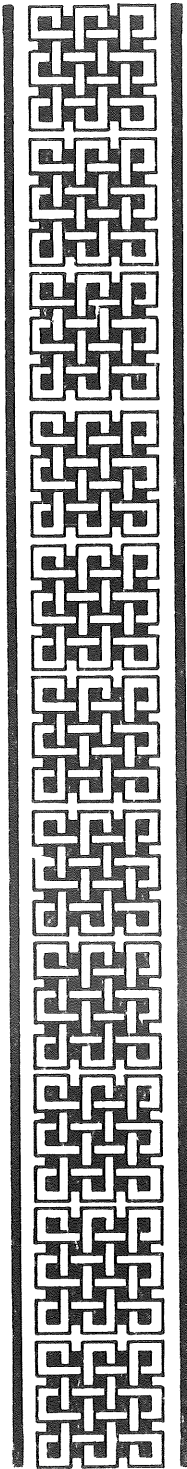


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VOL. VII NO. 3
SEPTEMBER 1976



LATIN

AMERICAN

STUDIES

ASSOCIATION

NEWSLETTER

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Published in September, December, March, and June. All contributions and correspondence should be directed to the Editor at the LASA Secretariat: Box 13362 University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604. Telephone: (904) 392-0377. Copy deadlines are the 10th of the month preceding month of publication. The LASA Newsletter is distributed to members of the Association and by separate subscription at \$10 annually. For information regarding membership, please see final page and back cover of Newsletter.

Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association and of its officers.

CONTENTS

THE ASSOCIATION

Kalman Silvert, 1921--1976	1
Argentina 1973-1976: The Background to Violence	
Juan E. Corradi, Eldon Kenworthy, William Wipfler	3
Panama Canal Treaty	29
Seventh National Meeting, Second Report of the LASA	
Program Committee	30
Scholarly Resources Committee	37
Questionnaire-Inventory; Audio-Visual Teaching	
Materials in Latin American Studies	38
Final Report, Program Committee, Sixth National Meeting	40
LASA Press Award	60
Regional Liaison Committee, Minutes, March 25, 1976	61
Workshop on Religion in Contemporary Latin America	68

PEDAGOGY

New Latin American Courses at Pitt	69
------------------------------------	----

THE PROFESSION

Latin American Studies in Poland	70
----------------------------------	----

NOTES AND NEWS

<u>Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos</u>	71
Area Studies and Other Associations	
International Conference Group on Modern Portugal	72
SALALM Secretariat	72
Society for Latin American Studies, Great Britain	73
Conferences	
Universidad Aut6noma de Barcelona	73
Institute of International Education, Council on	
Higher Education in the American Republics (CHEAR)	74
Medgar Evers College of the City University of New	
York	74
State University College, Potsdam, New York	75
University of Texas-Austin	76
University of Toronto	76
Wellesley College	77
Employment	
Peace Corps	77
Ramapo College	77
Fellowships and Grants	
Social Science Research Council	78
Foreign Scholars in Residence	

The University of Alabama	80
Columbia University, Institute of Latin American Studies	80
Forthcoming Conferences	
Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana	81
Ninth Midwest Film Conference	81
University of Pittsburgh	81
Institutional	
Arthur D. Little Management Education Institute	82
Division of Overseas Ministries	82
Inter American Institute of Puerto Rico	82
New York University	82
University of Pittsburgh	83
The University of Texas-Austin	84
Journals and Newsletters	
<u>América Latina</u>	84
<u>Peronismo Auténtico</u>	84
Manuscripts Solicited	
Concurso Ensayo Siglo XXI	85
Southern Anthropological Society, James Mooney Award	85
Personal	86
Regional	
PCCLAS	87
SECOLAS	88
Washington	
Department of State/Scholar-Diplomat Program	88

CHANGE OF ADDRESS AND NEWS FORM

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

ANNOUNCEMENTS

1976 ELECTIONS

The results of the 1976 Vice-Presidential and Executive Council elections are as follows:

Vice President: Riordan Roett--364 (elected)

Ivan A. Schulman--230

Executive Council: Peter H. Smith--328 (elected)

William E. Carter--250 (elected)

Elsa M. Chaney--210 (first alternate)

Sarah Kerr Myers--184 (second alternate)

Norma Stoltz Chinchilla--148

David W. Foster--101

VII NATIONAL MEETING

The Local Arrangements Committee for the VII National Meeting, Houston, November 2-5, 1977, is as follows: Philip B. Taylor, Jr. (chairperson, Political Science/U. of Houston); Robert Dix (Political Science/Rice); Dennis Johnson (Geography/U. of Houston); Richard Sinkin (History/Texas-Austin); Richard Wood (Spanish/Trinity U.).

VI NATIONAL MEETING

We were remiss in not including in the June, 1976, issue of the Newsletter the Association's thanks to the institutions and individuals who made possible the Sixth National Meeting in Atlanta, March 24-28, 1976: First and foremost, we must cite the Latin American Center of UCLA, and its director, Johannes Wilbert, for its extremely generous support of the Program Committee and its chairperson, James Wilkie. Similarly, the Association wishes to thank Joseph Baylen (chairperson, Department of History, Georgia State University, Atlanta) for the generous support provided to James Kelley, chairperson, Local Arrangement Committee. National Meetings would be impossible without the Local Arrangements Committee; in addition to Prof. Kelley, then, we should also like to thank the members of his Committee: Robert Claxton (West Georgia); Phil Coventry (Morris Brown); Julio Duarte (Georgia State); Jorge Marbán (Emory); Geraldine Reed (Georgia Tech); Constance Shaw (Agnes Scott). Finally, the film showings at Atlanta were a first for the Association. In addition to those mentioned in the Program Committee's final report appearing in this issue, we should like to thank Peter Colbenson of Georgia State University for all his many efforts in showing the films. Finally, though a great many local students and faculty must go unnamed because of the strictures of space, they do not go unthanked. We thank them all.

FACT SHEET IN SPANISH

The Association now has available a Spanish-language version of our annual Fact Sheet. Members who would like to help distribute these Fact Sheets to their Spanish-speaking colleagues are asked to write the Secretariat for copies. A Portuguese version is also contemplated.

HUGO BLANCO RESOLUTION BALLOTING

The results of the mail ballot conducted on the Hugo Blanco Resolution passed at the Sixth National Meeting (please see June, 1976, Newsletter for complete text) are: Approve, 603 votes; Disapprove, 99 votes; Abstain, 1. The resolution was therefore forwarded to Attorney General Levi as required.

NDEA CENTER AWARDS, 1976-1977

The Office of Education has announced the following graduate Center awards for 1976-1977: Latin American Center, UCLA (\$87,000); Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida (\$93,000); Center for Latin American Studies, University of Illinois, with the University of Chicago (\$80,000); Latin American Studies Center, University of Kansas, with Kansas State University and Wichita State University (\$80,000); Center for Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin (\$94,000); Latin American Studies Center, Tulane University (\$82,000); Center for Latin American Studies, University of Wisconsin (for the Wisconsin system) (\$97,887); and Latin American Studies Center, Yale University (\$70,000). In addition, two undergraduate Centers received awards: Latin American Studies Center at San Diego State University (\$50,000) and Latin American Studies Center, Western Kentucky University (\$36,113).

NEW AD HOC COMMITTEES

The Executive Council has established the following ad hoc committees: Membership Recruitment Committee (chaired by Marshall Nason, Latin American Center, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque); Committee on Relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (chaired by Cole Blasier, Political Science, University of Pittsburgh; with members Russell Bartley, History, University of Wisconsin, Madison; and Richard Fagen, Political Science, Stanford); and the Visa Committee (members: Henry Landsberger, Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Riordan Roett, Political Science, SAIS/Hopkins; and Roberta Salper, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.).

THE ASSOCIATION



Kalman Silvert (extreme right) with Edward L. Terry, President, Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies (SECOLAS); and Felicity Trueblood, Executive Director, LASA; at the XXIII annual SECOLAS, Miami Beach, May 6, 1976.

KALMAN SILVERT
1921-1976

Kalman Silvert died on June 15, 1976, in New York City. Active to the last, as can be seen by the above photo taken at SECOLAS a little more than a month before his death, he literally spent himself on monumental projects of monumental proportions. He gave himself, gave all of himself, to us, his colleagues, students, friends, and family, and in this giving leaves behind an uncommon legacy. It is significant that one of his last addresses, at SECOLAS, was devoted to "From Pensador to Social Scientist, from Democracy to Authoritarianism," underscoring his deep commitment to democracy and human rights in Latin America and elsewhere, and his growing concern that the social sciences in the hands of técnicos and their governments were being used to subvert democratic freedoms.

Latin Americanist, scholar, teacher, writer, intellectual, Kalman Silvert will be much and profoundly missed. Perhaps what I shall miss most personally is his vast good will and great good humor, gusto and joy. Those of us who attended the Sixth National Meeting in Atlanta last March were treated to Kal Silvert in action when, on the occasion of honoring LASA's tenth anniversary, then-President Joseph Grunwald introduced him to the Business Meeting as "the midwife and first president of LASA".

Kal Silvert's response was typical: "Midwife and George Washington--what a combination!.../LASA was founded/ in Washington ten years ago in a room in the Library of Congress. It was that room some of you may know which contains the matched set of Stradivarius. And I will confess that my heart was inside that glass case wanting to steal those instruments, instead of outside with the politics which was involved in the establishment of LASA...I really don't mind that LASA is ten years older today than it was ten years ago, but why does it have to drag me along with it?"

In a very real sense, however, Kal Silvert dragged the Association along with him. Whatever the Association is, and can be, is due in great measure to Kal Silvert. Though we could not give him the matched set of Stradivarius, we could, at least, in Atlanta give him our grateful thanks.

F.M.T.

ARGENTINE 1973-1976:
THE BACKGROUND TO VIOLENCE

Juan E. Corradi
Eldon Kenworthy
William Wipfler

Introduction and Recommendations

Many members of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) have expressed concern over the university and political situation in Argentina. At the Fifth LASA National Meeting held in San Francisco in November, 1974, a motion regarding this situation was passed by the membership at the Business Meeting. This and other indications of member interest led the Executive Council of LASA to establish an ad hoc Sub-committee on the Argentine Situation of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Human Rights. The broad charge of the Sub-committee, as conceived by the Executive Council of LASA, was to investigate questions of academic freedom and human rights in Argentina at that time, with the understanding that information gathering, fact-finding, and publicity for concerned U.S. audiences would be critical tasks.

LASA members serving on the Sub-committee were Professor Juan E. Corradi, of New York University (Chairperson), Professor Eldon Kenworthy, of Cornell University, and the Reverend William Wipfler, of the National Council of Churches. Since LASA could not afford to send an investigatory team to Argentina, the Sub-committee depended heavily on informants, published accounts in the Argentine and U.S. press, and other contacts and sources in Argentina, Mexico, and France.

The purpose of the Sub-committee's investigation was to document and clarify a situation which was both of immediate and long-term importance. Hence, the Sub-committee attempted to strike some balance between a narrow substantive and temporal focus, and broader considerations, dealing not only with the present but also with the future. Since the 1973-1976 situation in Argentina was little known (aside from mass media reports of acts of violence), the Sub-committee's report was designed to inform a diverse audience.

NOTE: Even though the military coup occurring in Argentina on March 24, 1976, has eclipsed events detailed in this report, it is published as being of historical interest to those concerned with human rights in Latin America. Trends noted in the report have, if anything, intensified. In any case, the post-March 24, 1976, period cannot be understood in isolation from the critical years immediately preceding.

This version of the report was edited in the Secretariat.

This preliminary report has been drafted in English and is intended to stand alone. Nevertheless, the evidence accumulated in the course of the Sub-committee's investigation was so massive that it warranted lengthy and systematic treatment. As a result, the Sub-committee produced a chronicle of violence and repression in Argentina from July, 1973, until late 1974. This documentary supplement was compiled primarily from published sources, such as newspapers and magazines. Since most of these sources are in Spanish, and since the Sub-committee had a limited amount of time and resources at its disposal, it has decided to make this chronicle available, with commentaries, in Spanish, as a separate document.¹

The chronicle has been designed for the general reader rather than for the specialist, in keeping with the general charge of the Sub-committee. It contains the bulk of the evidence weighed by the Sub-committee. This evidence clearly indicates that Argentina is undergoing a process of violence that cannot be classified with the conflicts and crises afflicting contemporary society. The Argentine process has a particular density and specific traits and characteristics. By analyzing these features and exposing the facts it might therefore be possible to end the violence and repression that today afflict Argentine society.

The bulk of the Sub-committee's work consisted of gathering reliable information on a series of acts of violence and repression that took place in Argentina from May 25, 1973, to March 24, 1976, and to assess their impact and consequences. The picture that gradually emerged pointed to a grave situation for human rights in Argentina. The extreme seriousness of this situation was masked by a series of factors. First, the dramatic breakdown of institutions in Chile and the more spectacular violation of human rights there tended to draw the attention of concerned persons primarily towards the Chilean situation. By contrast, the re-establishment of the formal democratic process in 1973 in Argentina was received by many with a sense of relief and the hope that it would lead to greater political stability and end a long series of coups and repressive regimes. Since that time, however, those hopes have crumbled before the fact of unprecedented violence of a semi-official nature. Second, repression and violence have become almost institutionalized in Argentina, and, as a result, they are more easily taken for granted as a part of a normal state of affairs. It is therefore all

¹This documentary supplement, "Argentina de hoy: un régimen de terror. Informe sobre la represión desde julio de 1973 hasta diciembre de 1974," (pp. 270) may be ordered from the LASA Secretariat at cost, \$20.00, for a bound xerographic copy.

the more important to lay bare the facts before concerned audiences in the U.S. and throughout the world.

The evidence documented by the Sub-committee on the Argentine Situation leads to the persuasive presumption that in Argentina torture, abuse, and maltreatment of persons have occurred while they were under the jurisdiction of the civil authorities, that many persons have been deprived of their rights and of due process, and that many others have been assassinated by persons belonging to groups of semi-official status. Furthermore, it appears evident that through official government decisions and intervention, students and professors have suffered curtailment of academic freedom and have been among those particularly victimized by the present situation in Argentina.

It is recommended, therefore, that:

1. The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) direct its Executive Council to communicate the findings of the Argentine Sub-committee to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights for its consideration and examination.
2. LASA direct its Executive Council to request an appropriate non-governmental organization with status before the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (e.g., International Commission of Jurists, Amnesty International, etc.) to present its findings to that body at the next session.
3. LASA direct its Executive Council to appoint an ad hoc committee to study the nature and extent of U.S. government assistance to Argentina, reporting back to the Executive Council with its recommendations for appropriate LASA action. Such recommended action should be considered in the light of Section 116 of the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act, which states:
 - a. No assistance may be provided under this part to the government of any country which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violation of internationally recognized human rights, including torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment, prolonged detention without charges, or other flagrant denial of the right to life, liberty, and the security of person, unless such assistance will directly benefit the needy people in such country.
 - b. In determining whether this standard is being met with regard to funds allocated under this part, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations or the House Committee on International Relations may require the Administrator primarily responsible for administering Part 1 of this act to submit in writing information demonstrating that such assistance will directly benefit the needy people in such country, together with a detailed explanation of the assistance to be provided (including the dollar amounts of such assistance) and an explanation of how such assistance will directly benefit the needy people

- in such country. If either Committee for either House of Congress disagrees with the Administration's justification it may initiate action to terminate assistance to any country by a concurrent resolution under Section 617 of this Act.
- c. In determining whether or not a government falls within the provisions of subsection (a), consideration shall be given by executive to the extent of cooperation of such government in permitting an unimpeded investigation of alleged violations of internationally recognized human rights by appropriate international organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, or groups or persons acting under the authority of the United Nations or the Organization of American States.
 - d. The President shall transmit to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, in the annual presentation of materials on proposed economic assistance programs, a full and complete report regarding the steps he has taken to carry out the provisions of the Section
4. LASA continue a permanent committee like the Emergency Committee to Aid Latin American Scholars (ECALAS) to coordinate and extend efforts in the U.S. to assist Latin American scholars and students who, because of the policies and practices of their governments, may find it necessary for their safety and the continuation of their scholarly activities to relocate temporarily outside their native countries; and that the committee be instructed to initiate planning to receive persons from Argentina in the U.S. in view of the critical Argentine situation.

Political Instability and Military Rule (1955-1973)

In the decade following the fall of Perón (1955-1966), Argentina suffered from economic policies which sought to dismantle a whole series of Peronist institutions for the purpose of redistributing income to traditional agrarian interests. Under those circumstances, post-Perón governments were democratic in name only. Such governments banned political opponents, failed to honor electoral promises, and sought to accommodate traditionally privileged sectors of society, while at the same time denying governmental access to the Peronists. When electoral manipulation failed to control peronismo, civilian governments were overthrown by military coups. Military regimes in turn became hidebound and rigid, or sometimes seemed on the verge of degenerating into rule by armed factions, at which point power was transferred to new civilian governments, and so on, in endless cycle. The liberal restoration of 1955 failed to return Argentina to its former prosperous times of growth based on ex-

port. Instead, new policies increased the role of foreign capital, which sometimes affected negatively the interests of both agrarians and national industrialists, and also excluded many groups beneath them.

The counterpart of this process in the political sphere was severe instability which, in turn, was incompatible with long-term economic growth. The economic growth policy of post-Peronist military regimes failed because of two main factors. On the one hand, the anti-Peronist coalition (middle classes, entrepreneurial groups, and agrarian interests) was too fragmented. On the other hand, despite government attacks, Peronists managed to retain control of the union movement. Even though Peronism was officially proscribed, different components of the anti-labor coalition in power sought to negotiate with Perón and the labor leaders (e.g., President Frondizi's pact with Perón in 1958). During those years, Argentina was characterized by a persistent social stalemate that prevented the attainment of any political objective and played havoc with any plan for economic development. In turn, political and economic ineffectiveness invited military arbitration.

The anti-Peronist restoration of 1955 failed in its avowed purpose of returning Argentina to its former prosperity. The regime did, nevertheless, attempt to solve the economic crisis which had emerged in the early 1950's by stimulating the flow of foreign investments. The latter policy, in addition to inducing the de-nationalization of the economy, also promoted a redistribution of power in Argentine society. The more powerful national economic groups clustered around multinational corporations and sought to end the existing impasse by re-organizing the economy from a position of power and in accord with their interests. The military coup of June 28, 1966, was thus their response.

The military regime which was then established (1966-1973) attempted to destroy the stalemated balance of social forces and renovate the economic system with the aid of foreign capital. The aim was to produce a new and dynamic type of industrial dependency, organized around principles of capitalist "efficiency" and close alignment with the United States. The capability of these policies to promote a new kind of social integration under a viable political system, however, proved much less effective than the ability to destroy the older equilibrium. The military authorities saw, to their dismay, a rapid narrowing of support and the growth of formidable cross-class opposition, composed of indignant middle sectors, provincial bourgeoisies, radical students, and militant Peronist workers. Militarism had become the unwitting unifier of groups previously divided. Most significantly, middle sectors joined the working class under the same Peronist banner.

Radicalization of the middle sectors and their convergence

with industrial workers paved the way for the return of Peronism to power in 1973. Now on the defensive, the military was forced to shelve its original plans for a capitalist rationalization of the economy and concentrate on deflecting the radical impulse of the opposition. Two waves of urban insurrections--the first in 1969 and the second in 1971 in which guerrilla organizations made their first appearance--led military authorities to negotiate a political compromise with their opponents: Peronism and the outlawed political parties.

The then military President, General Lanusse, attempted to create the conditions under which new elections could take place to bring to power a civilian coalition capable of commanding greater legitimacy than the military regime. The revival of traditional parties, the promise of Peronist participation in the elections, and discussion of Perón's return from exile were all part of a strategy to isolate the extreme elements in the opposition and to prevent the rise of a truly threatening popular front. Perón, now re-emerged as a moderate politician, was assigned a most important role in this official strategy. His undisputed political skill allowed the Peronists to gain control of the new popular coalition until Perón became the main beneficiary of Lanusse's political gambit.

The decision to re-open the democratic process was a concession extracted from the military by effective popular mobilizations, prolonged guerrilla action against the authoritarian regime, and the regime's failure to achieve substantial economic growth. Militant strikes were carried out despite the wishes of the conservative union bureaucracies and the national labor federation, Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT); there were mobilizations in the countryside; there was a rebellion of the impoverished lower middle classes, especially in provincial cities; last but not least, there was a systematic hammering away at the guerrilla groups, some of which were Peronist, some not. These movements were on the way to fusing into a single frontal block against military rule. From the perspective of the new left forces, Peronism was seen as a stage in a revolutionary process of social and national liberation. For moderate nationalist elements, it represented a chance to extend their own "political space" and to recover some of the ground lost to foreign capital in particular. Finally, from the perspective of more conservative groups, Peronism was a last line of defense against drastic change, provided its leadership remained in the hands of moderate elements. Given the nature of Argentine social conflict and the various and often incompatible strands that came to form the Peronist movement, the latent civil war that had taken place between popular groups and the military government was now transferred to the heart of Peronism itself.

Since the return of Perón to power, throughout his tenure and after his death, an open and cruel battle raged between the left

and right wings of his movement, the former to mobilize, the latter to control, the masses. After the resignation of President C ampora, successive administrations increasingly sided with the right and pursued repressive policies.

The Restoration of Peronism

On March 11, 1973, general elections were held in which the Peronist-led coalition, the Frente Justicialista de Liberaci n Nacional (FREJULI)--an electoral coalition of 25 organizations led by Per n's Partido Justicialista--won the presidency with 52 per cent of the vote. Hector J. C ampora, the FREJULI candidate, became President on May 25. The FREJULI platform was a program of "national reconstruction" based on a social pact long sought by small and medium-sized businessmen, signed between their representative organization, the CGE, and the CGT. This program was fundamentally based on moderate economic development proposals. It sought to implement reforms without challenging basic socio-economic relations and by no means fulfilled the more radical objectives of several groups who had voted Peronist in 1973. Thus, as soon as C ampora became President, prices were rolled back on most basic items, workers' wages were raised by 20 per cent, some controls were placed on foreign investments, and bank deposits were nationalized. Plans were also drafted to form state export monopolies of meat and grain. On the international level, Argentina established diplomatic relations with Cuba and other Socialist nations, and widened trade relations with them.

What was significant during this initial phase of the Peronist restoration was not the content of the programs but the manner in which they were implemented. President C ampora relied on representatives of the new left forces inside the Peronist movement to carry out reforms, and he encouraged mass participation. Popular mobilizations were frequent and were used as instruments of power. Political prisoners were freed and police records on political activists were ordered destroyed. A Marxist was named head of the University of Buenos Aires. Political activities of the armed forces were placed under the supervision of the Ministry of War.

On the provincial level, several Peronist governors pursued essentially the same tactics employed by C ampora. The governors of Buenos Aires, C ordoba, and Mendoza, in particular, also sponsored mass participation and supported the actions of the Peronist left, especially of Peronist youth, formed about three years earlier. Peronist youth enjoyed a nation-wide structure and worked closely with armed organizations, which had been instrumental in challenging military rule, in organizing guerrilla operations, and in providing leadership to popular insurrections since 1969.

The strength of popular mobilization under C ampora produced concern among moderate politicians, union bosses, and military commanders. This concern led to a counter-offensive within the movement itself. The first major operation in this counter-offensive was carried out at welcoming ceremonies for Juan D. Per on at Ezeiza International Airport on June 20, 1973. Approximately three million people, including representatives of Peronist youth and armed organizations were fired upon by individuals acting as security forces under the influence of Jos e L pez Rega, Minister of Social Welfare and Per on's personal secretary for several years. The crisis that ensued forced C ampora's resignation and opened the way for a Cabinet purge.

On July 13, C ampora resigned the Presidency and was replaced by Ra l Lastiri, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies and L pez Rega's son-in-law. Key positions in the government were then filled by old-line Peronist union bosses and politicians. C ampora's resignation may thus be considered as an internal coup engineered by the right. New general elections were called for September 23, with Per on and his third wife, Mar a Estela (Isabel) Mart nez, as presidential and vice-presidential candidates, respectively. The ticket won by a landslide, and Per on became President on October 12. On that day, the government took a clear turn. It substituted a policy of negotiation with political and economic leaders for the policy of mass mobilization characterizing the C ampora administration. It also increased repression of the insurgent left, both Peronist and non-Peronist.

Thus, Per on's exercise of power gave rise to two series of political developments. The objectives of political conciliation and socio-economic reform were implemented through a revival of parliamentary activity, enactment of advanced labor legislation (Ley de Contrato de Trabajo), trade d tente with the Socialist bloc, and protection of the workers' position in the national distribution of income. After eighteen years of political strife, economic subordination to the United States, and continued deterioration of real salaries, these measures won Per on the acquiescence of the traditional parties as well as of nationalist opinion, and the renewal of support from the labor movement. But, at the same time, Per on halted mass mobilizations and ended leftist influence in different institutions achieved during the C ampora Administration.

Leftist Peronists were almost entirely displaced from posts on local, regional, and national levels of administration and were pressured to leave the universities. Peronist militants were jailed. Some were kidnapped, tortured, and shot in the streets by para-military organizations. Violent counterattacks by guerrilla organizations followed suit. New repressive legislation was enacted, essentially reproducing the law-and-order measures of previous military regimes. Worker strikes were also

repressed and union officials launched an anti-Communist campaign, trying to define radical Peronist militants as "infiltrated Marxists" and outside agitators.

The rightist counteroffensive peaked with the violent overthrow of the Governor of Córdoba in March, 1974. The governor, Ricardo Obregón Cano, and his lieutenant governor, Atilio López (later assassinated), both elected in the March, 1973, general elections, were arrested by the provincial chief of police whom they had dismissed several days before. Bands of armed civilians terrorized the city's population for several days and nights. From Buenos Aires, Perón backed the right-wing takeover and eventually replaced the governor with a federally-appointed interventor. The events in Córdoba were tantamount to a classic putsch on a regional basis--a sort of mini-pinochetazo. Some of the tactics employed in Córdoba were similar to techniques used by the forces of repression in Chile and represented an ominous portent of things to come. Other left-leaning Peronist officials in Buenos Aires and other provinces were ousted, forced to resign, impeached, and convicted.

Meanwhile, on the economic front, government officials attempted to renegotiate the terms of dependency with large foreign concerns. Perón's administration embarked upon a program of social and economic reforms which included suppression of the left at home and an "anti-imperialist" rhetoric abroad. The ostensible content and purpose of this program were similar to what Peronism had offered in the forties and fifties. But, their historical meaning and actual function were very different from what they had represented twenty-five years before. In the 1973-1976 period, the Peronist movement harbored irreconcilable interests, a situation which tended to produce violent conflicts within Peronism itself. This made it practically impossible for Perón to mediate between the right and left wings of his movement. He was forced to take sides and ended by supporting the right. His death on July 1, 1974, further exacerbated tensions.

María Estela (Isabel) Perón then assumed executive power. Neither she nor any other person was able to unite antagonistic forces within the movement. The social pact on which Perón had hoped to base his moderate reform program rapidly disintegrated. The renewed tug-of-war between interest groups opened the prospect of severe economic deterioration and political chaos. Isabel Perón nominally headed the official, right wing of the Justicialistas. It dominated the state apparatus and controlled the CGT, whose leadership it wrested from strong rank-and-file unions. As a result, the Justicialista right wing was split off from the mass base and turned to other socio-economic interest groups for support.

One sector of Justicialista officialdom turned to pro-United States business groups; another pursued a more nationalistic policy. They all seemed to fear mobilization of the workers, especially after Perón was no longer there to divide the left and

prevent unified mobilization. The result was a relentless and bloody battle between leftist insurgent organizations and right-wing squads. Meanwhile, the armed forces were waiting in the wings, letting internal conflict further weaken the Peronist movement.

The Situation as of March, 1976: Political Violence and Repression

The problem of violence in Argentina is complex and eludes any simple explanation. As indicated above, the last two decades have been characterized by remarkable political instability marked by the alternation of civilian and military regimes. In the past decade, Argentina witnessed the rise and fall of military technocratic regimes, challenged by popular insurrections in which the industrial working class played a most important role. Finally, in a dizzying sequence of events over the past three years, Argentina witnessed the dramatic comeback of Peronism as the dominant political force, the return of Perón to the presidency, his death in power, and the subsequent fragmentation of his movement into irreconcilable factions, a bloody struggle claiming several victims each day.

Guerrilla groups made their first appearance in connection with the popular mobilizations occurring under the military regime of 1966-1973. The claim of the guerrillas to provide leadership to these popular movements was supported by the fact that the military regime had blocked the political system's normal functioning during those years. Yet, with the return of Perón, guerrilla activity received a new stimulus from the growing alienation of middle-class youth from Perón's moderate policies. Perón had encouraged the leftist Peronist youth and even endorsed their violent attacks on the military from 1968 to 1972. But, once in power, Perón turned this encouragement into criticism and, eventually, repression. The great expectations unleashed among youth during the 1973 election campaign were frustrated under Perón's administration. The enthusiasm of youth under C mpera turned into bitter disappointment under Perón.

When Isabel Perón succeeded her husband, her government turned more openly and violently to the right. At that point, youth's frustration erupted in armed challenge to the regime. Peronist youth organizations joined Marxist guerrillas in a frontal attack on the government. The aim of the groups was to de-stabilize the Peronist regime through the use of violence. Political assassinations, kidnappings for large ransoms, and armed attacks on military installations were their chosen tactics. Those who were killed by guerrillas include at least 35 military officers, several important labor leaders and many minor ones, a score of business executives, a federal police chief, over 100 policemen, and an undetermined number of soldiers.

The response to guerrilla violence was a government-inspired campaign of counter-terror and the consolidation of a vast repressive apparatus. Right-wing terror escalated rapidly, surpassing the record of leftist guerrillas in the number of victims claimed. Assassinations, kidnappings, and torture reached a level without precedent in Argentine history. A large number of unarmed victims were killed by right-wing squads, with the tacit or explicit aid of police and security forces. (See Tables 1-4 accompanying this report.)

In general, the rapidly deteriorating political climate, high level of violence, repression, and disregard for human rights did not produce an adequate response from important and established sectors of Argentine public life, with the exception of isolated protests by those more or less directly involved. As the violence grew from day to day, neither public institutions, the media, nor political parties reacted with visible efforts to stop it. The campaign of Isabel Perón's administration against the left, its support of para-military squads, and other repressive measures did not give rise to the degree of public opposition and controversy one might expect in such cases. Violence was allowed to continue unchecked, guided by principles of political expediency and total disregard for human rights. One possible explanation may lie in the fact that the extremist tactics of leftist organizations may have originally isolated these groups from large sectors of Argentine society, which were subsequently indifferent to the rightist backlash and the attendant violations of human rights.

Meanwhile, the fragile consensus wrought by Perón began to collapse. Strikes multiplied, as did tensions between the government, political parties, and labor organizations. At this point, the war raging between extremist factions began to spread to the rest of society. In this way, the techniques of suppression of guerrilla activities were applied to intimidate political opponents of the regime and silence workers' protests.

The system of terror which grew as a function of anti-subversive activities finally pervaded the entire society. With the appearance of the extreme rightist commando force, the AAA (known variously as the Argentine Anti-Imperialist Alliance or the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance), in January, 1974, whose promoter later turned out to be the then Minister of Welfare, López Rega, terroristic repression became a system of rule in Argentina. The main organs of public opinion and the principal political parties watched, in silence, the erection of a formidable apparatus of intimidation. Their failure to assert themselves in defense of human rights was a lamentable feature of the Argentine situation. This failure seriously impaired their capacity to challenge even graver abuses of human rights in Argentina in the future.

The semi-official explanation of this unprecedented level of

violence--that of a confrontation between groups of left- and right-wing extremists does not stand close scrutiny. The evidence gathered by this Sub-committee concerning political violence in Argentina since 1973, violence which has left a tragic total of at least 1,500 dead, suggests instead a different interpretation.

Leftist insurgency developed with increasing frequency and effectiveness in Argentina after 1968. Revolutionary forces focused on organizing and developing guerrilla and terrorist organizations in such population centers as Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Córdoba. Since 1968, at least five significant guerrilla groups have been active in Argentina: the Montoneros, the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias, the Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, and the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación. Of these, the Montoneros and the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) were the two main groups active as of this writing.

The first developed as the military arm of the "revolutionary" Peronist movement and was closely allied in its political outlook with radical Peronist groups. The ERP, without question, the most active guerrilla organization in Argentina, is a Marxist, non-Peronist group which stresses the armed path to power. Although Argentina's urban insurgency has not been researched as thoroughly as similar phenomena in other Latin American countries,² it generally has received greater attention in the press than right-wing violence and the repressive action of the Argentine government and security forces. Repressive action taken against leftist insurgency and popular mass mobilization was thus by no means the work of isolated bands of right-wing extremists, as the press has frequently reported, particularly in the United States.

The government and the right portrayed leftist guerrillas as a major threat to social and political stability and used this characterization to justify their growing suppression of human and democratic rights. Victims of both rightist terror and governmental repression represented a broad spectrum of Argentine society. They included parliamentary critics of the regime, trade unionists, academic personnel, student leaders, defense attorneys, journalists, artists, and even relatives of guerrillas. They were the innocent casualties of a struggle in which government security agencies and related para-military organizations did not hesitate to use methods as extreme as those of the insurgents against persons singled out as dissidents, undesirables, potential opponents, or simply "guilty" by kinship or association. Repression thus was institutionalized for the purpose of

²Cf. Charles Russell, James Schenkel and James Miller, "Urban Guerrillas in Argentina: A Select Bibliography," Latin American Research Review, IX, (3), fall, 1974.

achieving two main goals: one, to isolate leftist militants and their revolutionary organizations from the mass of the workers and other groups in the population, so as to attack them more effectively at a later date; and two, to prevent mass mobilization by any means.

The Means of Repression: The Legal Structure and Terrorism

The activities of the so-called "para-military" or "para-police" groups cannot be interpreted in isolation from the context of a legal apparatus of repression. Terrorism and legal repression have complementary functions. Para-military groups--composed of ex-policemen, intelligence operatives, mercenaries, rightist militants, or professional killers--take upon themselves to execute all those actions that, because of their "dirty" nature, cannot be performed by the official forces of law and order. It is in this context that we must examine the recrudescence of repressive violence in Argentina.

Repression Against the Means of Expression

The suppression of a dissenting press was an important feature of the right-wing escalation which took place in Argentina in the 1973-1976 period. The banning of dailies (such as El Mundo, Respuesta Popular, Noticias) and of leftist Peronist periodicals (El Descamisado, Militancia, El Peronista, La Causa Peronista) was ordered by means of decrees which were technically unconstitutional, but which retained enough of a semblance of legality to be acceptable to sectors of the middle class outside the government. At the same time, terrorist harassment of independent, critical journals by para-military groups, and the assassination of politicized journalists mushroomed. The offensive against the press was accompanied by government takeover and direct control of radio and television networks, and led the great majority of the press to practice an insidious but thorough form of self-censorship out of fear. Many formerly independent daily newspapers made spectacular reversals of their editorial policies and subsequently abstained from criticizing the government. By October, 1974, most newspapers in Argentina had become carefully non-informative on such themes as violence and repression. Finally, a so-called "anti-subversive" law was passed by Congress on September 28, 1974, which institutionalized the de facto program of terror which began with the activities of para-military organizations against the press. This law established prison terms for any journalist or other individual responsible for publishing news whose reports could be construed as giving support or even too much publicity to guerrilla organizations, to mass struggles, and to protest demonstrations against repression.

Terrorism by Para-Military Groups

To provide a starting point for research on repression, this section will seek to identify the political orientation, tactics, and operations of the major para-military organizations active in Argentina from 1973 to 1976:

- a) Extreme rightist bands: JPRA (Peronist Youth of the Argentine Republic), CDO (Command of Organization), CNU (National University Confederation), ALN (National Liberating Alliance), BDU (Democratic University Brigades). These groups operated in universities, neighborhoods, and shanty-towns. In conjunction with police forces and military intelligence services, their role was to counteract the activities of revolutionary militants and other activists, by means of threats, executions, and the bombing of their offices and meeting places. These extreme rightist bands played a particularly active role after the Ezeiza massacre on June 20, 1973.
- b) In January, 1974, a new group appeared, the AAA, which was especially active after August, 1974. As apposed to the above-mentioned extreme rightist groups, the AAA had no legal status whatsoever and no known leaders. It appears to be in fact just a name used to cover the activities of several "death squads" operating throughout Argentina. It seems highly probable that its membership consists of individuals from the Federal Police and the intelligence services of the armed forces. Unconfirmed reports indicated that the Navy Intelligence Service might be particularly involved in AAA operations. There were also reports of CIA support of AAA operations.
- c) Finally, persons connected with union bureaucracies, in particular with the Metallurgic Union (UOM), constituted shock troops whose function was to intervene in worker-factory conflicts in order to suppress worker assemblies and to intimidate union activities.

Types of Repressive Action

The groups identified above operated in a twofold manner:

- a) Through direct action involving the following activities:
 - 1) Bombing the political headquarters and offices as well as the homes of militants;
 - 2) Kidnapping and torturing militants;
 - 3) Assassinating political and union leaders, middle cadres of insurgent political organizations, and, in some cases, rank-and-file activists and even relatives of militants.
- b) Through psychological action. The different forms of direct action listed above served to persuade persons sympathetic to popular movements of the inevitable consequences of engaging in certain types of political behavior. In the ma-

majority of cases, victims were seized in their homes and executed in remote spots in the suburbs. Seizures were performed by individuals presenting police credentials. Corpses found later were often difficult to identify due to disfigurement by bullets. In other instances, corpses were maimed, mutilated, burnt, or blown up by explosives.

Death threats (by mail or phone) multiplied after August, 1974. The possibility that threats might be followed by direct action tended to immobilize persons working on behalf of political prisoners, such as defense attorneys, journalists, university professors, and relatives. In addition, many were forced to leave the country in the absence of the most elementary guarantees of their safety. Death threats also created a state of panic or near-psychosis among many middle-class persons who at some point or another had identified themselves with popular struggles and mass mobilization.

Rumors were another instrument of control and intimidation. For instance, there were persistent rumors of an impending "night of St. Bartholomew," that is, an impending massacre of leftists on a large scale. Such rumors served to accustom the population to a very high level of repressive violence to which control of the press contributed significantly. The police laconically informed the population, through the controlled press, of the daily body count of "criminals" or "suspects". The rate of assassinations was staggering: between five and eight persons per day. Rumors persisted of the presence in Argentina of foreign mercenaries allegedly working in conjunction with para-military organizations. Regardless of their veracity, the circulation of these rumors in some circles suggests that one of their functions was to divert attention from the internal origin and character of the repression and its class nature.

There is strong negative proof for the proposition which holds that para-military groups formed an integral part of the repressive apparatus of the Argentine state. The proof is provided by the fact that the aforementioned groups operated with almost total impunity. With significant exceptions, those responsible for this sort of "white terror" were never arrested or brought to trial. In two or three cases individuals belonging to para-military organizations were identified and detained, only to be subsequently freed.

Among the victims of rightist terror groups were lawyers, students, members of leftist parties, left-wing legislator Rodolfo Ortega Peña, and Atilio López, former deputy governor of the Province of Córdoba and Peronist resistance leader. Rightist terror groups threatened a wide spectrum of parliamentary figures, educators, left-wing defense attorneys, non-political artists, and other public figures. In many instances they carried out their death threats in the most brutal way. French correspondent Philippe Labreveux noted in the November 3, 1974, issue of L'Express that about thirty journalists were forced to leave

Argentina as a result of AAA threats. The Argentine Commission to Support the Russell Tribunal compiled and tabulated data on 620 political assassinations by para-military action, during the period from May 25, 1973 through October 31, 1975. The following tables, extracted from a statistical annex to the report of that Commission, give an overall picture of the basic trends of the repression as well as the social and age profile of the victims.

Table 1: Percentage of victims by political period
(5/25/73 to 10/31/75)

ADMINISTRATION	NO.	%
CAMPORA	18	3
J.D. PERON	67	11
ISABEL PERON	535	86
TOTAL	620	100

Table 2: Percentage of victims by geographical area
(5/25/73 to 10/31/75)

AREA	NO.	%
CAPITAL	58	9
BUENOS AIRES PROVINCE	298	49
SANTA FE	36	6
CORDOBA	67	11
TUCUMAN	102	16
REST OF THE COUNTRY	45	7
NO DATA	14	2
TOTAL	620	100

Table 3: Percentage of identified victims by age

AGE	NO.	%
Less than 20 years	33	8
20-30 years	156	39
31-40 years	46	12
More than 40 years	30	7
No data	131	34
TOTAL	396	100

Table 4: Percentage of identified victims, by political period and occupation (5/25/73 to 6/30/75)

OCCUPATION	CAMPORA		JUAN PERON		ISABEL PERON	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
WORKERS	3	17	16	24	41	13
SHANTY-TOWN DWELLERS	--	--	11	16	4	1
STUDENTS	3	17	4	6	34	11
POLITICAL ACTIVISTS	--	--	13	20	123	40
PROFESSIONALS AND FUNCTIONARIES	--	--	2	3	36	12
OTHERS	--	--	1	1	22	7
NO DATA	12	66	20	30	51	16
TOTAL	18	100	67	100	311	100

Legal Repression

The legal aspects of repression in the 1973-1976 period are somewhat better known. It is nevertheless important to indicate how the repressive legislation which existed was an effective complement of the "white terror" described above.

For many months, all popular demonstrations were systematically banned or violently repressed, under the pretext of "maintaining order". With the state of siege in November, 1974, this suppression became institutionalized. In several instances, official action went beyond the mere banning of demonstrations and became open provocation, as was the case in the funerals of Ortega Peña and Silvio Frondizi, both assassinated by the AAA.

The Federal Police frequently practiced home searches--often without warrants--and mass arrests of militants in party offices. In the majority of cases, those arrested were soon released. This method had two functions: on the one hand, it allowed the police to create and maintain a file on known or suspected activists. On the other, it avoided increasing unnecessarily the number of political prisoners. Since the existence of large numbers of political prisoners can often embarrass any government before world public opinion, the method of arrest and release practiced in Argentina allowed the police to register sus-

pects and deal with them through extra-legal, para-military methods. In this respect and others, the methods of repression under the Peronist administration showed considerably more sophistication than those employed by the military regimes ruling from 1966 until 1973.

The different laws passed by the government finally institutionalized the repression, transforming a de facto terrorist situation into a de jure system of power. It is important to indicate that these repressive laws are aimed at specific groups in society. One such group was the working class and its more militant organizations. The Law of Professional Associations permitted the Ministry of Labor to eliminate the more militant unions by the technical expedient of state intervention and eventual withdrawal of legal recognition. The Law of Compulsory Arbitration in labor conflicts allowed the government to declare certain strikes illegal. Law No. 20,840, also referred to as the "Anti-Subversion Law", in turn punished with heavy sanctions those groups and individuals whose actions had been declared illegal. The joint effect of this legislation was effective curtailment of the right to strike. In January, 1974, the modifications introduced in the Penal Code, creating stiffer sanctions for the crime of "subversion", and Law No. 20,840, gave the government powerful resources with which to exercise legal repression. Later, the November 6, 1974, declaration of a state of siege by then Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora signified a drastic curtailment of civil liberties. Subsequently, the situation progressively deteriorated. The ostensible reason for declaring the state of siege was a series of rumors and vague reports of threats against schoolchildren and teachers by persons unspecified. Government officials attempted to link attacks on military figures by leftist guerrillas with attacks on schoolchildren, and posted troops in front of elementary schools in Buenos Aires. In announcing the state of siege, Rocamora referred to the need to adopt extreme measures in order to defend "the peace of the Argentine home."

One of the first acts of the government under the state of siege was to raid the headquarters of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores) and of the Argentine Communist Party. Moreover, under the provisions of the state of siege, the government was able to arrest individuals it believed were involved in "subversive activities" and transport detainees to any point in Argentina. Such detention could last up to thirty days, and the only recourse open to detainees was to leave the country. The state of siege permitted holding prisoners incommunicado for extended periods, a situation conducive to abuse and torture. After imposition of the state of siege, repressive actions multiplied against leftist political parties, trade-union activists, and universities.

Repression in the Universities

When, as a result of the Peronist victory in March, 1973, Héctor Cámpora was inaugurated as President, a period of political decompression and mass mobilization ensued. Cámpora's short-lived presidency (May 25 to July 13, 1973) was characterized by a nationalist, popular, and reformist outlook. In foreign affairs, the new authorities vowed to establish and maintain relations with all countries regardless of ideology, and pledged support for national liberation struggles in the Third World. An economic program was outlined to include protection of national industry, redistribution of income, and regulation of foreign investment and multinational corporations. All political prisoners were released, including guerrillas.

As part of this process, the national universities were reorganized. A left-wing Peronist, Dr. Rodolfo Puiggrós, was named Rector of the University of Buenos Aires. During his administration, new deans, closely associated with the student movement, were appointed to head the various schools. University administrators and faculty who had cooperated with the previous military regime were challenged and many forced to resign. Students were given greater participation in the formulation and administration of university policy. This situation survived Cámpora's presidency and persisted during the Lastiri and the Perón administrations until Perón's death. Thereafter, Minister of Education Taiana was replaced by Oscar Ivanisevich, many schools were closed, and there followed a substantial change in policy. The universities were placed under the administration of new government-appointed rightist interventors who purged the schools of left-wing and liberal professors. At the same time, rightist gangs used assassination threats to demand the resignation of suspect educators. The outlook of these interventors is illustrated by the dean of the School of Exact and Natural Sciences at the University of Buenos Aires, who praised Mussolini and corporatism in an interview. This dean Raúl Zardini, had occupied the same position in 1966 under the 1966 under the military regime, and was subjected to academic trial in 1973.

Evidence gathered by this Sub-committee indicates that the universities had been subjected to external attacks by right-wing groups since at least October, 1973. Those attacks were unofficial and violent. After Perón's death, however, the universities were subjected, in addition, to what can best be described as "internal repression" by the new authorities. The latter treated the universities as a sort of conquered territory to be "pacified." The new authorities frequently referred to the universities as breeding-grounds of subversion. In a speech delivered on December 20, 1974, University of Buenos Aires Rector Ottalagano referred to the University of Buenos Aires as a training base for guerrillas which "had to be destroyed." Min-

ister of Education Ivanisevich announced on November 8, 1974, that arrangements were being made to bring troops to the campuses if the police forces were unable to maintain control. Students were threatened with expulsion to break their strikes against the administration. In one school alone, the Facultad de Filosofía y Letras of the University of Buenos Aires, 1,350 faculty members were summarily dismissed. In short, the universities were treated manu militari. The following chronology of university repression in late 1974 is a sample of what was occurring.

November, 1974

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|----|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Buenos Aires | Dean of Exact Sciences Raúl Zardini declared his "strong sympathy for a model of an organized community, such as Italian corporatism under Benito Mussolini." |
| 4 | Buenos Aires | University Professor Carlos Della Riva was assassinated. His bullet-riddled body was found 60 kilometers from Buenos Aires. |
| 6 | Buenos Aires | University of Buenos Aires Rector Alberto E. Ottalagano passed a resolution threatening to expel all students participating in a protest strike on November 8. The same resolution warned all non-teaching personnel joining the strike that they would be immediately dismissed. |
| 7 | Buenos Aires | A bomb exploded at the office of the non-teaching personnel union. The union had announced a work stoppage for that day. |
| 8 | Buenos Aires | Several students on strike were arrested. Similar arrests occurred at the Universities of Córdoba and Rosario. |
| 8 | Corrientes | The head of the Press Office of the State University of Corrientes, Mario A. Maurino, was dismissed. Maurino was a cartoonist for the newspaper <u>El Litoral</u> and had been accused of disobedience by the Government of the Province. |
| 9 | Tucumán | A bomb exploded in the student dining area at the University. Another bomb exploded in the home of a student leader. Two more bombs exploded in the University itself. |
| 15 | Buenos Aires | Father Raúl Sánchez Avelanda was appointed Dean of the School of Philosophy. He declared that Freud, Marx, and their disciples would be subjected to "critical revision" under his administration. He warned that Freudian and Marxist "books, authors, and |

- professors will fall under this cleansing operation." Henry Wallon, Spitz, Erich Fromm, and Jean Piaget will not be consulted, he asserted, "except in indispensable cases."
- 19 Buenos Aires Student leaders Miguel Talento (president of the University Federation) and José Pablo Ventura (head, IV Regional, University Peronist Youth) were arrested and charged with possession of weapons of war.
- 23 Buenos Aires Federal Judge Teófilo Lafuente questioned Miguel Talento and José Pablo Ventura.

December, 1974

- 1 Buenos Aires Interventor to the National Technological University Pedro José Arrigi, issued a resolution placing "in commission," i.e., subject to dismissal, all personnel appointed after May 25, 1973. The resolution suspended the services of this personnel until each individual case was considered. The same resolution invited the CGT and the Peronist "62 Organizations" to join the Supervisory Administration and help decide on each case. Note: a lengthy conflict had developed in this University between the claims of union bureaucrats and students to administer it.
- 2 Bell Ville (Córdoba) A bomb exploded in the home of Professor Ramón Celiz Pizarro.
- 3 Buenos Aires Student leader Daniel Benjamin Winer, of the School of Engineering, was shot. He was a member of the Front of Left University Groups. He had been arrested by the military government of General Lanusse and had been freed as a result of the amnesty of May 25, 1973.
- 3 General Roca (Province of Río Negro) 17 medical faculty resigned as a result of what they termed "threats and abuses." They were later joined by 14 others.
- 3 La Plata The new Rector of the University of La Plata banned all political activity at the University. Assemblies were not allowed.
- 6 Buenos Aires 1,350 faculty members of the School of Philosophy were summarily dismissed. Psychology and Sociology were most severely affected by those dismissals. An administration spokesman declared: "Let them go to teach Freud in Paris and Marx in Moscow."

- 6 Buenos Aires Rector Ottalagano decided to expel all students who did not attend classes during a period of mobilization declared by students to protest administration actions. Non-teaching personnel who did not report to work during the same period were subjected to immediate dismissal.
- 9 Buenos Aires The National University of Córdoba was intervened by decree of the Federal Government.
- 9 Bahía Blanca The body of Professor Rodolfo Celso Ginin was found riddled with bullets. Professor Ginin taught at the Colegio Nacional de Huengelen and had disappeared on December 3.
- 19 La Plata The student Rogelio Isla Este disappeared. The La Plata University Federation stated that the student had been arrested by the police but his whereabouts were unknown.
- 26 Buenos Aires A judge freed Miguel Talento and José Pablo Ventura, but they were re-arrested by order of the Federal Executive Power, decree 1870, under the provisions of the state of siege.
- 29 Santa Fe 65 faculty members were dismissed from the University of the Litoral.
- 29 Buenos Aires All professors appointed after May 25, 1973, were dismissed.

Objectives of Repression

The terroristic apparatus and its legal scaffolding had as their principal objective the isolation and destruction of guerrilla organizations. To this end, groups engaged in repression, such as the various para-military organizations, directed their attacks against the following targets:

- a) Activists and political figures capable of influencing and mobilizing public opinion in solidarity with the victims of political repression, especially lawyers representing political prisoners. At this writing, the terroristic right-wing groups had singled out members of the Asociación General de Abogados. They assassinated such well-known lawyers as Deputy Rodolfo Ortega Peña, Alfredo Curutchet and Silvio Frondizi, brother of former President Arturo Frondizi. Journalists were also the targets of similar actions. The journalist Colombo was assassinated and attempts made on the lives of Manuel Gaggero, Miguel Bonasso, and others. Members of the Chamber of Deputies (the Argentine House of Representatives) critical of the regime were also victims

of repression. Deputies Solari Yrigoyen, Héctor Sandler, Horacio Sueldo, and Leopoldo Bettantin were threatened. Solari Yrigoyen was seriously wounded by a bomb placed in his automobile. Finally, some of the most respected figures of the revolutionary tendency within the Peronist movement, such as Julio Troxler and Atilio López, were assassinated or threatened.

b) Middle cadres linking revolutionary organizations with the masses. Members of front mass organizations of the Montoneros (JP, JUP, JTP, MUP, MIP) have been preferred targets. Many of their militants were kidnapped, tortured, or murdered.

Violence was accompanied by a strong ideological offensive aimed at creating confusion, especially among workers and middle-class sectors. Leftist militants, regardless of whether they participated in armed struggle, were denounced by official and semi-official sources as foreign agents, outside infiltrators, drug addicts, and the like. Official ideology placed on the same level the actions of guerrilla organizations and of paramilitary organizations in order to create the impression that the extraordinarily high level of violence in Argentina was the result of a semi-private war between the extremist factions. This disregarded the fact that official action was taken against leftist organizations and other political opponents while extreme right-wing terrorist were allowed to operate with impunity. Moreover, the psychological intimidation of large sectors of the population, in particular among formerly politicized sectors of the middle class and intellectuals considered to be the support structure for insurgent organizations, served to reinforce the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard groups. Whether the above tactics were carefully coordinated and planned or whether they converged by coincidence could not be established. Nevertheless, the overall result was the same.

One of the main preoccupations of the Isabel Perón regime and state apparatus was that of containing worker demands for control over productive processes and converting them into non-political, negotiable demands. Thus, the union bureaucracies played an important role. In order to contain mass mobilization, the state had an impressive arsenal at its disposal:

- a) The already cited Law of Professional Associations and the Law of Compulsory Arbitration, supplemented by fraudulent and controlled elections at the union level.
- b) Carefully maintained and updated files on union activists. "Black lists" manufactured from these files were used by employers to exclude from their companies "undesirable" or "troublesome" elements.
- c) Bullies at the service of union bureaucracies whose brutal action complemented the "legal" repression exercised by employers and the state.

d) Industrial police and other security forces in factories and industrial plants, in case of conflict.

This extremely powerful repressive system, centered around the Ministry of Labor, the CGT bureaucracy, the UOM, and the "62 Organizations", was used to suppress autonomous modes of working-class organization. Thus, traditional strongholds of radical unionism were attacked and partially dismantled (SMATA in Córdoba, FGB, Luz y Fuerza in the province of Córdoba, CGT clasista in Salta, etc.) In cases of militant unions in which the leadership was either less radical or not so well organized, repression was followed by conciliation to defuse worker demands (case of ACINDAR, Propulsora, and FOTIA).

These practices indicate that those holding power in Argentina believed that in the long run, worker autonomy was a dangerous development. In the face of increasing demands by the working class, established policy consisted of periodic across-the-board wage hikes through the "Gran Paritaria". These general raises received wide publicity in the media. At the same time, in each individual conflict, the policy was one of simultaneous negotiation and repression, conceding less than what was demanded and without publicity.

Conclusion

It is important at this stage to underline that the severe repressive policies put into effect in Argentina in the 1973-1976 period went beyond the defensive reaction of a particular power group bent on preserving its privileges. It appears to be more a coherent program or project of power and raises the suspicion that repression and semi-official violence might be the first stage in a process leading to establishment of a system at once equally stern and more complex than the authoritarian regimes of neighboring countries.

A lesson may be learned from both the inadequacies of the previous military regimes of Generals Onganía and Lanusse and the potential dysfunctions which repressive systems such as those of Brazil and Chile can produce. The Argentine state was exercising repression with great efficiency without having to assume official responsibility for the innumerable and often staggering excesses that such policy entails and was therefore avoiding exposure to hostile international public opinion. For example, there was no official censorship in Argentina, but self-censorship had become the implicit norm. Journals which failed to abide by this informal norm were closed down by decree or became the targets of para-military terrorism. Similarly, the number of political prisoners during part of the period under consideration was not high. Yet, the number of dead was high and steadily increasing. Dead enemies do not speak and are fast forgotten.

Moreover, it was difficult to establish the exact number of

political prisoners, since they were continually transferred from one prison to another, and from one part of the country to another. In this way, they remained hidden from public scrutiny and pressure, hidden from their own families and from their lawyers, who found it difficult to trace their place of incarceration. This procedure also thwarted the development of solidarity between political prisoners and their supporters on the outside and among the prisoners themselves. Systematic surveillance and police control of the population, which was both discreet and efficient (consisting of an elaborate system of dossiers, searches, telephone surveillance, etc.) made it unnecessary to increase the number of political prisoners, at least at this writing.

Public information on torture was scant, although torture was routinely practiced, as a result of the persecution of lawyers--a situation which severely undermined the system of juridical defense in Argentina--and the silence of the press. Torture was, nevertheless, an essential component of repression as practiced in Argentina. Those cases that have been documented tend to prove this contention (cases of Camps, Galli, Maestre, and the prisoners from Catamarca).

Finally, evidence gathered to this writing points to a sort of "international of repression" functioning among the various regimes of the Southern Cone: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The presence, for example, of Uruguayan and Brazilian Police personnel in Buenos Aires during the 1973-1976 period has been established. Numerous Latin American refugees (Uruguayans in particular) who sought protection in Buenos Aires and other parts of Argentina were seized and returned to their countries of origin where they were immediately arrested and reportedly tortured.

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A--Las formas legales de la represión

B--Represión para-legal

C--Tratamiento de los prisioneros políticos

D--Represión a las fuerzas políticas y movimientos populares

E--Represión al movimiento obrero

F--Represión a los estudiantes

G--Represión a la cultura
H--Represión a los medios de comunicación
J--Represión a la Universidad
L--Reflejo de la política represiva en el campo económico-social
M--Represión a los refugiados
N--Intervención directa de las FFAA en la represión
P--Ecos parlamentarios de denuncias a la represión
R--La represión argentina según comisiones internacionales

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La Nación

La Opinión

La Prensa

Le Monde

The New York Times

PANAMA CANAL TREATY

The Executive Council of the Association has adopted the following position on the interjection of the Panama Canal into domestic U.S. politics. It has been forwarded, as a resolution of the Executive Council, to appropriate political figures and agencies, including the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, their respective national committees, and Congressional leaders.

Resolution

The current presidential campaign has prompted some candidates to take extreme positions on foreign policy issues. There has been much discussion of a new treaty governing the relationship of the U.S. and Panama in the future operation of the Canal.

In the case of the Canal treaty negotiations, irresponsible and factually inaccurate remarks have complicated an already delicate and difficult bargaining situation. For that reason, the Latin American Studies Association feels it necessary to clarify the issue and caution against the use of inflammatory rhetoric.

We believe our specialized experience provides an understanding of the social, economic, and political conditions throughout the region, including the importance Latin Americans attach to Panamanian control of the Canal as a symbol of the end of an era of dependence upon the United States.

In our view, a treaty permitting a gradual transfer of authority over the Canal and its surrounding Zone to Panama would protect rather than damage this country's interests. Certainly conditions in Panama and the world political climate have changed drastically since 1903. The treaty that established U.S. jurisdiction over the Zone did not grant sovereignty; even if it had, international law has long recognized the right to update international agreements.

For nearly a decade, the U.S. government has endeavored to renegotiate the 1903 Canal Zone treaty, accepting the principle of the eventual transfer of authority to Panama. This stance, based on recognition of Panama's technical competence to operate the Canal and on recognition of current political realities, reflects an understanding of the long-run national interests of the United States. Domestic political pressures should not be permitted to disrupt the negotiations for short-term, personal gain. We call on each presidential candidate to avoid such political approaches and on voters to reject any individual placing personal advantage on this matter above the national interest.

SEVENTH NATIONAL MEETING
HOUSTON, TEXAS, NOVEMBER 2-5, 1977
SECOND REPORT OF THE LASA PROGRAM COMMITTEE

During the month of May the Program Committee, in collaboration with the secretariat of the African Studies Association (ASA), mailed to each member of LASA and ASA two announcements concerning proposed panel topics for the 1977 joint national meeting of LASA and ASA. The response to this mailing has been most gratifying. Nearly 200 proposals to chair panels, present papers or serve as discussants were received by August 1, the majority from persons who have never participated in a LASA national meeting. This kind of response will assist the Committee greatly in achieving our goal of broadly-based participation in the 1977 meeting. Most of the respondents have expressed interest in one of the comparative (Latin American/African) panels which have been proposed for the Houston meeting. We therefore anticipate a very strong joint-panel segment in the program.

We encourage the membership to submit additional proposals for panels, workshops, paper presentations and other activities for the Seventh National Meeting. These proposals should reach the Program Chairperson (Professor Wayne A. Cornelius, Department of Political Science, E53-413, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139) by October 15, 1976. The Program Committee will meet during the last week of October to act on all panel and workshop proposals received by that date. We hope to notify panel chairpersons as well as those who have offered to present papers or serve as discussants in early November.

The following topics have been proposed for panels, workshops, open meetings and luncheon roundtables, as of August 1, 1976 (topics marked with an asterisk are those which have been suggested since our first report in the June, 1976, LASA Newsletter):

Joint (African/Latin American) Panels

- *J1 Latin America and Africa in the International Social Order. How to conceptualize a world system, and how to locate Latin American and African countries within it. Cross-regional evaluation of dependency theories.
- *J2 Latin America, Africa, the United States, and the "New International Economic Order"^{ME}. How U.S. relations with Latin America and Africa affect and are affected by the struggle to create a revised set of international and economic relations. Foreign policy issues for the 1970's and 1980's.
- J3 Cuban and Brazilian Foreign Policy Toward Africa. Cuban and Brazilian foreign policy objectives vis-à-vis African countries, and the responses of the United States, the

- Soviet Union, China, and African nations.
- J4 Transnational Corporations in Africa and Latin America. Comparative examination of the role of transnational enterprises in economic development and politics of African and Latin American countries.
- J5 Oil as an Economic and Political Resource in Latin America and Africa. Impact of oil price increases on producer and consumer nations. Use of oil as a political resource by producer countries. Participation of Venezuela, Ecuador, Nigeria, and Gabon in the policies implemented by OPEC since October, 1973.
- J6 Neo-Marxist Conceptions of Development and Underdevelopment in Africa and Latin America. Efforts to adapt Marxist theories of development and underdevelopment to the contemporary situation in African and Latin American nations.
- J7 Poverty in Africa and Latin America. Who are the poor? Determinants and consequences of urban and rural poverty in Africa and Latin America. The role of the poor in contemporary strategies of development. Impact of public policies on poverty.
- J8 Nutrition Problems and Programs in Latin America and Africa. Nature and magnitude of nutritional problems in African and Latin American nations. Nutrition improvement programs and problems of program implementation. Impact of the "Green Revolution" on nutrition levels.
- J9 Urbanization and Urban Development Problems in Africa and Latin America. Differences and similarities in contemporary patterns of rural-to-urban migration. Social and political implications of temporary vs. permanent patterns of cityward migration. Comparative examination of urban development problems and governmental responses to such problems.
- J10 Relationships between City and Countryside in Africa and Latin America. Social, economic and political relationships between rural areas and urban centers in African and Latin American countries. Center/periphery relationships in economic and political development. Evaluation of the "internal colonialism" model.
- J11 Rural Change, Modernization, and Underdevelopment in Latin America and Africa. Impact of expansion of capitalist (commercial) agriculture on peasants in Latin America and African countries. Emergence and impact of agrarian cooperatives. Evolution of patron-client linkages in the rural context.
- J12 The Green Revolution in Africa and Latin America. Applications of agricultural research and new technology in Latin American and African countries. Activities of private foundations and other institutions in this area.

- Impact of "Green Revolution" technology on agricultural production, marketing patterns, migratory patterns, employment, distributions of income and land.
- J13 Strategies for Development of Economically "Marginal" Regions in Latin America and Africa. Survey of developmental efforts in economically depressed or climatically disadvantaged, "low-productivity" regions. Integration of such regions into national economies.
- J14 Education and Development in Africa and Latin America. Education as a force in economic, social and political change in Latin American and African countries. Mass education as a policy issue.
- J15 The Survival of Indigenous Cultures in Africa and Latin America. Impact of modernization, socio-political change at the national level on tribal and Indian cultures. Governmental policies toward indigenous groups.
- J16 Family Structure and the Role of the Family in African and Latin American Societies. Changes in family structure and roles. The family as an agent of socialization. Role of family units in the rural-urban migration process and migrant assimilation in urban areas.
- J17 Colonialism and Post-Colonial Development in Africa and Latin America. Differential effects of colonialism on subsequent national development in regions or countries colonized by Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain.
- J18 Authoritarianism in Africa and Latin America. Comparative examination of authoritarian political systems in African and Latin American countries. Evaluation of cross-cultural applicability of current theories or models of authoritarianism.
- J19 One-Party Systems in Africa and Latin America. Evolution and functioning of one-party or one-party-dominant systems in African and Latin American countries.
- J20 Race/Ethnicity in African and Latin American Politics. Race/ethnicity as a basis of political organization, competition, and conflict. Why are ethnic cleavages more politically salient in Africa than in Latin America? Racial/ethnic influences on public policy. Treatment of racial/ethnic minorities.
- J21 Origins and Performance of Military Regimes in Africa and Latin America. Situational criteria by which military officers decide to support or overthrow civilian governments. Systemic/structural causes of the situations which result in military coups. Belief systems of military officers, especially regarding the role of the armed forces in politics. Impact of external training and aid on militarism. Impact of military rule on government performance in various problem areas, by comparison with previous civilian-dominated governments.

- J22 Reformist Military Regimes: Contemporary Peru and Ethiopia. Comparative examination of the origins of "leftist" military regimes in Peru and Ethiopia; policies and programs pursued by these regimes.
- J23 Political Thought in Africa and Latin America. Survey of political thought of leading theorists and political leaders in African and Latin American countries, to identify cross-cultural themes.
- J24 Political Violence in Latin America and Africa. Causes, patterns, and consequences of collective political violence in the post-independence period.
- J25 The African Experience in Latin America: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. Historical and contemporary perspectives on the role of Blacks in Latin American societies. (including the Caribbean). Slavery and slave trade during the colonial period. Contemporary problems of racism.
- J26 African Influences in Latin American Literature. African elements in the works of major contemporary poets and novelists in such countries as Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil.
- J27 African Influences in Latin American Art and Music. The impact of African culture on contemporary art and music, including "folkloric" music.
- J28 African Influences on Religion in Latin America. African elements in non-institutional ("folkloric") religion, "spiritist" and other fundamentalist religious cults.
- J29 Brazilian Influences on Religion in West Africa.
- J30 Community Studies in Latin America and Africa: New Approaches and Conceptual Frameworks. Cross-cultural applicability of new methodological approaches and models of community development in research on the local community in rural and urban contexts.
- *J31 Language Policies in Latin America and Africa. Problems of indigenous languages, bilingual/bicultural education, etc.
- *J32 Patterns of Industrial Domination in Africa and Latin America.
- *J33 Health Care in Africa and Latin America. The impact of Western medicine on health and on social structure. Health effects of "development". Non-institutional (traditional) health care systems.
- *J34 Africa in the Caribbean: Black Influences in the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Historical perspectives.
- *J35 The Role of Mass Communication in the Development of Latin America and Africa.
- *J36 Latin America, Africa, and the European Common Market.
- *J37 Frontier Expansion in Latin America and Africa. Official migration policies and government-sponsored colonialization

programs. The role of frontier expansion in national development. Social and economic consequences of migration to expanding frontiers. Inter-ethnic and inter-group contact and conflict.

- *J38 Zaire and Brazil: Convergent Forms of Development?
- *J39 Dependency and Neo-Colonialism: Socialist Perspectives.
- *J40 Regional Subsystems (in international relations) in Africa and Latin America. Countries such as South Africa and Brazil as emerging powers seeking regional hegemony.
- *J41 Filmmaking in Africa and Latin America. Professional African and Latin American filmmakers discuss the problems and potentials of filmmaking in their countries. Followed by screenings of their work.
- *J42 The Concern with Underdevelopment in African and Latin American Literature.
- *J43 Agrarian Social Movements and Conflict Groups in Latin America and Africa. Economic and political consequences
- *J44 The "Informal Sector" and "Urban Marginality": Comparative Views of Occupational Structure Among the Urban Poor: The role of small enterprises and street trades in the urban socioeconomic order.
- *J45 Inequality in African and Latin American Societies. Social inequality as a correlate of development strategies and as object of public policies.

Latin American Studies Panels

- L1 The Impact of U.S. Domestic Politics and Pressure Groups on U.S. Policy Toward Latin America
- L2 Congressional Influence on U.S. Policy Toward Latin America
- L3 Latin American and Caribbean Migration to the United States
- L4 Social Welfare Policies and Social Inequality in Latin America (social security, family allowance programs, worker's compensation, etc.)
- L5 Health Care in Latin America
- L6 The Making and Implementation of Population Policy in Latin America
- L7 Use and Misuse of Environmental Resources in Latin America
- L8 Transportation Systems and Development in Latin America
- L9 Economic Policy-Making in Latin America: Growth with Full Employment through Export Diversification
- L10 Marketing Systems in Latin America
- L11 The Role of Technocrats in Latin American Politics and Development
- L12 The Impact of Private Foreign Investment on Political Cleavages and Party Systems in Latin America
- L13 Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective
- L14 Political Participation in Latin America
- L15 The Impact of the University on Political Life in Latin America

- L16 The Peruvian Experiment: Public Policy and Political Demand-Making since 1968
- L17 Political Generations in Latin America (generational differences in political attitudes and behavior, at elite and mass levels)
- L18 "Critical" Elections and "Critical" Coups in Latin American Political History
- L19 Spanish-American Wars of Independence
- L20 Revisionist Views of the Mexican Revolution
- L21 Oral History Approaches to the Study of Latin American Social and Political History
- L22 Latin American Intellectuals and the "Myth of Underdevelopment"
- L23 Mercantilist Models of the State and the Economy (as compared with socialist and capitalist models)
- L24 Origins of Iberian Colonial Plantation Systems: The Canaries, Madeira, Cabo Verde
- L25 Non-Institutional Religion in Latin America
- L26 Current Trends in Latin American Literary Criticism
- L27 Dictatorship and Revolution in Latin American Literature
- L28 Latin American Music
- L29 Illegal Traffic in Artefacts from Latin America
- L30 Cultural Self-Identity in the Chicano Community: Who Are the Chicanos?
- L31 Chicanos and Mexican Nationals in the United States: Social, Economic, and Political Relations
- L32 Chicano Literature
- L33 Chicano Art
- L34 Problems of Teaching Latin American Studies at Small Four-Year and Junior Colleges
- L35 Non-Print Teaching Materials in Latin American Studies
- *L36 Problems of Acquiring Library and Archival Resources for Latin American Studies. Panel or workshop featuring professional bibliographers and curators of Latin American collections in university libraries.
- *L37 Theories of Latin American Identity: An Interdisciplinary Approach. Historians, anthropologists, political scientists, and specialists in Latin American literature discuss recent contributions to the study of Latin American identity.
- *L38 The Urban Black in Latin American Literature
- *L39 The Institutionalization of the Cuban Revolution. Discussion of recent Cuban political developments, including efforts at reorganization of the political system, expansion of political participation, etc.
- *L40 South American Geopolitics and La Plata River Basin Hydroelectric Developments. Political, military, legal and technical obstacles to the physical and hydroenergetic integration of the La Plata River Basin (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay).

- *L41 Peasant and Industrial Labor Organizations and the State in 20th Century Mexico
- *L42 United States Trade with Latin America
- *L43 The Image of the North American in the Latin American Novel
- *L44 Democratic Political Systems in Latin America: Venezuela, Colombia, Costa Rica
- *L45 Latin American Colonial Art and Architecture

Open Meetings

- M1 Current Events in Latin America. Informal discussion of major political events and conditions of topical interest at the time of the 1977 meeting.
- M2 Workshop on Field Research in Latin America

Luncheon Roundtables

- R1 Latin American Colonial Architecture
- R2 Teaching About Blacks in the Americas
- R3 Africa as Portrayed in the Latin American Press
- *R4 The Idea of "La Raza C6smica" as Proclaimed by Vasconcelos
- *R5 Marxist Thought in Latin America and Africa
- *R6 Latin American Films in the North American Classroom
- *R7 Issues in Latin American Trade

Other Proposed Activities

- A1 Field Trip to Galveston, Texas (to observe colonial architecture)
- A2 Tennis Tournament (at meeting hotel courts)
- A3 Art Exhibit
- A4 Performance by Latin American Musical Group

If you have already expressed an interest in participating in any of the above panels, workshops, or roundtables, no further communication is necessary. Proposals of new topics should contain a brief rationale or summary of objectives and the names and institutional affiliations of potential participants. Please indicate whether you envision a conventional panel format involving formal summaries of papers or a workshop, roundtable, or other type of format. The Program Committee wishes to encourage experimentation with less conventional ways of structuring panel sessions.

As reported in the June Newsletter, we also hope to greatly increase the participation of Latin American scholars and non-academic specialists in the 1977 National Meeting. Proposals requesting travel funds for such persons have been submitted to several foundations. LASA members who have

offered to organize panels for the Houston meeting should submit, as soon as possible, the names of Latin American scholars and non-academic experts whose participation might be supported with these funds, should they become available.

LASA Program Committee

Wayne A. Cornelius
(M.I.T.; Chairperson)

Margaret E. Crahan
(Lehman College-CUNY)

Jacinto Quirarte
(Univ. of Texas, San Antonio)

SCHOLARLY RESOURCES COMMITTEE

The Scholarly Resources Committee encourages the submission of proposals or ideas for projects dealing with the compilation and dissemination of information regarding scholarly resources dealing with Latin America. Suggestions should be directed to Carl W. Deal, Center for Latin American Studies, 1208 West California, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

QUESTIONNAIRE-INVENTORY
AUDIO-VISUAL TEACHING MATERIALS IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

The LASA Program Committee Sub-Committee on Audio-Visual Materials is putting together a census of classroom-related materials in Latin American Studies. Would you please fill out this form and return to the address below?

1. Name: _____
2. Teaching Field: _____
3. Mailing Address: _____

Phone: _____
4. Institutional Affiliation: _____
5. Check One: This information MAY () or MAY NOT () be included in any published summary by LASA.
6. What audio-visual materials do you now use in the classroom?
(Check where appropriate)
 - a. Commercially-prepared materials:
 - (1) slides _____
 - (2) films _____
 - (3) slide-tape productions _____
 - (4) video tape _____
 - (5) other (please specify) _____
 - b. Privately-produced materials:
 - (1) slides _____
 - (2) films _____
 - (3) slide-tape productions _____
 - (4) video tape _____
 - (5) other (please specify) _____
7. What kind of audio-visual materials that are not now available would you like to see produced? Be as specific as possible.

FINAL REPORT
PROGRAM COMMITTEE
SIXTH NATIONAL MEETING, ATLANTA
March 25-28, 1976

I am pleased to report that from my vantage point as organizer of the largest national LASA meeting to date, the program was developed and carried out with relatively few problems. Given the sheer bulk of over 225 chairpersons, ponentes, panelists, and commentators, let me thank my committee members, Louis Wolf Goodman and Anna Marie Taylor for making it possible to in effect present a program double in size to any previous effort of the Association.

In a written summation of his view of the Sixth National Meeting, Lou Goodman has written about some of the details which our committee had to work with during the course of planning.

The Program Committee began with a problem. The call for papers and the announcement of the formation of the Program Committee did not take place until late in the spring of 1975--less than 6 months before the Program Committee was charged by the LASA Executive Council to develop the final program for the meeting. In fact, the announcement of a call for papers was not even published when the Program Committee had its initial telephone meeting to outline plans for implementation of the meeting. Because of this time constraint and because the Committee felt it essential to have a solid program worked out for the meeting, the Committee decided to adopt "a dual strategy" for setting up panels for the meeting. Before the LASA membership had had a full opportunity to respond to the call for papers, the Program Committee, because of time pressures, contacted a number of individuals whom they felt could organize panels representing a wide variety of scholarly topics of interest to the LASA membership. It asked these individuals to serve as panel chairpersons and instructed them to form their panels in whatever way they saw fit. However, it did advise them that any LASA member could request to be a presenter at their panels and that they would have to consider each application and state reasons why applications were rejected.

This created minor misunderstandings because several panel chairpersons decided to form their panels through invitations rather than by responding to proposals from LASA members. Despite the restrictive nature of this strategy (which was followed in only a few panels), the Program Committee members did not act to discourage these chairpersons from following this practice because it felt that it was important to respect the autonomy and

leadership of each panel chairperson. This was critical because we felt that ultimately the leadership of each panel chairperson would be essential for making the panels coherent and successful.

The second part of the dual strategy involved responding to the LASA membership. Following the call for panels and papers, the Committee received approximately 50 panel suggestions and additional requests for paper participation. The Committee attempted to include all these requests in the program. It did so either by approving the suggestion of a panel or by combining a number of similar suggestions into a single panel.

As the Committee attempted to administer this dual strategy, it became obvious that a far larger number of panels could be formed for the Sixth Meeting than had been the case for the Fifth Meeting. This seemed highly desirable to the Program Committee because it involved the participation of more LASA members and a greater diversity of subjects for the meeting. However, it would depart from past practice in that a substantial number of panels would be held at the same time, preventing members from attending all panels presented. The Program Committee decided that the benefits far outweighed the costs involved in having many panels for the annual meeting. Now that the meeting has taken place, I feel that this was a good decision and I encourage the new Program Committee to follow a similar practice in forming the program for the next meeting.

These initial decisions were crucial for laying the base for the program. As the meeting date neared, the Committee's work largely consisted of helping panel chairpersons locate Latin American scholars for their panels, forming luncheon roundtables, and scheduling and checking the format of the official program.

At the meeting, numerous operational details had to be attended to, such as attempting (unsuccessfully) to adjust the air conditioning in meeting rooms, and smoothing out wrinkles, such as moving the Plenary Session from the hotel ballroom so that the hotel could hold a Bar Mitzvah there.

In her report on specialized activities of organizing the film festival and the URLA panels, Anna Marie Taylor noted:

Our criterion was to try to show primarily new films, both features and documentaries, which would be of interest to the LASA membership, but which most members would not have a chance to see previously. Although we encountered some unexpected problems, especially involving the need for special equipment and the later break-down of this equipment once obtained, the screen-

ings went well and were enthusiastically attended by up to eighty people. Some of our unexpected problems verged on the absurd, like arranging for a 35mm. projector which turned out to be a 35 mm. slide projector.

Thanks are due to Julianne Burton for arranging to obtain most of the films, to James Kelley of the Local Arrangements Committee, and to Chuck Miller, all of whom spent hours helping with the projection and with various organizational and technical problems.

I think that extensive film showings of this kind are an important service to LASA members, and should be continued at future conventions. We are hoping to get some feedback from the membership on whether it is most desirable to show several new films, both features and shorts, as we did in Atlanta, or to select a fewer number of films which would be repeatedly shown throughout the convention. It is essential to make sure that the convention hotel has good viewing facilities, with a large built-in screen if possible. Our experiences at LASA also indicated that a room should continue to be reserved only for film screenings to allow flexibility in re-scheduling films when necessary and to avoid the problem of having to continually move the equipment and films. We also suggest the possibility of providing sign-up sheets on the door so that members can express requests for films to be re-shown.

The most important suggestion for change regarding future film programming is in the area of films which individual LASA members wish to have shown. While I think we should strongly encourage members to show and discuss their own film work, I think it could be expected that they themselves would be responsible for arranging for and paying for any special equipment needed. They should also be prepared to pay for the projectionists' fees during the duration for their film. Had we anticipated these arrangements for the Atlanta convention, we would have avoided a major portion of our technical delays.

Special thanks go in this report to the LASA Committee on Women in Latin American Studies for providing funds to pay for partial travel expenses of several women participants. I provided them with a list of names, primarily graduate students or partially-employed people, to get to the convention. They generously responded by sharing some of their modest grant from the Ford Foundation. I would like to thank them again personally and on behalf of the recipients for this invaluable assistance.

Another area for which I was the principal contact

was the URLA panels. Although URLA ordinarily receives two places on the program, the tragic death in February of Rafael Cintrón, the main speaker for the panel on Puerto Rico, prevented this panel from taking place.

With regard to cancellations, the program would have been strengthened in two areas which all too often are underrepresented at our meetings: anthropology and economics. We had invited professors Johannes Wilbert (UCLA) and Shane Hunt (Boston U.) to develop panels on "Lore in Latin America" and "Short-Run Economic Policy in Latin America," respectively, but after a survey of possible participants they found that they were unable to put together the kind of balanced excellence that which we require. In the end these panels were cancelled, Wilbert noting that the new field of lore (eliteloire as well as folklore) should be well organized to participate by the time of the next national meeting. With regard to economics, Hunt wrote to us as follows:

I thought that a discussion of recent events such as the failure of orthodox policies in Chile and the economic disintegration of Uruguay would prove very interesting to all LASA members. I therefore determined to stay away from the more abstract model building exercises and to focus on recent policy events.

Four volunteers stepped forward in response to the initial announcement of the panel. Of these, two had written papers, but only one of these was a stabilization subject, viz., corrective inflation. It was a good paper, and I invited the author to be a member of the panel. I took no decision on the other volunteers regarding their possible participation as discussants, pending completion of the roster of ponentes.

I delayed further action until after a conference on macroeconomic policy in Latin America sponsored by the National Bureau for Economic Research (NBER), held in Panama in November. The most appropriate of those papers, I thought, would serve the LASA panel nicely. I must admit, however, that from the standpoint of the LASA panel, the NBER conference was a disappointment. All the papers of U.S. academics and some of the papers presented by Latin Americans were on the frontiers of model building, and had nothing to say either on recent policy experience or on anything else that would be intelligible to non-economists. A few of the papers by Latin Americans living in Latin America were policy-oriented and would have proven quite suitable for the LASA panel, but funds were not available for bringing them to Atlanta...

Too, it is unfortunate that the Cuban delegates to the Sixth National meeting were denied visas apparently by Secretary of

State Kissinger, who seemingly overrode the recommendations of most of his Department.

Our initial hopes for publication of selected papers also did not come to fruition, again, for reasons outside of our control. As discussed at the Atlanta meeting of the LARR editorial board, talks were unsuccessful with Sage Publications for printing the proceedings of our meetings (past, present, and future), hence the policy adopted by previous program committees holds the same for the Sixth National Meeting: all papers will be deposited with the University Microfilms in Ann Arbor, which will make copies available for sale on request. LASA hereby releases its option for first-publication rights with the hope that individual chairpersons or ponentes will see fit to organize some of the papers for publication around special topics, either in edited volumes or through submission to LARR. Such publications should be credited as having arisen out of the LASA Sixth National Meeting in Atlanta.

Panel chairpersons, to whom the Program Committee is indebted for their sustained efforts have submitted the following final reports (given in order of appearance on the program) to meet with the Austin requirements:

Thursday, March 25, 1976:

- I. WOMEN AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE, Terry Fee (UC/Riverside)
No report.
- II. ALTERNATIVES TO FORMAL EDUCATION, Thomas J. Labelle (UCLA)
 - A. Ponente: Francisco Gutiérrez P. (Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica). Title: "Total Language: A New Approach to Education"
 - B. Discussants: John McFadden (California State University/Sacramento); Robert Myers (Ford Foundation); Polly Timberlake (Cypress Lakes High School, Florida); Agnes Toward (San Diego State)
 - C. Number of Inquiries:
 1. Donald A. Swanson--Placed on panel as a discussant but at the last minute was unable to attend.
 2. Edgar G. Nesman--Wrote in November to be a ponente and was told the program was set.
 3. Eugene Jensen--Offered to be a ponente and was told the program was set.
 4. Wayne Bragg--Offered to be a ponente and was told the program was set.
- III. CUBA: EMPIRICAL ANALYSES OF CHANGE IN INDIVIDUAL BELIEFS AND BEHAVIOR
 - A. Papers and Affiliations:
Lourdes Casal (Rutgers/Newark) "Images of Cuban Society Among Pre- and Post-Revolutionary Novelists"
Margaret E. Crahan (Lehman College/CUNY) "Salvation Through Christ or Marx: Attitudes of Cuban Churchpeople"

Before and After the Revolution"

Jorge I. Domínguez (Harvard) "Political Culture in Cuba: Continuity and Change"

Marifeli Pérez-Stable (Florida/Gainesville) "Cuba's Workers, 1975: A Preliminary Analysis"

B. No discussants.

C. Comment:

The papers were formally presented. Each paper took about 30 minutes. There were 45 minutes left for audience participation. Members of the audience were encouraged not only to ask questions, but also to make comments and criticisms.

I think that there is a role for types of panels along a broad spectrum: some with formal papers and discussants, others without discussants but with audience participation (such as this one), as well as some with more informal presentations and much more discussion. I trust these are seen as alternative and valuable approaches, and that all types are permitted in future LASA programs.

D. Invitations:

When the panel was proposed to the LASA Program Committee, three papers were mentioned as possibilities for the core of the panel. These papers were, in fact, presented by Casal, Domínguez, and Pérez-Stable. In addition, the original panel proposal included an invitation to the University of Havana to send one or two Cuban scholars to participate on the panel. The panel chairman issued that invitation in the summer of 1975 (July 17). Subsequently, LASA broadened the invitation to include possible Cuban participation in discussions of dependency and film. The Cubans eventually nominated an excellent delegation; the U.S. Department of State denied visas to them.

Requests: The panel chairman received two specific requests for inclusion in the panel. One paper, by Professor Crahan, was included in the panel. The other paper did not fall within the scope of the panel (though it was of high quality). Because four papers were to be presented, and because participation from Cuban scholars still seemed possible, this second request was rejected.

Contacts: The panel chairman was informally contacted, never in writing, by three other people, inquiring about possible participation in the panel. Two of those contacts came very late, not too far from the actual Meeting date; one came early, and that person was encouraged to submit a specific proposal which never arrived. The two late contacts were discouraged, because of lateness, and because the panel already had four papers and the

possibility of Cuban participation. Thus none of the informal contacts led to panel membership.

E. Demographic Notes:

The original invitations were based on the expectation that prospective panel participants would produce good papers. All the papers presented met that criterion (the panel chairman's paper excepted from this comment, on the grounds of conflict of interest!). Of the nine people who made some kind of contact described above, seven were women; the panel had 3 women and 1 man. Of the nine, 5 were Cuban born; the panel had 3 Cuban born. On one at the rank of full professor requested inclusion or was actually on the panel. Three people without doctorates approached the panel chairman; one was on the panel. No one west of the Mississippi River approached the panel chairman about membership, and none was included. Without extending this much further, it seems to me that panel participation reflected the scholarly interests of people. Although my decisions were based on quality, germaneness to the topic, specificity of proposal, and timing, there does not seem to have been an unfortunate result in terms of the exclusion of any interested person identifiable by sex, race, age, university, etc., given the actual interest pattern.

IV. U.S. NEWS MEDIA AND LATIN AMERICA, John C. Pollock (Rutgers/Livingston)
No report.

V. POPULAR LITERATURE AND POPULAR CULTURE, Jean Franco (Stanford)
No report.

VI. QUANTITATIVE STUDIES ON SOCIAL CLASS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY, Peter H. Smith (Wisconsin/Madison)

A. Papers:

"Monterrey Men... Revisited: Survey Data and Structural Analyses," Harley L. Browning (Texas/Austin)

"Capitalists and Landowners in Chile: Quantitative Techniques in the Study of the Wealthy and the Powerful," Richard E. Ratcliffe (Washington University)

"Quantitative Studies on Social Class and Social Mobility in Latin America," Susan M. Socolow (Plattsburgh, NY)

"Methodologies of Mobility Studies in the Period of Massive Immigration," Mark D. Szuchman (Texas)

B. I probably received about a dozen inquiries, rejected all of them because they did not fit the purpose of the panel (sometimes after fairly extensive correspondence), told them all about the Volunteer Paper panel, and felt that no one was unhappy as a result.

C. We had ten-minute oral summaries of the papers, then I (as panel chairperson) tried to formulate some issues

and questions, the panelists made one or two remarks, then open discussion began (after about an hour of oral presentation in all). Audience participation was extremely good, and a brisk interchange followed for a second hour. I stopped the meeting at 10:00 p.m. (we had started at 8:00) and individuals met separately afterwards. In sum, I think it went well.

- D. No recommendation for improvement. I rather liked our own procedure, especially in contrast to (a) dreary readings of 40-minute papers, and (b) five-minute hectic summaries on crowded panels.
 - E. I think we have over-emphasized the problem of representational "balance" in the past. One of the good things about our panel, I think, is that people were selected because of their potential contribution to the discussion at hand, not because they represented some group or other.
- VII. MODES OF PRODUCTION AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA, Patricia Wilson (Cornell)
- A. Papers:
 - "Social Forms of Spatial Organization in Latin America: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations": José Luis Coraggio (Pittsburgh)
 - "Confronting the Separation of Town and Country in Cuba": David Barkin (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
 - "Regional Development and the Limits of Reform: The Experience of the Peruvian Military Government": Patricia A. Wilson (Cornell)
 - B. Discussant: Mathew Edel (Queens College)
 - C. Since the panel was approved very late and not publicly announced, there were no inquiries about participating on it.
 - D. Three formal papers were presented and there was one discussant. All spoke from the same ideological, theoretical, and methodological point of view. Discussion with the audience was encouraged afterwards.
 - E. Recommendations: I would like to see more panels in which a unified point of view is presented in order to allow discussion to explore more deeply that point of view rather than defend basic assumptions. I also like the idea of having more "radical" panels.

Friday, March 26, 1976

VIII. WILL THE REAL CORPORATISM PLEASE STAND UP?, Evelyn Stevens (Shaker Heights, Ohio)

- A. Ponentes:
 - "Latin America: Pluralist, Corporatist, or Monist?" Glen Dealy (Oregon State)
 - "Economic Policy-Making and the Structures of Corporatism in Latin America": William Glade (Texas/Austin)

"Corporatism and Dependent Development: A Honduran Case Study": James Morris (San Diego State/Imperial Valley) and Steve C. Ropp (New Mexico State)

"Latin American Corporatism: The Forest and the Trees" Lois Wasserspring (Cambridge, Massachusetts)

B. Discussant: Helen Douglas (Boston University)

C. Summary of Inquiries about Participation in Panels and Disposition of Inquiries:

I received eighteen inquiries from persons interested in presenting papers. Two of these were forwarded to me by the Program Committee.

Two people who wrote me were obviously not familiar with the literature on the subject, and I judged them not to be serious contenders for places on the panel (one of these apparently thought that corporatism had to do with the management of business corporations).

Two more persons were eliminated because the Program Committee ruled (quite rightly, I believe) that no person should participate in more than one panel at the same meeting.

One inquiry was received too late for consideration.

Others eliminated themselves by failing to comply with my request that they submit preliminary proposals, or by submitting inappropriate proposals.

As chairperson, I was concerned about balancing the geographic backgrounds, sex, and academic disciplines of the panel participants. I consider myself fortunate in having been able to satisfy two of the three requirements. We had people from the Southwest, Northwest, Middle West, and Eastern United States. Three participants (including chairperson) were women. Two papers were by senior people (one from a leading center for Latin American Studies); one paper was a joint effort by two very bright junior people at outlying campuses of state schools, and the remaining paper--of very high quality--was by a recent Ph.D. who has been caught in the unemployment crunch.

As to academic discipline, the balance was not quite so even. One paper was by an economist, another by a sociologist, and the remaining participants were all political scientists. However, I believe this was almost inevitable, given the nature of the topic. If the overall program shows a good balance of panel topics, there is a built-in corrective; such was the case at the Atlanta meeting.

IX. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH, Alejandro Portes (Duke)

No report.

X. THE MEXICO-UNITED STATES BORDER INTERFACE, Oscar J. Martínez (Texas/El Paso)

- A. Papers:
- "A New Face of International Capitalism in Mexico's Northern Frontier," Jorge Bustamente (El Colegio de México)
- "Mexico's Border Industrialization Program (BIP): Current Patterns and Alternative Futures," C. Daniel Dillman (Northern Illinois)
- "An Introduction to the Human Ecology of the U.S.-Mexico Border," Julius Rivera (Texas/El Paso)
- "Approaches to the Study of the U.S.-Mexico Border," Oscar J. Marínez (Texas/El Paso)
- B. Discussants: Richard Craig (Kent State); William Luers (State Department)
- C. Comments:
1. I received two inquiries and both persons were included in the panel as discussants.
 2. The ponentes summarized their findings, the discussants commented briefly, and there was a lively question and answer period.
 3. My only recommendation is to continue to stress that ponentes not read their papers.
 4. One problem I noticed was the holding of special meetings (e.g., research, publication) during the lunch and dinner hour. One is often too tired to attend these important sessions.
- XI. CLASP Service Panel: THE TEACHING OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES AT ALL LEVELS, Miriam Williford (Winthrop College)
No report.
- XII. SELECTED TOPICS IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, Howard and Ieda Wiarda (Massachusetts/Amherst)
- A. Papers:
- I. The Press, Politics, and Socio-Economic Perspectives
- "In Quest of the Paraphernalia of Modernity: Commonwealth Caribbean Mass Media," John A. Lent (Temple)
- "The Coup That Wasn't: Press and Politics in Contemporary Colombia," Christopher Mitchell (NYU)
- "Sex and Income Differences in Costa Rica Revisited: 1967-1973 Comparisons," M.J. Carvajal (Florida) and David T. Geithman (Russell Sage College)
- II. Social Mobilization and the Peasantry
- "The Peasants as a Revolutionary Class; An Early Marxist View," Harry E. Vanden (South Florida)
- "Peasants vs. U.S. Marines: The Dominican Occupation, 1916-1924," Bruce J. Calder (Illinois/Chicago Circle)
- "Social and Ecological Consequences of Rural Modernization in a Highland Region of Colombia," Wava G. and Emil B. Haney (Wisconsin/Green Bay)
- III. Politics and Development Alternatives
- "The 1929 Presidential Campaign and Political Leader-

ship," Roderic Ai Camp (Central College)

"Christian Democracy in Venezuela: An Ideological Framework," Donald L. Herman (Grand Valley State College)

"Juan Perón: Perspectives on His Impact on Argentine History," Peter Ranis (CUNY/York)

B. Comment:

1. We received a total of 41 inquiries. Of these, nine were accepted and grouped into three categories for inclusion on our panel. Seven were grouped as related to "Political Culture and Socialization" and all correspondence related to them was forwarded to Susan Bourque and Scott Palmer. All seven were included in Panel 22. Twenty-five were rejected for various reasons: in the majority, these potential panelists failed to provide requested information or follow-up on their inquiries, a few inquiries came in after the deadline, a few seemed more appropriate for other panels and were thus re-directed.
2. We asked, well in advance, that our panelists be prepared to give a short oral presentation and that we would strictly enforce a time limitation. In view of the nature of our panel, we thought that we could provide the most service to both panelists and audience by having as many ponentes as it was humanly possible. Much to our surprise, our panelists were indeed prepared to give short, concise and yet enlightening summaries of their papers. Given the large number and diversity of the papers, we thought it inappropriate to include a commentator on the panel--we in effect performed that function ourselves. After each of the three groupings of panelists had finished their presentation, we allowed a few minutes for audience participation and discussion. In all cases, there were good questions and a lively give-and-take. At the end of the presentations, we again invited comments and discussion as well as invited those interested to make a point of personally meeting the panelists, and this indeed took place. We felt that the panel moved smoothly, it was never dull or long-winded, and the ponentes did have a chance to present what they felt were the central points of their papers. Our only regret is that not all the panelists had enough papers to pass copies around to all those who might want to have them.
3. Too many of the other panels which we attended had long presentations by ponentes and depoimentos by the audience. We believe that the chairpersons ought to be able to handle depoimentos though, admittedly, that is easier said than done. However,

we feel that a short and concise presentation by ponentes can be more readily obtained if the ponente is told, well in advance, that he (or she) only will have, say, ten minutes and no more, and that this limit will be strictly adhered to. If told well in advance, the ponente can hardly complain if he (or she) is cut short or held to within five or so minutes of the time limit provided. Further, this forces him (or her) to be fully prepared and not to speak "forever" off the cuff, as it is so often the case, to the audience's boredom and to the detriment of the other panelists who also want to have their full turn.

4. To the overall program chairperson, we believe that you have established a record for smooth organization, on-time information, and painstaking care to small and large details. Our only qualification is a minor one and that may be of help for future program chairpersons: your letter of April 1, requesting all this information and copies of papers, should have reached us before the LASA meeting. We would thus have had a chance to make sure we had paper duplicates and all other data already assembled. As it is, you were lucky that our LASA file was intact and had not been discarded as so much surplus.
5. We believe that there is indeed a need for "balance" in a Volunteer Paper Panel--that is probably its main raison d'être to begin with and that is why we ended up with nine ponentes. In general, we also feel it is "good" to strive for balance in the sense that this gives less known, younger scholars or those affiliated with smaller universities a chance to participate in a LASA program that they might not otherwise have. On the other hand, in striving to "balance" established names or "conservative" scholars should not be balanced "out" simply because they are well known and not in the LASA mainstream. Can one "balance" the balance?
6. One final note in this connection: We feel it is especially useful for future chairpersons of the Volunteer Paper Panel to be alerted in advance to watch for "groupings" of papers around a single theme that might be constituted as a separate panel. We felt that the "Political Culture and Socialization" panel was an especially worthwhile by-product of our efforts in this regard, and that the panel turned out to be one of the best ones at the meeting.

XIII. APPLIED TECHNOLOGY IN REGIONS OF LATIN AMERICA, Dilmus D. James (Texas/El Paso) and James H. Street (Rutgers/New

Brunswick)

XIV. THE UNITED STATES AS SEEN BY LATIN AMERICAN WRITERS,
Joaquín Roy (Emory)

A. Papers:

I. Admiration and Fear

"The Ethnic and Cultural Minorities of Martí's America,"
Ivan A. Schulman (Florida)

"José Vasconcelos," Frederick Langhorst (Georgia Tech)

II. Anti-Imperialism

"Aspects of the 'Anti-Imperialistic' Novel," Juan Loveluck (South Carolina)

"Darío, Mistral, and Neruda Voice Their Opinions on the United States," Harvey L. Johnson (Houston)

III. Research and Publications

"Revista Iberoamericana and the U.S. as Seen by Latin American Writers," Alfredo Roggiano (Pittsburgh)

B. Discussants: Federigo Gil (North Carolina); José de Onís (Colorado); María A. Salgado (North Carolina)

C. Comment:

Since the panel was approved late, it was not announced and only the originally proposed panelists participated. I did receive a proposal for panelists forwarded by you from J. David Suárez Torres (Georgetown) on "Literature of Protest", but was unable to work that proposal into my panel. Although I specifically requested that papers were not going to be read, a few members proceeded in the conventional manner. The majority read brief summaries. Audience participation was reserved for the last hour of the meeting.

Saturday, March 27, 1976

XV. THE MULTIPLE ROLES OF THE MILITARY IN LATIN AMERICA: INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS, John T. Fishel (Wisconsin/La Crosse)

A. Papers:

"The Mexican Military," David Ronfeldt (RAND)

"Career Patterns and Attitudes in Four Brazilian Military Administrations: Similarity and Continuity, 1964-1975," Max G. Manwaring (Memphis State)

"The Guatemalan Armed Forces: Military Development and National Politics," Caesar D. Sereseres (UC/Irvine)

"Approaches to the Study of the Chilean Military: Institutional Development, Military-Civilian Relations and Policy Considerations," Frederick M. Nunn (Portland State University)

B. Commentators: Richard R. Fagen (Stanford); Abraham Lowenthal (Council on Foreign Relations)

C. Report:

I received two inquiries with respect to inclusion on the panel which were forwarded to me by Howard Wiarda.

Because our panel wasn't finally accepted until fairly late, I was unable to respond to these people until late November or early December. Since neither people fit the nature of the panel that we were putting together, I was forced to reject their proposals. I did so with abject apologies for the tardiness of my responses.

Along the way we lost one ponente and one discussant for various personal and job-related reasons. The panel functioned with formal presentation of papers, followed by discussion by the discussants, followed by a response from the panelists, and finally by opening discussion to the floor. Although I am somewhat prejudiced, I feel that it was one of the most interesting panels that I have attended in a long time.

XVI. NEW LATIN AMERICAN CINEMA: EVOLUTION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS, Julianne Burton (UC/Santa Cruz)

A. Participants:

"Cinema and Revolution in the 1970's," Andrés R. Hernández (New York City)

"A Political Analysis of the Double Day and the Principal Enemy," Julia Lesage (Illinois/Circle)

B. Discussants: Anna Marie Taylor (Chicago); Chuck Miller (Ohio University); E. Bradford Burns (UCLA); Fabiano Canosa (Embrafilme); Lourdes Casal (Rutgers/New Jersey)

C. I received no inquiries about participation on the panel; I took the initiative in inviting all who eventually participated. I tried to achieve the broadest range--not only in terms of race, sex, age, rank, and geographical area, but also in terms of approaches to, and uses of film. The panel was finally composed of one historian, two teachers of Latin American literature, one comparatist, one psychologist, one political scientist, one film student and filmmaker, and one film distributor.

D. The two papers, one submitted beforehand, the other prepared during the course of the convention in response to films shown there, were presented (not in either case "read") during the first hour and a half of the session. (Both were longer than originally requested.) Discussants then commented on issues raised in either or both of the papers read, and then, in the remaining hour, the audience was invited to participate, though, in response to questions from the audience, members of the panel continued to dominate the discussion.

Many people commented favorably afterwards on the organization of the panel. A reduced number of papers with a large number of discussants seemed to be the best way to relay a broad range of experience and views without succumbing to the monotony of many formal presentations.

- E. When I was invited to organize a panel, I was told that I should not consider doing a presentation myself. Given the newness of this particular field, and my own privileged opportunity to have done extensive research, I felt constrained by this regulation and was surprised to learn, upon seeing the final program, that it was in fact a fairly common practice.
- F. Having agreed to order and organize what turned out to be a mini-film festival, and--despite years of experience organizing film series--never imagining that absolutely everything that could go wrong would go wrong, I wasn't able to participate in or profit from the conference in ways which have been possible during previous meetings.

Anna Marie Taylor and I are willing to take responsibility for film showing at the Seventh National Meeting provided that:

1. Screening room and equipment as well as projectionists are furnished, as they were in Atlanta. (Jim Kelley's Local Arrangements help was invaluable.)
2. All parties interested in showing films contact us directly well in advance, thus avoiding the many problems occasioned by the AUFS films this year.
3. All parties requiring special equipment for their films be responsible for securing, operating, and returning that equipment.
4. That LASA provide a small honorarium for an on-the-spot coordinator to ensure that everything runs smoothly. Chuck Miller (graduate student in film at Ohio University and discussant on the film panel) voluntarily took on this essential function at the Atlanta meeting--packing, shipping, picking up film prints, standing in when the projectionist failed to show up, consulting on equipment, handling technical problems, posting notices, overseeing security, making the necessary telephone calls and inquiries. This is definitely a full-time job, as we both found out, and should be seen as separate from the selection and scheduling of films for the conference, a substantially demanding undertaking in itself. (Chuck was not only unable to attend other panels, cocktail parties, and conference activities, but spent a sizeable portion of his own money on "odds and ends," telephone calls, and gasoline.)

I felt, in addition to the "distancing" effect of the constant problems generated by the film screenings, that this convention was somehow more isolated and turned inward upon itself than others have been. This may have been in part a function of having no direct geographical

connection to a university campus, and having student attendance be reduced to a minimum, or of being in a section of the country where Latin concerns are not a part of daily community life in the same way they are in California, Texas, even Madison, where the previous meeting which I've attended have taken place. At any rate, admitting the subjective determinants of the impression, this meeting seemed palpably less "real" than others, and regrettably so.

Finally, I definitely feel that we still need to be concerned with "the many meanings of 'balance"; in fact, I would like to see LASA make an effort to encourage and facilitate participation by the increasing number of unemployed or deemployed Latin Americanists, thus adding yet another meaning to the term.

XVII. POWER POLITICS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOUTH AMERICA, Robert N. Burr (UCLA)

A. Papers:

"Power Politics in South America During the 1820's," Ron L. Seckinger (North Carolina)

"Brazil and Uruguay, 1851-1855: The Limits of Intervention," John H. Hann (Florida/Gainesville)

"Paraguay, 1800-1870: política paranoica," John Hoyt Williams (Indiana State)

B. Commentator: John W. Kitchens (Tuskegee Institute)

C. Comments:

Since this panel was proposed very late (September, 1975), no request for papers was made and no inquiries were received. Rather, the participants were known to be working on similar topics, and the entire program was proposed as a unit.

Guidelines for the panel required that each paper (1)deal with relations among the South American states rather than with the Great Powers, (2)seek to isolate the main determinants of foreign policy, and (3)place the country (or countries) under consideration within a broad continental context. After each ponente had summarized his paper and the commentator had offered his remarks, the session was thrown open to general discussion, which was not lacking.

XVIII. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA, Rosario Morales-Levins (Harvard School of Public Health)
No report.

XIX. HUMAN RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA, Patricia Weiss Fagen (San Jose State)

A. Papers:

"The State Department and Human Rights in Latin America," George Lister (State Department)

"Human Rights and the Rule of Law," J.P. Morray (Attorney; Corvallis, Oregon)

"Los Derechos Humanos en la Crisis del Liberalismo Latinoamericano," Angel Rama (U. Central de Venezuela)
"In Search for Theoretical Room for Freedom: North American Social Science Thinking About Latin American Development," Kalman Silvert (NYU)

- B. Commentator: Rose Styron (Roxbury/Conn.)
- C. Inquiries:

Two inquiries. One of these, John Bailey of Georgetown University, proposed a paper dealing either with U.S. policy-making vis à vis human rights or a discussion on authoritarian regimes in Latin America. After a discussion with the other members of the Human Rights and Academic Freedom Committee, I rejected his proposal on the grounds that we were trying to include a Latin American on the panel who would speak about the authoritarian regimes question and that we (thought) we had all the participants we needed at that time. Later the composition of the panel did change, but his contribution did not seem the most important of those available. The second inquiry came from George Lister, and this was accepted. The chairperson, and other members of the Human Rights Committee have on many occasions called upon Lister in cases of emergency in Latin America. Hence, out of a feeling of indebtedness, and because it did seem logical to include the State Department representative on the panel, Lister was included.

- D. There were 15 minute presentations by the ponentes, followed by a 10 minute commentary, and then questions were taken from the floor. There was both considerable audience participation and interchange among the panelists.
- E. On my panel, three papers instead of four would have been better, because the discussion period was cut short. (The fourth paper came about for reasons described above.) I would suggest that the best discussions come about when ponentes have different views on common issues, but do not take positions which are politically or intellectually so different that they have nothing to discuss.

- XX. U.S. RESPONSE TO NATIONALIZATION AND DENATIONALIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA, Marvin D. Bernstein (SUNY/Buffalo)
No report.
- XXI. POLITICAL CULTURE AND SOCIALIZATION, Susan C. Bourque (Smith) and Scott Palmer (Bowdoin)
Outgrowth of Volunteer Paper Panel--see Panel 12, above.
- XXII. INTERNAL MIGRATION SYSTEM IN LATIN AMERICA, Robert N Thomas (Michigan State)
No report
- XXIII. TRANSFORMING THE STATE: THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN LATIN AMERICA; David Collier (Indiana)
No report.

- XXIV. CLASP Service Panel: ALTERNATIVE CAREERS IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES, Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez (Queens/CUNY)
No report.
- XXV. DEPENDENCY THEORY REASSESSED, Albert O. Hirschman (Princeton)
- A. Papers:
- "The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States," Fernando Henrique Cardoso (CEBRAP, São Paulo)
"Dependency Reconsidered," Osvaldo Sunkel (Sussex)
"Dependence as an Explanation of Underdevelopment: A Critique," Thomas E. Weisskops (Michigan)
"Multinational Corporations and Dependency: A Dialogue for Dependistas and Non-Dependistas," Theodore H. Moran (Johns Hopkins)
Comment: Robert Packenham (Stanford); Fernando Fajnzylber (CIDE, Mexico City)
- B. I received a number of inquiries about participation in the panel but by that time I had already issued most of my invitations and therefore referred the inquirers to the Volunteer Paper Panel. The one exception is Robert Packenham whom I invited to be a discussant. The people who wrote in were: Patricia Wilson (Cornell University), Dilmus D. James (Texas/El Paso), James H. Street (Rutgers/New Brunswick), William P. Avery (Nebraska/Lincoln), Edward H. Moseley (Alabama).
- C. The available time did not permit reading of the papers. All ponentes spoke from notes as did the discussants. As chairman I presented some introductory remarks. The panel was quite well attended--I believe there must have been about 200-250 persons present. The discussion from the floor was lively, though somewhat shorter than I had expected. Of course, it was late since we had started around 8:30 and discussion from the floor began about 10:15.
- D. My recommendation in line with the last point would be for the plenary panel to start perhaps a bit earlier, 7:30 or so. My other recommendation to the chairman to the plenary panel is to do as I did, that is, to invite the participants at as early a date as possible; otherwise once word is out about the panel and its topic the chairman is likely to be flooded with requests for participation and may be tempted to take the easy path and just go along with some of those requests instead of searching for the best people in the field.
- E. As far as I can judge the Conference went well although the quality of the papers presented in some of the panels I attended might have been improved. I believe that concern with the various types of "balances" will continue to be important, but next time the Program Committee might

tell the chairpersons to shift the balance between quality and "balance" a little bit in the favor of quality.

Sunday, March 28, 1976

XXVI. THE U.S. CONNECTION: TRADITIONAL DRUG USE AND MODERN DRUG POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA, Paul L. Doughty (Florida)
No report.

Note correction to program: Comment by William Partridge (Southern California)

XXVII. THE COMPARATIVE ROLE OF FOREIGN IMMIGRATION IN ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, Robert C. Scheck (New Mexico State) and Robert Manley (Seton Hall)
No report.

My own observations about the meeting are as follows:

1. Night sessions were a resounding success, in spite of fears by some to the contrary.
2. Distribution of papers continues to be a problem. Still, if ponentes are encouraged to supply LASA with 50 or more copies of their papers to be sold at the meeting, this would pay for the printed abstracts of the papers. In this way, ponentes would have the advantage of circulating their ideas at much cheaper cost than ordinary reprints, the abstracts reaching the entire membership. This plan worked reasonably well for those ponentes who completed their papers--the problem is always with those who don't meet deadlines.
3. Announcements of the program in the Newsletter should carry a note that all participants must be members of LASA.
4. The Secretariat should not accept more than 8 reservations for any roundtable luncheon session; this would help alleviate the high noise factors that plagued us in Atlanta. Also, perhaps box lunches might best be carried by each individual to the hotel room of the chairperson of the luncheon session, converting roundtables into "luncheon chairperson's room sessions."
5. LASA should circulate a flyer (much like the one outlining LASA goals, publications, membership, officers, and committees) in order that the membership always understand procedures and deadlines for gaining participation in the national meetings:
 - A. All proposals for panels should, for example, contain the following information and be addressed to the program chairperson with copies to each member of the program committee:
 - i. Name, position, and university of person making the proposal;
 - ii. Title of proposed panel; chairperson and affiliation (not necessarily the person making the proposal; names of ponentes (preferably with titles

- or topics of their papers) and their affiliation; names of commentators (if any) and their affiliation; and rationale and need for the panel; cost of bringing proposed foreign participants;
- iii. Proposed organization: e.g., formal or informal summaries of papers, comment, and audience participation; discussion papers addressing different aspects of one closely defined topic followed by audience participation--the formal papers not even being summarized in this case but distributed in advance; opening of the panel session with comment, to be answered afterward by the ponentes; division of the panel into two or three discrete subtopics, with discussion from the floor after each and before proceeding to the next subtopic; roundtable debate of formal papers after five minute presentation and five minutes of comment, etc.
- B. Proposals for individual papers--either for the volunteer paper panel or for an already announced panel (see "ii" above)--should be addressed to the chairperson of the panel concerned and carry the following information:
- iv. Name, position, and university of person making proposal (enclosure of vitae may be helpful).
- v. Title of paper, with outline if possible.
- vi. Statement of purpose, hypotheses, methodology; brief review of literature, ideas, tests, or data to be presented; brief summary of major conclusions, findings, or prospects; classification of where the paper fits as to discipline, ideology, and/or geographic focus.
- C. Proposals for "meetings" (as opposed to formal panels) may be an effective way to participate in the convention, e.g., "Panama Canal Issue," or "Iberian and Latin American Thought" at Atlanta.
- D. Invitations of foreign participants on any U.S. government "list" can involve problems unless the invitee obtains a U.S. Department of Immigration Waiver, in addition to a visa from the U.S. Department of State. Coordination of the waiver with the visa is not automatic, but can be arranged by contacting the Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Latin America, currently George Lister (202-632-8369).

In closing, let me say that I doubt that a program chairperson could have a more ideal committee with which to work than mine for several reasons: Lou and Anna Marie have the diplomacy and the patience to make any project work. Moreover, it was often through their contacts that we were able to reach into every corner of

the Association for advice and assistance. Lou's position with the SSRC was particularly fortuitous, not only allowing us to draw upon his expertise in having run the foreign area fellowships as well as faculty fellowship program but also allowing us to take advantage of SSRC Committee members from abroad who could attend the meeting at little extra cost. LASA is much indebted to the SSRC for its assistance in this regard. The UCLA Latin American Center is due thanks for providing the organizational framework to set up the meeting. We would also like to thank the panel participants and chairpersons; LASA's Executive Director, Felicity Trueblood; the LASA Executive Council; and LASA Presidents Richard Fagen and Joseph Grunwald for their advice and assistance in planning and carrying out our duties.

James W. Wilkie
LASA Program Chairman, 1976
UCLA Latin American Center
Los Angeles, California 90024

LASA PRESS AWARD

As noted in the June Newsletter, Penny Lernoux of The Nation and the Copley News Service received the 1976 LASA award for distinguished reporting on Latin America during the 1974-75 period. She was recognized for the depth and quality of her reporting on Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador in several articles appearing in The Nation.

The citation, the second given by LASA, is based on the following criteria: focus on significant topics; a wide sampling of sources; and sensitivity to regional, economic and ethnic factors. The first citation was awarded to Marlisle Simons of the Washington Post at the Fifth National Meeting held in San Francisco in November, 1974.

Journalists and editors from major newspapers and wire services in the United States and Latin America were asked to submit no more than three examples of superior reporting for each of their reporters who cover Latin America on a regular basis. Each of the three judges, without consulting any of the others, ranked individuals on a one-to-five scale (where five is the highest possible score) for each of the selection criteria. The results were averaged to produce a single score for each reporter nominated. The panel of judges included: Professor Ron Krieger, Economics, Goucher College; Professor Jerry Knudson, School of Journalism, Temple University; and Professor Robert Slenes, History Department, University of Colorado. Professor John Pollock, Political Science and Sociology, Livingston College, Rutgers University, chairs the present LASA Committee on U.S. Press Coverage of Latin America.

REGIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE

MINUTES

Atlanta, Georgia

March 25, 1976

Members Present: Bernard Ansel (SULA), Joe Arbena (SECOLAS), Jan Knippers Black (Inter-American Council), Marvin Bernstein (SULA), E. Bradford Burns (LASA Executive Council and PCCLAS), Joseph T. Criscenti (NECLAS), Kenneth J. Grieb (Committee Secretary, Regional Newsletter Coordinator and MALAS), Shirley Harkess (MALAS), Robert Hayes (RMCLAS), G. Michael Riley (NCCLA), Evelyn Stevens (LASA Executive Council), Felicity Trueblood (LASA Executive Director)

The meeting was conducted in two parts, the first an open meeting listed in the program as part of the Sixth National Meeting of LASA entitled "LASA and the Regional Area Studies Groups: Problems and Prospects".

The morning session was convened at 9:30 by the Committee Secretary, Kenneth J. Grieb, who presided in the absence of Committee Chairperson, Phil Johnson. Professor Grieb opened the meeting by outlining the purposes, structure, and operation of the Regional Liaison Committee, and indicating the accomplishments and problems encountered in enhancing interaction between the regional associations and LASA. Several other committee members also commented on this subject.

Professor Grieb then turned the floor over to Felicity Trueblood, Executive Director of LASA, who formally presented, on behalf of the Executive Council, the following proposal prepared by the LASA Ways and Means Committee entitled "Draft Proposal: Joint Regional-LASA Membership Category for Individuals".

March 16, 1976

Dear Member of the Regional Liaison Committee:

The Executive Council of the Latin American Studies Association has requested me to ask you to include the enclosed item on the agenda of your Thursday morning meeting, March 25th, at the Sixth National Meeting in Atlanta, Atlanta American Motor Hotel. The RLC meeting is scheduled for 9 a.m. in the Augusta Room.

This is simply a draft proposal for discussion purposes and we shall be most interested in your reaction, advice, and suggestions. I plan to attend the meeting, barring anything unforeseen.

Looking forward to seeing you in Atlanta,

Best wishes,

/s/Felicity Trueblood

DRAFT PROPOSAL
JOINT REGIONAL-LASA MEMBERSHIP CATEGORY FOR INDIVIDUALS

At its January, 1976, meeting, the LASA Ways and Means Committee of the Executive Council discussed the desirability of establishing closer relations with the regional associations of Latin American Studies and recommended the plan outlined below for the consideration of the LASA Executive Council. The Council subsequently approved the draft proposal in principle, pending discussion with the regional associations and working-out of financial and administrative details. The major features of the proposal conform to the conclusions and recommendations of the Regional Liaison Committee.*

1. It is proposed that the Council invite the regional associations to enter into a compact of affiliation with LASA. Each regional association would be free to accept or reject the offer, regardless of what action might be taken by any other regional association.
2. Under the terms of the compact, all members of the compacting regional association would have the option of becoming members of LASA, receiving all benefits of membership such as publications, voting rights, etc. All members of LASA would in turn have the option of becoming full-fledged members of the regional association already existing in the geographic area in which they reside--providing that the regional association in that area has entered into a compact of affiliation. Such optional affiliation would not cost a member any additional dues.
3. Compacting regional associations would continue to operate as before, with their own officers and with complete autonomy to conduct their meetings and programs of activities. LASA would also retain its own organizational integrity.
4. Compacting regional associations would suffer no loss of dues revenues from the new arrangement. On the contrary, they would stand to gain financially. Each regional association would continue to collect exactly the same amount of dues as it does at present, from all members who do not exercise the option of joint regional-LASA membership. For each member who does exercise the option, the regional association would collect the amount shown in the LASA dues schedule, but for each joint member the regional association would retain in its treasury the amount corresponding to regional-only membership, transmitting the remaining amount to the LASA Secretariat together with the name, address, etc., of the indi-

*Minutes, Regional Liaison Committee Meeting of June 7-8, 1975. See Vol. VI, No. 4, LASA Newsletter (December 1975), page 36.

vidual concerned. If this proves infeasible or unworkable, the process could be reversed, with the LASA Secretariat collecting and administering dues and remitting to the regional associations.

5. A simple calculation follows based on LASA membership dues of \$18,00:

Let \$3 represent the average annual dues paid by individual members of regional associations. LASA would rebate \$3 to the compacting regional associations for each of LASA's present 1500 individual members, thus reducing LASA's receipts by the amount of \$4,500

On the other hand, the regional associations would remit \$15 to LASA for each of their 500 individual members who opt for joint membership, thus augmenting LASA's receipts by 7,500

This would result in a net gain for LASA of 3,000

and would result in a net gain for the regional associations of 4,500

This plan has already been operating with success in some other organizations. It would be initiated on an experimental basis for a three-year trial period, after which it could be evaluated and, if judged worthwhile by all parties concerned, could be made permanent.

Professor Trueblood explained the origin of the proposal, emphasizing that it was simply a suggestion offered by the Ways and Means Committee for the consideration of the Regional Liaison Committee and which could be reformulated in accordance with the committee's reaction. Professor Trueblood indicated that LASA had desired to make a formal proposal in an effort to stimulate the development of closer ties between the regional associations and the national organization, but did not wish to limit the discussion to any particular phraseology. Indicating that, in the view of the Ways and Means Committee, the proposal could preserve regional autonomy while promoting membership in both the national and regional associations, she cited the example of the Asian Studies Association, which has "semi-autonomous regional councils". Professor Trueblood emphasized that LASA could, for example, stimulate regional workshops, utilizing its tax-exempt status, without violating regional autonomy, but wished to do so in cooperation with the regional associations. She noted that LASA could lose money through this dues collection arrangement, but was willing to try it on an experimental basis to find out if such an arrangement would promote membership in both the national and the regional associations. Professor Trueblood indicated that the LASA Executive Council had approved this proposal in principle. She added that due to the great demands upon LASA by its various committees, a reduction in funding for the Regional Liaison Committee would eventually prove necessary, and noted that the LASA Executive Council had authorized funding for

the committee for this meeting, in the expectation that there would be some definite action on the LASA proposal.

Professor Stevens also spoke in behalf of the LASA Proposal, citing the example of the Women's Caucus for Political Science, an autonomous group functioning within the American Political Science Association, with regional groups of its own, and emphasized that the LASA proposal was designed to enable the single joint dues payment to be collected either by the national organization or by the appropriate regional association.

An extensive discussion followed, focusing upon the proposal, but ranging widely over various aspects of relations between LASA and the regional associations, and funding for the Regional Liaison Committee. The interchange involved members of the audience as well as the committee.

The subject of joint programming and cooperation in conference programs was discussed, with Professors Burns and Grieb citing scheduling conflicts between previous LASA meetings and regional association meetings. It was noted that procedures had been developed to eliminate this difficulty. Professor Riley added that the regional associations would be interested in greater participation in LASA programs, and proposed that LASA assign a segment of the program at the national meeting to appropriate regional associations in the areas in which the national meeting was conducted. He noted previous participation by the NCCLA at the Madison National Meeting. Professor Trueblood cited SECOLAS participation through co-hosting the cocktail party at the current meeting in Atlanta. It was generally agreed that participation by the regional associations at the national meeting would be a fruitful area for continued cooperation. Professor Burns noted the recent appearances by the Editor of LARR at the various regional meetings as an example of improved interchange, and Professor Grieb added that the recent publication of the histories of several regional associations in LARR also constituted a significant step.

Discussion returned to the specifics of the dues-collection proposal from LASA. Professor Criscenti noted that pragmatic questions were involved, due to the differing nature of regional memberships, which often had a large student component. Professor Riley added that the regional memberships were composed primarily of individuals involved in undergraduate and high school teaching, rather than individuals from graduate teaching centers. He noted that while this might pose some practical difficulties, it meant that both the national and regional associations could benefit by mutual exchange, due to their different constituencies. For example, the regional associations have much higher membership among high school teachers. Professor Grieb noted the importance of boiling the proposal down to its essence, because of sensitivities among some of the regional associations, emphasizing the practical aspects. Several members agreed. Professor Grieb

suggested that the Committee respond with its own formal proposal, to be directed both to the regional associations and the LASA Executive Council.

After extensive discussion of this subject, Professor Hayes moved that: The Regional Liaison Committee approve the concept of a mutual dues check off plan and prepare such a plan for consideration by the regional associations and the LASA Executive Council. The motion, seconded by Professor Harkess, passed unanimously. After further discussion with the audience regarding the various aspects of the subjects, the committee agreed to reconvene that afternoon to continue its discussion. The session adjourned at 11:20 a.m.

The committee reconvened at 2:45 p.m. Professor Grieb again presided. Professors Harkess and Trueblood were unable to join in the afternoon meeting. Proceeding with its regular agenda, the committee turned first to the minutes of the June meeting, which were approved as submitted. Professor Bernstein, reporting for the Finance Sub-Committee established at the June meeting, indicated that the progress to date had been limited and that efforts at feeling out the various foundations regarding their willingness to provide funding for the Regional Liaison Committee would be continued.

Professor Grieb called attention to the previous discussions at the June meeting, regarding a committee proposal to the regional associations requesting them to contribute to the funding of the committee meetings, by partially financing the attendance of their own representatives, a measure which would compensate for the reduction of the LASA financial commitment. He noted that whereas in the past LASA had fully funded all committee meetings, it seemed logical for both LASA and the regional associations to make a contribution to the committee's cost, since both benefit from it. He added that, in view of the indications of reduced funding from LASA, such a contribution was essential, both to the committee's continuation and to the prospect of any future funding from LASA. Extensive discussion followed, regarding the amount of commitment desired from regional associations. It was generally agreed that funds provided by the regional associations should be utilized by their representatives at the committee. Since the committee normally meets once between LASA sessions, it was noted that the financing required was for one meeting every one and a half years. A contribution of \$150 for each meeting from each regional association was deemed sufficient. It was decided, however, to state the matter in annual terms for budgetary purposes. It was also noted that since most of the regional associations met on an annual basis, an entire year would be consumed before they were all able to act on the proposal for committing funds to the committee, and consequently the continued functioning of the committee in the interim would require full LASA funding.

Professor Burns moved, seconded by Professor Riley, that the Regional Liaison Committee request each regional association to allocate \$100 per year to cover part of the expenses of sending their representative to the Regional Liaison Committee meeting. The motion was passed unanimously. Professor Riley moved that the Regional Liaison Committee request LASA to fully fund one more meeting of the committee with the understanding that future meetings beyond that would be funded jointly by the regional associations and LASA through the previously approved plan. Professor Criscenti seconded the motion which was passed unanimously.

The Committee then turned to consideration of the LASA Draft Proposal for a Joint Regional-LASA Membership Category for Individuals, which had been partially discussed that morning. Extensive discussion followed regarding the practicality of the administrative aspects involved, the need for additional record keeping, the frequency and means for remitting the money involved, and the advisability of collecting money at the national or regional level. Professor Stevens emphasized the potential benefits through possible membership increase at both levels, noting that area studies need a voice at both a national and regional level. She added that the LASA Executive Council proposed to adopt this joint arrangement on a two to three year trial basis, to see how well it would work before agreeing to a longer term commitment. She suggested that the LASA membership form would contain a blank allowing the individual to affiliate simultaneously with the regional association and pay both dues together. During the course of the discussion it was noted that the LASA proposal assumed a set amount of dues for regional associations, while in fact the dues varied widely from one association to another. It was noted that the implications of such a pact would involve commitment on the part of the regional associations not to raise their dues during the length of the pact, since doing so would diminish the share of the payment going to LASA.

After extensive discussion it was agreed that the most feasible arrangement was to formulate a proposal encompassing the procedural aspects of the LASA plan, but avoiding any formal affiliation between the associations, allowing the committee to agree in principle upon a formula to be presented to the membership of the various regional associations during their next cycle of annual meetings and to LASA Executive Council, while leaving the secretary-treasurers of the respective groups to work out the mechanism for such administrative and financial arrangements with each other and with the LASA Secretariat after the proposal has been approved in principle.

Professors Grieb and Criscenti formulated the following resolution: The Regional Liaison Committee feels that cooperation between the regional associations and LASA is in the best interest of all groups to promote Latin American Studies at both the national and regional levels. Therefore the Regional Liaison

Committee approves a plan for a single payment for dues in both a regional and the national organization, at the current cost of the national association dues, where members agree to belong to both associations. One of the organizations, either the national or the regional, will collect the dues for both. Three dollars of this payment will go to the regional association, and fifteen dollars to the national association. This proposal will be implemented for a period of two years with the initial date to be established after it has been considered by the associations involved. Professor Criscenti moved the adoption of this motion, seconded by Professor Grieb. The motion passed unanimously. At this point Professor Stevens left the meeting.

The Committee then turned to the question of cooperation among the regional associations. Professor Grieb opened the question by reporting on the Regional News Column, noting that the Column was operating on schedule, issuing twice a year in November and in March, and that the fifth column had been mailed immediately before the meeting. The Committee next turned to the question of the selection of the representatives by the regional organizations to the committee. Previous discussion of this subject was noted, and after extensive discussion the committee members agreed to reiterate their recommendation to their respective associations that each regional association formalize its procedure for appointing a representative to the Regional Liaison Committee for a fixed term, preferably a term of two or three years to allow continuity on the committee. All members agreed to report back to their respective associations.

Due to the strictures of time, Professor Grieb suggested that each representative provide him with written information regarding forthcoming plans of their association, as well as any additional information available regarding previous activities already reported in the Regional News Column. This procedure allowed the committee to dispense with oral reports by each of the representatives regarding the activities of their associations. The committee agreed to this procedure.

Turning to the question of the next meeting, the members generally agreed that the committee should continue its previous pattern of meeting once between each LASA national meeting, and that April or May of 1977 would be the most appropriate time for the next meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 4:00 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/Kenneth J. Grieb, Secretary
LASA Regional Liaison Committee

WORKSHOP ON RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA
Yale University, May 1st and 2nd, 1976

On May 1st and 2nd a workshop on Religion in Contemporary Latin America was held at Yale University with supporting grants from the Latin American Studies Association* and the respective Latin American Studies programs of Yale and the University of Connecticut. Twenty-one scholars participated, representing the disciplines of political science (11), sociology (4), religion (3), history (2) and anthropology (1).

Various panels held at Yale, Notre Dame and at annual meetings of LASA and the New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS) over the past few years have indicated the need for more ongoing contact among those researching this topic in order to share recent empirical findings and offer mutual support and critique for one another's work.

The purpose of the recent workshop at Yale was to give an opportunity to those who have recently returned from the field or who have been exploring new conceptual or methodological approaches to come together for serious exchange of ideas, but without the pressure to present formal papers.

The two-day workshop included four panel discussions focusing on the following issues:

- 1) The role of the churches in contemporary Latin American authoritarian regimes.
- 2) The parameters of the churches' contributions to social change.
- 3) The relationship between formal church structures and various currents of popular religion.
- 4) Possibilities for collaborative research and more structured ongoing exchange among those doing research.

The conversations identified several key issues which need more attention in future research designs, including the international linkages of the churches in Latin America, the new ecclesiastical structures developing at local levels and their implications for church and societal development, the growing importance of women in decision-making positions in Latin American churches, comparative analysis of attitudes and behavior of church elites across national boundaries, and new conceptual approaches for analyzing the relationship between pastoral and political roles of ecclesiastical structures and programs.

In order to facilitate more communication and ongoing critique of one another's work, the group decided to form a secretariat to coordinate information and plan future meetings. Brian Smith will serve as secretary for the group for the coming year. He is Staff Associate of the Woodstock Theological Center, 1322 36th Street, Washington, D.C. 20007

*This was one of the three LASA/CLASP Professional Workshops funded for 1976-1977.

PEDAGOGY

NEW LATIN AMERICAN COURSES AT PITTSBURGH

Several new courses on Latin America are scheduled for the fall term, 1976-77. Of particular interest to undergraduates is an introductory, multidisciplinary course especially designed to acquaint them with our neighbor, Latin America: The Evolution of a Civilization. It will be taught by Professor Murdo MacLeod, history, and will include presentations by Latin Americanists from other departments.

An interdisciplinary seminar, Cuba in the World, combines graduate and upper-level undergraduate courses in economics and political science. It will deal with Cuba's international economic relations, the Soviet role in Cuba, the prospects for U.S.-Cuban rapprochement, and Cuba's role in world revolutions (such as Angola) and in international organizations. Professors Cole Blasier, political science, and Carmelo Mesa-Lago, economics, are teaching the course. Participants will also take part in the international conference, "Cuba's Role in World Affairs," November 15-17, 1976, to which leading authorities are being invited from the United States, Latin America, and socialist countries.

Ms. Mary Anne Critz, Hispanic languages and literatures, is offering a course on Contemporary Brazilian Fiction. Students will read and discuss six major novels and a selection of short stories in an effort to probe Brazil's self-image as a unique product of colonialism, miscegenation, religious syncretism, immigration, and industrialization.

Mayan Language and Culture, taught by Professor Terry Kaufman, anthropology and linguistics, introduces the Mayan languages and culture in the context of Mesoamerica. Students will read and translate folklore and ethnographic texts in two Mayan languages, analyzing them for linguistic and cultural content, as well as reading articles on Mayaland and associated areas.

THE PROFESSION

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN POLAND

Latin American studies in Poland (mainly on an individual basis) have started around 1955, following the previous re-introduction of the Spanish language at major Polish universities, to which a Portuguese chair at the University of Warsaw was added a few years ago. These studies are mostly concentrated in Latin American ethnology, history, and political science. Perhaps the most thriving are the periodic ethnological symposia held at Mikiewicz University of Poznan. The Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) in Warsaw began in 1972 the publication of a yearbook, Estudios Latinoamericanos, which contains research articles in Spanish and Portuguese written by Polish Latin Americanists. Some years ago a Workshop in Latin American and African History was established and attached to the aforementioned Institute of History.

The increased interest in Latin American affairs in Poland may be linked to a considerable number of Polish translations of novels and other books from Spanish and Portuguese, which by 1973 numbered over 150 items. Special attention is paid to Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Peru, and Mexico, and also to agrarian and revolutionary movements in Latin America, presented from the viewpoint of Marxist ideology. Numerically more extensive are comments on Latin American current political, cultural, and social events, as well as impressions of Polish travelers, which in the span of ten years total more than 800 articles and essays in Polish periodicals (see: John Sarnacki, HLAS, Vol. 36). The participation of Polish scholars at International Congresses of Americanists is, however, almost imperceptible.

--Edmund Stephen Urbanski
Inter-American Council
Washington, D.C.

NOTES & NEWS

cuban studies estudios cubanos

Scholarly Multidisciplinary Journal Devoted to Cuba

Volume 6 (January and July 1976) is devoted to:
Cuba: The Institutionalization of the Revolution

Number 1 contains articles by Nelson P. Valdés, "Revolution and Institutionalization in Cuba"; Jorge I. Domínguez, "Institutionalization and Civil-Military Relations"; and Irving Louis Horowitz, "Authenticity and Autonomy in the Cuban Experience."

Number 2 will include articles by Leonel A. de la Cuesta on the new Constitution, Edward Gonzalez on the Party Congress, and Marifeli Pérez-Stable on the unions.

Both issues contain a classified bibliography of recent publications, annotations of new books, and an inventory of current research.

Past issues have included articles on "Cuba: The Cybernetic Era" by Ramón C. Barquín and "Cubans in the U.S.: A Survey of the Literature" by Lourdes Casal and Andrés R. Hernández, as well as special bibliographies on

Cuban Women in the 20th Century
The Works of Fidel Castro
Cuban Creative Literature
U.S. Doctoral Dissertations on Cuba
Cuban Periodicals

Published biannually by the Center for Latin American Studies, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh. Annual subscription rates are \$4.00 for individuals and \$10.00 for institutions. Back issues are available at \$2.50 for individuals and \$5.50 for institutions. Address inquiries to: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 216 Mervis Hall, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260, USA.

AREA STUDIES AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE GROUP ON MODERN PORTUGAL

The ICGMP was founded in 1972 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and is now based at the University of New Hampshire. The goals of the group are to encourage research and teaching in the fields of Portuguese and Portuguese-speaking African studies, to aid in the exchange of information among scholars interested in these areas and in other areas of the world that have been influenced by the Portuguese language and culture. The ICGMP welcomes both individual and institutional memberships. Dues are \$3.00 for individuals and \$5.00 for institutions. The annual dues include subscriptions to the Portuguese Studies Newsletter, which began publication in the spring of 1976. All correspondence should be directed to Professor Douglas I. Wheeler, Co-Chairman ICGMP, Department of History, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824

SALALM SECRETARIAT

The XII annual meeting of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) was held at Indiana University, May 2-6, 1976. At the meeting, the Executive Board of SALALM voted to accept the offer of the University of Texas at Austin to house the SALALM Secretariat for the next three years.

SALALM was organized in 1956 to serve as a clearinghouse for information relating to the acquisition of library materials from Latin American countries. It continues to broaden the scope of its activities and provides a unique service in gathering and disseminating information on a wide variety of subjects of interest to librarians and scholars concerned with Latin American studies. For many years the Secretariat was located at the Organization of American States in Washington, D.C., under the leadership of Marietta D. Shepard. In 1973, the Secretariat was moved to the University of Massachusetts, where Dr. Pauline Collins assumed the post of Executive Secretary.

When the Secretariat is transferred to the University of Texas at Austin in July, 1976, it will be housed in the Benson Latin American Collection. Lou Wetherbee, Latin American Bibliographic Control Librarian of the General Libraries, will begin a three year term as Executive Secretary. The address of the Secretariat, effective July 1, 1976, will be: SALALM Secretariat, Benson Latin American Collection, The General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, Texas 78712.

SOCIETY FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES
GREAT BRITAIN

The Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS) has fixed the dates of the 1977 Annual Conference for April 1-3, 1977, at the University of York. Papers will be given in history, economics, politics, sociology, geography and literature. Anyone who might wish to offer a paper is welcome to do so. For further information write to the Secretary, Rory M. Miller, School of History, University of Liverpool, Liverpool L69 3BX, England.

SLAS's Bulletin has now appeared in a new format. Each issue will contain articles focused on a theme of immediate relevance to Latin Americanists. There will be two issues a year, and these can be obtained for an annual subscription of £3.00 (\$6.00). The first issue came out in April, 1976, on the theme of "The Brazilian Economic Miracle", and included articles by Werner Baer, John Wells, John Humphries, and Helga Hoffman. The next issue (October 1976) will be on "Society in the Late Colonial Period", and will feature papers by David Brading, David Browning and David Robinson, Catherine Coleman, and Keith Peachey. The April 1977 issue will focus on the "Military in Latin America", with articles by George Philip, Laurance Whitehead, and David Corkill.

The Bulletin can be used to disseminate news about conferences and other activities. Any such information should be sent to Jaime Reis, SLAS Editor, Department of Economic History, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QH. Subscriptions should be addressed to Susan Baron, SLAS Business Manager, Department of Hispanic Studies, Ealing Technical College, St. Mary's Road, Ealing, London, W.5.

CONFERENCES

UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA DE BARCELONA

The Grupo de Estudios Latinoamericanos sponsored an international colloquium on authoritarianism April 8-9, 1976, at the Bellaterra campus of UAB. The theme of the colloquium was "Social Structures and Authoritarian Regimes" with papers focusing on the cases of Spain and Latin America (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Mexico). The papers will be published in a special issue of Papers, the journal of the UAB's sociology department, later this year. For further information, write to Grupo de Estudios Latino Americanos, Universidad Aut6noma de Barcelona, Depto. de Sociologia, Bellaterra, Barcelona, Spain.

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION
COUNCIL ON HIGHER EDUCATION IN
THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS (CHEAR)

IIE convened the Eighteenth Annual CHEAR Conference in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, from March 21-25, 1976. The conference discussions focused on three separate but interrelated aspects of higher education in the hemisphere: the relevance of the university and its activities to society's problems; policies concerning access to institutions of higher education; and new development of the management and administration of universities. Funding for the conference was provided by the Tinker Foundation of New York whose president, Miss Martha T. Muse, was a participant. Supplemental funding was granted by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Government of Brazil which was represented by Dr. Edson Machado, the director of the division of higher education in the Ministry. The Federal University of Minas Gerais served as a local host for the conference and conference sessions were held in the main administrative building of the university.

Forty educators participated in the conference including university presidents from Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru and Brazil, and the presidents of the following United States universities: Wisconsin, Rhode Island, Penn. State, Northwestern and Rochester. There were in addition representatives from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Ford Foundation, and the Inter-American Development Bank. As host country Brazil had a strong delegation comprising university presidents, officials from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Planning, and the presidents of the Chardas and the Pinheiro Foundations.

As in previous CHEAR conferences, the Belo meeting provided a vehicle for a useful and productive exchange of views among the participants and served as a catalyst for the development of cooperative projects between some of the universities represented.

MEDGAR EVERS COLLEGE OF THE
CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

A Symposium on Afro-Hispanic Literature, jointly sponsored by the Medgar Evers College of the City University of New York and the Center for Inter-American Relations, was held at the Center on Friday, June 18, 1976. The Symposium was coordinated by Clementine Rabassa and Gladys Seda-Rodríguez of the Humanities Division of Medgar Evers College. Attending the Symposium were students and faculty representing the social sciences in addition to those interested in Afro-Hispanic and Afro-Brazilian literature.

Speakers and their topics were: Wilfred Carey (City College, CUNY), "Afro-Hispanic Literature within the Context of Third World Literature"; Martha Cobb (Howard University), "Black Literature in the Americas--A Comparative Approach"; Earl Fitz (Graduate Center, CUNY), "The Black Poetry of Jorge de Lima and Nicolás Guillén"; Constance García-Barrio (Haverford College), "Blacks in Literature About the Rosas Era"; Richard Jackson (Carleton University), "Racial Identity and the Terminology of Literary Blackness"; Clementine Rabassa (Medgar Evers College, CUNY), "Aguilera-Malta's Black Theatre and Nègritude"; Miriam DeCosta Willis (Howard University), "Arozarena's Black Song"; and Ann Venture Young (Morgan State University), "The Black Woman in Afro-Caribbean Poetry." English translations of excerpts from the works of Jorge de Lima and Demetrio Aguilera-Malta were read by Elizabeth Lowe and Gregory Rabassa (Queens College, CUNY). The proceedings of the Symposium will be published as the first issue of Studies in Afro-Hispanic Literature, journal of the American Society for Afro-Hispanic Literature.

The speakers and audience continued their discussions during the Center's reception which followed the afternoon session. The manifest enthusiasm of scholars and students from various parts of America called for a repeat of the event in June of 1977. Queries and suggestions regarding participation and topics for the Second Symposium, or requests for information about membership in the Society should be directed to Dr. Clementine Rabassa, Medgar Evers College, 1150 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, New York 11225.

STATE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, POTSDAM; NEW YORK

"Latin America: Problems and Prospects" was the theme of the 19th Annual Social Studies Conference held August 15-20, 1976, under the sponsorship of the New York State Council for the Social Studies, The New York State Education Department, State University College at Potsdam, and the U.S. Department of State. The conference sessions dealt with various topics involving relations between selected Latin American countries and the U.S. Teaching about Latin America was the subject of several sessions with representatives from both U.S. and Latin American institutions. Teachers had an opportunity to become acquainted with current materials on the teaching of Latin America as well as to gain new insights and information regarding recent developments in U.S. relations with Latin America. Additional information may be obtained by writing to Dr. Victor Minotti, Director, Conference on Latin America, State University College, Potsdam, New York 13676.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-AUSTIN

The Public Sector Studies Group, an interdisciplinary committee of UT faculty in the Institute of Latin American Studies (ILAS), recently sponsored a workshop on the public sector in Latin America. Bringing together 38 scholars and specialists from the U.S., Latin America, Canada, and Europe, the workshop met April 28-May 1, 1976 in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library to discuss "Implementation in Latin America's Public Sector: Translating Policy into Reality."

The workshop was designed not only to open up new interdisciplinary dialogue on the public sector in diverse national settings, but also to inaugurate a new research and teaching concentration within ILAS's current program. Beginning in July, 1976, ILAS will publish the first of a series of Technical Papers on the public sector. Initially these will include papers from the workshop. For further information contact: Lawrence S. Graham, Associate Director, ILAS, Sid W. Richardson Hall, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

On April 16-17, 1976, a major conference on contemporary Portugal was held at the University of Toronto. This meeting was sponsored by the Canada Council, the International Studies Programme of the University of Toronto, and by the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal. The chief organizer of this meeting was Professor David L. Raby, Department of History, University of Toronto, with assistance from Professor Harry Makler, University of Toronto.

The official conference title was "The Crisis in Portugal: Political, Social and Economic Aspects of the MFA Revolution." Among those attending were scholars and students from Canada, the U.S., France, Portugal and Brazil.

The discussions and the papers as presented orally were taped under the auspices of the conference organizers. At the conclusion of this valuable meeting, a brief business meeting of the International Conference Group on Modern Portugal decided to pursue several goals in the near future: 1) arrange for a publisher to publish in Portuguese a selection of papers on Portugal from meetings, including the 1976 Toronto, the 1975 Yale and 1973 Durham meetings; 2) to seek a publisher for an American volume under the editorship of two ICGMP members: Professors Harry Makler (Toronto) and Lawrence Graham (U. of Texas); 3) to investigate possibilities of holding another international meeting on Portugal, possibly in Portugal itself, in the future; 4) compile for interested scholars a bibliography on Portugal.

For further information, contact Dr. Douglas Wheeler, Depart-

ment of History, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire 03824.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE

The comparative conference on "Women and Development", sponsored by the African Studies Association, the Association for Asian Studies, LASA, and the Center for Research on Women (Wellesley) was held June 2-6, (See Newsletter, 7:1, March, 1976, p. 54). Panels and plenary sessions dealt with the following topics: Perspectives on Women and Development; Rural Women: Power, Status and Self-perception; Changing Roles of Women in the Structure of Production; Political Participation; Rural Women: Economic Activity; Impact of Religious Ideology on Sex Roles; Impact of Changing Women's Roles on Family Structure and Family Dynamics; Regime Strategies Toward Women in Relation to Development Goals, Methodology and Migration; Informal Associations Among Women; Law as an Instrument of Social Change; Women's Associations in the Public Sphere; Historical Study of Women and Family in Development; Protest Movements; Legal Status of Women: The View from Below; Women in Urban Occupations; Fertility Decision-Making; Implications for Development Policy; Looking Ahead: Research and Action on Women and Development. For further details: Catherine Muther, Conference Co-Ordinator, Center for Research on Women, 828 Washington Street, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181.

EMPLOYMENT

PEACE CORPS

The Peace Corps is looking for people with expertise in agriculture, home economics, nursing, civil engineering, forestry, chemistry, physics, or math for service in Latin America and other Third World Areas. College graduates who are U.S. citizens and in good health can volunteer for two year service. They will receive a living allowance, transportation, medical care, and a readjustment allowance at the end of service.

For additional information write: The Peace Corps, 806 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20525.

RAMAPO COLLEGE

The following positions in the School of Social Relations are open for either fall or spring appointments, 1976-77:

1. Assistant Professor of Women's Studies:

Teaching courses with an interdisciplinary approach in the field of women's studies. Candidates may have specialized aca-

demographic training in sociology, anthropology, history (U.S. or European), psychology, or a related field. Advise women students and work with Ramapo Women's Center and community groups. Minimum educational experience is A.B.D.; Ph.D. preferred. Experience working with women's or community groups is desirable.

2. Assistant Professor of Sociology (Third World Studies):

Teaching courses in the relationship between forms of culture, especially literature, and social structure. Substantive focus in Latin American literature and culture, including Puerto Ricans and Chicanos in the U.S. Ability to do research and field work with students in minority communities. Minimum educational experience is A.B.D.; Ph.D. preferred.

Third World candidates and women are urged to apply. Send resumes to: Philip J. McLewin, Director, School of Social Relations, Ramapo College of New Jersey, Mahwah, New Jersey 07430.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Social Science Research Council has announced the application dates for the fellowships and grants that it will offer for foreign area research in 1976-77. The awards--which are described below--are for the year 1977-78. Persons interested in applying for any of these fellowships or grants should write to the Council for its new fellowship and grants brochure, which will be ready for mailing in early August, 1976. Applications must be submitted on forms provided by the Council.

Fellowships for International Doctoral Research are sponsored jointly by the Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Applicants must be graduate students in the social sciences or the humanities who have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. except the dissertation at the time the fellowship begins.

These fellowships are for doctoral dissertation research to be carried out in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Near and Middle East, or Western Europe. The Latin America and Caribbean Program encourages research on problems of national development and in disciplines where few applications have been received in the past. These include literature, drama, art history, social psychology, sociology, and economics. Under special circumstances, consideration will be given to comparative projects involving Latin America or the Caribbean and other areas of the world. Recipients of fellowships are required to affiliate with a university, research institute, or other appropriate institution in the country where they will be conduct-

ing research. Applications for all areas are due on November 1, 1976.

Postdoctoral Grants for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean are offered to social scientists and humanists of any country for research related to cultural, economic, political, social, or scientific development in Latin America or the Caribbean area in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. While research proposals on any topic are eligible for support, proposals relating to the following general subjects will be especially welcome: 1) the various roles of the state; 2) the labor force; 3) literature, ideology, and society; 4) social and cultural history; 5) Latin America or the Caribbean area within the international political-economic system.

Research proposals relevant to more than one area or country in Latin America or the Caribbean or involving a Latin and a non-Latin country will also be welcome. Latin American scholars may present proposals for research in their own country or abroad, as appropriate.

There are no citizenship requirements. Canadian and United States scholars must hold the Ph.D. at the time of application. Other applicants ordinarily should have an academic degree, acceptable for a university career or other professional appointment.

Grants typically are made for 3 to 12 months to assist scholars to devote all or a major part of their time to their own research. This usually involves partial or full-time leave from a university or other organization. Other proposed arrangements for allocating research time will be considered, provided they include the commitment of at least three months of the applicant's own time.

The grants vary in amount according to project requirements. Limited funds are provided for maintenance, research, and travel expenses. Because of funding limitations, applicants should not expect to receive full funding if the cost of their project exceeds \$10,000. In all cases, applicants are encouraged to seek additional support from other sources.

These grants are not offered for writing doctoral dissertations or to support a research program of an institute.

Applications may be submitted on English, Portuguese, or Spanish language forms.

The deadline for the receipt of applications for postdoctoral grants is December 3, 1976.

Latin American Collaborative Research Grants are offered jointly to two scholars of approximately equal scholarly maturity in the social sciences or the humanities who wish to collaborate on a research project dealing with nineteenth- or twentieth-century Latin American or Caribbean cultures, societies, or institutions.

One of the collaborators must be working in and be a citizen of a Latin American or Caribbean country. The other collaborator

tor must be a citizen of another country within or outside Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Social Science Research Council, incorporated in 1924, is a nonprofit organization of scholars devoted to the advancement of research in the social sciences. The fellowship and grants programs described in this announcement are made possible by funds provided to the Council by the Ford Foundation.

For further information write to: Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

FOREIGN SCHOLARS IN RESIDENCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Lic. Guillermo Díaz Romeu, Professor of Anthropology and History at the University of San Carlos, Guatemala, was a visiting Fulbright scholar at the University of Alabama for the summer of 1976, sponsored by the Alabama Consortium for the Development of Higher Education (ACDHE). Professor Díaz taught a graduate seminar in Latin American history and delivered special lectures in a number of other classes. He visited each of the ACDHE schools and gave a special program before the Birmingham-Coban chapter of the Alabama-Guatemala Partners.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

Visiting Foreign Faculty and Scholars, 1976-77

Enrique Kirberg, former Rector of the Universidad Técnica del Estado, Santiago, Chile, and Senior Research Associate in the Institute of Latin American Studies (1975-76 and 1976-77), will be giving a course with Peter Mook (Economics, Teachers College) on the role of universities in developing countries (especially Latin America and Africa).

Professor Luciano Martins, Brazilian political economist from the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, has been appointed Edward Larocque Tinker Visiting Professor for the spring term. He will give a course on multinational corporations in Latin America and a seminar on the state and Latin American authoritarian regimes.

Professor Milton Santos, a Brazilian geographer of the University of Paris (Sorbonne), has been appointed Edward Larocque Tinker Visiting Professor for the academic year. He will give courses on Latin American urbanization and patterns of poverty and modernization in Latin America. He will conduct seminars in new trends in spatial organization of Latin America and the

third world urbanization problems.

Professor Saul Yurkievich of the University of Paris (Vincennes) has been appointed Visiting Professor of Latin American Literature for the autumn term. He will give courses on modernism in Spanish American literature and Nicanor Parra and the anti-poem.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

INSTITUTO INTERNACIONAL DE LITERATURA IBEROAMERICANA

The 18th Congress of the IILI, sponsored by the University of Florida Center for Latin American Studies and the Department of Romance Languages, will be held in Gainesville, March 27-April 1, 1977. The theme of the congress will be "Modernism in Spain and Spanish America". The topics selected for some sessions are "Modernism and Modernity", "The Modernist Novel", "Modernism and Vanguardism", "Modernist Criticism", "Modernism and the Essay", "Social Function of Modernist Literature", "Rubén Darío", and "José Martí".

Those who wish to present papers on these or related topics should contact the Institute's President, Dr. Ivan Schulman, Box 314 Grinter Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611. The deadline for submitting manuscripts is December 15, 1976.

NINTH MIDWEST FILM CONFERENCE

The 9th Midwest Film Conference will be held in Chicago, February 18-20, 1977. Once again, there will be four simultaneous programs. Bert Haanstra, maker of the film GLAS, will be a featured speaker. For further information write to the Midwest Film Conference, Inc., 2550 Green Bay Road, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

An international conference on "Cuba's Role in World Affairs" will be held on the University of Pittsburgh campus, November 15-17, 1976. Sessions will deal with Cuba's political, economic, and cultural activities particularly as they affect other nations. Specialists on Cuba from various academic disciplines will present papers. Policy makers and business people from the United States, Latin America, and socialist countries will also participate. The conference is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. For further information contact the Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh,

216 Mervis Hall, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260.

INSTITUTIONAL

ARTHUR D. LITTLE MANAGEMENT EDUCATION INSTITUTE

The A.D. Little Management Education Institute, now entering its 13th year of management training, offers a program leading to the Master of Science in Management, which is especially designed for training managers in the public and private sectors of developing economies, with emphasis on agro-industrial and industrial development. The program is open to professionals in government, private industry, and multinational organizations, or to people planning careers in these fields. Applicants should have the bachelors degree, but this requirement may be waived in cases where a candidate has several years of strong administrative or managerial experience. For further information contact: Ms. Sandra Cheney, Admissions Director, Arthur D. Little Management Education Institute, Acorn Park, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140.

DIVISION OF OVERSEAS MINISTRIES

The Division of Overseas Ministries of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in the United States and Canada has announced that Ms. Ann Douglas, former executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), will become executive secretary of DOM's Department of Latin America and the Caribbean on September 1, 1976. Dr. William J. Nottingham, the former executive secretary, became head of DOM's Department of East Asia on July 1, 1976.

INTER AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUERTO RICO

In the summer of 1977, the Inter American Institute will repeat a series of study courses on Caribbean topics to be held in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Barbados, the U.S. and British Virgin Islands, Antigua, St. Martin-Sint Maarten, and Guadeloupe. For further details write: Inter American Institute, El Monte Apts. B 732, Hato Rey, Puerto Rico 00918.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

The Ibero-American Language and Area Center (IALAC) has changed its name to Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies (CLACS). Prof. Juan E. Corradi continues as Director. CLACS has recently published numbers 20 and 22 of its Occasional

Papers: Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Current Theses on Latin American Development and Dependency: A Critique and Juan Carlos Torre, Un capítulo en la historia del movimiento obrero Argentino: La CGT y el 17 de octubre de 1945. These papers are available from the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, New York University, Washington Square, New York, New York 10003.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Following a term of preparatory study, nine University of Pittsburgh candidates for the Undergraduate Certificate in Latin American Studies spent May and June 1976 in Brazil. Their base location was Belo Horizonte where they lived with local families while conducting research and becoming familiar with the area. Each participant designed a research project on a specific topic that would permit comparison between Pittsburgh and Belo Horizonte. In Belo Horizonte, they sat in on some classes and lectures at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais. The University's geography department helped arrange local field trips and made library facilities and other resources available to the students.

This year's field trip to Brazil is the fifth such trip conducted under the Latin American Studies Undergraduate Certificate Program. The main purposes of these field trips are to give students facility in Spanish or Portuguese beyond that normally obtained in the classroom, to promote the awareness of another culture that comes from living with the people, to provide the experience of testing classroom materials against reality, and to introduce them to field research techniques.

Pittsburgh's Center for Latin American Studies has been awarded a total of \$105,000 in the first half of 1976. The Rockefeller Foundation, Department of State, Tinker Foundation, and Office of Education are supporting an international conference, research, and graduate students.

The Rockefeller Foundation is providing \$16,000 for an international conference on "Cuba's Role in World Affairs" to be held at Pitt November 15-17, 1976. The conference complements a research study on "The Role of Cuba in Hemispheric and World Affairs in the Second Half of the 1970's" being conducted under a Department of State contract for \$40,000. Carmelo Mesa-Lago, Director of the Center for Latin American Studies and professor of economics, is project director.

The Tinker Foundation has granted \$30,000 over three years (supplementing a University commitment of \$15,000) to provide research internships at the University of Pittsburgh for young Latin American scholars. The four-to-six Tinker Research Interns will become involved in ongoing interdisciplinary research with Pitt faculty specialists working on topics of significance

for their careers and countries. In addition, they will offer seminars or courses in their specialties and take graduate courses to improve their own research techniques.

The Office of Education awarded four NDFL Fellowships totaling \$19,000, for graduate students in Latin American language and area studies during the 1976-77 academic year. The fellows are combining specialization on Latin America with majors in history and anthropology and the study of Portuguese or Indian languages.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-AUSTIN

The Luso-Brazilian Information and Development Office (LBIDIO), part of the Institute of Latin American Studies, has completed its first year of actively trying to develop Portuguese and Brazilian studies throughout the United States. LBIDIO, under the directorship of Dr. Fred P. Ellison, is an outgrowth of UT's Brazilian Studies Committee and now serves as the committee's executive arm. Its focus is both national and local. One project is the establishment of a communication network among the main centers for Luso-Brazilian studies in the U.S. LBIDIO seeks to coordinate information about Brazil and the Portuguese language, to develop and expand such studies and to support scholarly activity in the area. Further information may be obtained by writing to Dr. Fred P. Ellison, Director, LBIDIO, Sid Richardson Hall 1.321, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

JOURNALS AND NEWSLETTERS

AMERICA LATINA

The first number (1976) of América Latina, the journal of the Instituto de América Latina of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, has appeared. Articles of particular interest deal with "Imperialismo y América Latina: nueva etapa de contradicciones económicas" and "La expansión ideológica de los EE. UU. al sur del Rio Grande". Other sections in the journal are "Encuentros, Intervius (sic)", "Arte y Literature", "Paginas de la Historia", "URSS-América Latina", "Latinoamericanistica en el Extranjero", "Busqueda y Hallazgos", and "Bibliografia."

PERONISMO AUTENTICO

An official organ of the Movimiento Peronista Auténtico, Peronismo Auténtico, is being edited in Mexico. From the address listed below, one can also order Evita Montonera, the

official journal of the Montoneros. For further information write to Julio Suárez, Director, Casilla de Correos 725, Mexico 1, D.F., Mexico.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED

CONCURSO ENSAYO SIGLO XXI

Para celebrar el 10o. aniversario de su fundación, Siglo XXI Editores, S.A., de México, y sus organizaciones paralelas Siglo XXI de España y Siglo XXI Argentina, han resuelto convocar al concurso Ensayo Siglo XXI con la finalidad de llenar el vacío creado por la falta de estímulos al estudio e investigación en el campo de las ciencias sociales. El concurso se convoca de acuerdo con las siguientes bases:

1. El tema será América Latina: Su Historia, Su Economía, Su Política. Los ensayos podrán examinar en general cualquiera de esos aspectos o analizar épocas, países, problemas o acontecimientos determinados.

2. Se otorgaran cinco premios: uno de 5,000 dólares, otro de 2,000 dólares, y tres de 1,000 dólares cada uno.

3. Podrán participar autores de cualquier nacionalidad y residencia pero los trabajos--inéditos en cualquier idioma--deberán ser presentados en lengua española.

4. Los ensayos tendrán una extensión mínima de 150 páginas de 28 líneas por 70 espacios a doble renglón y una máxima de 300, y deberán entregarse escritos a máquina, por triplicado. En ningún caso se devolverán los originales o sus copias.

5. Los ensayos se presentarán bajo seudónimo y en sobre cerrado se adjuntará el nombre completo del autor o autores y su dirección.

6. Los ensayos podrán enviarse a partir de la fecha de la convocatoria y hasta el 30 de noviembre de 1976 inclusive, de acuerdo con la fecha del sello postal, a una de las direcciones siguientes, bajo el encabezado:

Concurso Ensayo Siglo XXII

--Apartado Postal 20626
México 20, D.F., México

--Calle Perú 952
Buenos Aires, Argentina

--Calle Plaza 5
Madrid 33, España

7. El jurado será designado oportunamente por los consejos de administración de las editoriales convocantes y dará su veredicto antes del 30 de junio de 1977. La entrega de los premios se efectuará dentro los 60 días posteriores a la fecha del fallo.

8. El ensayo que obtenga el primer lugar será publicado por alguna o las tres editoriales convocantes, celebrándose un contrato de edición en el que se establecerá el pago de derechos de autor del 10% sobre las ventas del libro en liquidaciones semestrales.

9. El jurado podrá recomendar la publicación de otros trabajos presentados, hayan sido premiados o no, para los cuales las editoriales convocantes se reservan el derecho de editarlos. en los terminos normales de contratación.

10. El jurado podrá declarar desierto alguno de los premios.

11. Cualquier aclaración sobre esta convocatoria podrá ser solicitada a siglo XXI Editores, S.A., Apartado Postal 20626, México D.F.

12. Las situaciones no previstas en la presente convocatoria serán resueltas por el jurado, sin apelación posible.

SOUTHERN ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
JAMES MOONEY AWARD

The 1977 competition for the James Mooney Award for the outstanding manuscript on a New World people is now open. The Award, which is sponsored by the Southern Anthropological Society, in cooperation with the University of Tennessee Press, is \$1,000 and publication of the manuscript by the Tennessee Press. The manuscript must be previously unpublished and book length in size. The manuscript can be an account of a pre-historic, a historic, or a contemporary people; it can deal with an entire community, rural or urban, or it can focus on selected aspects, such as language, material culture, social organization, religion, etc. The author need not be an anthropologist, but the manuscript should in a general way fall within the broad outlines of anthropology. Unrevised dissertations stand little chance in winning the Award. A likely winner is a well written, exciting contribution to our knowledge of the genius of a particular New World group. The deadline for submission is December 31, 1976. Send manuscripts to Miles Richardson, Chairman, The James Mooney Award Committee, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803.

PERSONAL

ROBERT H. CLAXTON (West Georgia College) has been named Coordinator of Environmental Studies at West Georgia.

WILLIAM GLADE (Texas/Austin) recently spoke in Lima, Peru, at a celebration in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Fulbright-Hays Program in Peru. He is a member of the area advisory com-

mittee for the American republics and an associate of the Council for International Exchange of Scholars.

NORMAN HOLUB (Dowling College) has an article on Regency Politics 1830-40 in the Revista Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileira, Vol. 307. He organized Dowling's Mediterranean II Symposium at the Royal University of Malta in June, 1976, and is in the process of organizing an "Independencia do Brasil" Symposium with Prof. José Honório Rodrigues to be held at Dowling in May, 1977.

HARVEY J. KAYE recently received the Ph.D. in Latin American Studies from Louisiana State University where he held a graduate fellowship and served as an instructor at the LSU Summer School in Mexico in 1974 and 1975.

FREDERICK E. KIDDER (University of Puerto Rico), director of the Graduate School of Librarianship and Latin American bibliographer, has retired.

PETER F. KLAREN (George Washington University) has been awarded a travel-research grant from the American Philosophical Society as well as a year's sabbatical (1976-77) for work in Mexico and Peru on agrarian society and the export state, 1850-1930.

JOAQUIN ROY (Emory University) is serving as business manager for Los Ensayistas, a publication on Latin American and Spanish thought.

EVELYN P. STEVENS has been appointed Samuel B. Knight Professor at Case Western Reserve University for the 1976-77 year.

HOWARD J. WIARDA (University of Massachusetts/Amherst) has been elected to succeed Dr. Robert A. Potash as chairman of the Latin American Studies Program.

REGIONAL

PCCLAS

The 22nd Annual Meeting of PCCLAS will be held October 21-23, 1976, at Arizona State University. The general theme of the meeting will be "Revolution in the Americas: 1776-1976." For information and reservations write to Lewis A. Tams, Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85281.

SECOLAS

Mary Jeanne Martz (Clemson) has been appointed program chairman for the 1978 meeting of SECOLAS to be held at the Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina. The theme will be "Political Parties and Participation in Latin America." The early submission of proposals for papers and panels is encouraged. Since she is on leave this year, all correspondence concerning the program should be sent to the following address from September, 1976 to May, 1977:

Professor Mary Jeanne Martz
NEH Fellow
University of Wisconsin
Department of Political Science
North Hall, 1050 Bascom Mall
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

After May, 1977, correspondence should be sent to her at the Clemson University Department of Political Science, Clemson, South Carolina 29631.

WASHINGTON

DEPARTMENT OF STATE/SCHOLAR-DIPLOMAT SEMINARS

The Scholar-Diplomat Seminars are intended to draw together scholars, particularly younger Ph.D.'s, and professionals with government officials holding key foreign policy jobs to increase the exchange of knowledge between professionals inside and outside the government. The Seminars are arranged on a periodic basis with the major organizational units of the Department. These are geographic and functional in nature and include units covering Latin America, Economic and Business Affairs, Politico-Military Affairs, Legal Affairs, International Organization Affairs, Scientific and Technological Affairs, Population Matters, and Educational and Cultural Affairs. Seminars are usually held twice a year for geographic areas and once a year for functional areas.

Nominations of participants may come from several sources: former participants, head of faculties and departments, self-nominations. Of particular interest are Ph.D.'s and, in some cases, graduate students, who have had little or no experience with government. No funds are available to provide travel or subsistence. Thus, educational institutions should be prepared to cover the expenses of their nominees.

For further details or nominations write to Scholar-Diplomat Seminars, PA/PP/CS, Room 5831A, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

NAME _____

SEX _____ DATE OF BIRTH _____ PLACE OF BIRTH _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

_____ ZIP CODE _____

HOME TELEPHONE _____ OFFICE TELEPHONE _____

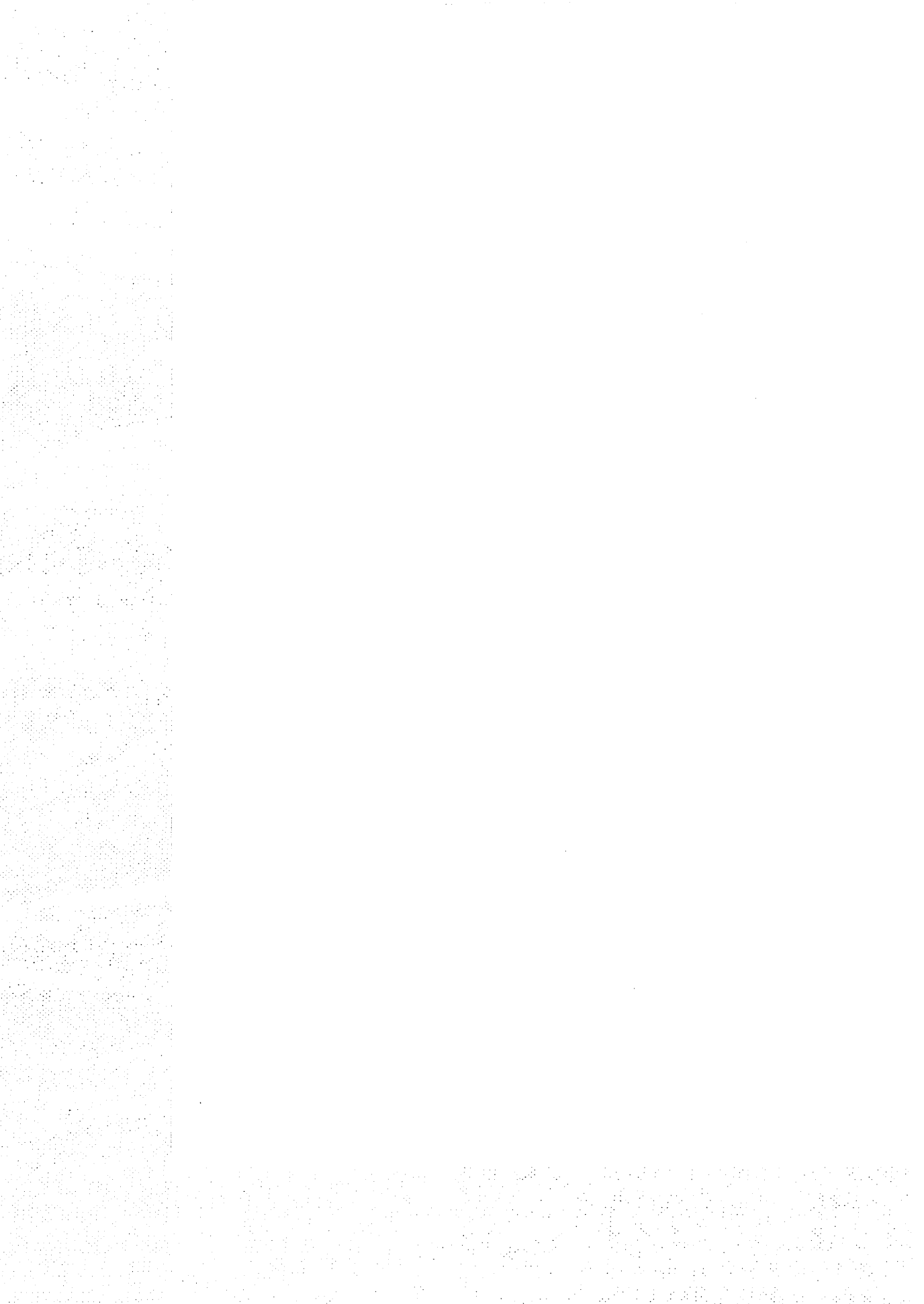
INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION _____ DISCIPLINE _____

COUNTRY INTEREST/
SPECIALIZATION _____

GRADUATE STUDENT _____
yes no SIGNATURE OF FACULTY ADVISOR _____

Membership dues include receipt of the Latin American Research Review, LASA Newsletter, and occasional publications of the Association for one calendar year. Dues are \$18.00 for Members and \$9.00 for Graduate Student Associates. A special membership rate of \$9.00 exists for citizens of Latin American and Caribbean nations and Puerto Rico, who are currently residing in those areas. Graduate Student Associates must obtain faculty advisors' signatures to qualify for the reduced membership rate. All membership categories enjoy full voice and vote in the affairs of the Association. Please mail with remittance to:

LASA Secretariat
Post Office Box 13362
University Station
Gainesville, Florida 32604



CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please check your address. If it is incorrect in any way,
please fill out form below and return to the LASA Secretariat,
Box 13362, University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32604:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

PERSONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL NEWS

Please use this form for short items to be included in the
Newsletter. Longer items may be attached or sent separately.
Return to LASA Secretariat, Box 13362 University Station,
Gainesville, Florida 32604.



LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Founded and Incorporated May, 1966

PURPOSES

The Latin American Studies Association is a charitable and educational body. It is a national, non-profit learned society of scholars and specialists that fosters the interests, both educational and professional, of persons concerned with the study of Latin America and that promotes education through more effective teaching, training and research. The Association provides both a forum and a means for treating matters of common interest to the scholarly disciplines and to individuals concerned with Latin American Studies.

MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Persons and institutions having these educational and scholarly concerns in matters related to Latin America are welcomed to membership. Membership is not restricted to United States citizens. Persons and institutions seeking membership should apply to: LASA, Box 13362 University Station, Gainesville, FL 32604. Annual dues for Members are \$18 and Graduate Student Associates \$9. A special membership rate of \$9 exists for citizens of Latin American and Caribbean nations and Puerto Rico, who are currently residing in these areas. Checks should be made payable to Latin American Studies Association and are U.S. tax deductible. Dues include receipt of the Association's publications for one year.

ORGANIZATION

The activities of the Association are directed by an Executive Council of nine scholars, including the immediate Past President, President, Vice-President (President-Elect for the following year), and six elected members, two of whom are elected annually by the voting membership of the Association. The several scholarly programs of the Association are fostered by committees appointed by the Executive Council including Scholarly Resources, ECALAS, Academic Freedom and Human Rights, U.S. Press Coverage of Latin America, Teaching of Latin American Studies at All Levels, Women in Latin American Studies, Regional Liaison, and LARR Editorial Board, as well as ad hoc committees for special research and inter-American liaison.

CONSORTIUM OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAMS (CLASP)

The Consortium is the national organization of institutions of higher education offering study related to Latin America and is in effect the institutional arm of LASA. Formed in the fall of 1968, the Consortium provides the institutional dimension for the realization of the educational purposes of the Association. Cooperative activities are arranged through the Steering Committee of the Consortium, while liaison is maintained through the Secretariat which serves both organizations. Annual dues for 1976 are \$50. Members of the 1976 Steering Committee are Marshall R. Nason (Chpn., U. of New Mexico), Eugenio Chang-Rodriguez (Queens Coll./CUNY), John J. Finan (American U.), Philip F. Flemion (San Diego State U.), G. Micheal Riley (U. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee), and Miriam Williford (Winthrop Coll.).

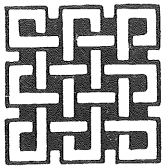
PUBLICATIONS

The Latin American Research Review is the official publication of the Association. The Review is published in three issues annually. The LASA Newsletter, a quarterly release of the Secretariat, is the basic news organ of the Association. Announcements and news items for the Newsletter should be sent to the Secretariat. It is available to the membership of the Association and by separate subscription at \$10 per calendar year.

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