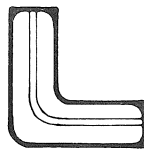



NEWSLETTER

VOL X NO 3
SEPTEMBER 1979

 **L**ATIN

 **A**MERICAN

 **S**TUDIES

 **A**SSOCIATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NATIONAL MEETING NEWS	1
CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS: FEATURE	4
LASA COMMITTEES AND TASK FORCES	5
EMPLOYMENT	6
FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS	7
FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES	9
INSTITUTIONAL	10
MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED	11
PERSONAL	12
REGIONAL NEWS	13
CLASP REPORT	16
PUBLICATIONS	17
LASA WASHINGTON OFFICE	18
NDEA CENTERS FOR 1979-1981	19
TREASURER'S REPORT	19
SPECIAL NEWSLETTER SUPPLEMENT:	
HUMAN RIGHTS IN BRAZIL: A REPORT AS OF MARCH 1979 (J. Dassin)	24
BOLIVIA: THE CONSOLIDATION (AND BREAKDOWN?) OF A MILITARISTIC REGIME (J. Nash)	37

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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: 911 West High Street, Room 100, Urbana, IL 61801. Telephone: (217) 333-7726. Copy deadlines are the 10th of the month preceding the month of publication. For information regarding membership, please see final page of Newsletter. Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers.

NATIONAL MEETING NEWS

The resolution on Gunder Frank which follows below was approved by a margin of 407 to 18. The Secretariat has been informed that Prof. Frank received an exchange visa to teach from July 9 - August 9, 1979 at Boston University. He was also granted permission by the Canadian government to attend the International Congress of Americanists in Vancouver.

RESOLUTION ON VISA FOR ANDRE GUNDER FRANK FOR LASA MEETINGS, APRIL 1979

Whereas Andre Gunder Frank is a distinguished social scientist and Latin Americanist, well known for his many books and articles, among which are Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, and World Accumulation: 1500-1800;

Whereas at least 11 U.S. universities have recently invited Professor Frank to lecture on their campuses, namely, the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; the University of Chicago; the University of Massachusetts; Boston University; the University of Michigan; Duke University; SUNY-Binghamton; Columbia University; Cornell University; Amherst College; and New York University;

Whereas Dr. Frank, now a professor at the University of East Anglia, was denied a visa to enter this country in 1978 under four provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act, three of which are waivable;

Whereas the fourth provision states that "every alien shall be presumed to be an immigrant until he establishes... that he is entitled to nonimmigrant status"; and Dr. Frank, in addition to contesting other allegations of ineligibility, has informed the Department of State in writing that he intends to enter this country only to undertake a lecture tour;

And whereas the repeated efforts of Professor Riordan Roett, President of this Association, to obtain a visa for Dr. Frank have not been successful;

This Association, dedicated to the free exchange of ideas, endorses Dr. Frank's application for a temporary visa to enter the United States, and urges the Department of State to permit Dr. Frank's entry for a lecture tour in 1979; authorizes the

Executive Council and the secretariat to transmit this resolution to the Department; and extends its thanks to President Roett for his action on this matter.

submitted by Joseph L. Love
Professor of History
U. of Illinois
Urbana-Champaign

The following motion was approved at the LASA Business Meeting in Pittsburgh and should have appeared with those printed in the June Newsletter.

"Motion on the Violation of Academic Freedom and Human Rights in Colombia presented by the LASA Committee on Academic Freedom and Human Rights, June Nash, Thomas Skidmore, Joseph Eldridge and Patricia Fagen": As participants in the LASA National Meeting on April 5-7, 1979, we wish to express our deep concern over the current wave of violations of human rights and academic freedom in Colombia, as documented by independent religious and human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International. Hundreds of secret arrests, searches and seizures, along with torture of prisoners, and arrest and detention of defense lawyers have deprived many Colombians of their fundamental human and civil rights. Under the current state of siege and statute of security, ever larger numbers of persons have been subject to middle-of-the-night arrest, lengthy detention without access to legal counsel, torture and physical abuse, and subjection to arbitrary military judgment. This repression has been indiscriminate at all levels, although lately has centered on social science teachers, researchers, and students.

The result is a climate in which political and economic violence has become increasingly generalized, as in the drive to expel indigenous and peasant peoples from the land and in the killings of their leaders, such as Benjamin Dindicue, Vice President of the indigenous group, CRIC, in the Department of Cauca.

We urge President Turbay and the government of Colombia to repudiate and bring an end to these abuses.

We call upon the U.S. government to do everything possible, including the suspension of military aid, to encourage the Colombian government to act in this direction.

We request that the LASA Executive Council send telegrams communicating our concerns to appropriate Colombian and U.S. government officials and the press in both countries.

NOTE FOR LASA NEWSLETTER by Abe Lowenthal and Jane Jaquette

Every eighteen months, the members of the Latin American Studies Association gather in national convention. Each time, papers are presented and debated, books and articles are placed or promoted, jobs (or rumors of them) are dangled and pursued, friendships are begun or renewed, restaurants are sought and sampled -- and commitments to Latin American studies are expressed and reinforced.

As part of this periodic rite, each national convention features a formal "business" meeting, attended by several hundred LASA members. Brief reports are presented on matters presumed to be of interest to the membership. LASA's officers are urged to convey far and wide the membership's indignation at one reprehensible act after another. Whether expressing solidarity with Hugo Blanco or outrage at Augusto Pinochet or others of his ilk, the aim of these motions is similar: to express the opinions of LASA's membership on matters of public concern.

We think the time has come to assess LASA's periodic flurry of dicta.

Occasional expressions of opinion on public issues by LASA's membership could conceivably accomplish two important purposes. First, LASA could aim to "speak truth to power," and do so effectively and responsibly. Well-informed ex-statements on matters within LASA's sphere of competence could be a significant voice in the political and decision-making processes of the United States Government, and might even have an impact on U.S. public opinion more generally. Second, expressions of solidarity might sometimes be useful to Latin American colleagues in their respective nations.

Neither of these two aims is well served however, by LASA's current procedures. The motions tend to be hastily prepared. Often they are internally contradictory, flawed in drafting, and even ungrammatical. Whatever their defects, however, they are usually passed by voice vote, even unanimously. Infrequent clarifying questions produce mixed reactions. Rarely does informed and illuminating debate take place. A few points may be scored, but then when the motions are adopted, only to be forgotten for all practical purposes--formally transmitted to designated audiences but not followed up in any systematic or sustained way.

The political process in the United States certainly has not been and will never be significantly affected by the typical LASA motions. Nor can Latin American colleagues take great comfort from the content and style of these motions. It is not surprising that LASA's pronouncements are received with total silence outside the meeting hall, though we repeat them the next time as if the world were listening.

LASA declarations, then, do little good. Yet some might argue that the process is cathartic and harmless.

We disagree. The costs of LASA's current approach to politics are subtle but significant. First, collective violation of professional norms in pursuit of other aims, however laudable, cannot be positive. Second, we wonder whether potentially more effective contributions by LASA's members on these issues are sometimes displaced when members feel, somehow, that they have done their civic duty by expressing these motions. Third, we suspect the damage which could be done to the Association's reputation for scholarly integrity by widespread circulation of its motions, is minimized only because LASA's capacity for diffusion is so limited.

Finally, and perhaps most important, there is an opportunity cost: LASA reduces its scant chance to affect the real world beyond words by these rhetorical outbursts.

We think, frankly, that LASA members should exercise far more discrimination and self-restraint in considering these kinds of motions. We personally intend to abstain in the future in all motions unaccompanied by a study or report from which the proposed recommendations flow. We urge others to abstain also in such cases. We will ask the chair to clarify the membership's right to abstain and to have the number of abstentions recorded.

Much more important, however, we believe that LASA should make its voice heard much more effectively on the relationship between freedom of inquiry and other fundamental human rights in the Americas. The Association's standing committee or task force on "Academic Freedom and Human Rights" should continue, expand, and deepen its reviews of the conditions for scholarly inquiry throughout the Hemisphere. With foundation support, which we believe might well be forthcoming, LASA could establish a permanent staff capacity to undertake this work, in a serious and sustained way. Many members could (and, we think, would) contribute their time and expertise on particular committees, as has already been done in a few cases.

The resulting reports could be circulated with LASA's backing, after an appropriate review procedure. The considered and carefully stated opinions of LASA on these issues might eventually be taken seriously in various relevant spheres--on Capitol Hill, in the State Department and the International Communications Agency, in international organizations, and in the media. Latin American colleagues, too, would find such reports helpful, both with local authorities and with external funding sources.

LASA's members share a common respect for academic integrity and for basic human rights. LASA's ability to promote the second cause is inevitably very limited. It is reduced still further when the Association's first commitment is neglected.

At the LASA-MALAS meeting in Bloomington on Oct. 17-19, 1980, the LASA membership will be voting on the suspension of program rules for the Eleventh LASA National Meeting to be held in Mexico City in the autumn of 1983.

THE CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The Newsletter invites brief descriptions of activities of organizations active in the field of Latin American Studies. Our first "mini-feature" describes the Center for Inter-American Relations' program.

The Center for Inter-American Relations, founded in 1966, has as its goal an increasing understanding within the United States of the cultures and societies of Latin America, the Caribbean and Canada. A private, non-profit organization, the Center is unique in its endeavors towards improvement of relations between the U.S. and other nations of the Western Hemisphere. Relations which, it believes, can be obtained only through greater public awareness and appreciation of our neighbors.

Roger D. Stone, the Center's President says "There has been a marked change of attitude in the United States about our relationship with other countries in the Western Hemisphere. In place of the term "special relationship" with its implied paternalism there has evolved a new vocabulary of "mutual respect," "autonomy" and "interdependence."

The Center's headquarters building, designated a New York City landmark, is the site of continuous inter-change of ideas ranging from political and economic discussions to cultural activities.

The forthcoming POLITICS OF COMPROMISE: COALITION GOVERNMENT IN COLOMBIA, is just one of a series of publications growing out of the Center's Public Affairs Department. Other books include LATIN AMERICA: The Search for a New International Role; LATIN AMERICA AND WORLD ECONOMY; A Changing International Order; AUTHORITARIANISM IN MEXICO; TERMS OF CONFLICT: Ideology in Latin American Politics; ARGENTINA: The Return and Fall of Peronism. The Public Affairs department holds a series of seminars, workshops and roundtable discussions throughout the year. One of the most significant this year was the recent seminar on "Democracy and Development in the Caribbean" - part II. During this seminar the problems of the Caribbean nation-building were observed within the framework of the larger, hemispheric environment. Also during this year Dr. Genaro Arriagada, Chilean political scientist specializing in Latin American military affairs, spoke on Military Ideology in South American and Congressman Tom Harkin, who recently returned from a fact-finding trip to Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, addressed himself to "The U.S. Role in Promoting Human Rights in Central America." There was also a roundtable discussion led by Helio Gaspari, Political Editor of the Jornal do Brasil on "Figueiredo's Government and Politics of Liberalization in Brasil," and a meeting on "The Role of the Private Sector in the Chilean Economic Experience" addressed by Isidoro Palma, Senior Vice President of C.O.I.A., SA.

The Center's Art Gallery, located on the first floor of the Manhattan Townhouse at Park Avenue and 68th Street, shows such diverse exhibits as pre-Columbian Gold, Cuzco Paintings; Contemporary Latin American Artists; pre-Columbian textiles, and a retrospective exhibition of RUFINO TAMAYO: Works on Paper. In the future the Gallery will exhibit a spectacular Northwest Coast Indian show "Objects of Bright Pride" which was organized by the Center and is now making a successful tour of major U.S. cities.

The first major New York City auction of works of art by Latin American artists has been jointly organized by the Center and Sotheby Parke Bernet and will take place at the latter's auction galleries on October 17th. Already on hand or pledged are works by Tamayo, Wilfredo Lam, Fernando Botero, Antonio Segui, Jose Luis Cuevas, Fernando Szyszlo and many other contemporary artists working in New York, Paris and Latin America.

Two concert series - ARTISTS OF THE AMERICAS and CLASSIC GUITAR OF THE AMERICAS - are arranged by the Center's Music Department in cooperation with the 92nd Street YM-YWHA. They enable talented artists from the Americas to be heard and reviewed in New York. The Department also holds auditions for artists with concert managers and record publishers.

The Center's Literature Program, besides publishing a handsome literary critic REVIEW three times a year, has been responsible for the translation, and ultimate publication, of many of the best-known literary works from Latin America. Through these publications, as well as through the traveling art exhibitions and concert artists, the Center is able to extend the impact of its programs across the nation and to Europe.

Approximately a third of the Center's membership comes from abroad. Members in the United States and in Canada, the Caribbean and Latin America include representatives from business and finance, government, journalism and academic, diplomats as well as members of the general public with an interest in the rest of our Hemisphere. CENTER FOR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, 680 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021. 212-249-8950.

LASA COMMITTEES AND TASK FORCES

Program Committee - Bloomington Meeting

Prof. Anya Peterson Royce, co-chairperson, Indiana Univ.; Prof. Hernán Vidal, co-chairperson, Univ. of Minnesota; Prof. Max G. Manwaring, Memphis State Univ.; Prof. Kenneth Jameson, Notre Dame Univ.; Prof. Oscar J. Martínez, Univ. of Texas at El Paso; Ms. Anne Carpenter, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Washington, D.C.

Nominations Committee

Prof. Giles Wayland-Smith, chairperson, Allegheny College; Prof. Rodolfo de la Garza, Colorado College; Prof. Mario T. García, Univ. of California, Santa Barbara; Prof. Maxine Margolis, Univ. of Florida; Prof. Marta Morello-Frosch, Univ. of California, Santa Cruz

Local Arrangements Committee - Bloomington Meeting

Prof. Emilio Moran, chairperson, Indiana Univ.

Task Force on Academic Freedom and Human Rights

Prof. Michael Fleet, chairperson, Marquette Univ.; Prof. Patricia Fagen, San Jose State Univ.; Mr. Joe Eldridge, Washington Office on Latin America; Prof. Lars Schoultz, Univ. of North Carolina; Prof. César Sereseres, Univ. of California - Irvine; Mr. Brian Smith, Woodstock Theological Seminary, Georgetown Univ.

Executive Council Subcommittee to Develop Guidelines for Academic Freedom and Human Rights Task Force

Prof. Abraham Lowenthal, chairperson, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Prof. Michael Fleet, Marquette Univ.; Mr. Robert Norris, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Brian Smith, Woodstock Theological Seminary, Georgetown Univ.

Kalman Silvert Memorial Committee

Prof. John P. Harrison, chairperson, Univ. of Miami; Prof. Morris Blachman, Univ. of South Carolina; Mr. Ronald Hellman, Center for Inter-American Relations, New York, NY

Washington Office Operations Committee

Prof. Riordan Roett, chairperson, Johns Hopkins Univ.; Ms. Johanna Mendelson, Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.; Ms. Elsa Chaney, Department of State, Washington, D.C.; Prof. Joe Grunwald, The Brookings Institution; Prof. Harvey Summ, Georgetown Univ.; Prof. Dorothy Dillon, The American Univ.

Regional Liaison Committee

Prof. Roberto Esquenazi-Mayo, chairperson, Univ. of Nebraska; (Inter American Council) Mr. David Scott Palmer, Foreign Service Institute, Arlington, VA; (Midwest Assn. for Latin American Studies) Prof. Roberto Esquenazi-Mayo, Univ. of Nebraska; (Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies) Prof. Charles Ameringer, Pennsylvania State Univ.; (North Central Council of Latin Americanists) Prof. Gerald M. Greenfield, U. of Wisconsin - Parkside; (New England Council of Latin American Studies) Prof. Joseph T. Criscenti, Boston College; (New York State Latin Americanists) Prof. Diana Balmori, SUNY - Oswego;

Regional Liaison Committee, Cont.

(Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies) Prof. Jerry Ladman, Arizona State Univ.;
(Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies) Prof. James Morris, Univ. of El Paso;
(Southwest Council of Latin American Studies) Prof. Joseph Vélez, Baylor Univ.;
(Southeastern Council of Latin American Studies) Prof. Joseph Arbena, Clemson Univ.

Local Arrangements Committee - Washington Meeting

Prof. Dorothy Dillon, The American Univ.; Mr. David Scott Palmer, Department of State, Washington, D.C.; Prof. Peter F. Klaren, The George Washington Univ.

Task Force on Hispanic Communities

Prof. Jean Franco, chairperson, Stanford Univ.; Prof. Arturo Madrid, Univ. of Minnesota;
Prof. Juan Gomez-Quiñones, UCLA; Prof. Helen Safa, Rutgers Univ.; Prof. Riordan Roett,
Johns Hopkins Univ.

Task Force on International Scholarly Relations - USSR/US

Prof. Cole Blasier, chairperson, Univ. of Pittsburg; Prof. Richard U. Miller, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison; Prof. Russell Bartley, Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Prof. Edward Gonzalez, UCLA

Task Force on International Scholarly Relations - Cuba/US

Prof. Lourdes Casal, chairperson, Rutgers Univ.; Prof. Jorge Domínguez, Harvard Univ.;
Prof. María Felicia Perez-Stable, SUNY-Old Westbury; Prof. Janet Rigg, Dominican College;
Mr. Barry Sklar, Library of Congress

Media Coverage Subcommittee

Prof. Alfred Stepan, chairperson, Yale Univ.; Prof. John Bailey, Georgetown Univ.; Prof. Brian Loveman, San Diego State Univ.; Prof. Jaime Suchlicki, Center for Advanced International Studies, Coral Gables, FL; Prof. Robert Hayes, Texas Tech Univ.; Mr. Ronald Krieger, Chase Manhattan Bank, New York, NY; Ms. Priscilla Walton, 4338 San Marino Drive, Davis, CA; Prof. Leonard Cardenas, Louisiana State Univ.; Prof. Wayne Bragg, Wheaton Coll.

Membership Recruitment Committee

The duties of this committee are being carried out by the Secretariat in close contact with the Executive Council and the Regional Liaison Committee.

EMPLOYMENT

LASA PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL REGISTRY

Individuals seeking employment who are members of AAS in good standing may join the Registry at any time upon payment of a \$2.50 service charge for listing in one issue. Those wishing their listing to run for more than one issue pay \$2.50 for each appearance requested. There is no charge for CLASP institutions wishing to publish notices of vacancies, and a \$20 fee for non-CLASP institutions.

Individuals should submit pertinent educational, professional, and personal background information, as well as a statement on the type of position being sought, location desired, and date available. Vita supplied for the Registry's information will remain confidential, to be used only as a source for the listing description. Please do not send in other materials, such as pictures or copies of recommendation letters, as the Secretariat is unable to transmit dossiers.

Institutions are asked to submit details about fields of specialization required, rank or title of position, course or job description, approximate salary range, deadline for application, and other information that would be helpful to persons seeking employment. The number of issues in which the item is to appear should be indicated. All US institutions listed must be Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employers.

If you are interested in a vacancy listed, please respond directly to the institution named. Letters from prospective employers in response to listings with code numbers should be individually addressed to the code number and sent to the Secretariat for forwarding to the persons concerned. Address to the code number, c/o LASA Secretariat, Attn: Placement Service, 911 W. High St., Room 100, Urbana, IL 61801.

VACANCIES REPORTED

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY, Tempe, AZ, 85281. Reference Librarian/Latin American Area Specialist, available immediately. MLS or equivalency, knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese, subject degree in Latin American Studies. Knowledge of the social sciences preferred over the humanities. Professional library experience required. Salary: \$13,144 - \$16,000. Send application to Constance Corey, Acting Asst. University Librarian, University Library.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Associate Director, Center for Latin American Studies. A recent PhD is needed to coordinate outreach activities and assist the Director with administration of the Center. In academic year 1979-80 some of the outreach activities will include a film series, theatrical presentation, cultural festival, informal courses and lecture series. Administrative duties include coordination of faculty appointments and activities and inter-institutional exchanges in the United States and Latin America. Applicants should be fluent in Spanish and/or Portuguese, have a background in Latin American area studies, and be knowledgeable concerning the functions of an institution of higher education. Salary: \$16,000. Rank: Research Associate. Deadline: Oct. 19, 1979. Send application to Shirley A. Kregar, Center for Latin American Studies, 4EO4 Forbes Quadrangle.

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE, McLean, VA 22102. Deputy U.S. Marshal positions are available on a nationwide basis and provide excellent opportunities for individuals interested in careers in the criminal justice field. Selections for these positions are governed by U.S. Office of Personnel Management competitive examination procedures. Candidates are evaluated on the basis of education, experience and a written examination. Salary: \$10,507 - \$13,657 (GS-5 level). Write US Marshals Service, One Tysons Corner Center.

CANDIDATES AVAILABLE

LATIN AMERICAN RURAL SOCIOLOGIST. PhD in Sociology with extensive teaching and research experience in Brazil, Colombia and the U.S. S-1

FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AGENCY, Washington, DC 20547, has 2 programs. The ENGLISH TEACHING FELLOW PROGRAM was established in 1970 as an effort to increase American presence and raise academic standards in binational centers (BNCs) in Latin America. An English Teaching Fellow is essentially an instructor under contract with the BNC to provide professional help in the academic department; he is not an employee of ICA or of any of the Agency's field posts. A Fellow is often called upon to assist in the testing program and to prepare didactic materials. He can also lend invaluable assistance at the intermediate and advanced levels, utilizing Agency-produced cultural materials that are specifically designed to promote understanding of the United States through English teaching.

Fellows are usually recent recipients of master's degrees in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) or in applied linguistics with emphasis on TEFL, although graduate students are also eligible to participate in the program. They must be U.S. citizens.

Fellows are contracted for a minimum of one calendar year, although extensions of six months or a year are common. The financial costs of each contract are borne jointly by ICA, through a grant of funds to the contracting BNC via a field post, and by the BNC itself. The division of financial responsibility depends on the financial capability of the contracting BNC but is generally based on a BNC contribution of at least 40 per cent of the total cost of the contract, with the Agency providing a maximum of 60 per cent. The total contract consists of salary and fringe benefits customarily granted to locally-hired full-time teachers; a salary supplement in local currency, where necessary, to make the Teaching Fellowship competitive with other employment opportunities open to the applicant; visa and related costs unless minimal; round-trip transportation to and from the overseas point; excess baggage allowance; a year's medical/hospital insurance premium where applicable (up to \$150); and a \$75 monthly salary supplement in dollars to help the Fellow meet financial obligations in the United States. All such funds are disbursed by the BNC.

The LIBRARY FELLOW PROGRAM operates similarly to the English Teaching Fellow Program. The basic purpose of the Library Fellow Program is to provide an American professional librarian on full-time duty in support of Regional Library Consultant visits. Through the use of Library Fellows, ICA field posts and Binational Centers (BNCs) can have daily professional expertise to improve the use of their library collections; institute and develop reference services; make and service other library contacts; provide day-to-day in-service training to local personnel; and survey other libraries to coordinate and/or augment collections, facilities and services.

Library Fellows are usually graduate librarians, with the possible exception of applicants with pertinent experience and language facility, and are U.S. citizens. The contractual arrangements are similar to those for English Teaching Fellows. Library Fellows also are not employees of ICA or of its field posts but of the BNC that contracts them. Contact Victor B. Olason, Director, Office of American Republics Affairs at ICA for further information.

THE WOODROW WILSON'S LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM has particular interest in postdoctoral research on a number of central themes: (a) The relationship of the international economic order to domestic choices; (b) The evolution of U.S.-Latin American relations, and Latin America's international role more generally; (c) The causes and dynamics of authoritarianism, as well as the process and prospects for redemocratization; (d) The interplay between cultural traditions and political institution; (3) The history of ideas in Latin America as they bear on contemporary public policy choices; and (f) The viability of alternative development models in the area.

For information write: Fellowship Office/Room 321, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Smithsonian Institution Building, Washington, DC 20560.

THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION'S LEARNING FELLOWSHIP ON SOCIAL CHANGE is open to pre- and postdoctoral research in Latin America and the Caribbean. Applicants must have a multidisciplinary background and should be concerned with the processes of social change from a problem-oriented perspective. For information, write the Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Blvd., Rosslyn, VA 22209. Deadline: Dec. 5.

DON'T FORGET TO VOTE FOR LASA OFFICERS

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Bureau of Public Affairs SCHOLAR-DIPLOMAT SEMINAR ON LATIN AMERICA will take place Dec. 3-7, 1979. This program provides an opportunity for participants to work with and exchange views with their professional counterparts in the Dept. of State. Participants will be drawn from disciplines or multi-disciplinary fields of specialization most directly connected with international relations. For information, write Luigi Einaudi, Director, Office of Policy Planning, Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520.

The Caribbean Latin American Studies Council and the School of Business of Florida International University will co-sponsor a one day conference, BRAZIL: ECONOMIC, TRADE AND INVESTMENT CONDITIONS FOR THE 1980'S, on January 14, 1980. Further information can be obtained by contacting Prof. Robert Grosse, Department of Finance and International Business, Florida International University, Miami, Florida 33199. (305-552-2680)

The 2ND ANNUAL NATIONAL SYMPOSIUM OF HISPANIC BUSINESS AND ECONOMY will also be held at Florida International University on Oct. 17-19, 1979. Topics to be discussed are: Hispanic Market in the US; Business structure and special problems; Hispanic women in business; Private and government programs; Education and training programs; Labor force characteristics and consumer trends. For information write Leonardo Rodríguez, School of Business and Organizational Science, Florida International Univ., Miami, FL 33199.

The PORTUGUESE WORLD IN THE TIME OF CAMÕES will be the topic of the 30th annual conference of the University of Florida's Center for Latin American Studies. Tentative dates of the conference, which will commemorate the 400th anniversary of the death of Portugal's great national poet, are September 29-30 and October 1, 1980. The conference will be multidisciplinary in nature, examining 16th-century Portugal, Brazil, Portuguese Africa, and Portuguese Asia in their political, social, literary, and cultural relations. For more information, contact Dr. Alfred Hower, Department of Romance Languages, ASB 170, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

The Center for Cuban Studies is sponsoring the NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CUBA on Nov. 2-3, 1979 in New York City. Visiting Cubans will participate in the panels. Topics include the changing role of women in the revolution; the effect of the U.S. trade embargo on Cuba; the Cuban Communist Party and its relationship to poder popular; the African roots of Cuban culture; the new economic plan and its potential effect on the Cuban economy; human rights in Cuba; the socializing role of the mass media in Cuba; and the meaning of Cuba's role in Africa. For information write the Center at 220 E. 23rd St., New York, NY 10010.

CHILEAN WRITERS IN EXILE is the focus on a conference scheduled for Feb. 7-9, 1980 at California State Univ. in Los Angeles. For information write Timothy Harding, Latin American Studies Center, California State Univ., Los Angeles, CA 90032.

The National Council for Geographic Education's 1979 annual meeting on GEOGRAPHY IN THE AMERICAS will be held in Mexico City Oct. 31-Nov. 4, 1979. For information write A. Richard Longwell, Dept. of Geography, Western Illinois University, Macomb, IL 61455.

A conference on THE HISPANIC COMMUNITIES IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION, sponsored by LASA with funding from the International Communication Agency, will be held on November 26 at the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. The conference represents the second and concluding phase of a LASA project to explore the extent to which the Hispanic-America subcultures of the U.S. may serve as a bridge for communication among the countries of the Americas. The involvement of scholars from the Hispanic-American communities in international exchange programs, in the academic study of Latin America, and in policy-related positions in government and international agencies will constitute the 3 principal foci of the discussion. Phase I of this project was held in Washington in March 1978.

INSTITUTIONAL

THE WASHINGTON CENTER FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES which represents the Latin American programs of the six Washington-based universities--The American University, The Catholic University of America, Georgetown University, George Washington University, Howard University and The University of the District of Columbia--recently was awarded a planning grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for a television series on Latin America.

THE CARIBBEAN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES COUNCIL OF FLORIDA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY has been awarded a Fulbright Scholarship to bring a visiting Latin American scholar to the campus from September 1979 to April 1980. The scholar is Guido Pennano of the Centro de Investigaciones of the Universidad del Pacífico in Lima, Peru. Prof. Pennano received two master's degrees from the University of Pittsburgh in economics and political science and is currently co-editor of Estudios Andinos. While at FIU, Pennano will teach courses on South American political economy and Peruvian politics.

THE BORDER RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF TRINITY UNIVERSITY in San Antonio has received a grant from the Agency of International Development to conduct interviews in Costa Rica and El Salvador with migrants who have travelled to and returned from the United States. The study is therefore both comparative and exploratory. It will compare for the first time migrants from both countries with each other and with the general population. It will also try to evaluate the composition, flow and impact of this kind of migration on the host and sending countries. For more information, contact Guy Poitras, Director, Border Research Institute, Box 207, Trinity University, San Antonio, TX 78284.

The DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, beginning July 1, 1980, offers two post-doctoral traineeships in medical anthropology, contingent on continued funding from N.I.M.H. The training program emphasizes a broad, multi-disciplinary approach to health-related research. Its purpose is to enhance the capability of participants to design, conduct and evaluate research relevant to health.

Applications are welcome from persons with M.D., D.O., Ph.D., or equivalent degrees who desire one to two years of postdoctoral training in medical anthropology. Annual stipends for postdoctoral fellows range between \$10,000 and \$13,200, depending on years of postdoctoral experience. In addition, funds are provided to assist with tuition and fees, cost of travel to research site, computer time and attendance at professional conferences.

THE INTERAMERICAN SOCIETY OF PSYCHOLOGY has created a Task Force on Community Psychology to: (1) promote the development of Community Psychology as a discipline; and (2) coordinate those efforts amongst psychologists in South, Central and North America and the Caribbean.

The primary concern of the Task Force is to increase communication between psychologists interested in Community Psychology. The publication of a bilingual newsletter with information about important events in the field will be started. This newsletter will be distributed to any interested person.

A second goal of the Task Force is to disseminate knowledge about already existing studies about Community Psychology in Latin America. Thus, plans are being made for the publication of a book in Spanish with contributions by Latin American and North American psychologists who attended the XVII Interamerican Congress of Psychology in Lima, Peru. Leonte Brea from Mexico is in charge of the publication of the book.

Those interested in the activities of the Task Force and in receiving the newsletter should write to: Luís A. Escovar, Ph.D., Community Psychology Program, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199.

Peter T. Jones, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION, announced with the greatest regret that President William Dyal has submitted his resignation. Jones praised Dyal's outstanding performance as the Foundation's first and only chief executive officer. Jones stressed that at his request Dyal would stay on until the 9th anniversary of the Foundation - March 15, 1980 - so as to make sure that the Board's congressional mandate to name an appropriate successor will be carried out in the best possible manner. To this end, Jones, Senior Vice President of Levi Strauss Corporation, has named to his search committee fellow Foundation Directors Viron P. Vaky, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and Charles A. Meyer, Senior Vice President of Sears, Roebuck and Co. They will be advised by Harry McPherson, Washington attorney who chairs the Foundation's Advisory Committee.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM has been awarded a total of \$246,595 in grants from the federal government and private philanthropic organizations for the academic year 1979-80. Included is \$120,795 from the U.S. Office of Education to support the Latin American Studies Center and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships. With these funds, the Center will add to its curriculum courses in law, energy, and religion as well as strengthen offerings in art, music, and Portuguese, Brazilian, literature and culture; additional courses in Amerindian languages will also be initiated. The grant also provides for library acquisitions on Latin America, seminars, and educational outreach efforts, and support of 7 graduate students.

The Tinker Foundation, New York, originally provided \$90,000 to establish the Tinker Research Internship Program at the University. Since then, Tinker Foundation grants have been awarded to young Latin American scholars and technicians who have had no previous formal graduate training in the United States. The monies, which now total \$100,800, enable these students to engage in interdisciplinary research at Pitt. This year's grant will bring 12 to 15 interns to Pitt over the next three years.

The Howard Heinz Endowment, Pittsburgh, has provided \$25,000 to support a research study on Cuban involvement in Africa, "Cuba in the Horn of Africa". Scholars of diverse ideological viewpoints will prepare papers and commentaries on the topic to be published in a monograph and in two special issues of Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos, the multi-disciplinary journal published by the University's Center for Latin American Studies.

MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED

CALL FOR PAPERS for the UNDERGRADUATE SYMPOSIUM IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDIES at Valdosta State College, Valdosta, GA 31601. Topics include language, literature, linguistics, culture and civilization. Papers must be no more than 20 minutes for oral presentation on April 18-19, 1980. For details write Dr. José B. Fernandez, Dept. of Modern Foreign Languages at Valdosta State College.

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO is sponsoring a competition of poetry and drawing based on the world of Dance. The deadline is Nov. 5, 1979, for submitting a minimum of 5 drawings or a book of poems of at least 50 pages. Contact Taller Coreográfico de la UNAM, 2a, Cerrada del Cabrío 34, Lomas de San Angel Inn, México 20, DF.

CALL FOR PAPERS and presentations for the 1980 Conference of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages to be held on April 17-19, 1980 in Seattle. Proposals must reach the conference chairman no later than December 1, 1979: Stephen Foster, 1980 PNCFI Conference Chairman, Dept. of Foreign Languages, Washington State University, Pullman, WA 99164.

LASA-MALAS NATIONAL MEETING

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

17-19 OCTOBER 1980

PERSONAL NEWS

HOWARD J. WIARDA, Professor of Political Science and Chairman of the University of Massachusetts' Program in Latin American Studies, has been appointed a Research Fellow at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, for 1980-81. At the Center Prof. Wiarda will be conducting research, writing, and participating in faculty forums and seminars.

MARTIN H. SABLE, Professor, School of Library Science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is author of the following reference books: (1) THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT IN LATIN AMERICA SINCE 1960: A BIBLIOGRAPHY (\$4 from Center for Latin America, University of Wis.-Milwaukee); (2) LATIN AMERICAN JEWRY: A RESEARCH GUIDE (Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College Press).

ERWIN H. EPSTEIN, University of Missouri-Rolla, has been elected president of the Comparative and International Education Society for the 1981 term and has been appointed to the editorial advisory board of the Comparative Education Review. Epstein will be Visiting Professor at the Universidad de Monterrey in Mexico, 1979-80.

ALICIA BETSY EDWARDS has accepted an appointment as Books Editor of Américas Magazine, published in Washington, D.C., by the Organization of American States. She would like to hear from people who wish to review books for the magazine.

ROLANDO A. ALUM (IDEA., Dominican Republic) is organizing a panel on "Current Research in the Dominican Republic" for the IXth LASA Meeting (Ind., Oct. 80). Interested potential panelists, please contact him at: P.O. Box 578, Meadowview Station, North Bergen, NJ 07047.

JORGE DOMINGUEZ, Program Chairman of LASA's 8th National Meeting, has been promoted to Professor of Government at Harvard University. He is chairman of the program on Latin American and Iberian Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, as well. In passing, we should not neglect to mention that he is President-elect (and thus, Program Chairman) of NECLAS.

ROBERTO ESQUENAZI-MAYO, Director of the Institute for International Studies at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln and Chairman of the LASA Regional Liaison Committee, participated at the 28th General Assembly of the International Press Institute held in Athens, Greece on June 15-21, 1979. A motion condemning lack of freedom of expression then existing in Nicaragua was approved unanimously. Dr. Esquenazi-Mayo also visited with officials of the Centro de Cooperación Ibero-Americana to explore possible exchange programs between Latinamericanists in the U.S. and Spain.

S. B. JONES-HENDRICKSON, Coordinator of the Social Research Center and Assistant Prof. of Economics, College of the Virgin Islands-St. Thomas, presented the following papers at recent conferences: "Life Expectancy and Economic Development," Social Sciences Division Seminar, College of the Virgin Islands, April 1979; "Constraints on Public Finance: The Case of Microstates," at a Conference on the Politico-Economic Development of Microstates, Caribbean Research Institute, College of the Virgin Islands, April 18-21, 1979; "A Tourism Economic Model," at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Caribbean Studies Association, Martinique, May 28-30, 1979. In addition, he completed the first comprehensive study of the two French communities in St. Thomas. The 143-page monograph was commissioned by the Social Sciences Division of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and attempts to answer why the two French communities have survived, what are the cultural forces which have kept them together, and what are the dynamic elements which have prevented their being absorbed into the wider Virgin Islands community.

ADVERTISE IN THE LASA NEWSLETTER

Recipients of the Social Science Research Council dissertation fellowships include:

KAREN S. CANFIELD, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of New Mexico, for research in Mexico on cultural myths and public policy concerning children during the Porfiriato, 1884-1910.

MAURICIO A. FONT, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, University of Michigan, for research in Brazil and Colombia on patterns of collective action by Brazilian and Colombian coffee planters, 1886-1946.

Grants for International Postdoctoral research from the Social Science Research Council were awarded to:

RODNEY D. ANDERSON, associate professor of history, Florida State University, for research in Mexico on the social history of workers in Guadalajara, Mexico, 1860-1930.

DAVID COLLIER, associate professor of political science, University of California, Berkeley, for research on state, labor and regime in Latin America.

JOAN DASSIN, assistant professor of English and Latin American studies, Amherst College, for research in Brazil on press censorship, 1964-1978.

ROBERTO GONZÁLEZ-ECHEVARRÍA, associate professor of Spanish, Yale University, for research on the concept of culture and the idea of literature in modern Latin America.

MURDO J. MACLEOD, professor of history, University of Pittsburgh, for research on forms and styles of work and the acculturation of the Indian in colonial Mesoamerica.

KAREN SPALDING, associate professor of history, University of Delaware, for research in Peru on the origins of the Peruvian bourgeoisie, 1850-1895.

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR, professor of history, University of Colorado, for research in Mexico on peasants and brokers in rural Mexico, 1750-1876.

NORMAN MYERS, Consultant in Environmental Conservation, P.O. Box 48197, Nairobi, Kenya, has undertaken a research project to document the relationship between beef consumption in the U.S. and the decline of tropical forests in parts of Latin America. He would like to hear from interested LASA members.

WILLIAM P. GLADE, LASA President, was a guest of the Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. this past summer. He met with leading Soviet Latinamericanists to explore the possibility of developing an international exchange between the Latin American Institute in Moscow and the Latin American Studies Association of the United States.

NETTIE LEE BENSON, Prof. of History and former director of the Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin, was presented the Order of the Aztec Eagle by José Lopez Portillo, President of Mexico. Created by the Mexican government in 1933 to recognize services rendered to Mexico or to humanity by non-Mexicans, the order is considered to be a distinction of the highest degree and is rarely awarded. Under Prof. Benson's charge, the Latin American Collection has become one of the most important libraries on Latin America in the world.

REGIONAL NEWS

NECLAS. The annual meeting of the New England Council on Latin American Studies will be held at Harvard University on October 13, 1979. Session topics include "Identidad y presencia social del indio en la literatura del Ecuador y el Perú" (Marco Arenas, Central Conn S.C.); British Business History in South America (Paul Goodwin, Univ. Conn-Storrs); Economic Policy in Latin America (Shane Hunt, BU); Latin American Art History: Current Research and the State of the Field (Joyce W. Bailey); Energy Policy in Latin America (Kenneth Erickson, CUNY); New Perspectives on Social Change (Kay Warren, Mt. Holyoke and Susan Bourque, Smith College). Jorge Domínguez is the program coordinator for this meeting.

PCCLAS. The 25th annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies will be held at California State University, in Chico, on Oct. 18-20, 1979. Featured speakers are Edward Marasciulo, OAS; Gustavo Sainz, UNAM; and Giles Greville Healey, scholar and specialist on BONAMPAK. Session topics and chairpersons are as follows: Latin American Government-Mass Media Conflicts: Change and Continuity (Marvin Alisky, Arizona State-Tempe); Pre-hispanic Art of Mexico, Central America, and the Andes (Janet Brody Esser, San Diego State U); El negro en la literatura del Caribe (Susana Hernandez-Araico, CSUP-Pomona); Human Services Delivery Systems in Latin America-Justice, Welfare, Health Care (Richard Haiman, CSU-Chico); Population and Migration (William Ketteringham, CSU-Fullerton); Film and Social Change; The Theme of Protest as a Constant in Latin American Literature (José L. Mas, CSU-Chico); The African Experience in Latin America (William W. Megenney, UC-Riverside); Chicano Issues (Jaime Raigoza, CSU-Chico and Miguel Domínguez, CSU-Los Angeles); Women's Changing Role in Latin America (Ruth S. Lamb, Claremont College); Mexico in History: New Perspectives through Graduate Student Research (David Sweet, UC-Santa Cruz); Woman as Symbol in Iberoamerican Literature (Carmelo Virgilio, Arizona State-Tempe); Brazil and History; Non-Catholic Experience in Latin America (Deborah Baldwin, U. Chicago); International Business and Latin America in the 1980's - A Comparative Outlook with Africa and Asia (A.D. Cao, American Univ.); La mujer chicana - nuevas perspectivas (María Herrera-Sobek UC-Irvine); Social Conflict Along the U.S.-Mexican Border (Richard Hill, San Diego State, Imperial Valley); Baja California: Mexico's Development Research Frontier; Interdisciplinary Session on U.S.-Mexican Borderlands (Jerry Laiman, Arizona State U-Tempe); Urbanization and Colombia (Theodore E. Nichols, CSU-Long Beach); Latin American Studies - Professional Dimensions (Lillian Fernandez de Robinson, U. Colorado); Agustín Yañez: Continuidad y cambio en las letras mexicanas (Oscar Somoza, CSC-Bakersfield); Teaching Latin American Studies to Chicanos; Perspectives of Rural Development (Clarence Thurber and Philip Young, U. Oregon); Chile: The Last 50 Years (William S. Stewart, CSU-Chico). Contact Kristyna Demaree, Program Director, c/o Dept. of Modern Languages, California State University at Chico, Chico, CA 95929 for information.

MACLAS. Persons interested in joining the Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies should write for information or send dues (\$5) to Prof. Michael Burke, Secy, MACLAS, Dept. of History, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085. MACLAS is planning its first annual meeting in April 1980 at the University of Delaware. Persons interested in presenting papers should contact the Program Chairman, Prof. Robert J. Alexander, Dept. of Economics, Rutgers Univ., New Brunswick, NJ 08903.

MALAS. The 20th ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MIDWEST ASSOCIATION FOR LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES entitled POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA: THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE will be held Oct. 11-13 on the Michigan State University campus in Lansing, MI. Panel topics include Ethnic and Class Relationships in the LA City (John Bratzel, MSU); The City in the Latin American Novel (Joanna Courteau, Iowa State U.); Population, Growth, Employment and Technology (Robert L. Allen, U. of Missouri); Agricultural Development: Rural-Urban Linkages and Population Growth in Rural Latin America (Oscar Horst, WMU); Social Change, Health Care and the Child (Brigitte Jordan, MSU); Rural-Urban Migration: The Urbanization Process (Eric Wagner, Ohio U.); Politics of Reform: Local-National Linkages and Strategies (David Jickling, Olivet College); and Nicaragua: The Struggle for Liberation (Michael Taussig, U. of Michigan). Keynote speakers are Peter Dorner (U. of Wisconsin), Robert W. Fox (Inter-American Development Bank), William P. Glade (U. of Texas and LASA President); and Robert Kemper, Southern Methodist U.

RMCLAS. The 27th annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies was held on May 3-5, 1979 on the El Paso campus of the University of Texas. Panel topics and chairpersons included: Cases in Mexican History - 19th and 20th century (Gene Muller, El Paso CC); Haciendas in Mexican History (Charles Harris, New Mexico State); Contemporary Latin American Literature (Ricardo Aguilar, UTEP); Indians and Survival in Latin America (Frances Hernandez, UTEP); Recent Trends in Colonial Latin American Historiography (Paul Ganster, Utah State U.); Latin American Business: Mexican Topics

(John Brasch, U. Nebraska-Lincoln); The Economy of Mexico (John Evans, U. Alabama); Cultural Aspects of Latin America (Eduardo Conrado, El Paso CC); Mexico and the US: Multiple Perspectives (James A. Morris, UTEP); Graduate Student Panel on Mexican History (Manuel Machado, Jr. Texas Tech U.); South American Literature (Corina S. Mathieu, U. of Nevada - Las Vegas); Business: Management Topics (John Brasch, U. Nebraska-Lincoln); Interpretation of PreColumbian Literature: Issues and Models (Willard Gingerich, UTEP); Mobilization, Development and Economic Change in Latin America (Steve Ropp, New Mexico State U.); Human Rights in the Borderlands (Marshall Carter, Ohio U.); Culture/Behavior Topics (John Brasch, U. Nebraska-Lincoln); Discussion on Ellwyn Stoddard's Report, Patterns of Poverty Along the US-Mexico Border; Cuban Literature and Social Image (Emilio Castaneda, Western New Mexico U.). John D. Martz, editor of LARR 1974-1979 and presently on the faculty of Penn State U. gave the keynote address. The 28th annual meeting of RMCLAS will be held on the campus of the American Graduate School of International Management in Glendale, AZ.

PRESIDENTS, NEWSLETTER EDITORS AND REGIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE (RLC) REPRESENTATIVES
OF REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS SEPTEMBER 1979

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Editor: Helen Delpar, P.O. Box 1974, University, AL 36486 (205)348-5270

RLC: Joseph Arbena, Clemson Univ., Clemson, SC 29631

CLASP REPORT

The Steering Committee of CLASP took various actions at its meetings in Pittsburgh and, together with some other announcements, would like to pass these along to the CLASP and LASA memberships.

1. Eugenio Chang-Rodríguez (Dept. of Romance Languages, Queens College) was elected the new chairperson of the CLASP Steering Committee. He will assume this office in January 1980. The other members who will continue to serve on the committee are: Philip Flemion (Dept. of History, San Diego State), and Giles Wayland-Smith (Political Science, Allegheny College). The election ballot, presently in the hands of CLASP representatives, is to elect two representatives: one to replace outgoing chairperson, G. Micheal Riley, and the other constituting a new addition to the committee.

2. CLASP would like to confirm the continuation until December 1980 of its program to fund regional workshops for Latin American specialists. Underwritten by a Ford Foundation grant to LASA, this program is aimed at increasing opportunities for mid-career training and professional updating in such areas as recent theoretical and methodological developments. The organizational format as well as the particular ends to which such workshops can be put is entirely flexible. There are two different kinds of workshops however, that we would like to help finance. These are: 1) workshops held at the meetings of the regional councils and co-sponsored by them; and 2) workshops held at a particular CLASP institution and, presumably, co-sponsored by that institution. Because funds are limited and we do wish to encourage as wide a spectrum of workshops as possible, the Steering Committee voted to place an individual limit of \$200 for each regional council workshop and \$500 for each member institution workshop. Overall guidelines governing the workshops can be obtained from the LASA/CLASP Secretariat; details regarding any workshop to be held at a regional council meeting obviously should be worked out in conjunction with the officers of that council. The deadline for grant applications is Nov. 15, 1979, and should be submitted to the LASA/CLASP Secretariat.

3. In February 1979, CLASP co-sponsored a conference at Wingspread (Wisconsin) on "New Directions in Language and Area Studies: Priorities for the 1980's." The conference discussions, position papers, and specific recommendations were published and sent in monograph form to all CLASP institutions. In addition, this report was forwarded to the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies in an effort to influence the national government's sensitivity to and funding of Latin American Studies programs in the U.S. Copies of this important report are available from the Secretariat at the price of \$6.00 (\$3.00 for CLASP and LASA members).

4. The Steering Committee decided that we might assist the regional Latin American councils by helping them to get government and/or foundation representatives to attend their meetings. Such representatives could provide a real service to Latin Americanists not only in their professional work but also in their efforts to develop on-campus area studies programs, outreach activities, or career counseling services for students with a Latin American interest. The committee is in the process of discussing this potential program with the separate regional councils.

5. The Steering Committee has initiated a membership drive. We feel that membership in CLASP offers many benefits at a very reasonable cost (\$50). Not the least of these are the development of teaching aids of direct and immediate use in the classroom, the creation of a forum through which the institutional concerns and interests of Latinamericanists can be dealt with, and the establishment of a Latin American "presence" in both government and foundation deliberations. And the more members we have, the greater will be those benefits. This is perhaps particularly true for those institutions which do not have nationally recognized Latin American Studies programs but which still play an indispensable role in research, training and outreach activities. If you know of institutions which you feel should belong to CLASP, please contact either Carl Deal at the LASA Secretariat or Giles Wayland Smith (Allegheny College, Meadville, PA 56335).

6. Luigi Einaudi (Director of the Office of Policy Planning, Dept. of State) recently asked us to help publicize their Scholar/Diplomat Seminar on Latin America to be held Dec. 3-7, 1979 in Washington. This program is designed to bring Latin American scholars directly into contact with the daily work and concerns of the Dept. of State (DOS) desk officers and, at the same time, to offer them an opportunity of sharing their ideas with interested department officers at DOS. Potential nominees for the program must be prepared to cover the expenses involved as this is not a funded program. Further information and application forms can be obtained from: Scholar/Diplomat Seminars, (PA/PP/C), Room 5831A, Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520. 202-632-3888.

7. The next national meeting of LASA/CLASP will be held in Bloomington, Indiana in October 1980. In addition to our regular business meeting, CLASP will sponsor one or more additional sessions. Those wishing to make specific suggestions for such sessions should contact Prof. G. Micheal Riley, Office of the Dean, PO Box 413, Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, WI 53201 by November 1, 1979.

PUBLICATIONS

NEW BOOKS:

MONEY AND BANKING IN LATIN AMERICA by Mario Rietti Matheu, a former Alternate Executive Director for the Inter-American Development Bank, has just been published by Praeger in their Praeger Special Studies series.

FIVE ESSAYS ON MARTIN LUIS GUZMAN, edited by William W. Megenney, is part of the University of California-Riverside Commemorative Series No. 2. Cost \$3.00.

LA COLOMBE A LA CROISEE DES CHEMINS by Juan Soto Godoy is the first in a monographic series of the Centre d'Etude de l'Amérique Latine, Université Libre de Bruxelles. It can be ordered from Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, Parc Leopold, B-1040 Bruxelles for 320 FB.

ATLAS ON CENTRAL AMERICA has been published by the Bureau of Business Research at the University of Texas. Cost: \$18 per copy plus \$.90 sales tax. It may be ordered directly from the Bureau.

THE BLACK PROTAGONIST IN THE CUBAN NOVEL by Pedro Barrera and translated by Page Bancroft, has been published by the University of Massachusetts Press. Cost: \$12.50.

APLICACION DEL CONCILIO DE TRENTO EN HISPANOAMERICA 1564-1600 by Juan Villegas SJ, has been published by the Centro de Estudios de Historia Americana (CEHA), Carlos Vaz Ferreira 3711, Montevideo. Cost \$20.00.

INTERNATIONAL JOBS -- WHERE THEY ARE, HOW TO GET THEM, by Eric Kocher, has been published by Addison-Wesley for \$5.95 paper.

DEVELOPMENT AS IF WOMEN MATTERED: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH A THIRD WORLD FOCUS by May Rihani was prepared under the auspices of the Secretariat for Women in Development of the New TransCentury Foundation and is for sale there for \$3.00.

JOURNALS ET AL.

POINT OF CONTACT/PUNTO DE CONTACTO, Issue No. 6, is published in cooperation with NYU's Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Subscription rates are \$12.00 individual and \$22.00 institutional rates for one year. Inquiries should be directed to Punto de Contacto, 110 Bleecker Street, 16B, NY, NY 10012.

ESTUDIOS RURALES LATINOAMERICANOS, Apartado Aéreo 11386, Bogotá, is published 3 times a year. Subscription rates are \$18/year U.S. individuals and \$24/year U.S. institutions.

DOCUMENTOS DE TRABAJO PUBLICADOS POR EL SEMINARIO PERMANENTE SOBRE LATINO AMERICA (SEPLA) incluyen: La crisis capitalista: carácter y perspectivas (Theotonio dos Santos); La política norteamericana hacia América Latina (E.R. Contardo); Los compromisos y la dependencia militar (A.V. Palacio); América Latina y la crisis europea. Rol de la Socialdemocracia Europea (DW Schinca); América Latina y la crisis europea. El Eurocomunismo (E Semo y ES Iñiguez); La capacidad y los instrumentos de defensa de A.L. Once proposiciones sobre la situación actual latinoamericana (J. Martínez y P. Vuskovic); Notas sobre la Teoría del Desarrollo, la Dependencia, y la Revolución. Algunas reflexiones metodológicas e históricas (Theotonio dos Santos); Notas sobre la viabilidad de una OTAS, la naturaleza del Condeca y las formas de coproducción armamentista en A.L. (G. Selser); La nueva política imperialista. La política de la Comisión Trilateral (J.M. Bengoa); La lucha del Tercer Mundo y la aportación latinoamericana (P. Vuskovic); La crisis brasileña (T. dos Santos). Precio: \$20.00 pesos cada ejemplar. SEPLA, san Lorenzo 153, 406-407, México 12, DF.

The BOLETIN DE LA ACADEMIA NORTEAMERICANA DE LA LENGUA ESPANOLA, aparece por lo menos una vez al año y publica estudios inéditos bien documentados sobre la lengua y la cultura de los hispanohablantes en los Estados Unidos. Director del Boletín es Dr. E. Chang-Rodríguez, Dept. of Romance Languages, Queens College, CUNY, Flushing, NY 11367. La cuota de suscripción anual es U.S. \$8 y debe enviarse al Sr. Odon Betanzos, 125 Queen St., Staten Island, NY 10314. Nos. 2-3 (1977-1978) están disponibles.

The Autumn 1979 number of SIGNS: JOURNAL OF WOMEN IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY is a special issue on "Women in Latin America." \$5 single issue price, to be ordered from Univ. of Chicago Press, 11030 Langley Ave., Chicago, IL 60628.

LASA WASHINGTON OFFICE

The Executive Council has approved a LASA Office in Washington, D.C. for maintaining closer liaison with government and other funding agencies and for keeping the membership better informed on relevant developments on the Washington and national scenes.

Immediate tasks for the Washington Office are: (a) to develop an Information or Resource Packet for Washington, emphasizing key Congressional committees and staff people, structure of the Office of Education, available publications on Washington resources, etc; (b) to explore funding for a project to develop a list of consultants in the Latin American area for testimony, grant review, consultation, etc.; (c) to develop a strategy with the Operations Committee to expand LASA membership in the Washington, D.C. area; and (d) to monitor key developments, for dissemination through LASA's communications network (the LASA Regional Liaison Committee and regional associations), on Office of Education restructuring, on major Congressional hearings affecting area and language studies, international education, etc., on the Report of the

President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, and so forth.

Members of the Operations Committee appear in the list of LASA committees in this issue of the Newsletter.

NDEA CENTERS FOR 1979-1981

Latin American Studies Centers funded under Title VI for the period August 1979-August 1981 have been announced as follows: Tulane University, University of California-Los Angeles, University of Florida with Florida International University, University of Illinois with University of Chicago, University of New Mexico with New Mexico State University at Las Cruces, University of Pittsburgh, University of Texas, University of Wisconsin system, Yale University with University of Connecticut, Western Kentucky University (undergraduate), and San Diego State University (undergraduate)

TREASURER'S REPORT

In November 1978 the Executive Council conducted an extensive re-examination of the LASA budget and reached decisions by which the Council: (1) approved a projected budget for 1978-79, (2) moved the LASA accounts from a calendar-year basis to a fiscal year (October 1-September 30), and (3) ordered the Treasurer to submit a report to both the Council and the membership by mid-1979. Here it is.

Our figures indicate that LASA has some money in the bank. As of May 1, 1979 the Association had current assets of \$81,193.54, with an additional \$15,825.32 expected by September 30--for a total of \$97,018.86. Part of this sum accrues from a substantial (but undetermined until recently) surplus of a little more than \$20,000 at the conclusion of FY 1978. Our estimated liabilities (expenditures) against the \$97,018.86 come to \$63,288.61. We therefore expect to end FY 1979 with an uncommitted cash surplus of \$33,730.25. This balance belongs to the Association alone, and it is entirely separate from the accounts of LASA's Ford Foundation grants (about which more below). And it is very nice, to be sure, but it is not as much as it might seem to be.

Revenues for the Association's annual operating budget come from membership dues, the publication and sale of LARR lists, proceeds from the national meeting, interest on savings accounts, and occasionally miscellaneous other sources. (There are also dues from CLASP, but these apply to CLASP expenses and are omitted from these calculations.) Thanks to the extraordinarily successful national meeting in Pittsburgh, as revealed in Table 1, our total anticipated revenues for FY 1979 come to \$59,476.03. (But note that the next national meeting will not take place until October 1980, so there will be only a fraction of the income from this source in FY 1980.)

Table 1. Operating Revenues for FY 1979
(October 1, 1978-September 30, 1979)

	<u>Receipts</u>
Dues*	\$33,000.00
Publication and Sale of LARR Lists	3,200.00
Interest	3,800.00
National Meeting	19,476.03
Miscellany	<u>-0-</u>
Total	\$59,476.03

* Reflects estimate for 1979 membership dues only

Last November the Executive Council approved a FY 1979 proposal that projected total operating costs of \$53,100; of this amount \$47,600 would be taken from LASA's operating revenues and \$5,500 would be drawn from the Ford grant accounts. In view of the receipts in Table 1, this yields a projected positive balance in the Association's FY 1979 operating budget of \$11,876.03 by September 1979. This entire sum will be carried over to FY 1980 in order to help cover operating costs in a year with no national meeting.

Data in Table 2 indicate that expenditures as of April 30, 1979 have stayed closely in line with the resolutions of November 1978. About \$31,700 had been spent from the projected LASA disbursements of \$47,600, and about \$2,200 of the Ford-funded \$5,500 had also been used. Two items now on the LASA budget (Newsletter and HLAS costs) had not been foreseen in the initial planning and some others have exceeded original estimates, but we do not foresee any major overruns in FY 1979. Expenditures remain under the close supervision of the President and Treasurer, the Secretariat, and a professional accountant in Urbana-Champaign.

TABLE 2

Generous support for special activities of LASA, particularly the work of standing and ad hoc committees and the Association's publications, has primarily come from three Ford Foundation grants in the past decade or so. The first has expired, while the second and third (here designated Ford II and Ford III) have been extended to September 30, 1980. In October 1978 LASA and Ford negotiated revisions in the specifications of the grants, mainly in order to permit the use of \$18,000 for the creation of a LASA office in Washington. The revised grant structures appear in Table 3.

TABLE 3

As of April 30, 1979 LASA had expended all but \$35,000 of the combined grant total of \$185,000. More than half of this remainder will be allocated to the activities of the Washington office. Table 4 presents a breakdown of expenditures and current balances.

TABLE 4

The principal message of Table 4 is that LASA will have only \$17,000 at its disposal for special activities (outside of the Washington office) between now and the expiration of the Ford grants in September 1980. This amount is modest by any conceivable standard, and it is for this reason that the Executive Council decided to abolish most committees and replace them with a handful of low-cost "task forces" at the Pittsburgh meeting. If the Association wants to continue its special activities, it will have to find a way to pay for them.

In short, our budget for FY 1979 looks solid. It is reassuring to have that money in the bank. But appearances can be deceiving. Operating costs are rising more rapidly than revenues, notwithstanding an increase in membership, and the proceeds from national meetings can be volatile and unpredictable. We have a surplus at the moment, but \$30,000 cannot go all that far. Moreover it is absolutely essential for LASA to maintain a working reserve--partly to meet with unexpected contingencies, and mostly in order to earn interest (as shown in Table 1). Projections for FY 1980 are encouraging, but prospects for subsequent years are not quite so comforting.

Respectfully submitted,

Peter H. Smith
Treasurer
May 1979

Table 2. Current and Projected Operating Expenditures for FY 1979
(As of April 30, 1979)

	LASA Accounts		Ford Accounts	
	As Budgeted	Spent (10/78-4/79)	As Budgeted	Spent (10/78-4/79)
Nominating Committee	250.00	229.83	-0-	-0-
National Meeting	9,000.00	2,327.92*	-0-	-0-
Extra Help	500.00	5.00	-0-	-0-
Exec. Dir. Travel, etc.	1,000.00	94.00	-0-	-0-
Fact Sheets	225.00	306.16	-0-	-0-
Newsletter	-0-	1,063.00	2,300.00	1,099.37
Membership List	500.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
Accountant Fees	2,500.00	1,497.38	-0-	-0-
Postage	3,500.00	1,956.43	-0-	-0-
Telephone	1,200.00	1,199.80	-0-	-0-
Office Supplies	600.00	298.71	-0-	-0-
Xeroxing	650.00	338.29	-0-	-0-
Office Printing	1,600.00	604.45	-0-	-0-
LARR Labels	1,380.00	588.71	-0-	-0-
LARR List Maintenance & LARR Shares	15,700.00	12,835.50	-0-	-0-
Executive Council Travel	3,000.00	5,187.58	-0-	-0-
President's Expense Fund	-0-	-0-	1,000.00	674.52
1979 Program Committee	1,500.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
Membership Recruitment	1,000.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
HLAS	-0-	62.55	-0-	-0-
Regional Assoc. Rebates	250.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
Ways and Means	-0-	-0-	2,200.00	459.90
1980 Program Chairperson Travel	1,100.00	1,097.98	-0-	-0-
Bank Charges	25.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
Miscellany	250.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
Contingency	1,870.00	2,020.39	-0-	-0-
Totals	47,600.00	31,713.68	5,500.00	2,233.80
Carryover to FY 1980	11,876.03	-0-	-0-	-0-
GRAND TOTAL	\$59,476.03	\$31,713.68	\$ 5,500.00	\$ 2,233.80

*Additional charges to be received after April 30.

Table 3. LASA Grants from Ford Foundation As Revised October 1978
 (Some Categories Condensed)

	<u>Ford II</u>	<u>Ford III</u>	<u>Total</u>
Meetings and activites of LASA committees	\$36,000.00	\$29,933.62	\$65,933.62
Distribution of North American doctoral dissertations on Latin America	13,598.56	-0-	13,598.56
Travel to Latin America by LASA officers, committee chairpersons, and CLACSO liaison officer	4,500.00	-0-	4,500.00
LASA publications and Newsletter, including distribution	39,000.00	20,000.00	59,000.00
Special activities	1,500.00	-0-	1,500.00
Expenses of Ways and Means Committee	1,401.44	3,066.38	4,467.82
International Scholarly Relations	-0-	9,000.00	9,000.00
Professional workshops	-0-	9,000.00	9,000.00
Washington office	<u>9,000.00</u>	<u>9,000.00</u>	<u>18,000.00</u>
Totals	\$105,000.00	\$ 80,000.00	\$185,000.00

Table 4. Expenditures and Balances for Ford Grants II and III

	Combined Allocation	Spent Prior to FY 1979	Spent Oct. 1, 1978- Apr. 30, 1979	Remaining as of Apr. 30, 1979
Meetings and activities of IASA committees	\$65,933.62	\$55,871.02	\$3,249.97	\$6,812.63
Distribution of North American doctoral dissertations on Latin America	13,598.56	13,598.56	-0-	-0-
Travel to Latin America by IASA officers, committee chairpersons, and CIACSO liaison officers	4,500.00	3,706.23	-0-	793.77
IASA publications and Newsletter, including distribution	59,000.00	53,741.17	2,473.76	2,785.07
Special activities	1,500.00	1,500.00	-0-	-0-
Expenses of Ways and Means Committee	4,467.82	2,770.46	1,405.90	291.46
International Scholarly Relations	9,000.00	5,233.72	-0-	3,766.28
Professional workshops	9,000.00	5,693.32	800.00	2,506.68
Washington office	18,000.00	-0-	-0-	18,000.00
Total	\$185,000.00	\$142,114.48	\$ 7,929.63	\$ 34,955.89

SPECIAL REPORTS ON BRAZIL AND BOLIVIA BY JOAN DASSIN AND JUNE NASH, RESPECTIVELY,
FOR THE
LASA COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

HUMAN RIGHTS IN BRAZIL: A REPORT AS OF MARCH 1979 *

Joan Dassin
Columbia University

Author's Note as of July 1979:

Since this report was written, in March, 1979, political events in Brazil have moved swiftly. Four developments are particularly relevant to human rights. First, Justice Minister Petronio Portella's restricted amnesty bill has already been signed by President João Baptista Figueiredo, and is likely to be approved by the Congress in September, 1979. Unless altered, the measure will grant amnesty on the basis of a juridical definition of "conviction," rather than on the nature of the crime. In practice, the measure will benefit most exiles, banished persons, those deprived of their political rights, and those expelled from their positions for political reasons, as well as agents of the security apparatus and right-wing vigilante groups who were never even brought to trial for alleged torture and other abuses against the regime's opponents. It will exclude many of the remaining political prisoners in Brazil, now serving terms for "terrorist" acts. Second, the two official political parties created by the military government in 1966 and the only ones permitted in Brazil since then will soon be replaced by a multi-party system. Third, the government is expected to propose a reform of the electoral calendar before the year is out. One government source foresees no elections in 1980, multi-party races with direct elections for state governors in 1982, and an indirect Presidential election in 1985, when Figueiredo completes his 6-year term. Finally, Congressional approval of Education Minister Eduardo Portella's plan to revoke legislation prohibiting student political activity is also in the offing. These reforms will coincide with broad-based civilian efforts to re-organize the once-powerful National Student Union, closed by the military in 1964. A preliminary meeting was held at the end of May, 1979, the organization's first since 1968.

These four developments have been presented by the government as concrete steps in the official "redemocratization" program. Opposition forces, for their part, are divided on how to seize more of an initiative in determining the pace and breadth of reforms.

Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by Dr. Joan Dassin expressly for the Brazil Section of the LASA Subcommittee on Human Rights and Academic Freedom under the mandate issued at the 7th Annual Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association.

The Chairman of the Brazil Section was Dr. Ralph della Cava, Queens College, City University of New York. The contributing members of the Brazil Section were Dr. Shelton Davis, Anthropology Resource Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Dr. Angela Gilliam, State University of New York at Old Westbury, and Dr. Robert Levine, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

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This report is the final outcome of meetings held between November 1977 and March 1979. The final text in part drew on reports submitted by the Brazilian Section Chairman and Contributing Members, as well as on data and information provided by Brazilian colleagues. These specialized reports and other printed data on human rights in Brazil are available from the Chairman.

This report was first presented at the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies at Columbia University on February 21, 1979, in a series of seminars sponsored by the Columbia University Center for the Study of Human Rights. It also appeared as Working Paper No. 1 in a series of reports on Human Rights in the Southern Cone sponsored by the Columbia University Center for the Study of Human Rights.

N.B. This report does not refer to several topics directly related to academic freedom in Brazil: the reorganization of the National Student Union (UNE); the reinstatement of university professors fired in 1969; the status of the educational ideology known as "moral e cívica"; and the role of the Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência (SBPC) in the struggle for redemocratization and its confrontation with the Geisel government in July 1977. This last topic has been documented elsewhere (see J. Stone, American Federation of Scientists Newsletter, late 1977). No conclusive data are yet available on the other questions, however, which could be dealt with in a subsequent report.

Introduction

There can be no dispute that Brazil, in March 1979, is run by a strong military government. Nor is there much doubt that former National Intelligence chief General João Baptista Figueiredo, who assumed the presidency on March 15 will maintain military rule in Brazil until his term expires in 1985. Yet Figueiredo, like his predecessor General Ernesto Geisel, is publicly committed to a policy of "redemocratization."

Since 1974, the latter's program of "slow and gradual liberation" has indeed reestablished some civil and political rights in Brazil. Most signs indicate that Figueiredo will further enforce legal guarantees of personal safety and due process, as well as rights to voluntary association, parliamentary representation, individual liberty, and free expression. Whether his administration is the last under military rule is, however, another question. Personally, in fact, the Figueiredo who said he would "lead the country to democracy and... arrest and crush anyone who opposes it!" hardly seems the transitional figure so awaited by the regime's civilian opponents.

Still, Brazilians have undeniably regained some civil and political rights in recent years. To what extent are they guaranteed by law, and what are the changes they will be revoked? What civilian groups have held Geisel and will hold Figueiredo to their pledges of "redemocratization"? Why has the military ceded even a measure of the absolute power with which it ruled Brazil since overthrowing President João Goulart in 1964 and imposing an undeclared state of siege in 1968? In what ways has the worsening economic situation weakened the regime's support base? What has been the impact of President Carter's "Human Rights Policy" on Brazil? Finally, what are the issues to watch in Brazil in coming months?

The Elections

Nowhere is the contradictory nature of the political opening that Geisel has called a "calculated risk" better exemplified than in recent Brazilian elections. One cynical Brazilian journalist has called them a "Three Act Farcical Drama."¹ Act I of this drama occurred September 1, 1978, when the governors of all 22 Brazilian states were "elected" by hand-picked local city councilmen and state deputies. Actually, the prelude to this drama goes back to early 1977, when Geisel closed the National Congress for two weeks and single-handedly enacted a series of "reforms" known as the "April Package." These "reforms" were designed to stifle growing opposition to the government party ARENA (The National Renovating Alliance) by the MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement), the "legal opposition party," and the only other one permitted in Brazil since 1966. Whereas all state governors were elected by popular vote before 1964, after the coup they were elected indirectly through the controlled and intimidated National Congress.

Yet by 1977 the opposition in Congress had become too outspoken, and Geisel, to shore up ARENA's ebbing strength and preserve the image of a united leadership, cracked down. Not only were state governors to be elected by a carefully chosen "electoral

college," but a full one-third of the Senate was to be "elected" by that same body ("bionic senators," as the TV-minded Brazilians call them).

Thus the drama of "Electoral Democracy" took place last year in Brazil, but only after careful redistricting designed to ensure a congressional majority for the government party, a ban on political campaigning on radio and TV, and the rigged "election"--tantamount to prior appointment by the regime--of one-third of the Senate and all 22 incoming state governors.

Act II of the drama transpired October 15, 1978, when the ARENA-dominated Congress "elected" Figueiredo, Geisel's previously-indicated personal choice for president.

But it was in Act III that the internal contradictions of this drama became most evident. On November 15, 1978, national elections for one-third of the senators, all federal deputies, and state legislators were held. Since the president of the republic, the state governors, and the "bionic" senators were already "elected," this was the only direct election in which the Brazilian people participated.

Of the nearly 38 million Brazilians who voted in all three races, a majority supported opposition party candidates for the Senate. According to official government figures (final results calculated as of December 18, 1978), the 17,631,013 ballots cast for the MDB outnumbered ARENA's share by 4,391,532.² (Because the MDB vote was concentrated in Brazil's populous southern states, 15 ARENA senators were elected, as opposed to 8 from the MDB.) Ralph della Cava has pointed out³ that this MDB vote was especially significant because it came largely from industrial workers and middle-class urbanites in all of Brazil's 5 key southern states, which as a bloc account for three-fourths of the country's wealth, population, and production. (The 8 MDB senators were elected in 7 center-south states--Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul, Goiás--and the northeastern state of Paraíba.)

Aided by the 1977 "Reforms," however, ARENA still maintained a majority of seats in the Senate (43 of 68) as well as a majority in the federal House. (ARENA elected 231 federal deputies; MDB, 189, with a total margin of 250,401 votes for ARENA.) The government's traditional strength in rural areas, especially in the northeast, also contributed to ARENA's victory in 19 of the 22 state legislatures. ARENA elected 493 state legislators; MDB, 353. In those contests, the MDB came within 598,359 votes of ARENA.⁴ Significantly, the three state legislatures carried by the MDB--São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul--are perhaps the country's most important.

So the upshot of the electoral drama was ambiguous. Both sides, predictably, claimed victory. While the government party remained in control, the MDB was nonetheless encouraged by its strong public showing. Whether the opposition as a whole will be able to channel its popular support into an effective political program is, of course, another question. The outcome will depend as much on government tolerance as it does on opposition politics.

A New National Security Policy

Just as the government manipulated last year's electoral process, it also controlled liberalizations of the official national security policy. While certain Institutional Acts allowing the president to rule by decree were revoked by constitutional amendment, these so-called "Reforms" were approved in October 1978 by the ARENA-dominated Congress just as Geisel had proposed them five months before. True, ARENA Senator Petrônio Portella, chief negotiator of the "Reforms" for the government, had conducted closed-door discussions with civilian opposition leaders for an entire year before the "Reforms" were presented to Congress. The opposition demand for full reestablishment of habeas corpus was accepted by the government, but other opposition demands for a Constitutional Convention, a broad, general, and unrestricted amnesty,⁵ and an even greater limitation of the president's emergency powers were not met. In this process, the government claimed credit for "easing up" on national security matters--responding at least partially to the national mood--without yielding substantial decision-making power to its critics.

The "Reforms" took effect January 1, 1979, and along with a new National Security Law, have reduced the government's power to punish citizens for "crimes" against the state. Among other changes, life imprisonment and banishment (frequently prescribed after 1968) and the death penalty (never formally applied) have been abolished, and habeas corpus (the right to due process) has been reinstated (though prisoners can still be held incommunicado for 8 days (formerly 10)). The prisoner's right to maintain

contact with lawyers during the period of incommunicability was not guaranteed, however causing concern among jurists that torture or maltreatment could still occur during that time. Nonetheless, the new National Security Law does allow defense attorneys to be immediately advised of prisoners' whereabouts, and to request examinations to verify the physical condition of their clients at any time during the inquest.

Under the new National Security Law, politically-motivated crimes (like bank robberies and airplane hijackings), as well as specifically political crimes (like joining outlawed organizations), are now subject to more benevolent penalties, although they will still be tried in military courts. For example, the minimum sentence for bank robbery has been reduced from 12 to 2 years. Since statutes of limitations are calculated on the basis of sentence length, the period of legal accountability for crime has also been reduced. This change has allowed a number of fugitives in Brazil to come out of hiding, and many exiles--including several banished persons--to return.

How many persons are directly affected by this reduction of penalties? In a February 14, 1979, article,⁶ the national newsweekly magazine Veja cited research conducted in December 1978 by Attorney General of the Military Justice Department, Milton Menezes da Costa Filho. He concluded that 510 Brazilians were serving prison terms for some type of crime against national security, including 362 for politically-motivated bank robberies. Another 1,100 had been convicted for political crimes but were in hiding or in exile. The 1978 Amnesty International Report (covering July 1977-June 1978) has identified only 180 political prisoners, with 80 of those cases under adoption or investigation by Amnesty International groups. Veja itself noted that Costa Filho's figure may be an overestimate, since only 14 political prisoners were currently held in São Paulo.*

Amnesty - A Change in the Ideology of National Security?

Whatever the exact number of remaining prisoners, it is a fact that more than 100 have been freed in the last year. To date, though, the full, general, and unrestricted amnesty called for by the MDB, the Feminine Movement for Amnesty, the Brazilian Committee for Amnesty, and other groups has not been granted. Instead, the government has proposed that a limited, restricted, and conditional amnesty be granted to persons deprived of their political rights for 10 years (cassados), persons convicted of political crimes (condenados), political fugitives (refugiados), banished persons (banidos), and those expelled from their positions for political reasons (demitidos).

The terms of amnesty for each category will be final only when the government presents its amnesty bill for approval to the Congress, expected to occur during Figueiredo's first year in office. At present, the government refuses to grant amnesty to those convicted of so-called "terrorist" acts, including assault, kidnappings, bank robberies, physical attacks, hijackings, and bank robberies committed to finance political activities. Whatever the outcome, it is clear the government has already opened the door to a broader amnesty than some more diehard military officers would have liked.

*In June 1979, Amnesty International reported 73 political prisoners in Brazil. Brazilian newspaper sources consulted in July 1979, report 54-56 remaining prisoners.

Subsequent events have clarified this picture. As of July 1979, when this text was edited for publication, the government had still shown no intention of meeting the opposition demand for a full, general, and unrestricted amnesty--perhaps to placate those same military officers. On the contrary, Justice Minister Petrônio Portella's amnesty bill (signed by Figueiredo at the end of June and likely to be approved by the Congress in time for Independence Day festivities on September 7) is a limited, restricted and conditional measure whose criteria are based on a juridical definition of "conviction," rather than on the nature of the crime. Thus persons who were accused, tried, or even "convicted" (in the common sense) of political crimes but who for various reasons did not exhaust their juridical right to appeal are considered "not convicted" and will receive amnesty. Those who were convicted of political crimes but did exhaust their right to appeal are considered "convicted" and are excluded. It is thus possible that of two persons who committed the same crime--i.e. a "terrorist" act--one will receive amnesty and the other not. This will in fact be the result of the current plan: it will benefit almost all of the 128 banished persons, whose trials for "terrorist" acts were "frozen" with their banishment. Yet, of the 16 remaining political prisoners in Rio de Janeiro, not one will receive amnesty.

Portella himself recognizes the "juridical unfairness" of the plan, but claims that it nonetheless represents the government's political thought. Indeed it does. Two groups to receive amnesty (because they were never "convicted" in the present sense) emerge as essential to the government's continued well-being: one, the agents of the security apparatus and right-wing vigilante groups who were never even brought to trial for alleged torture and other abuses against the regime's opponents; and two, older exiled politicians whose return and future participation in the formation of new political parties are expected to split opposition forces.

For now, those forces have denounced the amnesty bill as "stingy," "malicious," and "discriminatory." Moreover, they have called for a nationwide campaign to unmask it as but the latest government strategy to retain control of the political arena.

It is also certain that amnesty is not merely a juridical but a political issue as well. The question of who is readmitted to national political life--and under what conditions--is crucial to both the government and the opposition. Thus the future roles of exiled exgovernor Miguel Arraes, now considered a potential leader of the Brazilian Socialist Party, and Moscow-based Luís Carlos Prestes, long-time head of the Brazilian Communist Party, are of as much concern to the government as to party adherents. Their fates, in fact, will be decisive in the formation of new political parties--a promise as yet undelivered by the government.

Though the government will most likely restrict the granting of amnesty in accordance with its own political objectives, the president can no longer banish citizens or administratively suspend their political rights for 10 years (known as cassation). Congressmen, in particular, can no longer be stripped of their electoral mandates by presidential decree.

According to the Brazil Factsheet prepared in late 1978 by Brazilian journalist Judith Patarra, 130 persons have been banished from Brazil since 1964; all were political prisoners exchanged for kidnapped foreign diplomats. Six of those banished have been discovered in hiding in Brazil and killed since 1975; in the last year, 3 persons have openly returned. One of them, Ricardo Zarattini, is now in prison in Sao Paulo; the other two are free, although one has charges pending. Also in this period, an estimated 4,877 people have been cassated (deprived of their political rights), including 6 senators, 110 federal representatives, 161 state representatives, 22 mayors and vice-mayors, and 22 councilmen and women.⁷ Approximately 90% of these persons were cassated in 1964-68, so that their 10-year terms have already expired. Moreover, under Figueiredo's amnesty, the remaining 10% may have their rights restored before their 10-year terms expire..

If the great majority of persons accused, condemned, cassated, imprisoned, forced into hiding, exiled, or banished for political "crimes" will benefit from Figueiredo's proposed amnesty, why is the opposition so adamant about a "full, general, and unrestricted amnesty"? Brazilian Bar Association President Raymundo Faoro has observed that citizens who perpetrated "terrorist acts" (like politically-motivated bank robberies, airplane hijackings, and kidnappings) were in fact part of a resistance mounted against a system constructed by Institutional Act No. 5 (A-I 5) in 1968. That act, which allowed the military government to rule by decree, deprive citizens of habeus corpus, remove people's political rights and close Congress at will, was revoked January 1, 1979, ending a 10-year period during which those "exceptional powers" were repeatedly exercised. (The new system of "safeguards of the state" which allows the application of emergency measures and the declaration of a State of Emergency, is discussed below.)

Yet without a total amnesty, persons imprisoned under A-I 5 for "terrorist acts" other "crimes" against national security will still have criminal records. Thus they are still legally responsible for combatting a system that has already been constitutionally abolished. Only by clearing their records, the opposition contends, can the government demonstrate a real commitment to "redemocratization."

That commitment is probably not forthcoming soon. Although the government has reduced the legal responsibility of political "criminals" and limited some arbitrary powers of the State, the ideology underlying national security legislation will take longer to change. This view of society--passed on by the Brazilian military to the dictators of Latin America's Southern Cone--places the State, in reality a ruling elite in an antagonistic position to the general citizenry. To protect its privileges, the ruling elite declares an "internal war on Subversion."⁸

In theory after 1964, and in practice after 1969, the Brazilian Armed Forces favored "complete ideological and operational"⁹ commitment to this "internal war." Under President Médici (1969-74) torture was official state policy; Geisel, on the other hand, took office in 1974 determined to control the security apparatus. But only after January 1976, when Geisel fired General Ednardo d'Ávila Mello, São Paulo's Second Army Commander, did the repressive machine run by the armed forces, the police, and other civil "authorities" really wind down. Ednardo's dismissal itself had been provoked by the torture-induced deaths of journalist Wladimir Herzog in October 1975 and the metalworker Manoel Fiel Filho less than three months later. To Geisel and his military supporters, it had become intolerable that special teams of torturers and extreme rightwing vigilante groups could operate with the knowledge but without the control of the military. Since 1976, some cases of torture and maltreatment have been reported, but wholesale practice of these abuses has ended.

Still, it must be emphasized that torture is still not itself a crime in Brazil; this day, no torturer has been held legally responsible for his actions. Until that occurs, no Brazilian will be safe from the clandestine practice of torture or even from the overt police torture routinely applied to common prisoners. Nor is there any guarantee that the government will not declare the "internal war" again. The security apparatus secretly charged with waging it has not been totally dismantled, though its workings are now more widely known. Officially, too, the government is still empowered to repress "subversion." According to this year's National Security Law, any individual act preventing the realization of national objectives--"national sovereignty," "territorial integrity," a "democratic and representative regime," "social peace," "national prosperity," and "international harmony"--is still considered a crime against the State.¹⁰

True, there is now in Brazil an increased toleration for dissent, and a freer climate for debate. In April 1978, the National Council of Brazilian Bishops took advantage of this relative liberty to denounce human rights violations perpetrated in the name of national security throughout the continent. The February 21, 1979 issue of Veja includes a two-part history of the security apparatus, its crimes and working methods. The article's author, Antonio Carlos Fon, has been charged under the National Security Law for having turned "public opinion against the constituted authorities." Whatever the outcome of the case (it has not yet been brought to trial), what is probably the most detailed reporting about the systematic use of torture by police and the army ever

printed in a Latin American country still under military rule will have already been seen by the magazine's more than 300,000 readers.

When tried, furthermore, the case will test the exact limits of press freedom in Brazil. Like torture, censorship--which was vigorously implemented from 1968-76--has eased considerably since late 1975-early 1976, when the major dailies were exempted from prior censorship. By June 1978, controversial opposition newspapers and the Catholic press had been similarly exempted. Previously taboo subjects like torture, dissension within the military, and censorship itself are now widely and openly discussed in the press--although, as the Veja case demonstrates, there is still risk of government reprisal. Of course, this relative freedom of the press must be seen in the context of continuing government control of radio and TV (daily newspaper readers number an estimated 8 million, while electronic media reach about 90 million of the 116 million Brazilians).^{*} The fact that these media reach much larger audiences than the press accounts for the 1976 Falcão Law which still prohibits political campaigning on radio and television (i.e., by the opposition; government party candidates can claim they are making a "public service" announcement).

At the heart of the national security question is the fact that the president still has recourse to certain emergency powers. Under the amended Constitution, the president can declare a "State of Emergency" (in addition to the traditional "State of Siege"). During such a period emergency measures--known as "Safeguards of the State"--can be invoked by the government to "reestablish public order and social peace... and impede or repel subversive activities that threaten the free function of the powers that be and their institutions..."¹¹ The "State of Emergency" must be reported by the president to the national congress, but can be invoked without congressional consent for up to 180 days. When the situation is not grave enough to warrant a formal State of Emergency declaration, any or all of these same emergency measures can be applied by the president for up to 120 days in restricted areas or institutions like universities and labor unions.

These so-called "coercive measures" include: requiring citizens to reside in places of the government's choosing; detention in buildings not designed for criminals; search and apprehension in one's home; the suspension of the freedom of association; the intervention in organizations representing classes or professional categories; censorship of correspondence, the press, telecommunications and public entertainment; and the use or temporary occupation of private, public, or mixed-ownership companies or public service concessions, as well as the suspension of the duties, function, or work of these entities....¹²

It is worth noting that not all repressive measures emanate from the government's emergency powers. In August 1978, Geisel proposed and Congress did not overturn a decree prohibiting "strikes in federal, state, and municipal services, the sanitation service, gas and electric utilities, oil and fuel companies, banks, transportation services, communications, cargo loading, pharmacies, drug industries and in other industries considered an essential service related to national security."¹³ This "Big Decree," as it came to be known, was handed down after the first major strikes held in Brazil since 1968 by the automotive industry in São Paulo, and by schoolteachers, bank workers, doctors, and bus drivers in that same city. The government, clearly alarmed by these manifestations, soon moved to prohibit further strikes by designating many key industries as "essential services related to national security." As a result, more service industries in Brazil are now explicitly subject to considerations of national security.

Evaluation of Human Rights Advances

It is clear from the preceding discussion that Brazil is currently in a state of transition. Whether the country continues to move toward more guaranteed civil and political liberties is an open question. At present, Brazil is no longer the country which drew worldwide attention in 1972 when Amnesty International reported that 1,081

^{*}Media figures from Brazilian government source and Veja, respectively.

persons had been arrested and allegedly tortured.¹⁴ Despite the well-known cooperation of the Brazilian police with security forces from other Southern Cone countries, Brazil has become at least a temporary shelter for scores of Uruguayan and Argentinean political refugees.

True, the Amnesty International Report covering the period from July 1977-June 1978 records continued human rights violations in Brazil. Recognized torture centers like the Second Army's Department of Internal Operations (DOI) in São Paulo still function. In February 1978, 16 political prisoners who had served terms for activities associated with the illegal Brazilian Communist Party in Santa Catarina state were resentenced. Also in the 1977-78 period, several reporters and writers, including novelist Renato Tapajós and journalists Lourenço Diafêria, Milton Soares, and Juracilda Veiga, were arrested under the National Security Act. In addition, the infamous Death Squads (Esquadrões da Morte)--members of the police said to be involved in crime--continue to kill with impunity on an "alarming scale," despite public denunciation of their activities by well-respected lawyers and jurists. In Rio's poor industrial district, the Baixada Fluminense, Death Squads are thought to have committed 177 murders in the first 4 months of 1978.

On the student front, Amnesty International reports that in the second half of 1977 mass arrests were provoked by the first large-scale demonstrations on university campuses since 1968. Demonstrations in Rio and Brasília were largely peaceful, but 80 students were arrested in Belo Horizonte. All were subsequently released, but some were said to have been tortured. On September 22, 1977, riot police invaded an assembly of some 20,000 students in São Paulo's Catholic University; 20 students were severely injured, and 5 have still not recovered from burns caused by bombs and tear gas sprays. Two thousand students were arrested on that occasion, but were released after about a week.

Also in 1977, 17 postgraduate engineering students from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, alleged members of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Proletariat, were arrested and severely tortured by electric shocks, beatings, and suspension by the hands. "Evidence" of their crimes were based on confessions extracted under torture.

Another continuing form of violence was exposed in the case of four Uruguayans kidnaped in Porto Alegre November 12, 1978, when Lilian Celiberti de Casariego, Universindo Rodriquez Díaz, and 2 children aged 8 and 3 were detained by the police in their apartment. The children were taken separately to the headquarters of the Secretariat of Security, and then by car to the Uruguayan border. There, they were transferred to a Uruguayan vehicle, and brought to a house in Punta del Este as hostages for the two adults.

The latter were discovered November 17 by 2 journalists from *Veja*, who visited the Porto Alegre apartment after an anonymous tip. The reporters were held by 5 men armed with revolvers before being freed. That same day, the Uruguayan couple was taken to São Paulo, and then to Montevideo by plane. Shortly thereafter, the children were returned to the safety of their grandparents' house in Montevideo, but the couple has been held incommunicado in a Uruguayan prison ever since. Word was received in Brazil that Lilian had attempted to commit suicide, rather than make a false statement that she entered Uruguay of her own free will.

The case became a cause célèbre in Brazil because it clearly exposed the complicity of the Brazilian police in the Uruguayan kidnapping plan. It was widely reported in the Brazilian press and denounced by Brazilian congressmen as a violation of Brazilian sovereignty. For the first time in Brazil, the collaboration of Brazilian security forces with those from other Southern Cone countries was called into question. The Brazil-based campaigns for the release of political prisoners Flávia Schilling (imprisoned in Uruguay since 1972) and Flávio Koutizi (imprisoned in Argentina since 1975 and released in June 1979), as well as the release of Brazilian journalist Flávio Tavares from an Uruguayan prison in 1977, have also put pressure on the Brazilian police to dissociate themselves from their Southern Cone cohorts.¹⁵

Even a brief glance at the situation in the other Southern Cone countries, in fact, reveals the relative relaxation of repression in Brazil. Two recent meetings on human rights, one sponsored by the Vicariate of Solidarity from November 22-25, 1978, in Santiago, Chile, and the other sponsored by the Paraguayan Commission for the Defense of Human Rights in Asunción, Paraguay, from December 8-10, 1978, were infiltrated,

threatened by the police, and held at great risk to the participants. In Brazil, in contrast, over 40 different organizations were represented at the First National Congress for Amnesty, freely held in São Paulo from November 2-5. Another human rights conference held in São Paulo from December 5-9, 1978, this one sponsored by the Archdiocese of São Paulo, boldly discussed the theme of "Latin America: The Church and Liberation."

One must ask why the Brazilian generals have felt compelled to make these concessions--however partial--to the morally victorious civilian opposition. Since late 1975, when the torture-induced death of journalist Wladimir Herzog became a symbol for largely middle-class opponents of the regime, many groups have condemned human rights violations in Brazil. The MDB, the Brazilian Congress, the Brazilian Bar Association, the Women's Movement for Amnesty, the Brazilian Committee for Amnesty, the National Student Union, the Brazilian Press Association, the Artist's Movement for Amnesty, some leading industrialists and, to the greatest degree, the Brazilian Catholic Church (especially the São Paulo diocese led by Cardinal Archbishop Dom Paulo Evaristo Arns) have pressured the regime into controlling its most obvious abuses of arbitrary power.

A worsening economic picture also forced Geisel's hand. While the middle classes had traded political rights for the spoils of rapid development during the years of the so-called "Economic Miracle" (1968-1973), they began to withdraw their support from the regime as the pie shrank.

During the golden "miracle" years, the GNP grew at a heady 10% per annum. There was rapid industrialization and expansion of non-traditional exports. The government stressed the development of hydroelectric and nuclear power as energy sources to propel Brazil into the twenty-first century as a "Great Nation." Brazil has in fact become one of the foremost manufacturing nations in the developing world. According to David Vidal in a recent New York Times article,¹⁶ Brazil is the 8th largest Western economy, with the leading computer, automotive, chemical, and iron and steel industries in Latin America. It has a highly diversified industrial sector, and is the world's second largest exporter of agricultural products such as coffee and soybeans. Agricultural exports, produced largely by multinational agribusiness, represent 60% of Brazilian exports.¹⁷

But 80% of Brazil's petroleum needs are imported, so that the 1973 world oil crisis and the ever-rising cost of imported oil, coupled with a lag in adjusting government spending downward, has had disastrous economic consequences. Inflation rose to 40% in 1978 (up from 26% in 1973 and less than half that in the previous three years). The country has also faced a mounting balance of payments problem, and increasing difficulty in servicing its huge external debt (\$42 billion). Government attempts to control inflation run the risk of creating a politically unacceptable recession, and its efforts to improve trade balances through manufactured exports have been frustrated by protectionism abroad. In short, Brazil's economic growth rate is now down to 6% per annum, and it is doubtful that exceptional development will resume--at least in the immediate future.

Politically, this picture has forced the inflation-squeezed middle classes and increasingly exploited working classes to protest. The middle classes, in particular, have begun to wonder about their "bargain" with the military. What can be the rationale for political repression if economic growth--which it supposedly facilitated--can no longer be maintained? The working classes, for their part, have had little say in the current campaign for human rights and amnesty. Nonetheless, some primarily middle-class groups like the Women's Movement for Amnesty have spoken out for the rights of the poor, explicitly linking basic economic rights to civil and political liberties. The Brazilian Church has been even more outspoken in affirming that all men have the right to "work, free association, fair wages, human living conditions, substantial nourishment, health, basic sanitary systems, transport, education... and leisure." The Church has even denounced those who are satisfied with "a certain democratic 'liberalization' that concedes freedoms to some social elites, but does not radically transform the oppressive capitalist system which condemns the poor to 'die before their time.'"¹⁹

Their situation is indeed bleak. Industrialization, synonymous with recent Brazilian development, has bypassed most Brazilians. Industry employs just one-eighth of the total labor force, itself only a third of the population; 40% of the labor force

earns about \$90/month.²⁰ By government design, minimum wage adjustments have lagged behind consumer prices. Since 1965, the real minimum wage has steadily declined, and the wage squeeze has worsened in the last 3 years as the inflation rate has nearly doubled. About 70% of a laborer's wage is used to buy food; the number of work-hours necessary for a worker to feed his family has increased by 50%. Consequently, more women and children are working in Brazil, and there is a higher risk of work accident than ever before (Brazil already holds the world record for accidents on the job).

Other consequences of the declining real wage are poor diet, lower life expectancy, and increased infant mortality rate. In Brazil today, 280,000 children a year die before their first birthday; 69% of children's deaths occurring before 5 years of age are caused by malnutrition, and 12 million Brazilian children between the ages of 2 and 6 have malnutrition-related problems.

The housing situation of the poor has also deteriorated. In 1964 the National Housing Bank was created "to resolve the housing problem once and for all." Its original plan to finance the construction of 10 million houses in a period of 10 years resulted in a mere 1.1 million houses, only 280,000 of which were for poor workers--and those workers were incapable of paying their rents because their salaries did not keep pace with rent increases.²¹

This worsening situation reflects the fact that the poor in Brazil are getting poorer because the rich are getting richer. Income distribution is more unequal now than before the military coup in 1964. In 1960 the poorest half of the population controlled 17% of the country's wealth. By 1970 they controlled only 14.9%, and in 1976, 11.8%. The richest 5% of the population, in contrast, as of 1976 controlled 39% of the annual personal income generated in Brazil.²²

Whether the government can hold the lid on the country's economic problems by ceding some civil and political liberties to their one-time supporters from the middle classes is an open question. It may well come to pass that precisely these liberties will generate a political opposition that can challenge the government's economic policy. Whatever the outcome, however, the downturn in Brazil's economy has clearly contributed in large measure to a widespread disenchantment with the regime. The current campaign for human rights, in particular, owes much of its stimulus to harder times for both the middle and working classes. Even from the government's point of view, it is difficult to justify a rigorous policy of national security without runaway economic development.

International pressures as well as internal ones have caused the Brazilian government to restore some civil and political rights to the Brazilian people. President Carter's human rights policy, however controversial at home, did pressure the Brazilian government into responding less repressively to the opposition's human rights campaign. Rosalyn Carter's visit to Brazil in 1977 and the president's visit last year encouraged the opposition, morally if in no other way.

One prominent Brazilian political analyst goes further in contending that Carter's human rights policy was in fact a strong deterrent to torture in Brazil. The policy's effectiveness, according to this view, was largely due to its determined implementation by Ambassador John Crimmins in 1976-78.

Certainly the United States has much to make amends for. According to a 1978 report prepared for a House Subcommittee on the Human Rights Conditions in Selected Countries and the U.S. Response, the greatest U.S. military assistance to Brazil coincided with the development of the repressive security system there. Between 1966 and 1975, Brazil received 28% of the U.S. military assistance in Latin America, twice as much as the second largest recipient, Argentina. The United States also contributed directly to repression through AID Public Safety Programs and police training.

Only in 1976 did this policy change. As a result of the Internal Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act of that year, the State Department prepared a human rights report. In March 1977, that report was rejected by Brazil along with \$50 million of U.S. military assistance credits. In 1978, the Foreign Assistance and Related Programs Appropriations Act prohibited military credit sales to Brazil because of human rights violations.

But the end of formal military cooperation between the two countries was not the decisive factor in promoting human rights in Brazil. Although official U.S. aid was phased out, multilateral lending agencies like the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, as well as commercial banks, have increased their investment in Brazil. Also, the U.S. withdrawal of military credits because of human rights

violations came at a time when U.S. assistance accounted for only 2.5% of the Brazilian military budget and the Brazilian arms industry manufactured 75% of its own needs.

The Brazilian government, for its part, saw Carter's Human Rights Policy as a "false issue" intended to deter the military regime from an independent nuclear policy--in particular from its agreement with the West Germans to develop nuclear weapons technology in Brazil.²³ In recent months, the strain in Brazil-U.S. relations caused by Carter's insistence on human rights and the U.S. disapproval of the West German nuclear agreement seems to have eased.

Conclusion

It is as difficult to make a final assessment of Carter's human rights policy in Brazil as it is to say the last word about human rights violations there. Much will depend on the evolving political process.

In the short run, though, the Brazil-watcher concerned with human rights can keep an eye glued to the fate of the security apparatus. If political conflict in the country intensifies, will President Figueiredo declare another "war on internal subversion"?

Such a reversal of the liberalization process seems unlikely, because retrenchment would seriously endanger the stability of Figueiredo's government. Still, the new president has not explicitly criticized the security apparatus. No torturer has been convicted or even tried for human rights violations, despite numerous public testimonies by torture victims. Indeed, the full story of torture as an official state policy during the Médici years is still closely guarded, as the charges brought against journalist Antônio Carlos Fon for his extensive torture piece in Veja reveal. A clear decision in favor of Fon's right to publish such incriminating information would signify an important step toward the restoration and enforcement of human rights guarantees in Brazil, while a verdict against the journalist or even a legal standoff might indicate that the government is not yet willing to expose and condemn the security apparatus.

If Figueiredo's "unswerving purpose" is indeed to make his country of 116 million people a democracy,²⁴ then that repressive security apparatus--based on torture, maintained by government complicity, and protected by censorship--should once and for all be held accountable before the law. In the gap between word and deed, however, there is infinite room for ambivalence and compromise. Only the future will test Figueiredo's commitment to "redemocratization."

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BOLIVIA: THE CONSOLIDATION (AND BREAKDOWN?)
OF A MILITARISTIC REGIME

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In the year and a half I spent in Bolivia between June 1969 and August 1971, I saw the buildup and aftermath of three violent changes of government. This is a high score even for Bolivia, where over 150 coups have taken place in the 148 years since independence. Bolivia has been ruled under military regimes varying in the degree of repression since General Rene Barrientos' coup in 1964. A law of internal security giving the armed forces almost unlimited rights to arrest and interrogate citizens has been in effect since that time. Then in September 1969, General Ovando interrupted election proceedings to take command of the "Reconstructed Revolution" cut short by Barrientos' death in May of that year. For the first few months, Bolivia experienced a brief "opening" for democracy. A year later, an attempted coup by General Rogelio Miranda was frustrated by disagreement within the military ranks about succession in the "Burned Palace"--the nickname given the site of national government. After a week-long state of siege, five generals went in and out of the presidency before General Juan Jose Torres secured conditional support from labor and enough guarantees from the more liberal elements in the military to form a government. This resulted in a 9-month opening for democracy--not enough time, however, to give birth to the plans for reorganization which were being made by the Popular Assembly convened at La Paz in June 1971.

A military coup by Colonel Hugo Banzer in August 1971 ended representative government and set the stage for the consolidation of military rule. The seven years that followed were among the worst in Bolivia's long history of repression. The process by which Banzer turned back the populist movement is summarized in a half-dozen documents which should be required reading for persons concerned with human rights. They are:

1. "The Massacre of the Valley," a report by the Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Commission concerning the January 1974 killing of peasants and workers in Cochabamba.
2. A report by the Bolivian Workers Center (Central Obrera Boliviana) on the suppression of trade unions;
3. The "Report on a Visit to Investigate Allegations of Slavery," drafted by the Anti-Slavery Society of Great Britain and based on the findings of a representative who went to Bolivia in 1977;
4. A letter drafted by a group of American citizens living in Bolivia and presented to U.S. State Department representative Terence Todman when he visited Bolivia in April 1977;
5. A report about Bolivian miners made by representatives of the British Mineworkers Union following their trip to Bolivia in 1977; and
6. Two reports of the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs concerning the Indian Liberation and Social Rights Movement and the Bolivian colonization program for white African settlers.

Events as reported in the above documents are summarized and discussed below.

The Catholic Church's report states that hundreds of people were murdered in the 3-day Banzer coup and in the days that followed; that students, workers, labor leaders and political opponents of the Banzer regime were imprisoned, held without trial, and tortured. Over 5000 went into exile where they remain, often without official papers. All universities were closed for over a year in 1971-72 and again for several months in 1974. Internment facilities were set up, sometimes in universities closed because of student protest. Among these are the Gabriel Rene Moreno University in the state of Santa Cruz; the Women's Prison in Obrajales, La Paz; the Panoptico Nacional in the Plaza de San Pedro; another in Chonchocoro, 25 kilometers from La Paz; and Puesto "E" in Viacha.

Economic assistance and military loans came from the U.S. and Brazil to support Banzer's regime. U.S. economic assistance included gifts of \$10.6 million and \$4.5 mil-

lion for special programs (including refurbishing the marketplace and leveling a hill outside Miraflores barracks in La Paz which provided easy access for antimilitary demonstrators).¹

In October 1971 the Bolivian peso was devalued from 12 per U.S. dollar to 20. The small increments made in mineworkers' wages have not made up for inflationary pressures created by this artificial change in exchange rate at a time when the dollar was losing value throughout the world. There developed a general awareness that life could not be sustained and reproduced at the standard of living to which Indian and cholo peasants and workers had been reduced. (That reduction has persisted. According to a report of the Bolivian Ministry of Health, published in Presencia on January 5, 1977, a Bolivian peasant's average life expectancy is less than 35 years, due in large part to a high rate of infant mortality. Only 9% of the peasantry had access to any regular source of water. The average daily caloric intake remained low, reported as 1870 calories in 1962, and as 1834 in 1970.) At the same time that sugar, rice, macaroni and oil prices rose 100%, the government set price controls on local products. Conditions reached starvation levels.

This was followed by an uprising of peasants, who set up a blockade on the highways leading out of the Cochabamba valley in January 1974. The effectiveness of this nonviolent protest, supported by factory workers and miners who called strikes at their centers of production, led to a confrontation with Banzer's troops. Promising to meet with the peasant leaders, Banzer instead sent troops and armored cars; over 100 of the unarmed demonstrators, including children, were killed.

Banzer's rejection of peasant demands with such massive force made the people fully conscious of a threat to life, and gave impetus to the Indian Liberation and Social Rights Movement. Positive results of the new attitude included rejection of the military pact peasant leaders had signed with Barrientos in 1965 and a realliance with other workers who had been the target of the military in intervening years.

In November 1974 all political activity was suspended with the passage of Decreto 11947, which illegalized the Bolivian Workers Center, all member federations and all unions, as well as prohibiting strikes and other worker action. The same decree established obligatory civil service, i.e., the State could call any Bolivian over 21 into service for an undetermined period of time, without exception and under penalty of two years' imprisonment or indefinite exile. Decreto Supremo 11952, passed November 12, 1974, established compulsory nomination of coordinadores laborales to replace trade union leaders with appointees of the mining and industrial enterprises. Articles of this decree indicate that the purpose was to destroy the economic as well as political positions of all labor organizations. The directors of the Federation of Bolivian Mine Workers Unions (FSTMB), Victor Lopez Arias, Oscar Salas Moya, Ireneo Pimento, and others were imprisoned when they rejected nomination as coordinadores. The events are documented in the Bolivian Workers Center report.

Militant miners, however, organized a congress in Corocoro in May 1976, demanding a wage increase from \$1.50 to \$4.00 a day as well as the repatriation of the body of President Torres, who had been slain while in exile in Argentina. The workers' wages had sunk to one-third that of agricultural workers in Beni cattle ranches, where a laborer earned \$3.00 a day plus food, drink and housing; even migrant cotton workers earned \$2.50.

The mine centers of Oruro and Potosi were declared military zones, and the army entered them--where they have remained stationed ever since. Fifty mineworkers were exiled to Chile; others were imprisoned. The government put a complete halt to all constitutional rights of free association and voluntary work.

The Anti-Slavery Society reported in April 1977 after a representative's visit to Bolivia that arrests in the mine centers were a daily occurrence. In addition to its report of the harassment of miners, the Anti-Slavery Society indicated that peasants were consistently subjected to arrest for failure to join official trade unions. Approximately 700 peasants had been deceived into working on road construction in eastern Cochabamba in return for land grants, only to learn that a military official, Captain Calindo, was taking over the best lands there.

Bolivia, it should be noted here, enjoyed throughout the Banzer regime a position as one of the biggest beneficiaries of military aid from the U.S. to South America (see Table 1, following). Total loans from independent sources amounted to \$19 million from 1962 to 1971, while during the Banzer regime, Bolivia received \$47 million between 1972 and 1976--

over twice as much in half the time. Investments went up from a total of \$37 million during 1960-69, to \$46.5 million in 1971, \$82.3 million in 1972, \$28 million in 1973, and \$41.9 million in 1974.²

TABLE 1. Economic Aid to Bolivia
(in millions)

Year	Total Grants and Loans	Military Program Assistance
1971	\$14.3	\$2.6
1972	66.2	6.2
1973	32.4	5.1
1974	54.9	7.9
1975	33.2	7.4

Source: James W. Wilkie and Peter Reich, eds. Statistical Abstract of Latin America vol. 18. University of California Latin American Center, 1977, Table 3100.

These grants and loans did not reach the people. The death rate for children between one and four years was 16.8 in 1960-62, and rose to 27.6 in 1970, with only Haiti and Guatemala higher.³ Wages, which had risen 4% in 1971 over the previous year as a result of some changes Torres had made, dropped 0.8% in 1972, 19.5% in 1973, and 35.0% in 1974. (Only Chile had as large a drop, with its 1973 wages down 33.6%.)⁴

Violations of human rights in Bolivia were stated in a letter drafted by U.S. citizens living in Bolivia and presented to Terence Todman during his official State Department visit to La Paz in May 1977. In the letter, they specifically rejected the embassy report on human rights for its inconsistency and ambiguous tone, objecting to its statement that there were "occasional" violations of human rights, and asserting that they had witnessed brutal repression as a daily occurrence affecting the lives of Bolivian workers, peasants and professionals. Assassinations, imprisonment without trial, torture of prisoners, entry of private homes without warrants, and theft of personal goods--all standard operating procedures these U.S. citizens had observed in the conduct of the Ban government. Journalists who printed news of the regime's violations of civil rights were imprisoned or exiled. In 1977, 58 Bolivian journalists had been exiled and 2 were in prison. Those radio stations permitted to broadcast were directed largely by government. The transmitters of the church were destroyed. Radio Pio XII, one of the few stations broadcasting news about the repression of miners throughout Barrientos' presidency (1964-69), no longer could operate. No journalists were allowed in the mining centers, and neither the Red Cross nor International Amnesty, the letter claimed, had visited Bolivia since 1974.

The U.S. citizens drafting this letter urged Todman to carry their report to President Carter, who had voiced his concern with human rights when taking office.

In April 1977, a month before this letter was presented to Todman, British National Union of Mineworkers representatives visited La Paz and the mining centers of Siglo XX. They found an impoverished workforce earning only two-thirds what is calculated as minimum wages for a family of five. With an inflation rate of 159% over the previous six years, the basic wage was decreased and, even with "incentive" bonuses for perfect attendance, did not reach the level paid during Torres' presidency. Pensions averaging \$30/month for workers retired because of silicosis or old age were found to be below what was needed for food alone. The British representatives were able to talk with Bolivian labor leaders operating underground; the latter indicated that the union representatives sent in as coordinadores by the government operated more as a police force than as union agents. The British described the housing they saw there as "concentration camps," and they talked with Domitilla Chungaro, leader of the housewives' association of Siglo XX and outspoken critic of the military regimes since Barrientos' presidency. The report cites Chungaro's discussion of the malnutrition of children and the starvation rations on which they barely survived.

As a result of this report, combined with that of the Anti-Slavery Society, the Br

ish mineworkers succeeded in blocking a loan of 19 million pounds which the British government was considering for capital improvements in the mines. The mineworkers' union urged the government to withhold loans until the Bolivian government withdrew its troops from the mines, freed imprisoned miners, returned the radio stations and discussed wages with the Bolivian miners' own representatives.

In 1977, the Banzer regime's program for development of unsettled agricultural lands was revealed by Dr. Guido Strauss, Undersecretary for Immigration. The government intended to encourage the entry into Bolivia of large numbers of white immigrants from Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa. Presencia reported that the government figured some 150,000 whites would be accommodated with funds of \$150 million offered by the Federal German Republic. Over 800,000 hectares would be given to the immigrants. Strauss's plan did not include any mention of the 41 Indian tribes (a total population of about 120,000) recorded as living in the zone specified for colonization in eastern Bolivia.

English correspondent Norman Lewis's report on this program was published by the International Work Group on Indigenous Affairs as Document 31 in its series. When Lewis questioned Strauss about the disposition of the Indians, he was referred to Summer Institute of Linguistics missionaries. An interview with one of the missionaries clarified that one of the results of the mission's efforts was that Indians began to settle on local farms, where they worked without pay and lived in abysmal conditions. Lewis also learned from Jurgen Reister, an anthropologist working in eastern Bolivia, about conditions on the estates in Santa Cruz, where Indians were brought from the Antiplano region under false promises of land and wages. Chiriguano Indians on the sugar estates of Avapo Izozog, one of the principal areas for planned white settlement, cut cane 15 hours every day but Sunday, when they worked 13 hours.

Although the workers' contracts stipulated free provision of water, firewood and medicines, there was no wood, only muddy water from wells, and nothing more than aspirin to treat the enteritis, tuberculosis and snake-bite from which they suffered. Dr. Strauss' only expressed concern about the Indians, however, was that the white immigrants "will certainly find our Indians no more stupid or lazy than their own blacks." Indians from the Altiplano were considered more amenable to working conditions on the plantations than the "nonintegrated" Indians from the jungle area. Ayoreo Indians resisted recruitment into what Bolivian journalists described as "slave camps" (Excelsior, June 23, 1977). The major protest against the treatment of the workers came from Catholic priests who have worked unstintingly despite severe harassment to bring the situation to international attention.

In 1977, Bolivia did not seem to rank with the more flagrant violators of human rights, such as Chile, Brazil or Argentina. However, the appearance of political peace during Banzer's regime was won at a cost of total repression of protest both within and outside the country. Torres' assassination in Argentina made apparent the regime's fear not only of communist opposition, but of center and even right-wing opposition. Colonel Selich, who collaborated with Banzer in the August 1971 coup, died three years later during "interrogation" by Banzer's police. Political leaders of all parties and labor and professional organizations were forced into exile--not only labor and leftist exiles like Juan Lechin Oquendo, but former presidents Victor Paz Estenssoro (1952-56, 1960-64) and Hernan Siles Zuazo (1956-60), Democratic Christian Party leader Benjamin Miguel, and numerous exministers of the populist movement like Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz of the Socialist Party.

Soon after President Carter's call for recognition of human rights in the hemisphere, Banzer proclaimed amnesty for political prisoners and exiles on the Day of Miners, December 21, 1977, but he did nothing to assure guarantees for those in exile, nor did he release the prisoners. However, the hunger strike launched by a half-dozen wives and children of tin miners who were jailed in the 1976 protest action in the mines brought about a true amnesty. The striking women came to La Paz and took refuge in the Catholic Church archdiocese and the Presencia offices; as the demand for amnesty for political prisoners and the return of exiles attracted support of leaders like Hernan Siles Zuazo and the cardinal of La Paz, they were joined by hundreds more. Their demands included legalization of trade unions, return of the radios taken from mining camps, and removal of the military from the mines. By mid-January, there were 1283 hunger strikers, and symbolic

hunger strikes were carried out by Bolivian exiles and their supporters throughout Europe and Latin America. On January 16, thousands of miners defying military occupation walked out on a 2-day strike, and workers at Manaco's Bata shoe factory staged a 24-hour strike. Banzer responded with a police raid of the hunger strike centers--the university, the Presencia offices, the FAO offices, and the archdiocese. This provoked further protest from newspapers and radio stations, and the largest textile mill in the country launched a 24-hour strike.

Following amnesty, many exiled leaders returned to engage in the campaigns for the elections Banzer promised would take place in July 1978. The Union Democratica Popular's leader Hernan Siles Zuazo and the Christian Democrat candidate General Rene Bernal were the major challengers to Banzer's hand-picked successor, General Juan Pereda Asbun. (Pereda had served as Banzer's Minister of the Interior and had proven his loyalty throughout the regime. Because he represented a relatively weak segment of the military as Air Force general, Banzer may have considered Pereda a person he could manipulate.)

Elections took place as scheduled on July 9. When over half the votes were counted Pereda was ahead with 513,653 votes against 283,824 for Hernan Siles Zuazo. However, witnesses (including two members of an international team of observers, Britain's Lord Avebury and U.S. lawyer Robert Goldman) claimed that ballot boxes were stuffed by Banzer's supporters and that peasants and workers were threatened if they did not vote for Pereda. The election commission halted the election counts, after which Pereda staged a coup and installed himself as president.

Whatever the voting did or failed to do in deciding the winner, informed observers agreed that peasants were mobilized to support Siles Zuazo. Delegations of peasants were seen carrying in boxes of votes to avoid their being stuffed by the military, and these proved to be predominantly orange, the color for Siles Zuazo. While it was expected that miners, factory workers and the urban poor would rally for Siles, the peasant vote surprised many people.

In the July 1979 elections, Siles won by 30 to 50,000 votes over his major opponent, Victor Paz Estenssoro. Hugo Banzer followed with 16 percent of the popular vote and Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz with six percent. According to Bolivian law, the congress will decide who the winner will be when there is no clear majority. The representatives to congress were also elected in the recent election, and since Paz Estenssoro has seven more representatives than Siles Zuazo informed sources guess that the decision will be in his favor. Then too, the assumption is that if not on the first vote, at least by the second vote Hugo Banzer, the president from 1971 to 1978, will hand over the twenty votes he controls in congress to Paz Estenssoro. In an uncertain situation, threats of a general strike by the Federation of Mine Workers Unions, the Bolivian Workers Center, and the university group if the congress elects Paz Estenssoro are countered by rumors of a military coup if the presidency should go to Siles Zuazo. The congress meets on August 1 and the decision should be made by August 6.

This election was marked by freedom of expression in the press and radio, and by free and open election campaigns by the four major candidates.

CONCLUSIONS

Bolivia reveals all the contradictions of modernization in a politically and economically dependent state. Given the many anomalies in the geopolitical climate of South America today, its analysis is difficult. The model currently applied to South American countries is that of corporatism, replacing the outmoded model of pluralism as the counterpart to modernization in the economy. Schmitter^o defines corporatism as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number

of noncompetitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated components recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and support. This is not a model we can apply to Bolivia. In its fully developed form, which Schmitter refers to as "societal corporatism," interest group representation is integrated within state organizational control. Bolivia's weak industrial sector in mining, oil and a few consumer industries is unable to absorb the growing population in rural and urban areas. Dislocated masses of peasants and workers are victims of corrupt state and private manipulation, as the six documents discussed here have indicated. Legitimate representation within federations and syndicates which developed during the populist period are driven underground or into exile as government-chosen coordinadores are substituted. Rejected by the rank and file, however, so-called representatives cannot maintain even a semblance of corporate integration.

A variant of corporatism termed "corporatism from above" has been developed by Schmitter⁹ to account for institutional development as found in dependent economies. Here the institutional structure of the state is a reflexive response to demands stemming from the foreign investment sector and the external market. Corporatism from above thus involves an extension of state control through regulatory policies, some sectoral planning and public enterprise, and emergence of a professionalized civil service.

But even this modified version cannot account for Bolivia. As James Molloy pointed out,¹⁰ the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario that had come to power in the 1952 revolution tried during the 1950s to incorporate every interest group in the population. However, increasing U.S. intervention after 1957 and the passage of a stabilization act effectively freezing wages and limiting internal investment possibilities negated this stage of corporatism. The army became the central political power as generals were put in charge of major national enterprises and eventually most of the ministries under Ovando. The army's strength arises from its unique position as the only sector capable of winning the confidence of U.S. investors. Yet even in this sector there is not the monopoly of representation predicated by the corporatist model: significant divisions existed within the army throughout the Banzer period and persist in the postelection phase. Banzer found it necessary to destroy his own cohorts when they became political competitors. Pereda has apparently taken a new course diverging from Banzer's line of national development, and has already been challenged by the old guard of "Topatistas," who are calling for an early election.

The Bolivia case is not a complete anomaly in the Latin American subcontinent, however. In a convincing analysis of Honduras, Morris and Ropp¹¹ have shown that the tension between inadequate resources and developmental imperatives for incorporation cannot be resolved with corporate solutions. What seems necessary to explain political developments in extreme examples of dependent states is a model placing international centers of financial and market control at the system center in both political and economic spheres as reflexive responses to external demands. U.S. investments, loans and grants are an index to what behavior is being rewarded, and a better clue to future developments than the words of national leaders. Bolivia is a series of ad hoc formations of power located in varying branches of the military and lacking any solid base in the populace. Claims to power without even a shred of legitimacy are based on the degree to which they can mobilize foreign support. In such a structure, a few women can, and did on December 21, 1977 challenge the power of the state.

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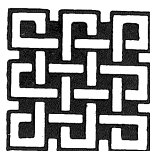
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