was based on a 1996 county ordinance that bans the awarding of county contracts to entities that do business with Cuba and prohibits the use of county property for events relating to Cuba or which involve Cuban citizens. The decision was reversed a few days later when a lawyer for the County advised that the contract was binding and that the County was remiss in not requiring the usual affidavit from the sponsor, confirming that intended use of the facility was in line with the ordinance. The intercession of FIU President Modesto Maidique was a strongly determining factor in the final decision about the use of the facility for the Reception. The event proved to be a grand happening at which more than 1,000 people were able to mingle with their colleagues.

## Subsequent Press Reporting and the Tenor of Things As LASA2000 Proceeded

The realization that LASA/Miami was actually about thousands of scholars and practitioners from all over the world, who traveled to Miami to present and discuss a variety of research findings and analyses about Latin America, seemed to produce a bit of moderation in the many press articles appearing in the Nuevo Herald. The nearly exclusive focus on Cuba at the outset gave way a bit as reporters began themselves to attend LASA2000 sessions dealing with a multitude of other themes. Geraldo Reyes of the *Nuevo Herald* reported on the Friday noon round table "Fighting Drugs in the Americas: Retrospect and Prospect." Articles like these acknowledged the diversity both among the participants and of the multitude of themes in the meeting. The Miami Herald, which on March 8 had already published Tony Maingot's fine piece "Congress on Latin American Studies: Miami's Chance to Shine," had rather consistently stressed the diversity theme from the beginning. Andrés Viglucci of the Miami Herald, in his March 18 article "Academic Conference Breathes Life into Downtown," highlighted various aspects of LASA2000, including the hundreds of papers available on all topics and the unique Friday evening dance. Jane Bussey's article in the same issue was entitled "Latin American Studies Shift to Include Current Events, Culture," quoted several well-known LASA scholars about the field and the Association, and mentioned the presence of Cubans only once.

Reporters and commentators who initially directed nearly all their rage at FIU and blamed the university for the presence of Cubans in Miami finally began to hone in on LASA itself. *Nuevo Herald* reporter Soren Triff, commenting on writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante's handing back to FIU his honorary doctorate because of the University's role in LASA2000, wrote on March 23:

"Creo que Cabrera Infante debió aprovechar su autoridad moral para lanzarla contra LASA, no contra FIU...." But FIU President Maidique already had made the separation between FIU and LASA very clear in a declaration entitled "FIU: en defensa de la libertad de expresión," published on March 19 in the *Nuevo Herald*. Because Maidique was determined to set the record straight and apparently make the record clear in other respects as well, the declaration is reproduced here in its totality:

Con motivo de las numerosas conjeturas en torno a la reunion de LASA en Miami, ofrezco las siguientes aclaraciones.

Profesores de la Universidad Internacional de la Florida (FIU) ayudaron a coordinar la conferencia de LASA en Miami, varios de ellos presentaron trabajos en la conferencia, y el Centro para América Latina y el Caribe (LACC) patrocinó la tradicional recepción de bienvenida a los más de 5,000 participantes. Sin embargo, la conferencia no se celebró en FIU, ni fue patrocinada por FIU, ni fue financiada por FIU, ni ninguno de los participantes fue invitado por FIU.

Una vez dicho esto, es preciso declarar que FIU apoya el derecho que tienen todos los asistentes a la conferencia, sean profesores de FIU o de cualquier otro lugar, a exponer sus puntos de vista sin limitaciones de ningún tipo. Este es uno de los derechos elementales garantizados por la Constitución de los Estados Unidos, y FIU será siempre un santuario donde este derecho será respetado.

Por esta misma razón, una conferencia académica de la categoría y prestigio de LASA no debe ser contaminada por agendas políticas, tal y como pretendió la delegación cubana. No me sorprende, porque sabemos que éste es el proceder habitual de un régimen totalitario, pero entiendo que ése es el precio que debemos pagar por el privilegio de vivir en una democracia.

Como exiliado cubano y como rector de una universidad estadounidense, considero mi deber defender la libertad de expresión—incluso de aquéllos que niegan esa libertad en Cuba—y lo seguiré haciendo, porque como dijo José Martí: 'Sólo la opresión teme al ejercicio pleno de las libertades.'

Articles noted above comprise just a small sampling of the hundreds of column inches dedicated to LASA2000 by reporters and opinion writers in Miami's two major press sources. If the spirit or letter of what appeared in the local press is not faithfully captured here, I apologize and take responsibility. What remains certain is that LASA2000 resonated through large segments of the local population via the press, radio and television in a manner unprecedented in the annals of the Association.

## Something New Under the Sun and a Brilliant Idea: Local Universities and the LASA2000 Volunteer Staff

LASA depends heavily on local volunteers to staff Congress onsite activities—especially since repeated pleadings to attendees to *preregister* fall on the deaf ears of many. (Here is yet another plug for preregistration for the next meeting!) LASA pays registration for volunteers who put in four hours or more, giving the volunteer staffers free run of the Congress before and after their shifts. Since this is largely a labor of love, then, there are traditionally a good number of no-shows. Not so in Miami! The Secretariat staff was overjoyed at the turnout, and at the pleasantness and competence of the volunteers!

The on-site staffing enterprise, coordinated expertly by Tammy Bowers of FIU, was given a thrust forward by several local professors whose reasoning I understand to have been something like: "A LASA Congress gathers some of the foremost experts on Latin America, all of whom will be divulging their latest findings. Why not have students in Latin America-related courses visit panels with subject matter that interest them, and report on those sessions as a component of their course work?" Good thinking, with benefits redounding to all! Thanks to the professors, to the students, and to Tammy for making this part of LASA2000 most agreeable. We in the Secretariat would love to see carried over to all our future meetings this means of relating the substance of the Congresses to student work in the academy. (I intend to relate the success of this program to my executive director counterparts in the May meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies).

#### **Record Number of Congress Travel Grantees**

LASA members can well be proud that LASA was able to offer 241 travel grants to LASA2000 participants from Latin America and the Caribbean. This represented a 22 percent increase in the number of awardees on the scene in Miami compared with the 1998 Chicago meeting. Of the 241 who received awards, 237 were ultimately offered tickets, with the remaining four not requiring LASA support for airfare. Of the awardees, 220 made it to Miami, including 25 Lecturing Fellows. (See a full description of the Lecturing Fellowship Program in the Call for Papers packet for each LASA Congress).

Like seats on airlines, LASA awards are overbooked. With 241 grants, and an expected combined 15 percent nonacceptance of the award or failure to locate awardees, we hoped to reach our goal of just over 200. Because we did better than that, there is some lost financial ground to recover.

This weighty effort by the Secretariat, which books tickets with schedules that correspond as closely as possible to the preferred itineraries of the grantees, sends the tickets by international courier mail, and disburses expense money to the grantees when they arrive at the meeting, was better expedited in 2000 than previously for several reasons:

1. More than \$120,000 was forthcoming from the yield on LASA's endowment, thanks in large part to last year's

\$2,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. This meant not only that there were monies never before available to the Association, but it provided the grant committee the freedom to award grants without having to allocate them in line with various restrictions (as to field of interest, for example) that many foundations tie to their grants.

- 2. Generous contributions from other entities complemented the income from the endowment, making it possible for LASA to offer such a large number of grants in 2000. We are very much indebted to the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and to the United States Agency for International Development particularly, for travel support. LASA members who made contributions to the LASA Travel Fund are very much appreciated: their generosity made it possible for us to apply nearly \$10,000 in additional monies to LASA2000 travel grants.
- 3. The Track Chairs and the Program Chairs, constituting the LASA2000 Grant Finance Committee, had their rankings completed by early November, greatly facilitating the award allocation process in the Secretariat.
- 4. The Internet allowed instant communication with grantees (including with an unanticipated large number of Cubans), rapid response back to the Secretariat, and quick forwarding of information to the travel agency for booking tickets.

#### Papers at LASA2000 and Beyond

The Congresses encourage the production of scholarship on Latin America and thus help us fulfill that vital component of our mission. To make that scholarship widely available always involves significant effort. Facilities with several thousand square feet must be obtained for on-site paper distribution. Many staff are required to set up the area, keep it organized, retain master copies to make possible distribution of papers after the meeting, and coordinate sales on site.

I commented on this kind of activity and its significance for scholarship in the summer 1994 edition of the *Forum*. At that time the Secretariat was in possession of 703 papers presented in the Atlanta meeting. The LASA2000 Papers supplement, included with this mailing, lists 1,232 titles filed in hard copy at the Secretariat. This is more than a 20 percent increase over the number of papers held here for LASA98. These papers are available immediately from our office.

LASA begins work just after each Congress to post papers on the Internet, but even with the newest technologies the process is far from speedy. Some papers, especially those with extensive tables and graphics, take lots of time to convert to PDF format. And, since we never receive as many papers in electronic form as those to which we have access in hard copy, ordering hard-copy papers is the best short-term solution to getting access to a Congress presentation. We are prepared to fill orders very quickly.

#### The Drama Continues on Departure

In spite of being encouraged not to do so, many Congress participants pay for on-site services in cash. The payments are collected at frequent intervals and transported under guard to safes. By Sunday morning LASA inevitably ends up with a cargo of cash. We always manage to dispose of it one way or another. At one Congress, when we all were traveling home on Sunday, a sympathetic hotel manager who was stuck without an accounting staff over the weekend, exchanged the cash for his own personal check, as a favor. Realizing that I could not always count on such a kindness, I made a point from that Congress forward to stay over until Monday, and deliver the cash to the hotel accountant in exchange for a company check.

Miami was once again unique. Fearing counterfeit bills which would take a great deal of time to ferret out, neither the head-quarters hotel nor a local bank would take the LASA2000 haul. There was no choice but to load \$52,000 in bills into my briefcase, which I clutched tightly for the next several hours. The most anxious moment—and it seemed like much longer—was when it disappeared into the hollows of that security apparatus at the airport. Well, such conveyance of cash surely will never happen again for sure, so no sinister outsider who might get hold of this report should anticipate it.

#### Undying Appreciation for the Makers of LASA2000

Preparation of this part of my report of every 18 months is always approached with trepidation, since it is inevitable that someone invaluable to the Congress will be excluded. But the attempt has to be made to thank the creators of LASA2000, which in the opinion of no less than a few of our colleagues, was the "best" to date. So, the project follows. Of course, I will be repeating the appreciation already extended by Franklin Knight and the Program Co-chairs to some of those mentioned here—but no matter.

Of course, Franklin Knight himself presided over LASA2000, and deserves much credit as he oversaw its development over months. Program co-chairs Tony Maingot and Marysa Navarro were the main players, aided ably by the LASA2000 track chairs and a program staff which included Pedro García, Marilú Diez, and María Cruz-Vargas, with additional technical help from Roberto Espinosa and Jorge Remedios.

And there was the LASA2000 Film Festival and Exhibit! LaVonne "Bonnie" Poteet's tenure as coordinator of this lively artistic happening is longer than the years of continuing official service to LASA than anyone else I know of, outside perhaps, of Gil Merkx as editor of the Latin American Research Review. Thanks, Bonnie, for creating an event that greatly enhances and complements the other activities of our meetings.

Florida International University literally threw itself behind this meeting from the top leadership down, and in the process mobilized hundreds of individuals and tens of thousands of dollars to underpin this impressive encounter of Latin Americanists from around the globe. Special thanks go to FIU president Modesto Maidique, who fought the good fight for LASA along more than the dimensions of the battle already described here; to FIU Provost and Vice President Mark Rosenberg, whose legacy in support of LASA is a distinguished one and too long to even begin to detail here; to Eduardo Gamarra, director of FIU's Latin American and Caribbean Center and coordinator of all local activities, who supported Miami2000 to the hilt by raising lots of money, and rallying staff and students and had to fend off yet another round of death threats and bomb scares; to Astrid Arrarás, local arrangements chair who wasn't a token chair but worked in the trenches; to Astrid's committee for its activity and backing of the meeting; and to Tammy Bowers, whose fine contribution already has been mentioned.

As always, there is the staff of the Secretariat, bolstered this time by some fine co-workers temporarily robbed from Pitt and other local universities. Yeoman's duty as coordinator of on-site activities was performed excellently once more by Angela Schroeder, assistant to the Executive Director. Sandy Klinzing was invaluable as expert taker of the minutes of the Executive Council and several committees, and saw action on nearly every scene in Miami. Stacy Maloney, although officially LASA's "ex-communications specialist" by Congress time, committed to help and performed several essential tasks on-site. Flora Calderón-Steck, contracted earlier by LASA to coordinate several projects the Secretariat has taken on, volunteered to organize all aspects of panel paper distribution, and as was evident, performed this task extremely well. She was aided ably by Víctor Córdova, University of Pittsburgh graduate student, who journeyed to LASA2000 in advance of the meeting. Also, we recruited Milagros Pereyra, a Carlow College student, and Magaly Gutiérrez, a Duquesne University student, to work with us. They performed several tasks, among them the dispatching

of travel expense money to the more than 200 grantees. Also, a word of thanks to **Beatriz Miyar**, who volunteered to help with arrangements for Cuban participants.

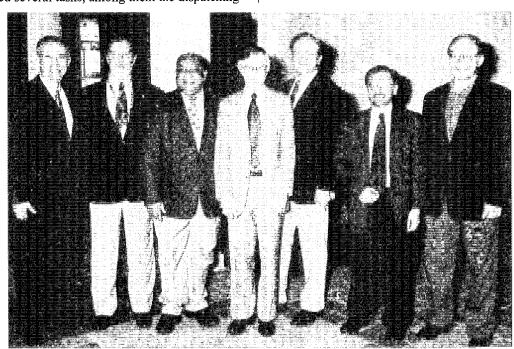
Finally, Harve Horowitz of Exhibit Promotions, to whom LASA contracts its book exhibit, continues at each Congress to bring together in highly professional fashion the many publishers and providers of other products and services of interest to our members. He is behind the scenes and rarely mentioned. It's about time.

#### In Memoriam

We learned of the passing of two LASA2000 participants before the Congress was underway. Professor **Isolda Battistozzi** of the University of Wisconsin, La Crosse, was to have chaired the session *Literatura and Film en la Argentina post-dictatorial:* nuevos enfoques culturales para repensar. Her colleagues resolved to proceed with the panel, but in homage to her memory, without a chair.

Professor Lorena Otero, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, México, suffered a fatal stroke the day she was to travel to the meeting as the recipient of a LASA2000 travel grant. Her paper, "More Than Tourism: U.S. Retirees in Mexico," was to have been presented Thursday morning in the panel A Daring Vision and New Concepts: Tourism Challenges in the New Millennium, chaired by Lorena's colleague Luisa Greathouse-Amador.

Our heartfelt sympathy to the families and friends of these two colleagues of ours.



In the center of strong LASA2000 supporters. On my right, President Maidique, Tony Maingot, and Franklin Knight
On my left, Tom Holloway, Eduardo Gamarra and Mark Rosenberg

## Images of LASA2000

Opening Reception at the Historical Museum of Southern Florida

Right, left to right: Eliana Rivero, Marifeli Pérez-Stable, Jesús Díaz, Annabelle Rodríguez



Left , left to right: Franklin Knight, Anna Roca, Andrea Siedel, Mark Rosenberg





#### Presidents' Reception

Left, left to right: Franklin Knight, Teresita Martínez Vergne, Sherry Gray, Thomas Holloway

## Report of the LASA Business Meeting

XXII International Congress Miami, Florida, March 17, 2000

President Franklin Knight extended a warm welcome to all in attendance and initiated the Awards Ceremony portion of the business meeting.

#### Presentation of LASA Awards

President Knight presented the **Kalman Silvert Award** to Jean Franco on behalf of the Silvert Award Committee, consisting of Past president Susan Eckstein, chair, Boston University; Jane Jaquette, Occidental College; Cynthia McClintock, George Washington University; and Gilbert Merkx, University of New Mexico. At the Silvert Lecture that afternoon, Eckstein had lauded Franco's path-breaking work and her lifetime contribution to Latin American studies. Franco has held several university administrative positions, and is the author of ten books, the latest of which, *Critical Passions*, was recently published by Duke University Press. In addition, she has nearly 90 articles and quoted interviews to her credit.

Franco served as president of LASA in1989 and 1990. Former student Mary Louise Pratt of Stanford University noted that "Jean Franco is recognized throughout Latin America, North America, and Europe as one of the most erudite and incisive voices...in critical cultural studies and in the study of the contemporary hemispheric realities of...Latin America. Her brilliance, articulateness and wit are legendary." Eckstein added that "Franco is acclaimed for her capacity for synthesis, for building bridges between national literatures, and for powerfully unraveling general cultural trends without losing sight of historical country differences."

In presenting the LASA Oxfam-America Martin Diskin Memorial Lecturer, Charles Hale, Committee Chair, acknowledged the three principles which the Lectureship embodies: scholarship, activism and consistency. The Lectureship was created two years ago, in a collaborative effort of LASA and Oxfam-America, to celebrate the life of Martin Diskin and to make a statement of support for the principles of activist scholarship that Diskin espoused and lived. The recipient of the 2000 Lectureship is Gonzálo Sánchez Gómez, professor of history at the Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI), an institute housed within the Universidad Nacional de Colombia in Bogotá. Hale praised Sánchez as a "prolific and internationally respected scholar, a committed teacher, and a courageous public intellectual who for 25 years has worked in different ways to project the results of his research into the public sphere, making his analysis serve the broader cause of social peace and justice."

Sánchez Gómez began his career as a professional historian, after receiving a doctorate from the University of Essex in 1975. He turned to the study of political violence in Colombia,

maintaining his focus on the causal underpinnings of an inequitable socio-economic order. He presided over a commission to analyze the causes of political violence in his country, and the relationship between violence and democratization. In Hale's words, "The resulting report advanced the central argument that the classic period of *la violencia* in the 1950s was the product of deeply embedded social inequities and political relations that have persisted into the present. It made a strong case for democratization as the only effective means to confront these underlying causes." Sánchez Gómez is the author of four books and editor or co-editor of a half-dozen more. He continues to use his institutional position to support peace negotiations between the guerrilla movement and the government and in efforts to promote respect for human rights and the rule of law.

The members of the Martin Diskin Memorial Lectureship Committee included Hale, University of Texas/Austin; Clara Arenas, Director Ejecutivo, AVANCSO; Stefano Varese, University of California-Davis; Aline Helg, University of Texas at Austin; and Raymond Offenheiser, President of OXFAM-America.

Bryce Wood Award Committee Chair Sara Castro-Klarén, Johns Hopkins University, thanked the members of her committee, Joanne Rappaport, Georgetown University; Jorge Balán, The Ford Foundation; Mary Kay Vaughan, University of Illinois, Chicago; Ida Altman, University of New Orleans; and Juan Manuel Marcos, Universidad del Norte. The Committee had selected as recipient of the LASA2000 award Friedrich Katz, of the University of Chicago, for The Life and Times of Pancho Villa. Castro-Klarén praised Katz's book as a "product of decades of exhaustive research by one of the leading scholars of Mexican history on a subject of mythical proportions....Drawn from archival and primary sources consulted in more than fifty countries...[it] will undoubtedly be considered the definitive work on Pancho Villa and his movement for many years to come... The book relies on the full command of this watershed period in the world's history. Castro-Klarén concluded that "It will be important to scholars beyond the field of Latin American history as well as to the lay reader wishing to gain an understanding of the making of Latin American political history."

A Bryce Wood Honorable Mention was presented to José C. Moya for his book, Cousins and Strangers, an original work which examines modern Spanish immigration to Argentina. Castro-Klarén praised the work as bringing forth "new and more complex answers to questions of immigrant integration, especially with regard to urban ecology, women's work and class formation."

This year's **Premio Iberoamericano** was presented to Angel G. Quintero Rivera by Blanca Silvestrini, University of



Susan Eckstein presents the Kalman Silvert Award to Jean Franco

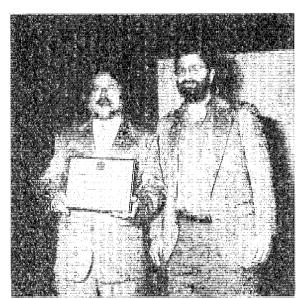
## LASA2000 Award Recipients



Friedrich Katz, Bryce Wood Book Award recipient, with Sara Castro-Klarén, Committee Chair



Angel G. Quintero, Premio Iberoamericano recipient, with Blanca Silvestrini, Committee Chair



Gonzalo Sánchez Gómez, LASA Oxfam-America Martin Diskin Memorial Lecturer, with Charles Hale, Committee Chair



Patricia Verdugo Aguirre, LASA2000 Media Award recipient, with Leonor Blum, Committee Chair

Connecticut, Committee Chair. Serving with Professor Silvestrini were Arturo Arias, San Francisco State University; María Fernanda Bicalho, Universidad Federal Fluminense-Rio de Janeiro; and Teresita Martínez Vergne, Macalester College. The text of Silvestrini's presentation follows:

..."El comité decidió recomendar el libro Salsa, sabor y control, Sociología de la música tropical, del investigador puertorriqueño Angel G. Quintero Rivera, como merecedor del Premio Iberoamericano 2000. Revolucionario en su campo, Salsa, sabor y control "rescata" uno de los más distintivos gestos culturales de raíz popular en América Latina e incluye la música popular dentro del ámbito del debate cultural. Al proponerse estudiar "la alegría" en el complejo mundo caribeño, Quintero Rivera propone un tema atrevido, siempre presente en la experiencia humana, pero pocas veces considerado como digno de investigación. El autor usa el análisis cultural para examinar los bordes de la modernidad, no sólo desde lo que es convencionalmente aceptado como tal, sino desde lo que muchos piensan como retrógrado. Salsa, sabor y control es un libro erudito que explora lo caribeño y "lo otro" como un continuo. Su tesis central es el movimiento mismo, el ritmo histórico-social-cultu ral de la música tropical. Es precisamente esa exploración de lo que es, de lo que pudo haber sido y de lo que se filtra entre las rendijas de una cosa y otra que hacen este libro extraordinario."

Media Award Committee Chair Leonor Blum introduced the 2000 Media Award recipient, investigative journalist Patricia Verdugo Aguirre from Santiago de Chile. Blum extolled Verdugo's "30-year record of bringing to the public detailed and well-researched accounts of human rights violations perpetrated by the Pinochet military government." Verdugo is a recipient of the much-coveted Maria Moors Cabot Award from the Columbia University School of Journalism and the national Chilean Journalism Award in 1997. Blum indicated that "Verdugo has really accomplished everything most journalists aspire to do in a lifetime. She started her Career at the Chilean weekly Ercilla, was a co-founder of Hoy, wrote for Análisis, has written many special reports for Chilean and Mexican television and has taught journalism at both the University of Chile and the Andrés Bello National University. Currently, Verdugo is a columnist for Diario 16 of Spain and is the media director of Conama, Chile's national environmental commission. Verdugo is best known for her books on her findings on atrocities committed by the Chilean military government...In her most influential book, Los zarpazos del puma, Verdugo pieces together the puzzle of the infamous 'caravana de la muerte', presenting her information through interviews with military officers who were willing to speak to her and relatives of the disappeared." Blum concluded that her committee was proud to present Verdugo with the award "for her work as an investigative journalist, who through her outstanding interviewing technique, her fearlessness and her persistence had brought what really happened in Chile between 1973 and 1990 one step closer to us and to Justice."

The members of the Media Award Committee for 2000 were chair Leonor Blum, College of Notre Dame; Lelen Bourgoignie,

University of Miami; Frank Manitzas, LAC News and Anne Pérotin-Dumon, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.

President Knight congratulated Patricia Soteldo de España, LASA2000 recipient of the **John Martz Award.** Lic. Soteldo, a travel grantee for LASA2000, was designated the Martz Scholar because both her nationality and her area of research reflect the lifetime work and interest of the award's honoree, Dr. John Martz.

#### LASA President's Report

President Knight thanked the members of the Local Arrangements Committee, the Program Co-chairs, and the LASA staff. He indicated he was especially appreciative of the support of Florida International University. Knight reviewed the achievements of LASA during the previous 18 months, referring to the increase in the LASA Endowment Fund, and the accomplishments of the Investment and Support Committees, as well as the Task Force on LASA and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. He expressed the hope that LASA would continue to expand relationships with institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean. Knight concluded by thanking LASA members for their support of his presidency.

#### **Executive Director's Report**

Executive Director Reid Reading offered a brief report. He stated that the Secretariat always is strongly involved in making sure that LASA Congresses come to fruition and confirmed that the weeks prior to the meeting are akin to obsession. He strongly praised the efforts of all those who contributed to the success of LASA2000. He singled out for special mention the role of Florida International University and FIU President Modesto Maidique, for its response to challenges faced by the institution as the support site for all the local aspects of the meeting, and for its tremendous contributions to the support and work of the Program Committee.

Lastly, Reading indicated that the Secretariat will hire a replacement for Stacy Loughner Maloney, LASA's Communication Specialist, who will soon receive her MBA and take another position. Reading noted that she will be very much missed.

#### Report of the XII Congress Program Committee

LASA2000 Program Co-chairs Anthony Maingot and Marysa Navarro reported that she and Co-chair Anthony Maingot had served with great pleasure at the request of President Knight. Although there was a great distance between the respective campuses of the co-chairs, Dartmouth and Florida International University, communication flowed freely and easily between them. Navarro was pleased that the long hours put in over many months resulted in such a successful congress. Anthony Maingot echoed these sentiments.

#### Treasurer's Report

LASA Treasurer Scott Mainwaring indicated that he had the opportunity to serve as treasurer during a period of major growth in the Endowment Fund and of general stability in LASA financial resources. He referred to Executive Director Reading's report to the Executive Council indicating that the Endowment now stands at over \$3.1 million. The large bulk of this increase comes from the recent \$2 million Ford Foundation grant. The LASA Investment Committee, created in 1998 as a condition of the Ford grant, oversees the investment of the Endowment. As of February 29, 2000, the Endowment Fund was invested 76 percent in equity mutual funds and 24 percent in fixed income sources. Of the money in equity mutual funds, more than 1/3 is invested in a socially conscious fund. The primary purpose of the endowment is to support travel of Latin Americans to LASA Congresses. In addition, as of February 29, 2000, LASA has \$451,000 (before Congress expenses were deducted) net cash, which is used for current and near term expenses. Mainwaring asked if there were any questions from the audience. Hearing none, President Knight turned to President-elect Thomas Holloway for his report.

#### Vice President's Report

Vice President Thomas Holloway indicated that he had concluded that he would assume the office of President of LASA "at a time when the Association is intellectually robust, financially sound, institutionally solid, and facing a bright future." He continued that he looked forward to doing what he could to "maintain the trajectory so ably laid out by predecessors, not only in the presidency of the Executive Council, but by all the LASA stalwarts in committees, task forces, and sections." Holloway recognized especially Executive Director Reid Reading, for his years of dedicated service to LASA, and the staff of the Secretariat, Sandy Klinzing, Angela Schroeder, and Stacy Loughner Maloney, as well as LASA's student volunteers, for their contribution to the operation of LASA Congresses. Holloway will call upon LASA members to continue the work of committees and task forces, and indicated his hope that those who accept the invitation will "take LASA forward in the positive spirit of their predecessors." He concluded his report by inviting all present to the next LASA Congress, scheduled to take place September 6-8, 2001, in Washington, DC. The Program Chair is Philip Oxhorn; the Program office for LASA2001 will be located at his home institution, McGill University, Montreal, Canada.

#### **Proposed Resolutions**

Vice President Holloway initiated the consideration of proposed resolutions with a reminder to the audience of the approved procedure. Current LASA By-laws require:

- 1) submission of proposed resolutions to the Secretariat 30 days before the Congress at which they are to be considered, and
- 2) that the proposed resolution must be signed by a minimum of 30 current LASA members.

For LASA2001 that deadline was February 15, 2000. By that date the Secretariat received one proposed resolution from the membership, signed by 31 current members.

Holloway reminded the audience of the stipulation by the Bylaws of the Association that no business requiring a vote could be conducted unless a quorum of 10 per cent of those members registered at the Congress were present at the business meeting. Just prior to the meeting there were 3,130 LASA members registered at the XXII Congress. Thus a quorum of 313 current members was required in order for business requiring voting to be conducted. The proposed resolution submitted under the current guidelines, relating to the embargo of Cuba by the United States and entitled by its submitters "Resolución LASA2000" had been distributed to those present at the meeting. The text of the proposed resolution follows:

#### Resolución LASA 2000

POR CUANTO, el bloqueo económico impuesto a Cuba por casi cuarenta años, afecta de manera directa, continua y severa el desarrollo económico y social del pueblo cubano, con desconocimiento total, por parte del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de las ocho Resoluciones de condena adoptadas al respecto por la Asamblea General de la Organización de Naciones Unidas, violando además varios principios consagrados por la propia ONU y otros Organismos Internacionales.

POR CUANTO, de forma reiterada varias instituciones jurídicas y personalidades internacionales, religiosas, académicas, políticas, científicas, culturales y de negocios, han expresado que el bloqueo norteamericano a Cuba carece de toda sustentación moral, ética y jurídica.

POR CUANTO, las leyes Torricelli y Helms-Burton, dirigidas al afianzamiento y perpetuación del bloqueo, han sido rechazadas por la Comunidad Internacional, incluyendo la mayoría de los aliados de Estados Unidos, dado su carácter extraterritorial y violatorio del Derecho Internacional.

POR CUANTO, el bloqueo impuesto a Cuba por parte de los Estados Unidos, lesiona los derechos más elementales del pueblo cubano, atenta contra la soberanía de otras naciones y restringe el derecho de los propios ciudadanos de ese país, al impedir el establecimiento de vínculos económicos y el libre intercambio de ideas y experiencias entre los pueblos de Cuba y Estados Unidos, cuestiones estas que son cada vez más criticadas por diferentes sectores de la sociedad norteamericana.

SE RESUELVE, que la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos, consecuentemente con los intereses y principios que la animan reitera enérgicamente la condena al bloqueo económico, comercial y financiero impuesto por los Estados Unidos a Cuba, rechaza resueltamente el carácter ingerencista y extraterritorial de las leyes Torricelli

y Helms-Burton, demanda el cese inmediato e incondicional de esta política hostil contra la nación cubana y aboga por el establecimiento de relaciones bilaterales entre los dos países.

Holloway announced that the floor was open for discussion of the proposed resolution. There was no immediate discussion, and a quorum was called to determine whether a formal vote could be taken. A quorum count determined that 173 LASA members were present, and thus no business could be conducted which required a formal vote. After further discussion from the floor, the Chair agreed to conduct an informal "straw poll" or "sense of the meeting" vote on the proposed resolution, by which those present could express themselves on the proposal if they so chose. The informal poll showed that 103 of those present favored the proposed resolution, no one opposed it, and six of those present formally abstained from the vote. The Chair recognized Timothy Harding, who proposed a motion for a "straw poll" or "sense of the meeting" vote. The motion was seconded. The Chair agreed to this procedure, in the interest of putting before those assembled the matter on which Professor Harding wished to elicit the sense of the meeting. Professor Harding's motion for informal consideration read as follows:

- 5) The quorum at LASA business meetings should revert to 5 per cent of members registered at the business meeting for passing resolutions which must still be approved by a mail ballot sent to the membership.
- 6)If a quorum is called and there are not enough in attendance, it would be useful to continue discussion and vote with the outcome presented in the LASA Forum as a "sense of the meeting" resolution.
- 7) The number of signatures required to submit resolutions should be lowered from 30 to 10 LASA members.

After some discussion by those present, an informal poll was taken on the motion. Fifty-four indicated they were in favor, nine voted against, and fifteen abstained formally. After further informal discussion of the topic of the resolution procedures, Holloway turned the chair back to President Knight.

Knight them moved on to new business. A suggestion from the floor that Elián González should be immediately returned to his father was greeted by a round of applause, which was taken as an informal expression of the sense of the meeting on te suggestion.

There being no other items, the meeting adjourned at 10:10 PM.

## NICARAGUA!





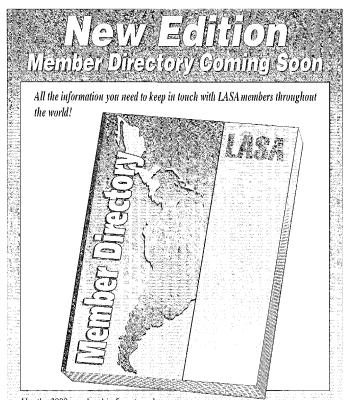
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This handy, bound volume contains names and addresses of all 1999 individual LASA members, as well as a listing of institutional LASA members, all indexed by discipline and primary country or sub-region of interest.

## **NEWS FROM LASA**

#### New LASA Leadership Takes Office May 1

Thomas Holloway, Cornell University, assumes the Association presidency May 1, serving until October 31, 2001, in that capacity and as immediate past president November 1, 2001 until April 30, 2003.

Retiring president Franklin Knight, Johns Hopkins University, will serve as immediate past president May 1, serving until October 31, 2001.

In the 2000 LASA election, 1,017 valid ballots were cast for vice president. Voters were asked to indicate three choices for members of the Executive Council (EC), and the total number of votes cast for the EC added to 2,826. Thanks to all the candidates for their willingness to stand for election, and to LASA members who exercised the right to have a voice in the governance of our Association. And congratulations to those elected!

Arturo Arias, San Francisco State University, led the polling for vice president. Professor Arias will serve as vice president until October 31, 2001. He will be LASA's president from November 1, 2001 until April 30, 2003. His term as immediate past president begins May 1, 2003 and continues until October 31, 2004. EC membership is automatic for all three positions.

Professors Maria Hermínia Tavares de Almeida, Universidade de São Paulo; Rosario Espinal, Temple University; and Timothy Wickham-Crowley, Georgeown University are the incoming members of the EC. Their terms are from May 1, 2000 to April 30, 2003. They join Jeremy Adelman, Princeton University; Guillermo de la Peña, CIESAS, Guadalajara, Mexico; and Manuel Pastor, University of California, Santa Cruz, who will serve until October 31, 2001.

The Association is indebted to immediate past president and EC member Susan Eckstein of Boston University; treasurer and EC member Scott Mainwaring, Kellogg Institute at the University of Notre Dame; and EC members Manuel Antonio Garretón, Universidad de Chile and Marifeli Peréz-Stable, Florida International University, all of whom leave office April 30. All four scholars were very active and dedicated members of the leadership.

#### John D. Martz Awardee Named

When John Martz passed away in 1998 while conducting field research in Caracas, Venezuela, one of his friends characterized him as a "great scholar, humanist and friend". John D. Martz, Distinguished Professor of Political Science and former head of the Dept of Political Science at Penn State University, was known for his research on political parties, transitions to democracy and United States-Latin American relations. His

work concentrated particularly on the experiences of Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela.

The John Martz Fund, established by Martz' family to honor his lifelong commitment to Latin American studies, is part of the LASA General Endowment. Travel awardees are selected because their country of residence and area of interest reflect the lifelong interests of the honoree. Awards are made as funds become available.

The LASA2000 recipient is Patricia Soteldo de España. Lic. Soteldo is a sociologist currently completing her masters degree at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello in Caracas, Venezuela. She is also employed in the Department of Investigations at the Fundación Rómulo Betancourt. At the Miami Congress, she presented a paper entitled "Evolución de las ideas políticas de Rómulo Betancourt entre 1936 y 1941." She is pictured on this page receiving her award from President Franklin Knight.



Patricia Soteldo de España with Franklin Knight

For additional information on the Martz Fund or to make a contribution please contact the LASA Secretariat at 412-648-1907. ■

#### CALL FOR PAPERS FOR LASA2001

mailed with this Forum

Please note instructions and deadlines

We'll see you in Washington!

#### LASA VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

#### LASA Endowment Fund

LASA has a number of things to be proud of, particularly the addition of *two new Life Members* since our last report to you. A warm welcome and our most sincere thanks to Guillermo De Los Reyes and Antonio Lara Téllez. Both members are affiliated with the Universidad de las Américas in Cholula, México, where Professor Lara Téllez is in the field of international relations and Professor De Los Reyes teaches and conducts research in folklore.

LASA Life Members now number 42. (For information on obtaining a Life Membership please contact Sandy Klinzing at 412-648-1907.)

The LASA2000 Congress in Miami proved to be a record-setter in a number of ways. Although the bulk of travel funding was still provided by outside sources, the Miami Congress was the first for which proceeds from the Endowment Fund could be used to fund the travel of our Latin American colleagues. Over \$120,000 was available for use as grants.

At the Miami meeting of the Executive Council, Council members were delighted to learn from Executive Director Reid Reading's report that the Endowment has now surpassed \$3.1 million. Thanks are due to the many LASA members and friends who have supported this effort over the years, and to the Ford Foundation for helping us reach our goal sooner than anticipated!

We are delighted to recognize the following donors to the General Endowment Fund since our last report:

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#### Our thanks as well to these generous donors to the Humanities Endowment Fund:

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#### LASA Travel Fund

Contributions by LASA members and friends to the LASA Travel Fund provided an additional \$9829 for travel to Miami. On behalf of all LASA2000 grantees and future grantees who will benefit from your largesse, many thanks! The following donors contributed to the Travel Fund since our last report to you:

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A contribution to any of the LASA Funds is truly a gift that "keeps on giving." Memorial gifts may be made to any of the funds in the donor's name or that of a loved one; bequests allow the donor to have an impact on a particular area of scholarship for many generations to come. To discuss any of these options, please give us a call at 412-648-1907 or email us at lasa+@pitt.edu.



## **SECTION NEWS**

#### Peru Section Organizes International Seminar on Free and Fair Elections by James Rudolph, Section Co-Chair, Peruvian Exporters' Association and Charles D. Kenney, University of Oklahoma

The campaign leading up to Peru's April 9 general elections was the most tarnished since Peru's return to civilian rule in 1980. Following two years of trampling over the 1993 Constitution in order to create a legal environment that would enable President Fujimori to run for a third consecutive term (see Catherine Conaghan, "The Permanent Coup: Peru's Road to Presidential Reelection," in the Spring 1998 issue of the Forum), the official candidate has now taken every advantage of his access to the power and resources of the State, while opposition candidates have been subject to a barrage of unsavory dirty tricks.

President Fujimori, who led his rivals in pre-election polls by more than a two to one margin, thus had a daily schedule of inaugurations of public works that assured him nightly air time on television and a seemingly unlimited budget to paint his name and party slogans on hillsides in Lima and elsewhere. In contrast, opposition candidates commonly had their rallies hounded by hecklers and by mysterious power outages, were subject to personal harassment by tax authorities and other agents of the government, were maligned by outrageous and apocryphal stories in the tabloid press as well as on television, and had their solicitations for paid political ads rejected by the owners of private television stations. (These and other aspects of these controversial elections are documented in the "Peru Elections 2000" website – http://csd.queensu.ca/peru2000).

In short, Peru's electoral process has been distorted to the point of being reminiscent of the electoral manipulation by the PRI during the bad old days in Mexico. Election observers—including the Peruvian government's Office of the Ombudsman, the local NGO *Transparencia*, the Carter Center, the National Democratic Institute, the National Republican Institute, and the Paris-based International Human Rights Federation—recognizing that competent electoral observation requires an in-country presence prior to election day, were on the scene to document and broadcast these irregularities. The LASA Peru Section has also been present.

Together with *Transparencia*, the Peru Section organized an "International Seminar on Free and Fair Elections" that was held in Lima on February 3 and 4. Representatives from the Carter Center, the National Democratic Institute and the National Republican Institute were also among the distinguished participants. Five members of LASA, Catherine Conaghan, Charles Kenney, Cynthia McClintock, Andreas Schedler, and Gregory Schmidt, were among the speakers at the event, and afterward, they continued to speak about international standards for free and fair elections and voice their concerns about the process in Peru in the local TV, radio, and print media.

The seminar consisted of four sessions. The first, entitled "International Standards for Free and Fair Elections," resulted in numerous points of coincidence among the panelists:

- there exists a group of standards that are widely accepted within the international community, including the existence of a "level playing field" for all candidates; freedom of association, expression and the press that enables information on the distinct views of all candidates to be available to the voting public; and the freedom to vote and to a fair vote tally, which requires a duly-functioning and impartial electoral apparatus;
- 2) there are numerous indications that some of these standards are not being met during the current electoral process in Peru, including restrictions on the freedom of expression, association and the press, and a lack of equal access to the mass media, the use of state resources for electoral purposes, and a variety of problems concerning the electoral apparatus that raise concerns over the fairness of the electoral process;
- 3) the resolution of these problems and deficiencies is still possible, but will require an urgent effort by the government and the candidates to enter into a dialogue; and
- 4) should the problems observed in the current electoral process not be resolved, Peru's 2000 general elections will not fulfill the internationally recognized minimum standards for free and fair elections.

The second session, titled "Comparative Electoral Systems," produced an interesting debate on the effects of the current electoral system and the possible effects of alternative systems. Of particular concern was Peru's unitary electoral district, from which 120 members of congress are elected. There was a consensus, nonetheless, that the current electoral apparatus is excessively fragmented and that it is imperative that a coherent and solid political party system be constructed.

The third session, "The Application of International Standards in Peru: the View from Outside," begun with a recognition that the people of Peru have the principal responsibility to assure a clean electoral process. International observation should support these Peruvian efforts and create incentives so that the responsible parties comply with the requirements to carry out an electoral process that is free, fair, and equitable. Secondly, it was noted that while it can be difficult to establish precise thresholds for when an electoral process does or does not meet international standards, an outside electoral observer knows if the elections are free and fair by consulting with the competitors, following public opinion surveys, and by personally observing the various facets of the electoral process. Third, a particular emphasis was

placed on the need for unrestricted freedom of the press, balanced coverage, and equitable access to the mass media by all the candidates. Lastly, it was noted that the international community has an active interest and concern for the democratic process in Peru, and in particular, that the 2000 elections be free, fair and equitable.

The fourth session, "The Viewpoint of the Political Parties," was attended by representatives of seven of the nine parties competing in the elections (the official Perú 2000 and the Unión por el Perú—UPP were absent). Among the principal points raised by the party representatives were the following:

- 1) A reaffirmation that a clean electoral process is not simply concerned with the events on election day, but also with the electoral process prior to and after the act of voting.
- 2) While the presence of outside observers was recognized as important, there was a reaffirmation also that Peruvians have the principal responsibility to see that the electoral process be free and fair.
- The parties denounced a long series of abuses and manipulations that has made the electoral process less than free and equitable.
- 4) The need to strengthen electoral vigilance by means of duly-trained poll watchers was emphasized, and there was a consensus among most of the parties to work toward a cooperative effort at poll-watching.
- 5) There was also agreement on the urgent need to promote civic education in order to limit the numbers of votes declared invalid.

The seminar's closing ceremony featured a poignant reminder by Father Felipe McGregor, of the Board of Directors of *Transparencia*, of the right of Peruvians to freely elect their leaders and to protest when this right is violated. At the ceremony, U.S. Ambassador John R. Hamilton declared that the United States government (which financed the Seminar, as it has much of *Transparencia's* work) considers its support for a transparent electoral process in Peru to be a high priority.

The issues brought forward during the LASA-*Transparencia* "International Seminar on Free and Fair Elections" foreshadowed the February 11 findings of the Carter Center/National Democratic Institute's 2<sup>nd</sup> Pre-electoral Mission to Peru, as well as those of the Mission of the International Human Rights Federation that were made public on February 14. The U.S. State Department and the Ambassadors of the European Union in Lima, respectively, immediately issued statements in support of the highly critical findings of these two pre-electoral observation teams.

The Peru Section's organization of this timely event in conjunction with *Transparencia*, a local NGO that is playing a vital role in the defense of democratic practices in Peru, is a tribute to the ability of LASA sections to play an active and meaningful role in Latin America.

#### **New Section Formed**

The newest Section to be approved is entitled "Decentralization and Sub-national Governance". It will become an option for membership when it is added to the membership form for 2001. The Section's organizers have provided the following short statement on the Section's mission:

This Section will bring together scholars from disciplines examining the causes and patterns of decentralization, the consequences of devolution for citizen participation and delivery of social services, and the effects of these changes on macroeconomic management and political institutions at all levels of government. Organizers strongly encourage participation by scholars engaged in cross-regional research on these topics.

For additional information please contact: Eduardo Gomez at edgomez\_2000@yahoo.com, or Eliza Willis at willis@grinnell.edu.

#### **Labor Studies Awards Announced**

Barry Carr, 1998-99 Chair of the Labor Studies Section, announced the winners of the newly inaugurated LASA Labor Section awards for the best book and journal article/book chapters on a work, labor or union topic.

The LASA Labor Section Award for Distinguished Scholarship (journal article or book chapter):

John French, "Drowning in Laws But Starving for Justice: Brazilian Labor Law and the Workers' Quest to Realize the Imaginary" which appeared in *Political Power and Social Theory*, Vol. 12 (1998) pp. 181-218.

The Labor Section Award for Distinguished Scholarship (Book): Hank Frundt, Trade Conditions and Labor Rights: US Initiatives, Dominican and Central American Responses, published by University Presses of Florida.

Congratulations to both the award winners!

#### Gender Pre-Conference Held

As it has done for the last three LASA Congresses, the Section on Gender and Feminist Studies sponsored a pre-conference on matters of interest to Section members and their colleagues. This year's conference was entitled "Preconferencia Políticas de Género en América Latina: Balance de resultados" and took place March 14 and 15 at the University of Miami. The conference was sponsored by the North-South Center of the University, with support from the Interamerican Development Bank. Members of the organizing committee included Section Co-chairs Sara Poggio and Montserrat Sagot, as well as Beatriz Schmukler, Mary Garcia Castro, Elsa Chaney, Alicia Martínez, Helen Safa, Alice Colón-Warren and Verónica Schild. Discussion included events related to the feminist movement with relation to public politics and the State, limits imposed by neoliberal states, and the impact of politics on gender equity. Specific discussions centered on the politics of health, violence

directed at women and the implications of prevailing strategies for the growth of sustainable development. The papers presented during the pre-conference will be published in a book in cooperation with the North-South Center.

A feature of the Gender pre-conference is the presentation of awards funded by a generous grant from UNIFEM. This year's pre-conference had four awardees:

- In the Latin American Division, first prize was awarded to Rosio Córdova Plaza of the Universidad Veracruzana for her paper entitled "Género, epistomología y linguística". The second prize went to María Gabriela Merlinsky for "Desocupación y crisis en las imágenes de género".
- In the Canada, Europe and United States Division, first prize was received by Karin Weyland for her "Dominican women: Con un pie aquí y un pie allá: Are national narratives

threatened when standing at the crossroads of local/global identities and cultures?" Second prize went to Roseann Santos for "The Peaceful Invasion of 1900: The Harvard University Summer School for Cuban Teachers."

Our congratulations to the Gender Section for a highly successful pre-conference and to this year's award recipients!

(Watch for the summer 2000 edition of the LASA Forum for a list of the new section chairs and reports of the sections on their activities during the past 18 months.

LASA Section News is a regular feature of the LASA Forum. Please submit your Section news by June 1 for inclusion in the summer issue.)

## PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Regina Harrison of the University of Maryland, College Park, was awarded a John Simon Guggenheim Foundation fellowship for 1999-2000 to complete a project on "semantic conversations," a study of Spanish/Quechua confession manuals and sermons in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1585-1650. Her research examines the Andean concept of the sacred, the nature of the soul and body, commodification of the landscape, and the assimilation of a European economics in a system of Inka reciprocity as revealed in colonial manuscripts and religious texts. Harrison is Director of the Comparative Literature Program at Maryland and faculty member of the M.A. program in Cultural Studies of the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in Quito. In 1991, she won the first Kovacs Prize of the Modern Language Association (for outstanding book in English on Hispanic cultures) and the Bryce Wood Book Award of LASA (honorable mention) for the outstanding book on Latin America in the Social Sciences and the Humanities. In Washington, D.C. she co-founded the Andean Studies Consortium of Universities of the Greater Washington Area, which fosters collaborative research among faculty with specialities in Andean anthropology, archaeology, ethnohistory and Quechua <a href="http://www.inform.umd.edu/Andean">http://www.inform.umd.edu/Andean</a>>.

Jennifer Schirmer, Lecturer on Social Studies/Anthropology and associate of the Program on Non-Violent Sanctions and Cultural Survival at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard, won the Netherlands-based PIOOM Award for her book, *The Guatemalan Military Project: A Violence Called Democracy* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998; Spanish edition, FLACSO-Guatemala, 1999). PIOOM, whose acronym in Dutch stands for Interdisciplinary Research Program on Root Causes of Human Rights Violations, says of the Schirmer book: "The study brings out clearly what so many suspected but could not prove: that the Guatemalan military engaged in a quasi-genocidal project. Schirmer provides the proverbial 'smoking gun': that it was done, how it was done, and

who did it. It was as if the leaders of Nazi Germany would explain how they came to the 'Final Solution', how and why it was planned and who was responsible...." "Dr. Schirmer," explained PIOOM about the choice of her book, "has allowed us to look into the Guatemalan military's mind by listening for us to many of the worst human rights offenders and rendering us their deeds in their own words. We understand them better than ever. Not often have the powerful been so frank as with her. For this she deserves the PIOOM Award." PIOOM awarded her the \$1000 prize at a gala ceremony in Amsterdam on Human Rights Day, December 10<sup>th</sup>.

Manuel Alcántara Saez, Professor of Political Science at the Universidad de Salamanca, Spain and head of the Latin American Institute (Instituto de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal) at the same University, has published the second edition of his book Sistemas Politicos de America Latina, Volumen I: America del Sur and Volumen II: México, América Central y el Caribe (Madrid: Tecnos, 1999). This book surveys the details of Latin American Political systems, thus contributing to the scarce literature on comparative Latin American politics covering all national cases, all of which makes it an extremely useful handbook of obligued reference for anyone approximating the study of politics in Latin America. All chapters, each including a case study, follow the same structure in order to facilitate the comparative work: a survey of the most important events in the political history of the country with special reference to democratic transitions; a description of the most important features of the political regime of each country (executive, legislative and judicial powers, territorial organization of the state and electoral systems); and finally, a section on political behavior, focused especially on the role of political parties, other political actors of relevance and some features of the public opinion that conforms the political culture of each of the countries under analysis.

## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

#### Availability of LASA2000 Papers in Hard-copy and Electronic Versions

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

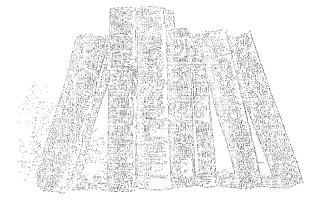
Papers sent by e-mail must be contained in an attachment, and not in the text of the message itself. Diskettes must be 3.5 inch, high-density, virus-free, and clearly labeled with the NAME of the author(s) and title of the paper. Documents may be submitted in the any of the following languages, although 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 Win. 2.0, 6.0, 7.0
- MS Works 2.0, 3.0, 4.0
- 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
- RTF
- WordPerfect 2.0, 2.1, 3.x



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The site allows you to browse the index by country/region, subject, and volume number, or search and sort the index by author, title, subject, article type, and country/region and volume. The index features are free!

Only current LASA members and LARR subscribers are given access to the back and current issues on-line. ■

## I Carry My Roots With Me: Mis raíces las cargo siempre

an exhibition of Latin American Jewish arts and culture, will open on May 21, 2000 and run through the summer at the Washington, D.C. Jewish Community Center.

Original works of art, historical readings, and a symposium will be featured.

For further information, either:
call Lis Diament, curator, at 202-777-3208 or
e-mail Judith Laikin Elkin, historical consultant to the
project, at elkinjl@umich.edu.



## RESEARCH, STUDY, AND AWARD OPPORTUNIT

La Universidad de Salamanca, Servicio de Cursos Extraordinarios anuncia el seminario: Los Partidos Políticos Ante los Retos del Siglo XXI que se llevará a cabo en el Instituto de Estudios de Iberoamérica y Portugal del 1 al 2 de junio de 2000. Para información e inscripción:

**Cursos Extraordinarios** Patio de Escuela, 3, 2° 37001-Salamanca, ESPAÑA Tel: 923-294636; Fax: 923-294637

\* The Global Development Network announces the Research and Development Project Awards Competition. The Global Development is an emerging network of institutions that generate and share knowledge about development. The goal of the Global Development Network (GDN) is to support and link research and policy institutes involved in the field of development, and whose work is predicated on the notion that ideas matter. The GDN will aim to support the generation and sharing of knowledge for development and to help bridge the gap between the development of ideas and their practical implementation. Achieving these goals involves strengthening the capacity of research and policy institutions to undertake high-quality, policy-relevant research and to move research results into the policy debates, at both national and global levels. Outstanding Research on Development: \$125,000 will be awarded to the individual, group or institution whose research holds the greatest promise for reducing global poverty. Medals with cash awards of \$10,000 and \$5,000 will also be given in each of five topic areas. Most innovative Development Project: \$125,000 will be given to the individual, group or institution whose development project holds the greatest promise for benefiting the poor in developing countries. All finalists will receive an expense-paid trip to the conference. For detailed guidelines and application forms, visit the GDN website at http://www.gdnet.org or request information by e-mail: info@gdnet.org. The deadlines are:

June 30: Initial application, abstracts, brief project descriptions. August 31: Full papers and full project descriptions.

Dec 11-13: Winners announced at GDN2000 in Tokyo.

\* The Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation is pleased to announced the second year of the Foundation Humanities at Work 2000 Practicum Grant Awards. The program seeks to improve career opportunities beyond the academy for humanities doctoral students. Along with efforts to maximize good positions within the academy, these programs are part of a larger goal of the Foundation to unleash the full potential of the humanities throughout our society. Woodrow Wilson Practicum Grants award \$1,500 to students who find a meaningful internship or other way to utilize their academic discipline in a context outside of college teaching and research. Applications are processed on a first-come-first-served basis. Applicants must be currently enrolled Ph.D. students who are making timely progress toward completion of their degree in the following fields: American Studies, Art History, Classics, Comparative Literature, Cultural Anthropology, English Literature, Foreign Language and Literature, History, History and Philosophy of Science, Musicology, Philosophy, Political Philosophy, and Religious Studies. Applicants must be U.S. Citizens or Permanent Residents. Further details and applications can be found on the web site: http://www.woodrow.org/phd.

The Association for Latina and Latino Anthropology (ALLA) will be conferring two prizes this year: the ALLA Student Paper Award and the ALLA Rising Professional Award. The Rising Professional Award will be presented for the first time this year. We are inviting nominations and submissions for both awards. The Student Paper Award is given for the best paper addressing issues related to U.S. Latinas/os and their communities from an anthropological perspective. It is open to individuals who are graduate students at the time of submission (including ABD's). Papers should be no more than 5000 words (20 double-spaced pages) in length and will be read by a committee of ALLA members. The author of the paper judged to be of highest quality will receive a cash award in the amount of \$200.00 and the award will be announced in Anthropology News. All submissions for the student paper award must be received by 20 September, 2000. Please provide five (5) copies, postmarked no later than the deadline, along with a cover letter with contact information for the author. Only hard copies will be considered; please do not fax or e-mail submissions. The Rising Professional Award recognizes a junior scholar who has demonstrated considerable potential and promise of excellence in the anthropology of Latina/os and their communities-either through service and/or scholarship. ALLA defines "junior scholar" in terms of career trajectory, not by way of chronological age. Nominations for this award should be submitted by 9 June, 2000 in the form of a letter containing a brief biographical sketch and contact information about the nominee as well as a succinct statement from the nominator establishing why the nominee should be considered for the award. A shortlist will be generated from this pool of nominees. Nominees will then be asked to submit a full curriculum vitae, letters of recommendation and/or support, a nominations statement, copies of publications, and other supporting materials. The award will be announced in a forthcoming issue of the Anthropology News. Submit nominations and submissions by the deadlines noted above to:

Vilma Santiago-Irizarry Department of Anthropology Cornell University 265 McGraw Hall Ithaca, NY 14853

\* The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) announces the 2001-2002 competition for Fulbright Lecturing/Research Grants in 130 countries. Opportunities are open not only to college and university faculty and

administrators, but also to professionals from the business community and government, as well as to artists, journalists, lawyers, independent scholars and many others. Awards vary from two months to an academic year or longer. While foreign language skills are needed for some countries, most lecturing assignments are in English. Contact CIES:

3007 Tilden St., N.W., Suite 5L Washington, DC 20008-3009

Tel: 202-686-7877; E-mail: apprequest@cies.iie.org

Information and applications form available at www.cies.org. Application deadline for worldwide lecturing and research grants in academic year 2001-2002: August 1, 2000.

The Institute for the Study of Genocide requests

nominations for the Raphael Lemkin Award. The award is for the best book or dissertation published in English in 1999-2000 that focuses on explanations of genocide, crimes against humanity, state mass killings and gross violations of human rights and strategies to prevent such violations. The Award carries a stipend of \$500 with travel funds of an equal amount for an award ceremony lecture at the Institute in New York. Please send nominations by May 15, 2000 but no later than October 1, 2000 to:

Dr. Roger Smith

Department of Government, College of William and Mary Williamsburg, VA 23187

## **EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES**

\* The University of Kansas announces two Visiting Positions in Spanish or Spanish American Literature; one at the rank of Associate/Assistant Professor and one at the rank of Assistant Professor. Both appointments begin August 18, 2000. To teach literature at the undergraduate or graduate levels and to teach Spanish language courses as needed. Teaching responsibilities include two classes each semester (2/2 load). To engage in professional development through ongoing research and to contribute service to the department. Required qualifications: Ph.D. required for Associate, preferred for Assistant (will consider ABD); native or near native proficiency in Spanish language; knowledge of and ability to teach Spanish or Spanish American literature; ability to teach Spanish language. Preferred qualifications: Ph.D.; experience in teaching Spanish or Spanish American literature; experience teaching Spanish language courses. Salary: \$42,000 to \$56,000 for Associate; \$40,000 to \$42,000 for Assistant. Review of applications began April 21, 2000 and will continue until the positions are filled. A complete file includes a letter of application, resume or curriculum vita, three letters of reference, and a summary of recent teaching evaluations. For a complete position announcement contact:

Professor Danny J. Anderson Chair of Search Committee Department of Spanish and Portuguese University of Kansas 3062 Wescoe Hall Lawrence, KS 66045-2166 Tel: 785-864-3851

Applications accepted until positions are filled. EO/AA.

❖ Lehman College (CUNY) Latin American and Puerto Rican Studies Department announces a joint appointment for a tenure track Assistant/Associate Professor in Latin American and Latino theatre and arts. Position includes directing plays and musicals, and teaching theatre performance courses, Latin American and Latino literature and cinema. Qualifications: Requires a Ph.D. or M.F.A. in theatre or related discipline. Bilingual (Spanish/English) preferred. Salary: Assistant Professor: \$32,703-\$57,049. Associate Professor:

\$42,616-\$68,174. Anticipated Start Date: September 1, 2000. Interviews began on April 24, 2000. Send your letters of application, curriculum vitae, and the names, addresses and phone numberss of three references to:

Forrest Colburn, Chair

Latin American and Puerto Rican Studies

Lehman College (CUNY)

250 Bedford Park Boulevard West

Bronx, NY 10468-1589

Website: www.lehman.cuny.edu

Applications accepted until the position is filled. An EOE/AA, IRCA, Americans with Disabilities Act Employer.

\* Trinity College in Washington seeks a Director of Programs in International Affairs to lead the development of Trinity's academic programs in the international arena, and to teach international courses as appropriate. The position is a full-time twelve-month appointment with tenure-track faculty status and administrative duties as well as teaching. Working with Trinity's current programs and faculty the International Program Director will develop and implement a comprehensive plan to enlarge Trinity's international curricula and programs in ways that take full advantage of the College's location in Washington and emphasis on the education of women for leadership positions in both the public and private sectors. The Director of Programs in International Affairs is a new position; in addition to working with current faculty across all disciplines, the Director will be expected to build the international affairs faculty. The position reports directly to the Vice President for Academic Affairs. Trinity is a comprehensive university emphasizing the education of women in the undergraduate programs, with a century-old commitment to the social justice emphasis of the Catholic faith tradition. Qualifications: An earned doctorate in a relevant field is required, along with at least ten years of academic or professional experience in the international arena; experience in both arenas is preferred. Strong leadership and communications skills are essential. This is not a research position, but a track record of publication in the field of international affairs is an asset. Candidates must be able to demonstrate strong teaching abilities along with demonstrable skill in organizing and administering programs. Salary is competitive. The successful candidate should have a track record of teaching and leadership in international affairs, including particular area studies and language skills, and a vision of the subject that includes international business and trade, international law and diplomacy, as well as cultural affairs. While Trinity is open to creative new directions and emphases, Trinity also expects the new program plan to incorporate the College's particular strengths in French, Spanish, Latin American Studies, the Model OAS, and Third World concerns. Interested applicants should send a letter of application, curriculum vitae, and names of at least five references to:

International Affairs Search
Carole King
Trinity College, 125 Michigan Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017
Fax: 202-884-9123
E-mail: humanresources@trinitydc.edu

Applications accepted until position is filled.

❖ The University of Connecticut in Storrs is searching for a permanent director to assume a leadership role in the administration and continued growth of the Puerto Rican and Latino Studies Institute. Applicants for this position must be qualified for appointment as an associate or full professor, hold a doctorate in the social sciences, humanities or related field, and have a demonstrated commitment to and a strong record of scholarship and teaching experience in Latino Studies. The successful candidate will be one whose research, publication, and teaching records focus primarily on Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and/or other Latinos in the continental United States, and who is culturally grounded in the U.S. Latino community. Administrative experience is also preferred. The director will be responsible for the management and development of all phases of the Institute's research, teaching, fund-raising, publications, and outreach programs. The director will serve for a minimum of five years and hold one of the Institute's several joint academic appointments. The tenure home of the candidate will be the academic department to which his or her doctorate corresponds. The appointment is for ten months per year, salary is negotiable depending on the applicant's qualifications, and the teaching load will be one course per semester. The effective hiring date is September 1, 2000 or January 2001. Send curriculum vitae, a statement of background and interest, and three letters of recommendation to:

Dr. Scott Cook, Interim Director
Puerto Rican & Latino Studies Institute
354 Mansfield Rd., Box U-137, Storrs, CT 06269-2137
Applications are encouraged from under-represented groups including minorities, women and people with disabilities.
Applications accepted until position is filled.

❖ The School for International Training, Academic Studies Abroad announces the position for Academic Director of the Southern Cone Economic Development and Regional Integration Program based in Santiago, Chile. Contract Period: August 2000 through June 2001. The role of the Academic Director is

essentially threefold: 1) teaching, 2) organizing, 3) advising. Additionally, the Academic Director is responsible for all organizational aspects of the program, including liaising with in-country academics and local experts to act as resource persons, management of program logistics, administration, budget, and conducting the program review and academic evaluation at the end of each semester, which includes preparing written evaluations for each student's academic transcript. The Academic Director reports to the relevant Regional Director at Academic Studies Abroad. Required Oualifications: At least a Master's degree or equivalent. Substantial academic and/or practical experience in the Southern Cone region of South America. Proficiency in Spanish. Demonstrated group leadership working with US undergraduates. Demonstrated administrative abilities. Budget management skills. Cultural sensitivity and adaptability. Desired Qualifications: Knowledge of educational philosophy of SIT. Experience leading groups outside of the US. Salary: Dependent on academic degree. For more information on the School for International Training please visit: www.sit.edu/studyabroad/americas/southerncone.html. cover letter and resume to:

Sue Barnum
Academic Studies Abroad Americas Region
School for International Training
P.O. Box 676, Brattleboro VT 05302-0676
EOE/AA Employer.
Application deadline: *May 31, 2000* 

\* The Nature Conservancy (TNC) announces the opening for Pantanal Program Manager-Brasília, Brasil. The Nature Conservancy (TNC), an international conservation organization based in Arlington, VA, seeks a Pantanal Program Manager to be based in Brasília, with possible relocation to an appropriate venue elsewhere in Brazil. The Pantanal Program Manager will be responsible for The Nature Conservancy's biodiversity conservation work in the Brazilian Pantanal, and for coordination with other TNC efforts elsewhere in the Pantanal. S/he will design and negotiate with in-country partners strategies to protect biodiversity at selected sites and will work with partners to help build their capacity. S/he will also develop/implement strategies to raise financial and other resources needed to realize TNC's mission and oversee compliance/reporting requirements of program donors. Requirements include a master's degree in the natural or social sciences or another relevant field and/or equivalent level (5 years) of relevant professional experience; knowledge of conservation issues in Brazil; strong ability for oral and written communication in English and Portuguese; ability and willingness to raise funds; strong analytical and organizational skills. Working experience and familiarity with Brazilian culture is highly desirable; must be willing to travel at least 35 to 40% of the time and, occasionally, for relatively lengthy (3-4 week) periods. Contact:

Nanette Rutsch,
The Nature Conservancy
4245 N. Fairfax Drive, Arlington, VA 22203-1606
Fax: 703-841-4880; E-mail: nrutsch@tnc.org
Application deadline: *May 31, 2000* ■

## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

- \* The Inter-American Economic Council announces its Annual Conference and Business Roundtable to be held on *June 3, 2000*. The conference is designed to coincide with the opening of the OAS General Assembly Meeting in Windsor, Canada. It will focus on trade liberalization and Economic Integration including NAFTA and Mercosur. For more information visit the website: www.inter-american.org.
- \* The Smithsonian Center for Latino Initiatives, the Mexico-North Research Network, the Inter-University Program for Latino Research, the Latin American Research Program of the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology, the Latina-Latino Heritage and Environments Program and the Center for Biocultural Diversity Studies announce their first Annual Conference to be held in Chihuahua City, Mexico on June 14-17, 2000. The theme is "Exploring Biocultural and Heritage Diversity Through Innovative Research and Education in Borderland Environments." This program develops opportunities for U.S. Latinos and Latinas to learn how to conserve and expand their heritage through participation in diverse cultural and environmental settings. Interactive workshops will bring together U.S. and Mexican scholars to discuss international environmental and heritage issues. The regional focus of the conference is northern Mexico and the Southwest of the United States although borderland environmental issues in other Latino settings will be explored. For more information; www.mexnor.org.
- \* O IV Seminário Nacional Sobre Comportamento Político será realizado de 20 a 23 de junho de 2000 na Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina em Florianópolis, S.C., Brasil. A presente proposta para o IV Seminário centra-se na temática dos 500 anos de Brasil e a virada do milênio. Data de envio de resumos prorrogada para dia 31/05/00. Para mais informação: www.cfh.ufsc.br/~labcomp/seminario/index.html.
- ❖ The Rural Women's Studies Association announces its annual meeting to be held at the Minnesota History Center, St. Paul, MN on June 22-25, 2000. For questions about the conference or RWSA membership contact Debra Reid: debrareid@aol.com or Ann McCleary: amcclear@westga.edu.
- ❖ The World History Association announces its Ninth International Meeting to be held at Northeastern University, Boston, MA on June 22-25. The theme is "World History as a Research Field." The conference will focus on relating research to the conceptualization, methodology and teaching of world history. What are current world historical debates and issues? How does a world history research project look different from one formulated in terms of area studies or national history? For more information: www.whc.neu.edu/wha2000.
- ♦ La Casa del Caribe anuncia el XX Festival de la Cultura Caribeña que se llevará a cabo en Santiago de Cuba, Cuba del

3 al 9 de julio de 2000. Para más información:

Lic. Angel Trincado Fontán

Casa del Caribe

Apartado Postal 4144, Habana 10400, Cuba

Tel: 53-797250; E-mail: trkaribe@ceniai.inf.cu.

❖ La conferncia La antropología aplicada, experiencias actuales y proyecciones a la luz del nuevo milenio se llevará a cabo en Varsovia, Polonia del 9 al 14 de julio, 2000. Para más información comunicarse con la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina con:

Marta Fernández o E. Guillermo Quirós

Fax: 54-11-4373-6401

E-mail: equiros@jaguar.filo.uba.ar.

The North Central Council of Latin Americanists (NCCLA) will hold a conference entitled Reconciling the Past, Envisioning the Future: Latin America in the 21st Century, at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, October 20-21, 2000. Proposals are invited from all disciplines. Suggestions for panels (including Spanish language panels) are most welcome. The Program Chair issues a special invitation for panel presentations on the theme "Judgement on Violence, Pursuit of Peace." Those interested in chairing sessions are invited to contact the Program Chair. Graduate student and advanced undergraduate student participation is encouraged. Up to six student travel grants of \$80 are available (for full-time students who are not professionally employed). Apply with abstract. Conference presenters are eligible for NCCLA Research and Teaching Awards. Contact:

William Katra, Program Chair NCCLA 2000 732 Liberty Street, LaCrosse, WI 54603 Tel: 608-735-2031.

Proposals and abstracts due July 15, 2000.

\* The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE) will be holding its Tenth Annual Meeting in Miami, Florida, August 3-5, 2000, at the Biltmore Hotel, 1200 Anastasia Avenue, Coral Gables, Florida. The theme of the programs is Ten Years of the Special Period: Retrospective and Perspectives. A selection of the papers presented at the meeting will be published by ASCE in its annual publication Cuba in Transition.

Jorge Pérez-López

Chair, Program Committee

5881 6th Street, Falls Church, VA 22041

Tel: 703-379-8812; E-mail: perezlop@erols.com

La Universidad Nacional de Colombia convoca al XI Congreso Colombiano de Historia que se llevará a cabo del 22 al 25 de agosto de 2000. Para mayor información contactar al:

Departamento de Historia

Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Santa Fé de Bogotá

Teléfonos: 3165288 y 3165291

E-mail: xiconhis@bacata.usc.unal.edu.co

\* The International Centre for the History of Slavery (ICHOS) will hold the conference Representing the Body of the Slave at the Sherwood Hall, Nottingham University, UK on September 11-13, 2000. This conference will draw together scholars from around the world working on the history of slavery in a range of disciplines and periods, including the Ancient Near East, Greek and Roman Antiquity, the Islamic, Byzantine and European Middle Ages, South and East Asia, Brazil, the Caribbean and the United States. It is hoped that this exchange of information about the current state of scholarship in particular areas will generate new ideas and new patterns of interdisciplinary study. Conference papers will, where appropriate, be published. Inquiries:

Thomas Wiedemann (Director, ICHOS) Department of Classics University of Nottingham NG7 2RD UK

\* The International Society for Luso-Hispanic Humor Studies announces it annual conference to be held at the Delta Hotel, Montreal, Quebec, Canada on September 28-30, 2000. The keynote speaker will be Luis Rafael Sánchez. The event is co-sponsored by McGill University's Department of Hispanic Studies. A selected proceedings will be published from papers given at the conference. Conference participants must be members of the International Society for Luso-Hispanic Humor Studies. Inquiries:

Dr. K. M. Sibbald Department of Hispanic Studies McGill University 680 Sherbrooke Street West, Room 385 Montreal, Quebec, H3A 2M7 Phone: 514-398-6683. Fax: 514-398-3406

E-mail: ksibbald@leacock.lan.mcgill.ca.

\* The New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS) announces its annual meeting to be held at Amherst College in Amherst, Massachusetts on October 14, 2000. Professor Nina Gerassi-Navarro, Department of Spanish at Mount Holyoke College and President of NECLAS is in charge of the program. Professor Javier Corrales, Department of Political Science at Amherst College is in charge of local arrangements. To receive registration information, contact:

Kathleen E. Gauger **NECLAS Secretariat** c/o Project on Women and Social Change Smith College, Seelve Hall, Room 210 Northampton, MA 01063 Tel: 413-585-3591; Fax: 413-585-3593

Email: kgauger@smith.edu

Centro de Estudios La Mujer en la Historia de América Latina (CEMHAL) convoca al Segundo Simposio Internacional La Mujer en la Historia de América Latina que se llevará a cabo en Lima, Perú del 18 al 20 de octubre de 2000. El objetivo es impulsar el desarrollo de un campo de estudio de la mujer en la

historia de América Latina. Así como la difusión de los trabajos e investigaciones que se están realizando a partir de la notable importancia que ha cobrado en las últimas décadas el análisis crítico del desarrollo y participación de las mujeres en la historia. Cualquier información adicional por favor aparece en el website de CEMHAL.

Sara Beatriz Guardia, Directora, CEMHAL Malecón Castilla 106 Barranco, Lima 04 - Perú Tel: 511-477-9877; Fax: 511-477-0877

E-mail: sarabe@amauta.rcp.net.pe; Website: www.rcp.net.pe/Cemhal

Resúmenes de ponencias (15 líneas): 1º de septiembre de 2000

♦ The National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS) will be holding its annual conference in Raleigh, North Carolina on October 27-29, 2000. The theme of the conference is Independent Scholars: The Public Intellectuals of the Future. NCIS is a society affiliated with the American Council of Learned Societies. It aims to facilitate the work of independent scholars by supplying a supportive international network of members committed to independent scholarship. Members of NCIS often hold simultaneous membership in other academic societies. For further details, contact:

Thomas C. Jepsen, Program Chair 515 Morgan Creek Rd. Chapel Hill, NC 27514-4931

Tel: 919-933-0377; E-mail: tjepsen@mindspring.com

Website: http://www.ncis.org

♦ El Congreso Internacional de Literatura Centroamericana se llevará a cabo en Belize City, Belize del 28 de febrero al 2 de marzo de 2001. Para más información:

Jorge Roman-Lagunas Purdue University Calumet 2200-169th St., Hammond, IN 46323 Tel: 219-989-2632; Fax: 219-989-2165 E-mail: roman@calumet.purdue.edu

❖ El Departamento de Estudios Sociorreligiosos del Centro de Investigaciones Psicológicas y Sociológicas (CIPS), institución académica cubana, con el coauspicio de otras organizaciones de investigación, culturales y religiosas convoca a académicos, docentes y estudiosos en general de la temática religiosa al Tercer Encuentro Internacional de Estudios Sociorreligiosos que se llevará a cabo en La Habana del 3 al 6 de julio del 2001. El tema central del encuentro: Los procesos religiosos y sociales en las condiciones del nuevo siglo. Para más información comuníquese con:

Dr. Jorge Ramírez Calzadilla Presidente del Comité Organizador Tercer Encuentro Internacional de Estudios Sociorreligiosos Calle B No. 352, La Habana 10400, Cuba Tel: 537-31-3610 y 3-5366; Fax: 537-33-4327

E-mail: cips@ceniai.inf.cu

## **PUBLICATIONS**

\* Cuba in Transition—Volume 9, containing selected papers and commentaries presented at the Ninth Annual Meeting (1999) of the Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE) is now available. Papers included in the volume deal with a wide range of topics related to Cuba's economy and society: the current economic and political situation; macroeconomics; monetary and fiscal issues; economic reforms; intellectual property and the Internet; transition issues; politics; the role of the private sector in agriculture; public opinion; sugar and agriculture; civil society and transition; tourism; legal issues; and sectoral economic studies. To order Cuba in Transition—Volume 9 and earlier volumes, please contact:

ASCE Books PO Box 7372

Silver Spring, MD 20907-7372

Tel/Fax: 301-587-1664; E-mail: jalonso@erols.com.

\* (Dis)Locating Modernity:Space and Subjectivity in Early Latin America. Call for essays for an interdisciplinary volume that seeks to examine the intricate relationship between culturally produced spaces and subjectivities in Latin America from the colonial period to 1900. Articles should question traditional (or hegemonic) forms of spatial configurations. We welcome essays on imaginary, artistic, scientific, and medical discourses and topographies; spaces of desire, leisure, and resistance; geographies of consumption and exchange;

migrations and displacements; monuments, museums and gendered urbanisms; ethnic boundaries and spatialized social relationships. Please send a two-page abstract or the complete manuscript (25 pp.) by September 15, 2000 to:

Nina Gerassi-Navarro

Department of Spanish & Italian

Mount Holyoke College

South Hadley, MA 01075

Fax: 413-538-2853, E-mail: ngerassi@mhc.mtholyoke.edu or Luis Fernando Restrepo

Dept. of Foreign Languages

University of Arkansas

Fayetteville, AR 72701, E-mail: lrestr@comp.uark.edu. For inquiries, please write to either one of the above addresses.

❖ Newly-appointed Associate Editor on Latin America for the Journal of Third World Studies, J. Patrice McSherry, invites article contributions from LASA members. JTWS is a multidisciplinary journal dedicated to analysis of problems and issues in the developing world. Contact:

Professor McSherry at pmcsherr@liu.edu or Political Science Department Long Island University
1 University Plaza
Brooklyn, NY 11201

## SHARE A MEMBERSHIP FORM WITH A COLLEAGUE!

The Association can grow even faster if more members discuss LASA with others in our profession.

This issue contains an additional form. Please make a copy available to a potential new member.

And, please urge your colleagues who were members for 1999 to renew now for 2000, if they have not yet done so.

Thanks!

#### Illustrations for Forum Solicited



The editor invites submissions of artwork, especially signed and dated line drawings in black and white, for possible inclusion in the *LASA Forum*. Artwork would appear at various points in the publication at the

discretion of the layout designers. We would require at least six in order to include illustrations in a given issue. The artist would be duly acknowledged and retain all rights.

Thanks for considering this request.

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J. NOE HERRERA

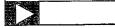


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