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Viewpoints

A New Source of Economic Statistics for Ecuador: The Ecuadorian National Accounts

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The discovery of petroleum and its subsequent export, beginning in 1972, ushered in a period of rapid social and economic change in Ecuador, a country late to modernize by Latin American standards. From 1970 to 1980, the average annual rate of growth of gross domestic product was just under 9 percent. Import-substituting industrialization, initiated during the late 1960s, accelerated during the 1970s. The manufacturing sector grew at 9.5 percent per year during this period. For the first time in Ecuador's history, a significant middle class developed. The public sector as a share of GDP in current sucres grew at an annual rate of 3.6 percent from 1968 to 1982. Social science research on Ecuador during the petroleum period, however, has not kept pace with this transformation. One reason has been the difficulty of locating reliable economic measures of these petroleum-induced changes.

In the last few years the Central Bank of Ecuador has published a series of national accounts that provides a rich source of economic statistics for the country. Unfortunately, this source has received very little use by either Ecuadorian or foreign researchers. Since the Ecuadorian national accounts are undoubtedly the best source of macroeconomic information about this country, their underutilization appears to be due to a widespread lack of information about their existence and content. This situation undoubtedly owes much to the recent publication of the national accounts, and, perhaps, to the fact that most researchers, other than economists, have little appreciation for the analytical capabilities of a complete system of national accounts. With this in mind, the national accounts division of the Central Bank has embarked on an educational program designed to stimulate further use by Ecuadorian researchers; in this article we endeavor to

perform a similar function for non-Ecuadorian social science researchers by providing a brief description of the national accounts.

1. History of the Development of Ecuador's National Accounts

In Ecuador, as in the majority of countries in Latin America, the development of macroeconomic statistics began in the 1950s with the assistance of international organizations, among which the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) played a particularly important role. Unfortunately, these statistics were not developed for the purpose of establishing a complete system of national accounts and did not easily lend themselves to that purpose. In large part because of these statistical limitations, the only available national accounts produced before 1977 were limited to the four basic aggregate accounts: production, consumption, accumulation, and trade, as well as value added by industry in nominal and real (1970) prices. In 1977, the Central Bank accomplished the not inconsiderable task of constructing a set of these basic accounts for the

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period 1970-1977 consistent with the 1968 United Nations international standards for systems of national account (the current international standard for systems of national accounts).¹ Nevertheless, these national accounts suffered from numerous problems, such as: the low level of development of reliable macroeconomic indicators; the brief period of time covered; and the difficulty of adapting the UN national accounting guidelines, oriented primarily to the needs of the developed nations, to the Ecuadorian economy.

The development of an adequate statistical base for the national accounts resulted somewhat indirectly from the initiation in 1975 of a program called "Planificación Operativa", whose objective was the development of short- and long-term economic indicators for forecasting purposes. Benefiting from unusually close cooperation among various institutions of the national government, particularly that between the Central Bank and the National Planning Board (now the National Development Council--CONADE), this project established business surveys which, by the end of the 1970s, gathered information from economic agents in all sectors, developed greatly improved economic and social indicators, and established economic forecasts with a two-year horizon, allowing the prediction of Gross Domestic Product by industry, as well as the prediction of final demand.

Because these forecasts used a methodology and system of classification based on national accounting, their development established the macroeconomic indicators needed for the reelaboration of a complete and more accurate system of national accounts. The Central Bank, with technical assistance from the French and Colombian governments, began work in 1978 on this project of reelaboration of the Ecuadorian national accounts.² In 1981, the first results of this project, a revised and complete system of national accounts for the period 1972-1980 were published. As of the date of publication of this article, the following volumes of revised national accounts had been published:

1. *Cuentas Nacionales No. 1* (1972-1980)

The first volume suffered from some classification problems, particularly with respect to the treatment of the petroleum sector, and has for that reason been largely replaced by subsequent volumes.

2. *Cuentas Nacionales No. 2* (1965-1971)

The only volume covering this period.

3. *Cuentas Nacionales No. 3* (1972-1981)

This version is currently out of print, but it is the only volume with revised statistics for 1972, the year Ecuador became a net exporter of petroleum.

4. *Cuentas Nacionales No. 4*

This is a methodological volume which explains the basic features of the Ecuadorian national accounts. It is an essential reference, although somewhat too general in its treatment. (Several additional publications dealing with the methodology of the national accounts are to be published shortly.)

5. *Cuentas Nacionales No. 5* (1973-1982)

This volume includes a chapter devoted to special input-output tables (Matrices Especiales) for the years 1978 and 1981 covering the imported and domestic components of GDP, commercial margins for imported and domestic production, production valued at producer prices, and the Leontief inverse.

6. *Cuentas Nacionales No. 6* (1974-1983)

This edition of the national accounts includes the functional distribution of expenditures by the public administration (central government, local government and social security), information which is not currently available from any other source.³

2. Coverage of the Ecuadorian National Accounts

Each of these volumes (with the exception of No. 4, the methodological volume) provides information on the following areas: (1) Basic accounts of production, consumption, accumulation and trade (*Cuentas Consolidadas de la Nación*); (2) Input-output tables at both current and constant (1975) prices (*Matrices Insumo-Producto*); (3) Institutional accounts (*Cuentas de los Sectores Institucionales*); and (4) Financial accounts (*Cuentas Financieras*). In addition, there are tables which describe gross capital formation by type of good and by using sector, as well as tables that provide information on household final consumption expenditure by type of product, along with various price indices. The coverage provided by the Ecuadorian input-output tables is exceptional even for countries with much more highly developed systems of national accounts. In addition to the annually published input-output tables, based on three different prices, there are also matrices published with a three-year frequency using producer prices, matrices presenting commercial margins, and matrices describing the imported and domestic inputs to the different branches of production. Most of the research use of the Ecuadorian national accounts has been based on these input-output tables.⁴

The Institutional Accounts merit special mention for their value to researchers interested in the Ecuadorian public sector.⁵ The large increase in public revenues, combined with the interventionist policies of the

governments in power during the post-1972 period, resulted in a rapid growth in the public sector and a reorientation away from traditional functions, such as those included in the general government budget (*presupuesto general del estado* or PGE), toward nontraditional functions, such as public enterprises. Between 1972 and 1983, value added by public enterprises as a share of gross domestic product rose from barely 2 percent to 12 percent. Prior to the publication of the National Accounts in 1981, however, there was no reliable source of information on the public sector other than that published by the Ministry of Finance for the general government budget.⁶

Undoubtedly due to the ready availability of statistics on the general government budget, all published studies of the public sector have been limited to consideration of that part of the public sector. But the use of these statistics to describe the activities of the public sector seriously understates the effects of petroleum revenues. Although the PGE was perhaps a reasonable approximation of the activities of the public sector before the beginning of the oil boom in 1972, after this year the PGE is an increasingly poor measure of the public sector, as much of the public sector growth took place outside the budget.⁷ Before the oil boom, expenditure through the PGE comprised approximately 60 percent of the public sector and approximately 70 percent of the public administration. Petroleum revenues, however, which were very large in relation to the PGE, were not channeled into the economy entirely through this budget, but rather through a complex system of distribution under which, in 1972, only about one half of these revenues were allocated to the PGE, a share which had decreased to around 16 percent by 1979. The remainder of the petroleum revenue was directed to a variety of institutions outside the budget, such as semiautonomous agencies, special accounts, public financial institutions, public enterprises, and local governments. The result of this system of distribution of petroleum revenue was to reduce greatly the importance of the PGE in the public sector. By 1979, the budget comprised scarcely 30 percent of the public sector and about 43 percent of the public administration. Although these percentages increased somewhat during the period of democratic government, by 1983 the PGE still comprised no more than 36 percent of the public sector.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these statistics is that, particularly after 1972, any study of the Ecuadorian public sector must be more than a study of the general government budget. Owing to the lack of adequate statistical information, this broader study of the Ecuadorian public sector could not be undertaken with confidence until very recently. With the publication of the national accounts beginning in 1981, however, such a study has become possible. The institutional sector accounts provide an excellent and comprehensive description of the activities

of the entire public sector, which should serve to stimulate an important area of research.

Future work currently planned for the National Accounts will involve the publication of product accounts for the enterprise sector, and specific accounts for sectors such as health and education. One specific project is to establish the informal sector as part of the institutional accounts. There are also plans to update the base year for all the national accounts in constant sucres, from 1985 to 1980; to undertake the development of basic macroeconomic aggregates backwards to the 1950s; and to construct regional accounts.

Notes

1. "United Nations, A System of National Accounts," Series F, No. 2, Revision 3, New York, 1968. The national accounts published before 1977 were in accord with Revision 2, an earlier version of these standards.
2. The French government has provided assistance to a number of Latin American countries, one result of which is that direct comparisons are possible between Ecuador's national accounts and those produced by Peru, Colombia and Bolivia.
3. The Finance Ministry's publication *Estadísticas fiscales* includes a functional distribution of public expenditures, but only for the *presupuesto del estado* and only up to 1979.
4. See, for example, Instituto Nacional de Energía, "Plan maestro de energía, previsión del sistema energético económico del Ecuador 1980-2000: cinco escenarios," Quito, 1983; Giuseppina Da Ros and Salvador Marconi, "Estructura y evolución del sector manufacturero ecuatoriano," unpublished, Catholic University, Quito, 1983; Rob Vox and Edgar de Labastida, "La matriz de insumo-producto y la planificación de las necesidades básicas," ISS-PREALC, Documento de Trabajo Q/8408, Quito, June, 1984; and Terry A. Powers, ed., "El calculo de los precios de cuenta en la evaluación de proyectos," Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, Washington, D.C., 1981.
5. The institutional accounts have been adapted by the Central Bank from the French "Système elargi de comptabilité Nationale." (See "Collections de l'INSEE," series C, No. 44-45, 2o Tirage, Paris, Septiembre, 1979.)
6. Ministerio de Finanzas, *Estadísticas fiscales* (Nos. 1 and 2), Quito, Dec., 1981 and June, 1984. The National Development Council (CONADE) does publish relatively comprehensive public sector statistics, but their lack of agreement with the National Accounts and a complete absence of methodological discussion make this a very difficult source to use.
7. The definition of the public sector in the national accounts is the sum of the institutional sectors: public administration (which includes the general government budget--S30), public enterprises (S11), and public financial institutions (S211).

Mexico's 1985 Midterm Elections: A Preliminary Assessment

by

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The elections of July 7, 1985, produced some surprises, largely because expectations had been created for both a strengthened opposition and more honest procedures. In balloting marked by high abstention, the Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI) overwhelmed its opposition due to the PRI's genuine electoral strength and impressive resources, but also in part by resorting to a style of fraud characteristic of the 1950s. The immediate casualty was the already fragile credibility of the president's "moral renovation of society," especially in the eyes of foreign observers. Also damaged by both fraud and abstention was the political reform of 1977, which had appeared to open new possibilities for change. This article, which focuses largely on the congressional elections, is a preliminary effort to assess why unfounded expectations had been created, to report the data available, and to consider some explanations and implications of the outcome.

Expectations: What Was at Stake?

On July 7, some 17.8 million Mexicans went to 52,931 polling places to choose 400 national deputies, 7 (of the 31) state governors, and 845 of the 2,378 municipal presidents. In the Mexican setting, elections have served more as a reaffirmation of longer-term and more abstract ends than as the instrumental expression of preferences about policies or candidates (Loaeza 1985b: 14). Congressional elections at the midpoint of the six-year presidential term (the *sexenio*) are perhaps even less important to the citizenry than presidential or municipal elections, in which the candidates are known and the implications comprehensible. Nevertheless, the midterm elections contribute to the president's consolidation of power and mark the opening of the succession process (which, if the present *sexenio* observes custom, should produce the party's candidate in the last quarter of 1987). The elections of 1985, however, were assigned special importance by both Mexican and foreign observers, who expected to see a stronger opposition showing, especially in the northern states of Nuevo León and Sonora, and who were led to believe that the PRI government would observe correct procedures.¹

One reason for heightened expectation of opposition strength is that Mexico is in the throes of its worst economic crisis since the Depression. Even though the economy grew rapidly in the last quarter of 1984 and the first quarter of 1985, due largely to hectic pump-priming by the govern-

ment, inflation has soared for the past four years (prompting a series of devaluations), while workers' incomes have plummeted. It thus seemed plausible that disgruntled Mexicans would register their unhappiness at the ballot box, and that the PRI government would allow opposition victories to stand as an escape valve.

Part of this reasoning was based on the experience of the local elections of the summer of 1983, when opposition parties won seven important cities, including five state capitals. The wave of victories was brought to a halt in the State of Baja California Norte, where the PRI government won the governorship, thus preserving its monopoly of governorships since 1929.

Also, President Miguel de la Madrid had placed great emphasis on the moral renovation of society as the keystone of his *sexenio*. While not much had been accomplished on this front, many were willing to suspend disbelief and entertain the possibility that the president's reiterated assurances of honest elections (which in themselves implied previous electoral fraud) should not be dismissed out of hand.

Added to this was the electoral violence in two cities of the state of Coahuila in December 1984-January 1985, in which disgruntled militants of the opposition National Action party (PAN) took to the streets to protest fraudulent elections. An inference drawn by some was that the PRI government would prefer some electoral losses to the prospect of further violence, especially along the border, where U.S. media coverage might prove embarrassing.

Beyond this, the PRI itself had emitted confusing signals in the form of a survey leaked in March, 1985, which showed that the party expected significant opposition in some 107 (of 300) electoral districts, largely in the north, but also in the Federal District, Jalisco, and other interior states. The PAN leadership's claim that its party would win 176 seats if honest elections were held exceeded even the usual sort of campaign fantasizing, but its more conservative estimate of victory in 30-odd races seemed plausible.

Juan Molinar (1985: 24) put perhaps most trenchantly what really was at stake in the July elections. Since 1929 the PRI has operated as a hegemonic party, utilizing elections as referenda on the legitimacy of the Revolution

and conceding posts to the opposition based more on a calculus of what was needed to preserve a degree of democratic legitimacy than on what opposition parties actually won at the polls. The PRI government could act accordingly, given its impressive record of growth and stability. With the economic crisis, however, the PRI no longer could legitimate itself through material progress; thus, democratic opening might provide another avenue of legitimation. Given its undeniable strength, the PRI government might eschew electoral "alchemy" and begin the transition from a hegemonic party system to a dominant party system, one in which opposition strength is recognized, but with the dominant party retaining control.

Events showed, however, that austerity translated into electoral discontent less than some predicted, as Loaeza (1985a) has noted. While the 1983 elections showed opposition strength in the north, the PRI's resolute stand in Baja California and in subsequent local elections in 1984-1985 was probably the more important lesson to be drawn. Clearly, moral renovation does not extend to elections, and the better predictor of government behavior was the hard-line speeches by PRI president Adolfo Lugo Verduzco, who reiterated that the PRI is the party of the majorities and that Mexico would not be misled by exotic notions of democracy imported from abroad. Rather than knuckling under to threats of violence, as in the case of Coahuila, the PRI leadership perhaps decided on a course of firmness. The confusing signals from the PRI might be explained by the need to motivate its candidates to wage effective campaigns. And most importantly, the PRI government opted to preserve its hegemonic rule, as will be shown in the electoral results.

The difficulty in analyzing electoral results in Mexico is that one is far from sure about what actually happened. The opposition begins to charge fraud long before election day (often with some justification), and the government counters with charges that the opposition is merely attempting to mask its weakness and deliberately delegitimizes the system in the process (which also has some basis in fact). In the July elections, one of the surprises was the rather crude style of fraud perpetrated especially in the states of Sonora and Nuevo León, but to a lesser degree in a few other sites as well.

Mexico utilizes a mixed system for the national Chamber of Deputies, with 300 deputies elected on a plurality basis from single-member districts and another 100 deputies chosen on a proportional representation basis in five at-large multistate electoral districts. In practice this means that voters deposit two ballots, one for the single-member district candidate and another indicating party preference in the at-large district. Electoral law stipulates that a party winning more than 60 plurality districts loses its eligibility for the at-large seats. Since the PRI usually wins the great majority of the single-member districts, the law effectively reserves the 100 at-large seats for opposition parties. Table 1 reports results for the 300 deputies from the single-member districts in the 31 states and the Federal District.

Beginning with the recent historical trends, three points are significant: first, the PRI shows a fairly continual decline in support, from the 80-90 percent range in 1961-70 to the mid-60 percent range by 1982-85; second, electoral

Table 1. Mexico: National Percentages of Vote by Party for the Chamber of Deputies, 1961-1985 (Single-Member Districts). †

	PAN	PRI	PPS	PARM	POM	PSUM	PST	PRT	PMT	ANNULLED	ABSTENTION
1961	7.6	90.2	1.0	.5							31.7
1964	11.5	86.3	1.4	.7							33.4
1967	12.4	83.3	2.8	1.3							37.7
1970	13.9	80.1	1.4	.8						3.9	35.8
1973	14.7	69.7	3.6	1.9						10.0	39.7
1976	8.5	80.1	3.0	2.5						5.7	38.0
1979	10.8	69.7	2.6	1.8	2.1	4.9	2.7			5.9	50.7
1982	17.5	69.3	1.9	1.4	2.2	4.4	1.8	1.3		.04	34.3
1985	15.5	65.0	2.0	1.7	2.7	3.2	2.5	1.3	1.5	4.6	49.5

† Excludes the PNM, which won .28 percent of the vote in 1961 and the PSD, which won .19 percent in 1962.

Sources: *Reforma política, gaceta informativa de la Comisión Federal Electoral, Tomo IX: acuerdos, indicadores de opinión pública y estadística electoral* (México, D.F.: 1982), pp. 128-129; *El Universal*, July 17, 1985. 6A.

abstention shows increases from the mid-30 percent range during 1961-70 to the high-40 percent range for the midterm elections of 1979 and 1985; third, the PRI-government has maintained its hegemonic status by structuring its own opposition, a point developed below. Taken together, the trends would seem to support an interpretation that the electoral arrangements introduced by the 1977 political reform are signaling stress and erosion of support for the system.

In response to this erosion, the PRI government, acting in hegemonic fashion, rewarded its allies and weakened its real opposition. For practical support in the Congress and in the Federal Electoral Commission (the dependency of the Interior Secretariat that rules on electoral matters), the PRI can rely on the Partido Auténtico de la Revolución Mexicana (PARM), the Partido Popular Socialista (PPS), and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST). Its real opposition, on the Right, consists of PAN and the Partido Demócrata Mexicano (PDM), and, on the Left, of the Partido Socialista Unificado Mexicano (PSUM), and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PMT).²

If we reconsider table 1 in terms of these blocs, the apparent pattern is to preserve the dominant position of the PRI, to strengthen its allies (which collectively increased their vote by 1.1 percent), and to weaken the leading parties of both Right and Left, PAN and PSUM, which suffered losses of 2 percent and 1.2 percent, respectively.

Interesting ideological trends are discernible also in the single-member district results (and are reinforced in the at-large vote as well). Conservative parties (PAN and PDM) experienced an overall decline of 1.5 percent, while the Left (PSUM, PST, PPS, PRT, PMT) emerged with an increase of 1.1 percent. This pattern might be attributable to an interest in halting the advance of the Right, which is viewed as anathema in some official circles, and along with it any possible development of a two-party dynamic in the electoral system.

The thesis of structuring the opposition becomes even more apparent when the at-large results, as shown in table 2, are analyzed in terms of the PRI and its allies versus the real opposition. Prior to the elections, leaders of the major PRI-controlled teachers' and oil workers' unions allegedly instructed their members to vote for the PRI with the single-member district ballot and for the PST on the at-large slate. This quite rational voting logic was probably encouraged on a wider basis and appears as a pattern in the at-large results.

In table 2, subcolumn A shows the percentage won by each party within the at-large district; and subcolumn B shows the percentage difference between the vote received in the at-large race and the single-member district race. For example, in column 2, subcolumn A shows that the PST received 4.4 percent of the at-large vote; subcolumn B shows that this is 104.4 points above the PST vote in the

Table 2. Mexico: Percentage of Vote by Party in At-Large District Compared with Vote Received in Single-Member Districts, 1985 Congressional Elections.

Party	DISTRICT											
	1		2		3		4		5		Total	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
PAN	20.9	+2.2	19.1	+4.8	10.1	+0.7	21.4	+1.3	12.9	+5.2	16.7	
PRI	54.0	-0.5	65.1	-9.2	73.9	-5.7	63.7	-3.2	66.8	-3.3	64.8	
PPS	2.9	+21.6	1.7	+126.0	3.0	+15.4	1.7	+22.5	3.6	+16.5	2.6	
PDM	3.3	+6.3	4.4	+3.8	1.5	+13.5	3.3	-.04	2.7	+1.8	3.0	
PSVM	6.2	+4.5	1.5	+12.6	2.3	+6.5	3.3	+3.4	4.2	+0.6	3.6	
PST	3.6	+18.7	4.4	+104.4	3.7	+25.5	2.3	+24.9	3.3	+24.5	3.5	
PRT	3.0	+14.0	1.5	+169.1	1.0	+71.8	.6	+12.0	2.0	+5.2	1.7	
PARM	2.0	+28.2	2.0	+182.0	4.0	+23.4	9.6	+41.8	2.5	+37.6	2.5	
PMT	4.0	+5.7	.3	+21.8	.5	+11.7	1.8	+4.3	1.9	+5.3	1.7	

A=Percentage vote in at-large district

B=Percentage variation of at-large vote in comparison with single-member district vote in same geographical region

Source: COPARMEX, "Las elecciones de la crisis (quinta y última parte)." (México, D.F.: n.d.), pp. 18-19.

single-member district races in the same geographic area. The overall pattern here is for the PRI to receive fewer votes in the at-large races and for opposition parties to receive more. Within this pattern, the PRI's allies (PPS, PARM, PST) tend to do better on the average (about a 25 percent gain per party) than do its foes (about 7.5 percent).

A reasonable hypothesis to account for this pattern is Molinar's suggestion (1985: 22) that the system punishes parties that entertain expectations for real electoral strength. This is probably more the case with the PAN, which had held out the possibility of winning a governorship in the north as well as a large number of deputy seats. The PSUM suffered internal fissures prior to the elections, destroying in the process the Left's hope for a unified front.

Finally, the overall thrust of the results was to reduce congressional representation of the stronger opposition parties by encouraging the proliferation and survival of micro-parties. Table 3 reports the vote results in terms of deputy seats won. We see here that opposition party victories in single-member districts rose from 1 in 1982 to 10 in 1985. With regard to the at-large races, however, critics had charged that the creation of 5 districts (in contrast to 4 in 1982 and 3 in 1979) penalized the larger parties, the PAN and PSUM, and rewarded the smaller ones. Each party (except the PRI) is entitled to one deputy in each of the five regional districts; that is, each party is automatically allotted 5 seats upon attaining its registration by winning a minimum of 1.5 percent of the vote nationwide. With eight parties achieving registration, 40 of the 100 seats allotted for proportional representation are distributed immediately, leaving fewer to reflect the relative weight of the stronger opposition parties. The critics' charges were borne out, with the PAN losing 18 seats and the PSUM 5 in relation to the 1982 tally, while the smaller parties gained 23 overall.

Quite apart from the numerical results is the question of fraud, a subject of particular fascination for a U.S. audience. There obviously is no way to measure electoral fraud with precision, but the Mexican and foreign press report an impressive array of techniques ranging from the semisophisticated (inflating the voter rolls by an estimated 10 percent, switching and counterfeiting vote packets from ballot boxes), to the crude (stuffing boxes with "tacos" of votes, stealing boxes at gunpoint).³ The fraud seemed targeted primarily on Sonora and Nuevo León, but complaints were registered at several other sites as well. Since expectations had been created that the PRI would either have to concede victories or resort to fraud and then confront a violent reaction, the silence from Sonora (with the brief exception of San Luis Río Colorado) was

Table 3: Mexico: Party Composition of National Chamber of Deputies 1982, 1985 (as of September 12, 1985)†

	1982	1985	1982	1985
PAN	1	8*	50	32
PRI	299	290	--	--
PPS	--	--	10	11
PDM	--	--	12	12
PSUM	--	--	17	12
PST	--	--	11	12
PARM	--	2**	0	9
PMT	--	--	0	6
PRT	--	--	0	6
Total	300	300	100	100

† These results may be subject to modification, pending resolution of disputed cases.

* PAN won seats in Chihuahua (3), Durango (1), Estado de México (1), Guanajuato (1), Mechoacán (1), and Sonora (1).

** PARM won seats in Tamaulipas (2).

Sources: *El Hispanoamericano*, 2256, August 6, 1985; *El Universal*, July 22, 1985, p. 1 A; interview material.

puzzling. The more anguished outcry came from Nuevo León, where defeated Panista candidate Fernando Canales Clariond led as many as 40,000 in demonstrations to protest the election of Priísta Jorge Treviño. More puzzling, at least to foreign press observers, is why the PRI resorted to fraud at all—much less of vintage 1952—given its apparent overwhelming strength as well as the unusual degree of foreign press coverage.

Explanations and Implications

If Molinar's hegemony thesis seems to account for the numerical results, a variety of contending explanation have been offered to explain the bare-knuckle style. An explanation that requires some careful qualification is that of the reformist president (sometimes given as reformist *técnico*) losing out to a traditionalist PRI (bastion of the *políticos*).⁴ Distinguishing usefully between *técnicos* and *políticos* is difficult to begin with, and then drawing equivalencies to "reformist" and "traditionalist," respectively, is questionable. One of the president's closest collaborators, Senator Adolfo Lugo Verduzco (arguably a *técnico*), heads up the PRI and exercises fairly effective control over the party. The explanation might be strengthened if one were to narrow the focus to the PRI's labor sector, which is hard-line indeed on matters of the political reform and the PAN.

Another notion, attributed to Allen Riding (1984: 79-82) is that the *técnicos* are faced with the need to fix elections in some cases but lack the skills to do it well. There may be something to this, but the PRI had dispatched two of its most able and experienced militants to act as general delegates in Sonora and Nuevo León. Other explanations involve "*grilla*," or varieties of maneuvering by individuals to make others look bad for one or another reason. This may be of some minor importance, but the patterns were evidently too widespread in the north for individual politicking to explain much.

A more plausible explanation is that the president and his advisers concluded that it was necessary to control the political situation in order to manage the severe economic crisis.⁵ Reinforcing a political base in the PRI by acceding to the labor sector and local-level *Priístas* might better allow the president to implement difficult economic policies, such as austerity and trade liberalization.

Hypotheses consistent with this explanation are that the president might have been surprised by the PRI's setbacks in 1983 and faced the necessity to backtrack on the policy of honest elections. Also consistent is what might be termed the "domino" or "slippery slope" notion. As put by Jorge Castañeda (1985: 36), the PRI government could not allow the real opposition vote to stand in the north (or anywhere, for that matter), because such would transform the nature of elections from a ritual to the real choice of officials. Such a change would shatter the apathy that has grown over past decades, bring out large numbers of voters, and present the PRI government with a very difficult situation. Finally, orthodox organization theory might account for some of the PRI's behavior. That is, whatever the president's preferences for electoral propriety, local-level *Priístas* see their careers riding on their ability to turn out voters. Faced with uncertainty about real opposition strength, their efforts might have become a bit exuberant.

If the analysis and explanation have some basis, then some implications for economic recovery and political reform might be considered.⁶

Persistent capital flight and an absence of investor confidence are critical obstacles to Mexico's economic recovery. The postwar government-business alliance that produced rapid growth, but with structural deformities, was strained by Luis Echeverría's presidency (1970-76) and perhaps shattered by José López Portillo. The latter's nationalization of the banks in 1982 led many business executives to conclude that the political system offered weak institutional guarantees of property rights against the arbitrary use of state power. President De la Madrid has labored to reassure national and foreign investors, but so far without complete success. The accumulated strains in

government-business relations played an important role in the 1985 elections.

The period since 1982 has been characterized by the private sector's search for guarantees of its interest within the Mexican political system.⁷ Some private sector leaders appear to be pursuing a double, flexible strategy of continued electoral pressure while at the same time holding out for the possibility of better relations and pragmatic cooperation with a reformed PRI government. In this strategy, the ascension to PAN leadership of *neopanistas*, a group closely identified with business interests, has converted the party to some degree into an instrument in the business community's effort to renegotiate its relationship with the government. The electoral system is clearly a weak link in the PRI's armor, and business support for the PAN has been perceived in government circles as part of a strategy to pressure concessions (e.g., reducing the size of the public bureaucracy, cutting nonproductive state spending, reducing red tape).

The principal question raised by these developments is the extent to which the private sector is willing to push its breach with the PRI. Business "hard-liners" are convinced that the only way free enterprise can be preserved is through a democratization permitting opposition counterweights to the PRI. "Soft-liners" prefer not to challenge PRI dominance and tend to be less concerned about democracy than with re-creating a stable and profitable business environment. For them, the PAN is a useful tool with which to pry concessions from the PRI government.

The private sector's ambivalence about democracy intensifies a dilemma for the PRI. *Priístas* complain privately that should they open the political system and accept losses, then some business interests would perceive this as a loss of control, and investor confidence might decline. On the other hand, when the PRI practices a "complete sweep" policy, other business interests complain about an authoritarian system that inhibits innovation and decentralization, and investor confidence suffers.

Should the PRI government offer sufficient guarantees of security and profits to business interests, then the "soft-liners" might prevail, leading to a withdrawal of some business support for the PAN. Some point to the PRI's business-oriented nominees to the governorships of Sonora and Nuevo León as indicative of efforts to reassure the business community. The promises delivered by PRI candidate Félix Valdés to Sonoran business leaders shortly before the election played a role in weakening the PAN. In Nuevo León, however, the situation appears more complicated. On the day before the inauguration of Jorge Treviño as governor, the PAN held a protest rally that attracted some 40,000 persons. Conspicuously absent at

the inauguration were important senior members of the local business community and representatives from the state chapters of national business interest associations. Yet the attendance by Bernardo Garza Sada from ALFA and Eugenio Garza Laguerá of VISA are reminders that both conglomerates have been hard hit by the economic crisis and look forward to continued government assistance.

In all, if a government-business reconciliation emerges, the PAN's electoral push might lose steam in 1986-88. If the tensions persist and the business "hard-liners" prevail, continued electoral pressure can be expected. Gubernatorial and local elections in Chihuahua in 1986 will prove especially interesting.

The midterm elections represent an apparent setback for the process of political liberalization set in motion by the political reform of 1977. That reform had signaled a controlled opening of the system by facilitating the formation of new parties, restructuring Congress so as to guarantee minority party representation, providing opposition parties with access to the media and relaxing press controls. The reform was an essentially pragmatic move designed to preserve PRI dominion by stimulating limited political competition and directing real, sometimes violent opposition into institutional channels. Many were quite skeptical that the PRI government would allow real change, but by going beyond previous efforts the reform held out interesting possibilities. The July elections clearly signal that in the short term the reform will remain limited in scope and is unlikely to serve as a vehicle for a more meaningful opening. This does not mean, however, that reform is a closed subject, and another round of discussion in official circles is quite likely.

Official control over the elections debilitates the emerging party system by provoking internal divisions over what strategy to adopt in response. Within the PAN, for example, a large faction led by former presidential candidate Pablo Emilio Madero favors continued negotiation of electoral results with the government, a larger faction favors abstention from voting as a way to register protest, and a quite small splinter favors confrontation with the government.⁸ Also, with official control, local opposition party leaders become more vulnerable to the temptation to disregard election results and to bargain with the authorities. More fundamentally, it becomes difficult to maintain viable political parties over the long term as both the electorate and party leaders begin to question the meaning and value of the electoral exercise.

Indeed, the political reform and apparent counterreform have intensified contradictions within the Mexican political system as a whole. On the one hand, the opening encouraged the formation and strengthening of opposition parties. On the other hand, the resulting increase in

political competition has been met with a hardened official response. Meanwhile, increased press freedom permits greater public scrutiny of government electoral fraud.

The intensification of such contradictions is likely to be felt precisely among those sectors of the population which the PRI finds most difficult to control, i.e., intellectuals, entrepreneurs, and growing middle sector groups generally. One might speculate that although the events of July did not produce an *electoral* watershed, they may have precipitated a *perceptual* watershed in public awareness of the gap between political myth and reality. This heightened awareness promises to grow more acute in the future, with further erosion of regime legitimacy a probable consequence.

Notes

1. PRI-government is not used in a critical sense here, but rather to remind readers that the party is an extension of the government and that the two institutions are quite closely integrated.

2. Useful general works on Mexican parties, elections and the political reform of 1977 include González Casanova (1982) and Rodríguez Araujo (1982).

3. In the Mexican press, see especially the stories in *Proceso*, 454, July 15, p. 10-29; and 455, July 22, pp. 10-13; *Norte*, July 6-11. In the U.S. press, see the coverage by, e.g., Richard Meislin, *New York Times*, July 9, 16; Steve Frazier, *Wall Street Journal*, July 12; William Orme, *Washington Post*, July 8; Dennis Volman, *Christian Science Monitor*, July 9; and Bruno López, *Arizona Republic*, July 28. Robert J. McCartney, *Washington Post*, July 11, p. A24, put it most bluntly: "Several reporters said that less respect was shown for laws and procedures in Sonora than in the elections they covered in El Salvador and Nicaragua."

4. See *Latin American Monitor*, 2:5 (July 1985), p. 181; and Wayne Cornelius and Arturo Alvarado, *Los Angeles Times*, July 10.

5. The nationalistic and aggressive speeches by President De la Madrid (*Excelsior*, July 19, 1, 10A) and Adolfo Lugo Verduzco (*Excelsior*, July 19, pp. 4, 14A) support this view.

6. Due to space limitations, we cannot take up implications of the election for U.S.-Mexico relations or for regime persistence or transformation. These themes are discussed in Delal Baer, "Mexico's Midterm Elections: Report Number 4," Center for Strategic and International Studies, Latin American Election Series (forthcoming).

7. Given the pervasive involvement of government in creating and sustaining development, the term "private sector" is a bit of a misnomer. Also, the industrial-commercial-financial-agricultural community is large and heterogeneous, but we are forced to use government/private sector as a kind of shorthand to conserve space.

8. See Dennis Volman, the *Christian Science Monitor*, August 12, 1985, p. 9.

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Editor's Note: The Organization of American States will convene its Fifteenth General Assembly in Cartagena, Colombia, on December 2. Besides the regular General Assembly, there will also be a special session to consider revision of the OAS Charter. In light of the importance of this meeting, the *LASA Forum* asked L. Ronald Scheman, currently the director of the Washington-based Center for Advanced Studies of the Americas (CASA), to prepare an analysis of the issues involved in charter reform. Dr. Scheman was for many years assistant secretary for management of the OAS.

OAS Charter Reform

(Part 1 of a 3-part series)

by
L. Ronald Scheman

The old saying, "If it ain't broke, don't fix it" has an often neglected corollary: "If it is broke, figure out what's wrong before tinkering with the machinery." The member governments of the OAS are about to tinker with the machinery in a new version of their decennial attempts to "fix it." The Fourteenth General Assembly meeting in Brasilia in 1984 called for a special general assembly in 1985 in Cartagena, Colombia, to consider reforms to the OAS Charter. Preparations are at present well under way.

The discontent with the gap between OAS performance and promise dates back almost to the beginning. Only a decade after the new charter was ratified, Assistant Secretary General William Manger issued a cry of "panamericanism in crisis," bemoaning the fact that the OAS budget had increased threefold from \$3 million to \$10 million in a few years and the governments were still

ambiguous about the organization's mission. In the 1960s, two special conferences over a period of three years led to the only amendments to the charter in Buenos Aires in 1967. No sooner were these ratified in 1971 than a new round of discussions began. The marathon sessions, running over four years in the mid-1970s, created a Special Committee to Restructure the Inter-American System (CEESI) to examine methodically every aspect of the Organization's operations. It produced 17 volumes of records and speeches and no decision.

The reality of the inter-American system is that the OAS is nothing but a euphemism for hemispheric cooperation. When the nations despair of the OAS, they in effect despair of their own political will to cooperate. In fact, regional cooperation in itself is a political decision in search of a framework. When the political will is present, anything can be accomplished. Without it, even the most perfectly framed charter is irrelevant. Considering that the political decision for inter-American cooperation does not exist in the Americas today, it is difficult to understand what will be accomplished by tinkering with institutional machinery.

The OAS has proven to be extraordinarily resilient in the face of unceasing attempts at radical and plastic surgery. Its capacity to adapt to new and evolving realities has been accomplished repeatedly without the help of charter reform. The governing bodies found ways to maintain an Inter-American Peace Committee in the 1950s without even a statute. They launched technical assistance and fellowship programs in the 1950s, the Alliance for Progress in the 1960s, and innovations such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the Nine Wisemen, the country reviews, the Pan American Development Foundation, the Mar del Plata Fund, and numerous informal political initiatives—all without the benediction of changes in the wording of the charter.

The late 1970s saw some of the most exhilarating moments in OAS history. The organization embarked on a period of vigorous joint action on human rights and ratified a convention on human rights to establish the only international court on human rights in history. The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights gained world renown for its courageous stands against torture and political abuse. The member nations worked together to maintain constant pressure in the case of the Panama Canal and to address the crisis in Nicaragua in 1979. They made a historic condemnation of military coups in Bolivia. After the meeting of the OAS ministers of foreign affairs, which took action on the Somoza regime, one ambassador remarked that it was the first time he had ever emerged from the OAS building to cheering crowds.

Why, then, all the agitation for rewriting the legal basis

of the organization? One does not have to look far to find the cause. Central America today is in turmoil and no one moves to set in motion the machinery in accordance with the legal obligations under both the charter and the Rio Treaty. The most severe economic crisis of the century is ravaging the economies of every nation in the hemisphere and the Latin American nations meet repeatedly on the issue without considering it worth the trouble to address the OAS. Ad hoc defense leagues are set up in the Caribbean to take action against an OAS member state without informing the OAS. In Central America four nations that sit daily in the councils of the OAS despair of its machinery and separately set up the Contador machinery to draft a subregional peace agreement. It is important to understand what has happened that has brought about the disarray which permeates the OAS chambers at this time. Part of the cause is that, for the first time in its hundred-year history, the inter-American system is seized by a complex and intractable ideological issue. When Cuba broached such issues in the 1960s, the problem was neatly sidestepped by expelling the intruder. Today, time has caught up with the organization. The ramifications are far greater than appear on the surface.

The machinery of the OAS has functioned over the years because of an intrinsic consensus among the member nations as to the underlying values and kind of world they foresaw for their people. These values, rooted in a strong bias for representative democracy, permeate the present charter. It was shared even by the "revolutionary forces" during the 1940s and 1950s—the Caribbean Legion of the 1950s, led by José Figueres, Rómulo Betancourt, and Muñoz Marín, among others—was a prime case in point. Although dedicated to scourging the Caribbean of dictators, in particular Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, the leaders of the Legion could carry on a constructive discourse with the major nations of the OAS and yielded easily to their pressures.

This is no longer the case. The nations of the OAS are faced with radically different perceptions of the structure of society, definitions of democracy, and even intervention, and they do not have any solutions. While part of today's paralysis relates to issues between the U.S. and Latin America and to the power asymmetry in the hemisphere, the core problem is among the Latin American nations themselves. They have no policy for hemispheric cooperation among themselves, just as they have no policy toward the United States except to succumb regularly to the bilateral temptations and strike the best deal they can get. If these governments that seek charter reform are the same ones that refuse to bring to the organization the major issues of their present concern, our problem is far deeper than the wording of the charter.

In exploring whether and how charter reform might be

relevant to correct these problems, it may be useful to recall that one of the most constructive efforts to strengthen inter-American cooperation did not take place within the OAS or result from the efforts of ambassadors to the OAS. A special Committee of Presidential Representatives set up in 1958, on which the brother of the president of the United States, Milton Eisenhower, served in close coordination with the secretary of the treasury, Douglas Dillon, reviewed the entire range of inter-American cooperation. The committee first stepped aside from the existing institutions to examine the essentials of a reasonable system of hemispheric cooperation. Then they matched the needs to the institutional structure. The result was some of the most innovative proposals at that moment of history, leading to the OAS technical assistance program and the Inter-American Development Bank. This procedure, appointing direct representatives of the presidents of the nations of the hemisphere, made a greater impact on improving and furthering the mission of the OAS than did all the meetings of OAS committees combined. Before we start fixing the machinery once again, it would be well to ponder the lesson that effort offers.

(End of Part 1)



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The Central American Crisis and Its Impact on the University

by

Helen I. Safa, University of Florida and past president of LASA

In September, 1984, a delegation of Central American university presidents visited universities, the Secretariat of the Latin American Studies Association, and other institutions in the U.S. to explain the critical situation facing their universities. The trip was organized by the Confederation of Central American Universities (CSUCA), which was founded in 1964 to serve as a coordinating body among Central American universities, and was cosponsored by LASA. To follow up on the visit of the university presidents, CSUCA invited representatives of the U.S. academic community to spend two weeks viewing firsthand the situation of universities in Central America. Ten organizations responded, including LASA, the universities of Florida, Kansas, Massachusetts, Oregon State, and Trinity in San Antonio, as well as the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago, the Commission of U.S.-Central American Relations, and the Institute for Policy Studies, and a recent graduate from Georgetown University.

We traveled in Central America from August 7-22, 1985, spending about two days in each country as the guests of CSUCA and the university in each country. Though brief, the trip was extremely intensive, and included meeting not only university officials, but visits with religious and political leaders (the archbishops of El Salvador and Guatemala; the minister of higher education in Nicaragua; the vice-minister of foreign affairs in Panama; and political party leaders in Costa Rica). All of us were impressed with the high level and openness of the discussions and with the time and money invested in our visit. We were also given written material, which I have utilized in this report, along with other documents on higher education in Central America. What follows is an attempt to summarize some of my major observations regarding the political and economic crisis in Central America and its impact on the universities, in particular.

1. National security and university autonomy

Undoubtedly, the major problem facing the universities in Central America is the severe political crisis taking place in the region that affects all aspects of life, including education. The civil war in El Salvador led to the closing of the university from 1980 to 1984, after armed intervention by the military, during which time some

classes were held off-campus. Although now functioning fairly normally, the university still suffers from the destruction of laboratory, library, and other facilities during this period, as well as from the loss of qualified faculty. The University of El Salvador has tried to repair this damage to its facilities without the assistance of the government, with whom it still stands in a strong adversarial relationship. The same adversarial relationship with the government characterizes the University of San Carlos in Guatemala, whose faculty and students have suffered repeated kidnappings and assassinations, including the murder of two former university presidents. In Nicaragua, 52 percent of the national budget is now spent on the military in an effort to defend itself against the *contras*, leading to shortages of even basic necessities and severe economic disruption. The university has suffered considerable reduction in funds as well as cuts in enrollment due to military service.

There is fear throughout the region that the conflict may spread, and there is a growing military buildup in Honduras, Panama, and even Costa Rica. All university officials, as well as religious and political leaders with whom we met, recognize the severity of the problem and are actively seeking a negotiated solution such as Contadora. But there is a strong feeling that time is running out, and that the U.S. has exacerbated the problem by its support of the *contras* in Nicaragua, while giving only lip service to the Contadora peace proposals.

The impact of the political crisis on Latin American universities is reinforced by their traditionally strong role in the political process, much stronger than that of universities in the U.S. In part, this stems from a constitutional guarantee of autonomy and self-governance brought on by the Córdoba reforms of 1918, which most Central American universities have copied. The universities are protective of their autonomy, which has been weakened by armed intervention, closing, and other forms of government interference. One way of assuring autonomy is through election of the university administration, including the rector (president), by representatives of the faculty, students, and staff who govern the university through the Consejo Superior Universitario (Superior University Council). This leads to the formation of active student federations, each putting up their favorite candidates, so that for some politically active students (probably still a minority), the university becomes a training ground in

politics and may lead to a political career. It is notable that several of the current university presidents were student leaders in their youth and clearly see their current political ambitions as extending into the national political scene. While more democratic than the U.S. system, cogovernance also leads to greater university politicization.

With the exception of Honduras, all of the universities in the region are seen as left-wing in terms both of students and of faculty. The faculties of social sciences (including economics) and humanities are generally seen as more radical than more technical and professional fields such as engineering, agriculture, or science, although medicine has become distinctly more socially conscious and has produced several of the current university presidents. There is general recognition of the need to develop more technical fields such as agronomy, nutrition, public health, urban and regional planning, and computer science in order to assist the country in its development plans. But the political and economic crisis in the region has brought a halt to most attempts at university reform and modernization, particularly in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua.

The University of Honduras was able to wrest control away from a left-wing faction that had dominated the university for years and now with the exception of the social sciences and medicine generally follows government policy. It is doubtful, however, whether this model of "democratic pluralism" (as the Honduran students termed it) could be followed in other Central American countries, where the level of political tension is much higher. Although the governments of El Salvador and Guatemala (as well as the U.S.) may see the universities as seedbeds of revolutionary activity, their adversarial relationship is likely to continue as long as the political conflict in these countries is not resolved.

2. Budgetary constraints and control

All of the Central American countries are in deep economic crisis, with staggering foreign debts in Costa Rica and Panama, as well as problems of balance of payments, unemployment, and inflation. The economic problems have been aggravated by the collapse of the Central American Common Market, which had stimulated industrialization and economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s. This has led to the imposition in most countries of strict budgetary guidelines imposed by the International Monetary Fund, guidelines that mandate cuts in social services such as health, housing, and education. As a result, most Central American universities have seen their budgets cut sharply or at best remain stable, while enrollments increase and the purchasing power of their budgets decreases due to currency devaluation.

While universities are suffering from the general

economic constraints in all the Central American countries, in several universities we heard complaints that budgetary control was being used by the government to "strangle" the university to weaken its possible political impact. This is particularly true in El Salvador, where the university budget was cut from 52 million colones a year in 1975, to 30 million colones in 1985, and there has been only one salary increase since 1980, despite sharp currency devaluations. In Guatemala, devaluations decreased the purchasing power of the budget of the University of San Carlos from 24 million quetzales to 6 million. In all the Central American countries, over 80 percent of the budget is spent on salaries, leaving little money for other expenses such as equipment, supplies, books, maintenance, and, of course, research. Though the percentage of the national budget allocated to the university is often guaranteed by the constitution (at figures ranging from 2.5 to 5 percent), this constitutional guarantee has been violated by university closings as in El Salvador, and, at any rate, budgets have failed to keep up with rising enrollments and currency devaluation.

Military expenditures constitute another important drain on national budgets, affecting the funds available for education. In Panama, for example, although there has been an annual increase of \$1.5 million to \$2 million a year in the university budget to keep up with rising enrollment, the total budget for education still constitutes only 7 percent of the national budget (of which 1 percent goes to the university) while 26 percent is spent on the military and 50 percent on debt payments. In comparison, Nicaragua still spends 16 percent of its national budget on education, one of the highest percentages in the region, though over half its national budget is now allocated to defense.

Another strong complaint of the Central American universities is the diversion of public funds to private universities, both on the part of the national government and the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.). Private universities have grown in number and student body during the last decade, in part because of the political unrest at the public universities. For example, the number of private "universities" in El Salvador grew from 4 to 33 during the recent closing of the university. Enrollments at the private universities, however, still do not match the huge enrollments at public universities. In Guatemala, for example, the University of San Carlos serves 51,000 students (the highest enrollment of any public university in Central America), compared to 15,000 students at private universities. Even Costa Rica, where there is much less political activity on campus, A.I.D. requested that the budgets of the public universities be lowered and has been accused of subsidizing private education at both the secondary and university levels.

It could be argued that the private universities are

meeting a demand not currently filled by the public universities, which have been plagued by political unrest, economic problems, and loss of faculty. In particular, the private universities are in some cases providing instruction in some of the newer technical disciplines lacking at the public institutions, such as computer science, accounting, and electronics. Because private universities charge considerably higher tuition, however, students attending them are often drawn from a more elite segment of Central American society. The Kissinger Commission specifically recommended that the U.S. try to support students from lower socio-economic backgrounds, in order to counter the massive scholarship program from the Soviet Union and other socialist bloc countries. A.I.D. funds do not even extend to all private universities, such as the prestigious Jesuit-run U.C.A. (Universidad Centro Americana) in El Salvador, whose vice-rector claimed they had been "blacklisted" by A.I.D. because of their leftist image. Though basically supported by student tuition graded according to income, the U.C.A. has received (and paid off) loans for physical plant from the Inter-American Development Bank. The U.C.A. played a critical role in maintaining an intellectual tradition alive in the country during the closing of the national university from 1980 to 1984, during which time U.C.A.'s enrollment increased substantially. Unfortunately, due to the lack of time, this was the only private university we were able to visit on our tour.

The Jesuit-run Universidad Centro Americana in Nicaragua also plays an important educational role in that country, especially in the social sciences and humanities. To my knowledge, Nicaragua is the only Central American country to adopt a national educational development plan that spells out the priorities for university education at both private and public institutions, in order to prevent duplication and waste of scarce resources. This plan is developed by the Consejo Nacional de Educación Superior (National Council of Higher Education), which is composed of the president and directors of all institutes of higher education (private and public), as well as representatives of the faculty, students, and the Ministry of Higher Education. University presidents at the public universities in Nicaragua are currently appointed by the government, but there is new legislation to reinstitute internal elections. About 25 percent of students in Nicaragua still attend private universities, which are subsidized by the state.

3. Faculty development

Given the political and economic crisis in the region, it is understandable that there is a critical need for faculty development at public universities throughout Central America. Many university faculty have only licenciatura degrees, which represents five years of college education,

or slightly more than the U.S. baccalaureate degree. This is particularly true in Nicaragua, where the great majority of university faculty are recent college graduates due to the loss of faculty and to a shortage of teachers plus expansion of enrollment. (Several of the more qualified scholars have also been drawn into government service.) Most universities have made an effort to recruit faculty with M.A. degrees and a few with Ph.D.s, usually secured in Mexico, Europe, or the U.S.

The critical need for faculty development would suggest that more U.S. funds should be used for graduate study in the U.S. and less for undergraduate education, which is fairly adequately covered in most countries. Scholarship programs such as LASPAU and the Fulbright program are quite well known, but could be more widely disseminated, especially at the public universities. The universities would like to have a say in the selection of candidates and fields of study that fit in with their development plans. They resent the development of educational programs for Central America, including the announcement of scholarship programs in the newspapers without consultation with the public universities. In the case of the U.S. programs, I assume that this is done to prevent any screening of applicants by the university that may be at odds with the screening procedures established by the U.S. Embassy.

There is a particular need for faculty development in the natural sciences, mathematics, and technical fields such as computer sciences, urban and regional planning, and agriculture. Several universities recommended short courses for faculty in these fields, preferably taught in Spanish in Central America. Here the M.A. program in education in Honduras developed by the University of New Mexico might serve as a model. Given the scarcity of faculty, many universities are reluctant to let teachers go, even for a year or two. Lack of English proficiency also constitutes an obstacle in most countries.

Another alternative that should be explored is support for existing regional graduate programs in Central America, such as the M.A. in sociology offered through CSUCA, or the Central American graduate degree in economics and development planning offered through the University of Honduras. These regional programs offer the advantage of grouping scarce resources and offering them to a wider body of students. U.S. professors might also be incorporated into such a regional graduate program.

Another problem for faculty development is the large number of part-time faculty, including members of the administration at most institutions. The part-time faculty has been growing recently due to university budgetary constraints and the low salaries paid to faculty. Faculty usually have to work at two jobs to earn a decent living, and universities prefer to hire part-time faculty because they are cheaper. This will undoubtedly downgrade the level of

faculty at both private and public universities. Only Nicaragua has instituted a plan to increase the number of full-time faculty, which has now grown at the National University in Managua to 550 from less than 100 before the revolution.

4. Research and publications

Given the severe budgetary constraints in most Central American universities, there are virtually no funds for research and publication. The universities suffer not only from lack of funds, but from lack of laboratory equipment, library facilities, computer equipment, and well-qualified faculty.

The only Central American universities we visited doing substantial research are the public universities in Costa Rica. The University of Costa Rica in San José has 17 M.A. programs and a graduate program in medicine, which trains 90 percent of the physicians in the country. The development of a strong graduate program has given special impetus to research, including the social sciences, psychology (educational testing), economics, health, law, the natural sciences (including molecular biology), and agricultural sciences such as nutrition, agricultural economics, and animal foods. Some of these research programs are carried out with the collaboration of the U.S. universities, such as the University of Kansas. The M.A. program in sociology is carried out with CSUCA, and has a regional focus designed for students from all Central American countries. Although there is a lively and well-qualified faculty in the social sciences (mostly with advanced degrees) some complained that Conacit, the national funding agency for research, has given very low priority to the social sciences and in 1985 excluded them entirely.

Research is heavily dependent on outside funding, and in this regard, CSUCA has played a critical role, especially in the social sciences. CSUCA initiated a regional research program in the social sciences in 1971; it also developed the regional M.A. in sociology mentioned earlier, in addition to a publications program. By pooling funds and faculty from all of Central America, it is able to maintain a regional research, publications, and teaching program that few individual universities could sustain with their limited resources. All of the research is supported by outside funding, including private foundations, international agencies, and governments such as the international research agencies in Holland, Sweden, and West Germany. Some of their teaching programs also receive outside funding, particularly a new program of scholarships financed by the Ford Foundation to support Central American political exiles engaged in graduate study and research in the region (e.g., Costa Rica, Panama, and Mexico). CSUCA's basic operating expenses are met through an annual quota of \$25,000 from each country,

which should give CSUCA a standing budget of \$150,000, but several universities have been unable to meet their quota recently.

The three research programs carried out at CSUCA focus on the social sciences, health sciences, and science and technology. The program in science and technology is currently developing two new projects in human resources and development and technology, while the regional health program has included research on occupational health, epidemiology, agrochemistry and the health program of migrant workers. The health program is currently trying to develop a graduate program in public health or social medicine.

The largest number of research projects are in the social sciences because of the strength of CSUCA faculty in this area. CSUCA currently has a large project, funded by the Ford Foundation, on the Atlantic Coast, in collaboration with the national universities in several Central American countries (including Belize) in order to analyze state policy in these countries and the responses from different ethnic and racial populations in the region. The largest component of this project is the Nicaragua study of on the Miskito area. CSUCA also has research programs on international relations that focus on the problems of small countries; on the role of the church in social movements in Central America; on communication and the mass media in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica; and on rural development. There is also a well-developed program on urban and regional planning in Costa Rica, Honduras, and Panama that includes research on issues such as state policy and its impact on spatial redistribution of the population and urban labor markets; and short courses designed to build up a research core in these countries emphasizing the study of housing, urban infrastructure, and urban social movements. The short courses are offered through a joint agreement between CSUCA, the Inter-American Planning Society, and the local national universities, and there are plans to develop an M.A. program in urban and regional planning. The research and teaching programs developed by CSUCA reflect the acute need in the area to develop curriculum and applied research more geared to the national needs and development goals of the Central American countries.

CSUCA also publishes twelve titles a year, and currently has about 167 titles in a variety of fields dealing with Central American culture. It clearly could use more funding for its publication program, however, since much of the research is now published in mimeographed form and does not reach a wide audience. CSUCA is also seeking support for a computerized information and data network it is trying to establish among several Central American universities. This would aid in the development of regional documentation centers, which are sorely needed

in most Central American universities.

CSUCA certainly deserves more support because it is doing excellent, innovative work in a variety of fields and it is the only institution conducting social science research (with the possible exception of CRIES in Nicaragua) with a regional focus and impact. It needs additional support for its research, teaching, and publications and should benefit from collaboration with U.S. universities. While its greatest strength lies in the social sciences, it also has potential in the areas of health and science and technology, which are so badly needed today in Central America.

5. Recruitment and support of students

Another problem facing Central American universities is the "massification" of the student body, the enormous increase in the number of students, especially at the undergraduate level. The University of San Carlos in Guatemala currently has 51,000 students; the University of Costa Rica and the University of Panama each have 40,000 students; the University of Honduras has 30,000 students; and the University of El Salvador, 29,000 students.

Most of this growth in student enrollment has taken place in the last few years. Nicaragua currently has 32,000 students in institutes of higher education (public and private), a figure that has doubled in the last three years. Twenty years ago the University of Honduras had only 5,000 students, while enrollment at the University of Panama increased 15 percent a year during the 1970s. In part, this represents an increase in general levels of literacy, allowing more students to reach university levels, and university students now represent approximately one percent of the population.

Over half of the students at most Central American universities are women. In some cases, like Nicaragua, this is due to the drafting of young men for military service. At the same time, a university education also offers attractive occupational opportunities to women because of the increase in white-collar jobs in teaching, nursing, social work, and government service. Despite their growing number, very few women are elected as student representatives because (we were told) they prefer to leave politics to men.

Huge enrollments also resulted from a policy of open admissions at the Universities of Honduras, El Salvador, and San Carlos in Guatemala. Honduras boosted its enrollment by granting university admission to students not enrolled in a pre-university degree program (e.g., students with commercial degrees or primary school teachers). Only the universities in Costa Rica, Panama, and Nicaragua have instituted some admissions criteria, based chiefly on high school grades. The University of Costa Rica appears to be the most selective with only one-third of the applicants

admitted. Several Central American universities restrict admission to the more rigorous disciplines such as medicine and law, while they have tried to encourage enrollment through scholarships in less favored but needed fields such as the natural sciences, mathematics, and agriculture. As mentioned above, the most heavily enrolled fields are the social sciences and humanities.

Another reason for the high university enrollment in Central America is low tuition, with the highest tuition found at the University of Costa Rica at \$100 a year. Nicaragua is the only Central American country to offer a free university education, though all other universities have some scholarships for needy students. This is important, since many students work their way through college; in El Salvador, it was estimated that 66 percent of the students are financing their own studies. Thus, low tuition is the result of a deliberate policy of the democratization of university education by opening it to students of all socio-economic levels and providing financing by the state. While a larger number of students with lower socio-economic backgrounds undoubtedly enter the university, it is only in Costa Rica with near universal levels of literacy that most students actually have a chance at a higher education. In Guatemala, for example, half the population, composed of Indians who may not speak Spanish, do not even enter primary school.

Since most students work their way through college, they study part-time, with a large number of courses given in the evening, especially in the social sciences and humanities. This contributes to the high dropout rate, which even in Costa Rica reaches 40 percent. It is estimated that only 8 to 11 percent of students entering the university in Central America actually graduate, and the dropout rate is even higher in times of political crisis, such as the recent closing of the University of El Salvador. While it is recognized that this kind of "revolving door" may represent a serious drain on scarce resources, there is a strong political commitment toward maintaining a policy of open admissions.

Huge enrollments also contribute to the political clout of universities in Central America. It gives them a claim on a larger national following not drawn exclusively from the elite. This diversification of the student body plus the growth and proliferation of Marxist scholarship in Latin America in the past two decades have contributed to the left-wing image of the public universities in most of Central America (and Latin America generally). In fact, it could be argued that students keep pressure on the faculty and administration to maintain their militant left-wing image and not appear too conciliatory. This is especially true in El Salvador and Guatemala and contributes to an already polarized political climate.

How can the politicization of the universities in Central

America be reduced, so that universities can resume their traditional role as intellectual leaders? At present, the universities have become largely political weapons to be used against the government, as in El Salvador and Guatemala, or to support the government, as in Honduras and Nicaragua. Whether as adversary or advocate, the university ceases to function as a center of free and critical inquiry and is dominated by power struggles and political polemics. This is much less true in Costa Rica and Panama, which are farthest removed from the current political crisis in the region. In Costa Rica particularly, there is a strong commitment toward maintaining university autonomy and respecting academic leadership and integrity. The University of Panama too has been subject to government intervention, as recently as last July.

Perhaps these problems are inevitable in a region of such intense political turmoil. The Central American universities are merely reflecting the political reality in their countries. Not until a negotiated solution like Contadora is accepted by all parties and puts an end to the conflict in the region will the Central American universities be free of the political strife that now consumes all of them to a greater or lesser degree.

Conclusions and recommendations

What can be done to assist the Central American universities in their present political and economic crisis? Despite the severe problems now facing these universities, certain concrete measures could be undertaken that might strengthen the intellectual role of the universities in Central America and rebuild a climate of democratic pluralism.

Recognizing the problem, the U.S. government has fostered two alternatives to public university education in Central America: (1) support of private universities; and (2) scholarships under the "Jackson plan" for large numbers of Central American undergraduates to study in the U.S. In my opinion, neither alternative meets the academic needs of the Central American countries or the objectives of U.S. foreign policy. As stated above, most private universities draw on small, elite segments of the population, and cannot exercise a legitimate claim to intellectual leadership in most Central American countries. Although the focus of our visit was on the public universities, it is clear that private universities suffer from many of the same budgetary problems and lack well-qualified faculty, libraries, and lab equipment, making research practically impossible. The only exception may be the Jesuit-run Universidad Centro Americana (UCA) in El Salvador, which has clearly high academic standards and an impressive faculty, physical plant, and publication record, but has also suffered its share of threats and intimidation.

The Jackson plan initiated by the Kissinger Commission to bring large numbers of undergraduate students to the

U.S. for study would also appear to be a waste of funds. It is very expensive to bring undergraduate students to the U.S. for two years, especially if they have to spend considerable time learning English. The money might better be spent on faculty development, which is sorely needed and which would eventually reach a larger number of students as these faculty return to teach in Central America. There is adequate undergraduate training in most disciplines, particularly in the social sciences and humanities, although some students might benefit from technical training in fields such as computer science, agriculture, and engineering.

In place of these alternatives, I would offer the following specific recommendations for improvement of higher education in Central America. They have direct implications not only for U.S. educational policy in the region, but for the Central American universities.

1. Graduate study in the U.S., preferably at the M.A. level, for faculty development in a variety of fields, that will be chosen in accordance with national priorities as established in consultation with university and government officials. A particular need was expressed for faculty development in the hard sciences and professional fields such as health, agriculture, urban and regional planning, engineering and computer sciences, all of which are currently in critically short supply in most Central American countries.

2. Short courses of specialization for faculty development in specific fields such as quantitative techniques, low-cost housing construction, teaching English as a second language, soil analysis, etc. If these courses were taught in Spanish, they would also overcome the language impediment in most Central American countries. It should be possible to recruit U.S. professors to teach graduate courses in these areas for Central American faculty along the model of the M.A. program in education operated by the University of New Mexico in Honduras. These courses might be incorporated into M.A. programs and bring the best students for further study in the U.S.

3. Funds for laboratory equipment, books and journals, and a program for research and publications. Because of the expense of duplicating resources in these areas in all Central American countries, priority should be given to development of regional programs of research and publication along the lines now developed by CSUCA. The U.S.I.A. currently has funds for purchase of books and journals, which has proved most popular, but should be coordinated with national and regional educational priorities.

4. Support to CSUCA for its regional research, teaching, and publications program. The short courses it now runs regionally could be expanded, perhaps with the

help of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, as is currently being explored. If CSUCA agrees, ways should be found to incorporate U.S. faculty into its regional research and teaching programs through greater collaboration with U.S. universities (e.g., U.S.I.A. linkage program, C.I.E.S., and other faculty exchange programs).

5. Scholarships for faculty and students to study in the region, including Mexico. This would again overcome the language barrier and be less costly than study abroad. It would be particularly advantageous for faculty participants in regional graduate programs such as currently offered through CSUCA, but might also assist undergraduates seeking a specialty not available nationally. Several European countries—such as West Germany, Holland, and Sweden—currently follow this model, providing scholarship money for laboratory equipment and research.

6. Governments should be urged to develop national educational development plans such as are currently in force in Nicaragua. This would help to coordinate plans between private and public universities and avoid duplication of scarce resources. The U.S. through A.I.D. and the cultural affairs officer of the U.S. embassy should be encouraged to work with the universities on the development of these plans and to design U.S. programs that would support them.

7. Universities should be encouraged to develop admission policies that would not harm students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. This could best be done by developing alternate courses in technical fields for students wishing to specialize beyond high school along the model of community college or technical institutes. Adult education also needs to be developed along the lines of the Facultad Preparatoria (preparatory courses) in Nicaragua, which prepares adults for university education in such critical fields as medicine, agriculture, and engineering. Continuing professional education in these fields is also needed.

It must be emphasized again that none of these recommendations will work without a solution to the political and economic crisis in the area. The continued existence and functioning of the public universities in Central America, under such trying circumstances is a tribute to their dedication to learning and scholarship and to the importance of education in these countries. We must support them in their struggle to maintain this academic tradition and urge our governments to seek a peaceful solution to the Central American conflict.

Conferences

Report from the Program Committee XIII International Congress Boston, Massachusetts October 23-25, 1986

Proposal deadline for all organized sessions, special events, and papers for the XIII International Congress of LASA was September 30, 1985. The Program Committee will meet in early November to consider the proposals and will be in contact with proposers in the weeks following the meeting.

Four categories of sessions will constitute the bulk of the program in Boston.

1. **PANELS:** consisting of presentations of formal papers, prepared especially for the occasion, and related discussions of them. Two types of panels may be organized:

a. **Research Panels** will include the presentation of original research papers and related discussions. Normally, three papers are presented and discussed by an additional panelist or two and then the session is open for general discussion.

b. **Discussion Panels** will include the presentation of short "think pieces" on topics abstracted from more detailed original research. Presenters will be limited to 8 to 10 minutes each of formal presentation followed by a lengthy period for general discussion.

2. **WORKSHOPS:** consisting of a panel of several participants who exchange ideas about common research problems, techniques, and perspectives, or teaching interests in new fields of study.

3. **ROUND TABLES:** breakfast sessions consisting of no more than ten persons who share in a discussion of a focused topic of common interest. Participants sign up in advance for the round tables and session organizers serve as discussion leaders.

As we indicated in our last report to the LASA membership, the XIII International Congress will mark the twentieth anniversary of LASA. Because of this special event, we want to make the Boston meeting a tribute to the quality and diversity of scholarship that has characterized the Latin American Studies Association in the past two decades. We look forward to your participation in what we hope will be a stimulating and memorable meeting.

The Program Committee for the 1986 meeting consists of Merilee S. Grindle (chair), Harvard University; G. Reid Andrews, University of Pittsburgh; Viviane Márquez, El Colegio de México; Jaime Concha, University of California at San Diego; Florencia E. Mallon, University of Wisconsin; and LaVonne C. Poteet (Film Council coordinator), Bucknell University.

The XIth World Congress of Sociology, organized by ISA, will be held in New Delhi, India, between August 18 and 22, 1986. Within the overall theme of the Congress (Social Change: Problems and Prospects), the Group on the Sociology of Population will arrange five two-hour sessions. Authors wanting to offer a paper for consideration should send a title along with a two-page double-spaced summary directly to the session organizer. *The deadline is December 1, 1985.* The sessions and the names and addresses of organizers are as follows:

1. Emerging Issues in the Sociology of Population
Organizer: Dr. William F. Stinner, Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, Utah State University, Logan, UT 84322 (USA)
2. Modernization and Population Change
Organizer: Dr. S. B. Mani, Department of Sociology, Slippery Rock University, Slippery Rock, PA 16075-9989 (USA)
3. Social Demographic Implications of the Changing Role of Women
Organizer: Dr. Dora Briggs, School of Education, Flinders University, Bedford Park, South Australia, 5041
4. Policy-Based Population Research: Developed Countries
Organizer: Dr. Frans Leeuw, Faculty of Social Sciences, Center for Social Science Research, University of Leyden, Middelstegracht 4, 2312 TW Leyden, The Netherlands
5. Policy-Based Population Research: Developing Countries
Organizer: Dr. Carol Vlassoff, International Development Research Centre, Box 8500, Ottawa, Canada K1G 3A9

The membership fee of the ISA Group on the Sociology of Population is U.S. \$12. Please send a bank draft drawn in favor of The Research Group on the Sociology of Population to Professor Farhat Yusuf, School of Economic and Financial Studies, MacQuarie University, North Ryde, NSW 2113, Australia. Further information about the group can be obtained from Professor Yusuf or the North and Latin American coordinator, Professor William F. Stinner, Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, Utah State University, Logan, UT 84322 (USA).

X Workshop on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing

The tenth annual Maya hieroglyphic writing workshop at the University of Texas at Austin will take place from March 20 through March 29, 1986. The sessions will open on Thursday, March 20, with the II Symposium on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing, a forum for volunteered papers that is being expanded to include topics on Maya iconography as well as glyph decipherment. On the evening of Friday, March 21, Dr. George Stuart (National Geographic Society) will present the "Introduction to the Workshop," a three-hour lecture on Maya archaeology and glyphs. On Saturday and Sunday, March 22-23, Dr. Linda Schele (Art Department, UT), will conduct the X Workshop on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing; in this well-known meeting, which has been held annually since 1977, she will explain the methodology for the decipherment of the glyphic writing system. The session will conclude with the IV Advanced Seminar on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing, which will last from Monday, March 24 to Saturday, March 29.

Fliers with full details of all the meetings will be mailed out later in the fall. Persons wanting to have their names added to the mailing list should send their addresses to: Dr. Nancy P. Troike, Maya Meetings, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712.

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The **1986 Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) Conference** will be held at Estes Park, Colorado, April 2-5, 1986. Proposals for papers and/or suggestions for organized sessions, as well as inquiries regarding local arrangements should be sent to: Dr. Robert Ferry, University of Colorado, Dept. of History, Boulder, CO 80207, 303/444-3194.

The **First International Conference on the Dominican Republic** (April 1986), co-sponsored by Rutgers University, and Seton Hall University is now receiving proposals for papers on all aspects of the Dominican nation, from the Tainos to the Dominican community in the United States. It will be a multidisciplinary conference to include work in anthropology, arts, culture, economy, history, literature, politics, and sociology. A selection of the proceedings will be published both in English and Spanish. Send abstract by October 12, 1985, and/or request further information from: Asela Rodríguez de la Laguna, Dept. of Modern and Classical Languages and Literatures, Rutgers University—Conklin Hall, Newark, NJ 07102 (201/648-5789); or Carlos A. Rodríguez, Dept. of Modern Languages, Seton Hall University, South Orange, NJ 07079 (201/761-9468, 9469).

SECOLAS: George A. Bowdler (Political Science, University of South Carolina at Aiken) and Charles Kargleider (Foreign Languages, Spring Hill College), Program chairmen for the 1986 SECOLAS meeting, which will be held at Clemson University, April 3-5, 1986, have issued a call for papers. The theme of the conference is "City and Country in Latin America: The Implications of Change." Selected papers from those chosen for the 1986 conference will be published in the SECOLAS *Annals*. Information regarding local arrangements may be obtained from Joseph Arbena, Department of History, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina 29631.

Chicano Studies: XIV Annual Conference of the National Association for Chicano Studies. April 10-12, 1986, is the date for this conference, to be held at the University of Texas at El Paso. The theme is: "Decisions for the Future in Critical Times." Workshops, panels, and paper abstracts are requested on a wide variety of topics for the December 13, 1985, deadline. Contact: 1986 NACS Site Committee, c/o Roberto E. Villarreal, conference coordinator, Chicano Studies Research Program, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968. Telephone: 915/747-5462 and 5463.

Symposium on Liberation Theology: A day-long symposium on liberation theology will take place on February 15, 1986, at the University of Richmond. The topic is the involvement of the church as an institution in action for social and political change. The program includes public lectures by Enrique Dussel (president of the Comisión de Estudios de Historia de la Iglesia en América Latina, México), Phillip Berryman, and Rosemary Radford Ruether, as well as a round-table discussion among the three speakers moderated by Professor Donald Dawe of Union Theological Seminary (Richmond). Treatment of the topic will focus primarily, though not exclusively, on Latin America. For further information, contact Dr. Louis Tremaine, coordinator, Third-World Studies Program, University of Richmond, Richmond, VA 23173. Telephone: 804/289-8319.

International Conference on Liberation Theology: The Latin American Studies Program of Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada, announces the first international conference on this topic as an interdisciplinary forum for the examination of issues related to the role of Christian teaching in sociopolitical change in the Third World, and specifically in Latin America, to the growing involvement of Canadian and U.S. churches in the region, and their influence in the elaboration of North American foreign policy. Among the participants are Leonardo Boff (Brazil), Gustavo Gutiérrez (Peru), Fernando Cardenal (Nicaragua), Jon Sobrino (El Salvador), and Mary

E. Hunt (U.S.A.). For further information contact: Conference Services, Continuing Studies, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B. C., Canada, V5A, 1S6. Telephone: 604 291-3649/4565.

Library Acquisition Seminar, Berlin: The Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz will host the XXXI Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) in Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, April 20-25, 1986. The theme of the conference will be "Intellectual Migrations: The Transcultural Contributions of European and Latin American Emigrés." Participating scholars and librarians will discuss the impact that European migrants have made on Latin America through their writing, teaching, publishing, and other cultural manifestations. Considered as well will be the influence of Latin American exiles on European culture. Emphasis will be placed on bibliographic resources. Panels and workshops will be conducted in English and Spanish, the official languages of SALALM. A tour of Berlin and a visit to a museum have been planned. In addition, a day-long trip to Wolfenbuttei, with a visit to the medieval library, has been arranged. Invitations and registration materials for SALALM XXXI will be mailed in December 1985. Information on the content of the program can be obtained from Ilana L. Sonntag, president, SALALM, San Diego State University Library, San Diego, CA 92182-0511. For details on local arrangements, contact Wilhelm Stegmann, director, Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Postfach 1247, D-1000 Berlin 30, Federal Republic of Germany; telephone, 030-266-2500). For other information about SALALM, contact Suzanne Hodgman, executive secretary, SALALM Secretariat, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706. Telephone: 608/262-3240.

International Studies Association/Southwest: The 1986 annual meeting of the International Studies Association/Southwest will be held concurrently with the Southwestern Social Science Association annual meeting at the Menger Hotel-Convention Center in San Antonio, March 19-22, 1986. The general theme for the SSSA meeting is "Human Rights and the Quality of Life." Given the relevance of this theme to international studies, we want to encourage ISA members to participate in this year's program. One outstanding plenary session has already been organized to discuss issues of arms control, with the participants being Brent Scowcroft, Robert McNamara, and James R. Schlesinger. Those wishing to present papers or organized panels on subjects or issues related to international affairs and/or the general theme are encouraged to submit proposals to the program chairman. The deadline for submitting paper or panel proposals and discussion or chair requests is October 31, 1985. To sub-

mit proposals or obtain further information, please contact: Prof. Dale Story, program chairman, ISA/Southwest, Dept. of Political Science, Box 19539, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX 76019.

Southwestern Council of Latin American Studies (SCOLAS): The SCOLAS invites proposals from any discipline concerning Latin America for its 16th annual meeting on March 13-15, 1986 on the campus of Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas. Deadline is January 1, 1986. Contact Prof. Douglas W. Richmond, Dept. of History, Box 19529, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, TX 76019.

Announcements

Theological Seminars to Include Latin Americanists

The Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary Seminars for its 1985-1986 Continuing Education program will feature three Latin Americanists for its December, March, and April sessions. Dr. Edward Dixon Junkin, Peace Associate for Central America Presbyterian Church, San José, Costa Rica will conduct the seminar entitled, "Discipleship and Patriotism: Reflections in Light of the Crisis in Central America," December 2-5. Dr. Plutarco Bonilla, professor of philosophy at the University of Costa Rica, will give his seminar on "The Spirituality of Liberation," March 3-6, 1986. From March 31 to April 2, Dr. Jorge Lará-Braud, professor of theology and culture at San Francisco Theological Seminary, will give a seminar on "The Church Reborn: Christian Witness in Central America."

Information on registration, tuition, and room and board may be obtained by writing to the Office of Continuing Education, Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 100 East 27th Street, Austin, TX 78705. Telephone: 512/472-6736.

Documentary Film on Nicaraguan Health Now Available

The Committee for Health Rights in Central America, a nonprofit organization, has recently produced a 33-minute documentary film entitled, *Nicaragua: The Other Invasion*. The subject of the film is the health situation in Nicaragua. For further information please contact Daniel J. Allen, 513 Valencia Street #6, San Francisco, California 94111. Tel.: (415) 431-7760.

Addendum: LASA Dues Coupons

In the Summer issue of the *LASA Forum* we published a list of national commissions and contact persons in selected countries from which non-U.S. LASA members may buy coupons with which to pay their LASA dues. We left out the Uruguay entry, which appears below.

URUGUAY

Presidente: Dr. Armando López Scavino
Secretario General: Sr. Walter V. Barbosa Trías

Comisión Nacional del Uruguay para la UNESCO
Ministerio de Educación y Cultura
Sarandi 444
Montevideo

Tel.: 90.20.39

Dirección telegráfica: COMISION UNESCO DIPLOMACIA MONTEVIDEO

Tour of Cuban Archives & Museums Planned

The National Archives of Cuba and ICAP (the Cuban agency for international relations with the people of North America) will host a delegation of North American archivists and historians to tour Cuban archival and historical agencies and museums. The itinerary includes the National Archives, the National University (and its archives), the Archives of the Cuban Communist party (specializing in 19th- and 20th-century Cuban labor history), along with institutions of interest to religious, cultural, and business archivists. The proposed dates for the tour are January 6-15 OR May 19-28, 1986, and will be determined by response to a straw poll.

The Center for Cuban Studies (New York City) is making all arrangements. Due to the U.S. ban on general tourist travel to Cuba, participation will be limited to interested archivists, historians, and related professionals. For more information, contact Claudia Hammel, 38 Verandah Place, Brooklyn, NY 11201. Telephone: 718/237-0028.

Center for Cuban Studies to Organize Educational Tours to Cuba, 1985-86

The Center for Cuban Studies, a nonprofit educational institution based in New York City, is planning several educational and professional tours to Cuba beginning in November 1985, with a Cuban Music tour. Other tours will feature Cuban art, film, theater, literature, publishing, government, economy, foreign policy, language and society, and education. Each two-week trip will cost about \$1,000, including round-trip air fare between Miami

and Havana, double accommodations, and translators. The featured trip for December is the **VII International Festival of New Latin American Cinema**. The festival will take place in Havana, December 2-16, 1985. "Coral" prizes will be awarded to films "whose artistic means and cinematographic significance contribute to affirming and enriching Latin American identity." For information write: Center for Cuban Studies, 124 West 23rd Street, New York, NY 10011.

Video Documentary on Use & Abuse of Mass Media in Today's Nicaragua

Ohio University announces the availability for purchase of a 28-minute video documentary (3/4" \$65; VHS or BETA \$35) entitled *Political Communication in Revolutionary Nicaragua*, produced by Howard H. Frederick, Ph.D., and John Higgins, M.A. "This educational documentary outlines the role of the mass media in a revolutionary society trying to resist outside intervention and to mobilize internal support. The program watches as the leading opposition paper receives its censored copy back from the government. It views the clashing values on Sandinista TV, hears the 'war of ideas on radio, and examines other media such as posters and graffiti." Send check payable to **Ohio University (Nicaragua Video)**, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701.

US-Nicaragua Colloquium on Health Calls for Teachers & Fact-finders

The Third U.S.-Nicaragua Colloquium on Health, in Managua (November 7-16) is calling for "all types of health workers for teaching and fact-finding components of the conference." A project of the National Central American Health Rights Network, this may be an "unique opportunity of technical and personal exchange with Nicaragua health workers," with tours to be included. For more information, telephone 415/431-7760 or write Colloquium, CHRICA, 516 Valencia #6, San Francisco, CA 94110.

Newsletter Needs News Items on Columbian Quincentenary

The first quarterly issue of *Encuentro: A Columbian Quincentenary Newsletter*, was issued by the Latin American Institute of the University of New Mexico. The newsletter is designed to inform its readers of the events associated with the upcoming 500th anniversary of the "encounter" between Columbus and the Americas that will be celebrated in 1992. Those with advance knowledge of new artistic endeavors, exhibits, performances, symposia,

conferences, studies, and funding opportunities are encouraged to write to Prof. Peter Bakewell, Editor, *Encuentro*, Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131.

Newsletter on Bolivian Economic and Political Problems

The Agencia de Noticias Fides (ANF) of La Paz, Bolivia, continues the publication of *Notas*, a weekly newsletter focusing on Bolivian political and economic problems. "This report is widely read among informed groups, either public, national or foreign, who desire to have thorough information synthesized in few words and seen from an analytical perspective," ANF said.

The annual subscription rate abroad is \$90. Those interested in subscribing should write to Agencia de Noticias Fides, Casilla 5782, La Paz, Bolivia.

Arizona State University Receives Linkage Grant with Bolivia; Hosts Conference

The Center for Latin American Studies at Arizona State University was awarded a three-year university-to-university Linkage Grant from the United States Information Agency to establish linkages with the Catholic University of Bolivia. Under this program, ASU faculty will work with the Bolivian university to establish graduate programs in business and agribusiness, to develop a continuing education program and to sponsor economic and business research. Activity under the grant was initiated with seven short-term faculty visits in the spring semester 1985. Professor **Alex Blacutt** of the Catholic University will be a visiting professor at ASU during the fall semester. ASU and the UCB have had a student exchange program since 1978.

On May 6 and 7, the ASU Center for Latin American Studies and the Catholic University of Bolivia also co-sponsored a conference entitled, "Redemocratization in Bolivia: A Political and Economic Analysis of the Siles Zuazo Government, 1982-1985." The conference was held in Tempe. Seven ASU and Catholic University faculty presented papers on various aspects of the current Bolivian economic and political crisis and the performance of the Siles Zuazo government, which came to power in October 1982 as Bolivia's first democratic administration after eighteen years of military rule. There are plans to publish a volume of the edited papers. The work should be available in early 1986. For more information, contact the Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85287.

Tinker Visiting Professors, 1985-1986

In 1981, the Tinker Foundation completed its program of endowing Edward Larocque Tinker Visiting Professorships at U.S. universities. The Tinker Foundation was established in 1959 and restricts its activities exclusively to Iberoamerican issues. Below are listed the names of the scholars who will be in residence during the 1985-1986 academic year. Those interested in contacting the Tinker Professors should write to them directly at the institution of their appointment.

Larissa Adler Lomnitz (Mexico): Columbia University, Department of Anthropology, fall 1985. Prof. Lomnitz will teach a colloquium on Latin American urbanization and the patterns of social interaction in cities. Author of several books and journal articles and member of the editorial boards of *Review in Anthropology* and *Journal of Social Networks*, she serves as technical adviser to the Center of Ecological Research of the Southeast in San Cristóbal las Casas, Mexico.

Simon Schwartzman (Brazil): Columbia University, Department of Political Science, spring 1986. He will be teaching a graduate seminar on social transformation in Brazil. Prof. Schwartzman teaches in the Graduate Program at the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ).

Iris Martha Roldán (Argentina): Stanford University, Department of Sociology, winter quarter 1985-1986. Holder of degrees from Argentina, the U.S., and Holland in both law and sociology, Prof. Roldán is a former researcher and area coordinator for the International Labor Office's Program on Rural Women and Economic Development in Geneva, Switzerland.

Juan Oleza Simo (Spain): The University of Chicago, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, spring Quarter 1986. Currently a professor of Spanish and Latin American literature at the University of Valencia, he has taught at the Universities of Barcelona and Odense (Denmark). He is the editor of journal *Cuadernos de Filología* author of numerous articles on literature, and a novelist with two works—one in Spanish and the other in Catalán to his credit.

Luiz Tavares Júnior (Brazil): The University of Chicago, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, spring quarter 1986. Prof. Tavares Júnior teaches Portuguese language and Brazilian literature at the Federal University of Ceará. He has published a monograph entitled *O mito na literatura de cordel* (1981) and many articles in professional journals.

Scarlett O'Phelan Godoy (Peru): The University of Chicago, Department of History, spring quarter 1986. A

graduate of Catholic University of Peru and Birbeck College of the University of London, she has taught both in Peru and Europe, and recently completed a year as visiting fellow at the University of Cologne. She is an expert on 18th-century Peru, with papers and published articles on such topics as rebellion of Túpac Amaru and the impact of the Bourbon reforms on colonial society in Peru.

Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias (Brazil): The University of Texas at Austin, Department of History, fall semester 1985. Prof. Dias has taught at the University of São Paulo since 1962. She specializes in 19th-century Brazil, Brazilian historiography, the social history of poor urban women workers, and the voting poor during the process of state building in 1822-1881.

João Alexandre Costa Barbosa (Brazil): The University of Texas at Austin, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Spring Semester 1986. Prof. Costa teaches literary theory and comparative literature at the University of São Paulo. He has taught at the Universities of Recife and Brasília, and he is an internationally recognized leading Brazilian literature scholar and literary critic.

Roger Bartra (Mexico): The University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Rural Sociology, Semester I 1985-1986. Prof. Bartra teaches at the Institute of Social Research at the National Autonomous University of Mexico and he has directed research projects, including one on cultivated fields in Andean Venezuela.

Fernando Rojas (Colombia): The University of Wisconsin-Madison, Law School, Semester I 1985-1986. Prof. Rojas is research director for Center for Research and Popular Education and director of postgraduate studies in fiscal policy at the School for Public Administration in Bogotá. He has served as consultant to UNESCO in Guatemala, and as adviser on international relations to the executive vice president of the Colombian Central Bank since 1979.

Current Tinker Postdoctoral Fellows

Aldo Ansano Brandani: National Council for Scientific and Technical Research, Buenos Aires, Argentina. "Appropriateness of Coastal Resources Management Strategies for Argentina: A Normative Study"

Jonathan Hartlyn: Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. "Producer Associations, Popular Organizations, Political Parties and Democratic Restoration in the Dominican Republic"

Soon Jin Kim: Towson State University, Baltimore, Maryland. "Spain's World News Service EFE: A Case Study on Government-Press Relations"

John F. Schwaller: Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, Florida. "The Life and Times of Don Luis de Velasco, the Younger"

Ann Twinam: University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. "Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America"

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Latin American Indian Literatures Symposium: The IV International Symposium on Latin American Indian Literatures will be held in Mérida, Yucatán, México, January 4-12, 1986. Workshops on Nahuatl, Maya and Quechua music will be held on January 6. Sessions on many topics about or related to Latin American Indian literatures, including codices, hieroglyphs and rock art, will be presented January 7-11. At the banquet on January 10, Dr. Mercedes de la Garza, director of Centro de Estudios Maya, U.N.A.M., will be the keynote speaker and address the topic, "Los chamanes en los textos quichés y cakchiqueles, y su relación con los actuales." Films, slides, exposition and sale of books and artifacts, and cultural events are scheduled from January 6-10. Dr. Mary H. Preuss, president, LAILA/ALILA, Geneva College, Beaver Falls, PA 15010-3599. Telephone: 412/846-5100, ext. 244.

Universities of Pittsburgh and Havana Plan Academic Exchange

The University of Pittsburgh has signed a preliminary agreement with the University of Havana to develop a selective program of exchange for scholars, students, and library materials. The signed protocol was arranged by University of Pittsburgh president Wesley W. Posvar and political science professor and LASA vice-president Cole Blasier after several days of talks with top university and government officials in Cuba. According to Cuban authorities, Posvar is the first U.S. university president to have visited Cuba in the past 25 years.

President Posvar noted that "the planned exchange program is to be small and of high quality, yet it has the potential to be the most comprehensive one involving the U.S. since the Cuban revolution, as it spans the social sciences and also the natural sciences and professions."

Pitt's Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) is a major resource center on Cuba; CLAS publishes the journal, *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos*, and its library collection on Cuba is considered among the best in the world.

New Programs at Middlebury, 1986

Teaching for Proficiency: The Middlebury College Language Schools are announcing a five-week summer institute from June 29 to August 2 for teachers and future teachers of foreign languages. General presentations on the concept of proficiency, curriculum design, classroom strategies and development of materials will be followed by sessions specific to the teaching of Chinese, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish. Participants may earn two units (six hours) of graduate credit or they may elect to attend the institute as noncredit students.

Three-Week Programs: Middlebury also will be offering a series of three-week programs in the French, German and Spanish schools. Special seminars meet two hours daily and award one unit (three hours) of graduate credit:

- Contemporary France: Culture through Television
- French Language, Culture and Video
- Media and Politics in the Federal Republic of Germany
- Workshop in the German Media
- Latin American Writers and Their Work: Three Women
- Latin American Writers and Their Work: Three Men

In addition, students may enroll in one or more advanced courses designed to complement the seminars to earn up to two units (six hours) of graduate credit.

Students in all summer programs are fully integrated into the intellectual and cultural life of the individual school and will be bound by the Middlebury language pledge. For more information and an application, write to: Special Summer Programs, Sunderland Language Center, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont 05753. (Please indicate your language preference.) Telephone: 802/388-3711, ext. 5505.

Census Offers International Data Base on Diskette

The U.S. Bureau of the Census is now offering its International Data Base (IDB) on diskette for 203 countries of the world. Organized as a series of 94 statistical tables, the IDB contains demographic, economic, and social data for all countries of the world. Each table is fully annotated with information on sources, methods of collection, definitions of terms, methods used in computations, and qualifications of the data.

Each diskette contains tables and notes for a single country. A computer program, written in Basic, is

supplied to users to extract individual tables into formats acceptable to software packages such as LOTUS 1-2-3, DBASE, SUPERCALC, and SPSS. File documentation describing the contents of the tables and notes is also included. The cost for the first country purchased on diskette, including file documentation, is \$15. The price for documents on additional countries is \$7.50 each.

The statistical tables from the IDB are also available in printed copy. When ordering printed copies of statistical tables, the first 10 tables are free and additional tables are \$0.25 each.

The data contained in the IDB are collected from many sources, including national statistical offices throughout the world, international organizations such as the United Nations, research centers and universities around the world, and federal agencies such as the U.S. Agency for International Development. Data that originate in host countries usually come from censuses, vital registration systems, surveys, and administrative records.

To supplement these "raw" data, the Bureau of the Census makes estimates and projections on such topics as population, fertility, migration, and vital rates. All these data, together with other reported statistics, are stored in the IDB. Currently, there are over 200,000 records in the data base with updates occurring on a daily basis.

The types of data in the IDB are categorized as population, urban-rural, age-sex; vital rates, infant mortality, life tables; health and nutrition; fertility and child survivorship; migration; foreign-born and refugee data; provinces and cities; marital status and marriage; family planning; ethnic, religious, and language groups; literacy and education; labor force, employment, income, and gross national product; and household size and housing indicators.

For more information on the International Data Base or the activities of the Center for International Research, contact Greg Nowakowski, Center for International Research, Scuderi Building, Room 409, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. 20233; (301) 763-4286.

Other Announcements

XIIIth General Assembly of the Latin American Social Sciences Council (CLASCO): The Assembly, composed of researchers, directors and representatives of regional centers, will take place in Montevideo, Uruguay, December 3-6, 1985. It will debate and define the academic policy the Council should employ during the next biennial period, in addition to the working plan that will implement the policy's strategic features. The executive secretaryship and the Board of the Council want to stress

that a meeting of this magnitude should become a forum of reflection and intellectual debate about central subjects in the field of social sciences. Two large thematic concerns are as follows.

1. "*CLACSO Thinks on CLACSO*" is a statement that synthesizes the launching of studies of the development of Latin American social sciences during the last twenty years, with special emphasis on the role played by CLACSO (founded in 1967) in its development.

2. "*State and Society in Latin America*" is a generic expression that will be the subject of a debate on two main themes: "The external relations of Latin America," and "Conditions of introduction and financing of political democracy in Latin America."

The Third Latin American Fair of Publications on Social Sciences will take place simultaneously with the General Assembly. For more information write to: Sr. Fernando Calderón, Executive Secretary, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Callao 875-3, Piso E, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Telephone: 44-8459.

Prize: Spain & America in the Quincentennial of the Discovery: The "Program of Cooperation of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and the Universities of the United States" have begun sponsoring a yearly competition for best book-length manuscripts dealing with the Spanish contribution to the independence and development of the United States. For unpublished works the prize will be \$6,000 (first prize) and \$3,000 (second prize). In the case of published works, the prize will be divided between author and publisher. For competition guidelines, write to: Cultural Office, Embassy of Spain, 4200 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Suite 520, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Visa Denial Project of the National Lawyers Guild: What do the Mothers of the Disappeared in El Salvador, former NATO general Nino Pasti and Nobel prize-winning author Gabriel García Márquez have in common? They have all been denied visas to visit the United States because of their political beliefs. If you or your organization is considering inviting to the U.S. a foreign guest who may be denied a visa on political grounds, then you should read *Getting In: A Guide to Overcoming the Political Denial of Non-Immigrant Visas*, says the National Lawyers Guild. The publication assists in making a technically correct visa application, gives a history of the law allowing political exclusions, and discusses strategies for minimizing and overcoming political visa denials. *Getting In* can be ordered for \$10 a copy from the Visa Denial Project of the National Lawyers Guild, 14 Beacon Street, Suite 506, Boston, MA 02108.

Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos is a forum for presentation and discussion of multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research which relates to Mexico and its people. The journal sets up an alliance among scholars from all disciplines to address issues which have broad implications for the country. Contributions may be synthetic, interpretive, analytical, or theoretical but must contribute in a significant way to understanding of cultural, historical, political, social, economic, or scientific factors affecting the development of Mexico. Any article not in itself directly related to Mexico may be accepted if it draws important comparative conclusions specifically related to Mexico.

All contributions and editorial correspondence should be sent to Jaime E. Rodríguez, editor, *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 155 Administration, University of California, Irvine, CA 92717. Two copies of each contribution should be submitted, accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope of suitable size. Manuscripts will be published in either English or Spanish. Both text and footnotes should be clearly typed with double spacing and wide margins; footnotes should appear separately at the end of the manuscript. Illustrations may be included by arrangement with the editor.

Chicago Anthropology Exchange, a student journal, is requesting annotated bibliography entries, book reviews, field reports, and full-length articles on Central American indigenous civil rights and economic developments. For additional information contact: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637.

The **Latin American Monograph Series** at Ohio University is currently soliciting scholarly works in all disciplines related to Latin America. Manuscripts should range between 80 and 150 single-spaced, typed pages (or equivalent for other manners of spacing). Final selection will be on the basis of quality of scholarship, clarity of expression, and the estimated importance of the topic to the scholarly community. Manuscripts (with self-addressed envelope for return) or inquiries should be sent to: Thomas W. Walker, editor, Latin American Monograph Series, Center for International Studies, Burson House, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701.

Research & Study Opportunities

NEH Summer Seminars for College Teachers

The National Endowment for the Humanities announces that the fifty-six seminars for teachers at undergraduate and two-year colleges will be offered during the summer of 1986 at twenty-eight different institutions across the United States plus two in Italy.

These seminars will deal with topics central to the humanities and will provide teachers the opportunities both to work with a distinguished scholar and colleagues in an area of mutual interest and to pursue individual study and research. Each of the twelve participants will receive a stipend of \$3,000 to help cover travel to and from the seminar location, books, and research and living expenses. Copies of the brochure describing the content of each seminar are available from the Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C. 20506. For more detailed information and for application forms, please write directly to the seminar directors at the addresses indicated below. The application deadline is March 1, 1986.

- Luis Leal, Center for Chicano Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, California 93106: "Hispanic Literature of the Southwest: Tradition and Innovation" (June 23-August 15).
- Oscar J. Martínez, Center for Inter-American and Border Studies, University of Texas at El Paso, Texas 79968: "The U.S.-Mexico Borderlands in Perspective" (June 16-August 8).
- Walter Nugent, 481 Decio Hall, P.O. Box 1068, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556: "The Frontier and the Environment in America" (June 16-August 8).
- David J. Weber, History Department, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas 75275: "Southwestern America: New Approaches to the Hispanic Past, 1540-1910" (June 16-August 8).
- Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr., Department of History, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana 70118: "Central American Crises in Historical Perspective" (June 16-August 8).

NICA Study/Travel in Nicaragua: The Nuevo Instituto de Centroamérica (NICA) has announced its fall and spring schedules for study and travel in Nicaragua. Participants in the NICA program live with a Nicaraguan family in the Estelí region. The four- or five-week home stay also includes intensive Spanish, volunteer work, meetings, and seminars. Also included is a trip to Managua for meetings with representatives of opposition groups, U.S. Embassy officials, and U.S. citizens working in Nicaraguan research institutes. Independent travel is also possible. The cost varies from \$875 to \$950 (airfare not included), with discounts available for those not requiring the language classes. For further information, please contact NICA, P.O. Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. Telephone: 617/497-7124.

The Inter-American Foundation has both M.A. and Ph.D. fellowships available. Ph.D. applicants must have finished all degree requirements except the dissertation before they travel overseas. Applicants for both fellowships are required to write and speak the language of the country in which they intend to do their research. Preference is given to candidates whose background and proposed research are multidisciplinary. Fellowships carry no restrictions regarding citizenship, sex, or age. For more information and application forms write Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Boulevard, Rosslyn, VA 22209.

Latin American and Caribbean Fellowship Program: The IAF also awards approximately ten fellowships each year to social and economic researchers from Latin America and the Caribbean to pursue advanced study in the U.S. under their Latin American and Caribbean Fellowship Program. Applicants should have a minimum of two years of research experience and a demonstrated interest in problems of poverty, local and community development, popular participation, or democratic institutions. Candidates must be committed to returning to the institution with which they are currently affiliated. For further information, contact: Latin American and Caribbean Fellowship Program, Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Boulevard, Rosslyn VA 22209.

Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowships: Applications are now being accepted for 1986. Applicants must be enrolled in a graduate school in the United States and have completed all requirements for the doctorate except the dissertation by January 1986. Stipends of \$8,000 will be granted to 45 applicants writing their dissertations on topics concerning ethical or religious values in all fields of the humanities and social sciences.

The deadline for request of applications is December 20, 1985; deadline for mailing all materials is January 3, 1986. Fellowships will be announced in April 1986. For more information, contact: Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Box 642, Princeton, NJ 08542.

The Howard Heinz Endowment announces the availability of support for research on current issues in Latin American politics, economics, or social development. One or two grants of \$40,000 each will be awarded under the terms and conditions of the endowment. Fields of study include: projects which review and analyze recent U.S.-Latin American relations; projects which provide comparative longitudinal studies of different economies; projects which provide new insights on the political and social impact of religion and religious controversy in contemporary Latin America; projects which study the impact of conservative political movements in Latin America; and projects which analyze the political, military, and economic relations of the USSR and Cuba with Latin America and the Caribbean, and the consequences for the U.S. Grants will be awarded only to interdisciplinary teams which include at least one political scientist and/or one economist. In addition, one of the members of the team must be based at an institution located within the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Grant proposals must be received at the office of the Howard Heinz Endowment, 301 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15222, no later than February 14, 1986. For further information write or call Marty Muetzel, at the office of the Heinz Endowment. Telephone: 412/391-5122.

U.S. Department of State Internships: The U.S. Department of State will sponsor a number of internships which offer to a limited number of highly qualified college juniors or seniors and university graduate students the opportunity to gain firsthand knowledge of American foreign affairs. These internships are open only to currently enrolled students who are taking at least one-half of a full-time academic workload, and who will be returning to complete their education immediately upon termination of their internships. Deadline for receipt of applications is November 1 for the 1986 Summer Intern Program. Work-Study Internship applications for all other semesters during the academic year should be submitted at least six months prior to the start of the internship. For application information, write directly to: Intern Coordinator, U.S. Dept. of State, P.O. Box 12209, Rosslyn Station, Arlington, VA 22209. Telephone: 703/235-9375 or 703/235-9376.

Fellowships, Grants, and Prizes for Scholars

UCSD Fellowship Program Begins Sixth Year

In September the Visiting Research Fellowships Program at UC-San Diego's Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies began its sixth year, with the arrival of 14 new Fellows representing six different disciplines and 13 institutions in Mexico and the United States. The new Fellows joined 13 others who were in residence at the Center during 1984-1985 and who are continuing their research there in the current academic year.

Including this year's Fellows, the program has brought a total of 102 scholars and nonacademic experts on Mexico to the UCSD campus since the summer of 1980. Nearly half of the Center's Visiting Fellows have come from Mexican institutions. The remainder have been based in Britain, Canada, Australia, Spain, Colombia, and at institutions throughout the U.S.

In addition to academics, participants in the program have included persons with extensive experience in the U.S. and Mexican governments (including two former cabinet-level officials), career politicians, journalists, lawyers, *campesino* organizers and others engaged in micro-level rural and urban development projects in Mexico.

The Center's annual group of about 25 Visiting Fellows includes specialists on virtually every aspect of contemporary Mexico (economy, political and legal systems, social structure, etc.) as well as Mexican history and aspects of the U.S. economy and U.S. public policies that affect Mexico. Some Fellows are engaged in comparative studies of development problems or policy issues in Latin America that include but are not limited to Mexico.

Among the Fellows for 1985-1986 is Bill Buzenberg, senior Latin American affairs correspondent for National Public Radio, who recently spent three months living in Mexico with UCSD support investigating the aftermath of Mexico's worst-ever industrial accident (the explosion of a PEMEX gas storage plant in Mexico City last November) and reporting on the highly controversial midterm elections held in July.

The July elections will be analyzed in depth at a three-day research workshop to be held at the Center in November and organized by Visiting Fellow Arturo Alvarado of Mexico City's Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. Another upcoming Center research workshop, organized by Visiting Fellow Sylvia Maxfield of Harvard University, will focus on the changing relationship between Mexico's public and private sectors.

The population of Visiting Fellows at the Center has always been a mixture of senior-level scholars and non-academic experts, younger postdoctoral scholars, and advanced graduate students who write their doctoral dissertation during their stay at UCSD. Ph.D. candidates at any institution who have passed their comprehensive examinations and who will have completed their fieldwork or other basic data collection prior to arrival at the Center are eligible to apply for a fellowship.

Each Fellow is expected to spend between 3 and 12 months in continuous residence at the Center. Fellowships can be started at the beginning of the fall, winter, or spring quarters, but no fellowships are awarded for the summer months only. Several different types of fellowships are offered, depending on the applicant's stage of career development, professional training, nationality (some fellowships are restricted to citizens of Mexico), and desired length of stay.

The Center awards approximately 15 new fellowships each year, through an open, international competition using a Mexico-based advisory committee and the Center's academic staff as evaluators. In 1984-1985, applications were received from scholars based in seven different countries. Nonstipend fellowships are made available each year, space permitting, to several persons who have independent funding from sabbaticals or research grants to support them during their residence at the Center.

Applications for fellowships to be held during the year beginning September 1, 1986, must be submitted by December 1, 1985. Application forms should be requested from the Center. Decisions are announced in February. (Center address: Ms. Graciela Platero, Fellowships Coordinator, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, D-010, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, Calif. 92093, U.S.A.)

During the 1985-1986 academic year, the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies is being administered by Dr. Donald Wyman (acting director) and Prof. Laurence Whitehead of Oxford University (acting program director and visiting Fellow). Center Director Wayne Cornelius is on sabbatical, in residence at Stanford University.

The Center's current group of researchers in residence includes the following:

Newly Appointed Visiting Fellows

Jaime Aboites Aguilar, economist. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco. Research on industrialization and its impacts on wages and living conditions

for low-income people in Mexico, 1934-1983. In residence at UCSD: January-June 1986.

Angel Aceves Saucedo, economist. Member, Mexican Senate (representing the state of Puebla); Director, Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Sociales, Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). Research on Mexico's economic development options in the 1980s. In residence at UCSD: January-June 1986.

David Barkin, economist. Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Xochimilco. Research on the impact of alternative national development strategies on the quality of rural life. In residence at UCSD: September-December 1985.

William Buzenberg, Latin American Affairs Correspondent (specializing in Latin America), National Public Radio, Washington, D.C. Writing on the Mexican elections of 1985: consequences for political stability and political reform. In residence at UCSD: Fall 1985.

Kitty Calavita, sociologist of law. Middlebury College. Research on the economic and social determinants and consequences of U.S. immigration law and policy. In residence at UCSD: September 1985-June 1986.

Heliodoro Díaz Cisneros, agricultural economist. Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo Rural, Colegio de Posgraduados, Chapingo, México. Research on social and economic impacts of the "Plan Puebla" agricultural program, and on tools for self-evaluation that might be used by peasant groups. In residence at UCSD: September 1985-May 1986.

Fernando Estrada Sámano, political scientist. Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México. Research on the changing role of opposition parties in Mexico and implications of such change for political stability. In residence at UCSD: September-December 1985.

Jonathan Fox, political scientist. Ph.D. candidate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Research on political determinants of, and socio-economic consequences of, the Sistema Alimentario Mexicano (national food production and nutrition improvement program, 1980-1982). In residence at UCSD: September 1985-July 1986.

Alan Knight, historian. University of Essex, England. Research on political and social reforms of the Cárdenas administration, 1934-1940. In residence at UCSD: January-July 1986.

Sylvia Maxfield, political scientist. Ph.D. candidate, Harvard University. Research on the shifting balance of power between public and private sectors in Mexico's economy and political system. In residence at UCSD: September 1985-July 1986.

Ina Rosenthal-Urey, economic anthropologist. Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD. Research on Mexican migration to the United States, immigrant settlement and adaptation processes, ethnic self-identity. In residence at UCSD: throughout the year.

Gabriel Székely, political scientist. El Colegio de México. Research on oil and Mexico's relations with the industrialized countries. In residence at UCSD: September 1985-August 1986.

Laurence Whitehead, political economist. Nuffield College, Oxford University. Research on economic stabilization programs and political change in Mexico and other Latin American countries. In residence at UCSD: August, 1985-September 1986.

Boris Yopo, rural sociologist. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Mexico City. Research on new participatory diagnostic and evaluation models for peasant agriculture. In residence at UCSD: November 1985-February 1986.

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Richard Frucht Memorial Essay Prize: *The Canadian Journal of Anthropology* awards an annual prize in memory of Richard Frucht (a charter member of the Caribbean Studies Association and a member of its executive council from 1975 to 1977) who died in 1979. While no strict limitations are placed on specific area, preference will be given to essays which cover aspects of the following topics which were central to Prof. Frucht's scholarly interests: political economy of the nation-state; rural masses and political movements; post-slave society in the New World; historical materialism. Students are especially encouraged to submit essays. The value of the prize is \$100 Canadian for students or \$50 Canadian for nonstudents. The winning essay will be published in *The Canadian Journal of Anthropology*. Send to Editor, CJA/RCA, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Alberta, Canada, T6G, 2H4.

Tinker Postdoctoral Fellowship Program (New Guidelines): The 1986 Tinker Postdoctoral Fellowship Competition will be open to individuals who completed their doctorates between 1976 and 1983. Applicants must be citizens or permanent residents of the U.S., Canada, Spain, Portugal, or the Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere. Projects must concern Ibero-American or Iberian studies in the areas of the Foundation's interests: social sciences, international relations and natural resource development. The one-year award provides a \$25,000 stipend. Applications must be received by the Foundation no later than December 15, 1985. For further information, contact: Ms. Melinda Pastor, The Tinker Foundation, 645 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022. Telephone: 212/421-6858.

Hoover Institution Prize: The Hoover Institution of War, Revolution and Peace is establishing an annual prize, probably of \$1,000, for the best article published in a scholarly journal during the calendar year. Articles should be about political affairs and/or international problems of Central and South America, including the Caribbean. Articles in Spanish, Portuguese, French, or English will be considered. Submissions are invited from authors and editors. For further information or for submission of mss. write to Robert Wesson, Hoover Institution, Stanford, CA 94305.

Institute for Current World Affairs: Fellowships to scholars of varying backgrounds are available for research in northwestern Latin America. In this program, fluency in Spanish is required. For additional information write: Executive Director, Institute of Current World Affairs, The Crane Rogers Foundation, Wheelock House, 4 West Wheelock, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

John Carter Brown Library Research Fellowships: The John Carter Brown Library, an independently managed research institution at Brown University, offers about twelve short-term fellowships each year, extending from one to four months. Fellowships are open to foreign nationals as well as to Americans and to scholars engaged in pre- or post-doctoral, or independent research related to the resources of the Library. The monthly stipend for these short-term fellowships is \$800.

In addition, the Library offers either two six-month or one twelve-month **NEH fellowships** each year, with an annual stipend of \$27,000 or a six-month stipend of \$13,750.

The NEH fellowships are restricted to U.S. citizens engaged in postdoctoral research. The Library is particularly strong in printed materials, both European and American, related to the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of North and South America before 1830. Deadline for applications is February 1. Announcement of awards is made in March. For further information and application forms, write to: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

Johns Hopkins' Fellowships in Humanities: The Program in Atlantic History, Culture and Society of The Johns Hopkins University offers two Rockefeller Residency Fellowships in the Humanities for 1986-1987, each with a stipend of up to \$25,000. The Program supports interdisciplinary research and training in history, anthropology, and other disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, with attention to North America, the Caribbean, Latin America, Europe and Africa. These postdoctoral fellowships are awarded to American scholars working in fields related to the interests of the Program. Fellows pursue their own studies at Johns Hopkins and participate in seminars appropriate to their interests. Applicants submit an 800-word proposal, a c.v., and the names and addresses of three referees familiar with the proposed work. The deadline is December 15, 1985. Applications to: David William Cohen, Director, The Atlantic Program, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD 21218. The Program also offers facilities to visiting scholars otherwise supported, including individuals from outside the United States.

Employment Opportunities

Director of Development: Pacific Basin Programs, University of California, San Diego. Responsibilities: develop corporate, foundation, and individual private support for programs focusing on Pacific Basin countries, specifically the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, the Japanese and Chinese Studies Programs, the proposed Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies, the Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, and the research center on Melanesia; promote/secure funds for core operating expenses, permanent endowments, research programs, fellowships, scholarships and publications. Candidates shall have successful experience in fund raising for a university or other private institution; strong management, organizational, and administrative experience with proven skills in identifying prospective donors and cultivating their interests. Must possess excellent interpersonal and communication skills. Knowledge or experience in international

relations/international business, or knowledge of Latin America or Asia is desirable. Experience at a major research university is preferred. Competitive salary with excellent fringe benefits. Please submit applications as soon as possible, referencing Job #17719-M, to: UCSD, SPO, 501 Warren Campus, Q-016, La Jolla, CA 92093. AA/EOE.

Assistant Professor of Geography: Tenure-track position for a scholar with research and teaching interests in **Industrial/Economic Geography** who has specialized in Latin American development. Ph.D. is required; interest or experience in Brazil desirable. Responsibilities involve graduate and undergraduate teaching. A successful applicant must be able to contribute to an active interdisciplinary Latin American studies program and to develop a strong record of publication in Latin American development. Position is available beginning January 1986. Department is willing to consider a permanent appointment beginning January 1986 or August 1986 or a visiting appointment for

the spring semester 1986. Salary in the range of \$22,500 to \$24,500 for 9-month academic year. EO/AAE Women and minorities encouraged to apply. Apply to Professor James Lindberg, Chair, Search Committee, Department of Geography, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52242.

Project Coordinator for the Latin American and Caribbean Program of the Carter Center at Emory University. Ph.D. (or A.B.D.) in political science, economics, or history and specialty in U.S. policy toward Latin America and the Caribbean are preferred. Candidate will assist director of the Latin American and Caribbean Project in organizing and implementing a public policy and research program. Administrative experience in organizing and implementing a public policy and research program and in organizing conferences is desirable. Candidates may conduct own research and develop programs associated with that research. Teaching opportunities at Emory are possible. Spanish is required; Portuguese is desirable. One-year contract; possible renewal for two additional years. Beginning November 1985 or January 1986. Salary negotiable based on experience. Send resume and three letters of reference to Dr. Kenneth Stein, Executive Director, Carter Center, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia 30322 by October 1, 1985.

Director for the Latin American Studies Program, Georgetown University. The Latin American Studies Program is a newly revised program which is to be further developed and expanded into a Center under the aegis of Georgetown's Graduate School. The School seeks a permanent director who will assume responsibility for the Program and the Center. The appointment will be made jointly with the Government Department, at the full-professor level, and will carry with it teaching duties. The director will be expected to teach at least two courses per year on Latin America and related subjects. Applicants should have a record of distinguished scholarly accomplishments, international stature as Latin Americanist, and experience in administration and program development. Fund-raising abilities are highly desirable. Salary will be competitive and commensurate with experience and ability. Submit applications on or before October 31, 1985, to José M. Hernández, Chairman, Search Committee for Director of LASP, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, 37th and O Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20057. (An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer.)

Post-doctoral Fellowship in a Latin American country, possibly Ecuador. The Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical, Colombia, is offering this Ford Foundation fellowship for a two year-position. The candidate should have a Ph.D. if possible (if not, an M.S. or equivalent experience is suitable) in a field relating to organizational theory. He or she should be reasonably competent in

Spanish and able to work with *campesinos* and small entrepreneurs. An ex-Peace Corps worker would probably fit the bill very well. Write to: James H. Cock, Cassava Program Coordinator, Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical, Apartado Aéreo 6713, Cali, Colombia.

History: The History Department at Oberlin College invites applications for a full-time tenure-track faculty position in the College of Arts and Sciences. The position, which has been authorized for a term of four years, beginning July 1, 1986, will carry the rank of instructor, assistant professor or higher. Teaching courses will be in the general area of Latin American history. Responsibilities include a survey course offered annually and a coordinated curriculum of specialized Latin American courses, colloquia, or seminars offered on a rotating alternate-year basis. In any given year the teaching load will be five semester courses or the equivalent. A specialist in the national period is preferred. Responsible also for full range of faculty activities, including academic advising, service on committees and sustained scholarly research. Qualifications: Ph.D. in hand or near completion; demonstrate interest and potential excellence in undergraduate teaching; previous experience as a teacher desirable. Letters of application, including *curriculum vitae*, academic transcripts, and at least three letters of reference should be sent to Robert E. Neil, Chair., History Department, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074. To ensure consideration, submit application materials by October 15, 1985. Application materials received after that date may be considered until the position is filled. The position will be filled as soon as possible. Salary commensurate with qualifications and experience.

Director, Center for Latin American Studies: University of Pittsburgh. Permanent position (subject to approved funding). Full professor rank, tenure track. Salary negotiable, according to credentials. Date of appointment is September 1, 1986. Deadline for receipt of applications is October 31, 1985. CLAS is one of ten National Resource Centers (NRC) on Latin America funded by the U.S. Department of Education and has about 100 affiliated faculty members in 18 departments/schools. Director's duties: overall planning, guidance and supervision of programs; development of new projects; fund raising; initiation of proposals and reports; relations with associated departments/schools; supervision of CLAS's publications and outreach activities; coordination of the NRC consortium with Cornell University; and other PR functions. Also, Director will have a tenure-track appointment in a relevant academic department with a reduced teaching load. Disciplinary and regional interest are open but a sociologist or specialist on Brazil or the Andes would be ideal. Applicants should qualify for the rank of full professor, have international scholarly renown,

experience in administration, demonstrated academic interest in Latin America, and fluency in Spanish or Portuguese. To apply, send up-to-date *curriculum vitae* giving credentials and experience related to the position, and the names of three references to: Search Committee for the Director of Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

Latin American Politics: Yale University, Department of Political Science. Tenured or untenured appointment. Those studying any aspect of the field are encouraged to apply, although the department is especially interested in applications from those who are familiar with two or more countries and/or who are interested in Latin America's relation to, and role within, the international political economy. Applications from women and members of minority groups are especially welcomed. The position is subject to university approval. Send *curriculum vitae* and other pertinent materials to: Douglas Rae, Chair, Department of Political Science, Yale University, P.O. Box 3532 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520. Deadline for receipt of applications is November 15, 1985. An AA/EOE.

World Politics: The Department of Politics invites applications for an anticipated tenure-track position in world politics. Desirable fields include Latin American politics, some familiarity with other Third World areas, and ability to teach research methodology, including quantitative approaches, at the graduate level. Send curriculum vitae together with letters of recommendation and a sample of scholarly writing to Dr. James P. O'Leary, chairman, Department of Politics, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 20064. The deadline for applications is December 15, 1985. EO/AA employer. Those who replied to our advertised opening in world politics in spring 1985 will continue to be considered. The Catholic University of America is sponsored by the Roman Catholic bishops of the United States as a national university and center of instruction and research. Its faculties are composed of teachers from diverse backgrounds and religious traditions, but members and associates of faculties are expected to respect the religious commitment and mission of the University and to be supportive of its aims and ideals.

Publications

Florida International University Publishes New Research Papers

Florida International University's Latin American and Caribbean Center has recently published four new works examining important issues of concern to Latin America:

"Costa Rica, 1983-84: The Conflict over Stabilization and Neutrality" (Occasional Papers #36) examines that Central American country's efforts to deal with its economic crisis while at the same time developing a new foreign policy to protect it from the widening regional conflict. Lowell Gundmundson, associate director of FIU's Latin American and Caribbean Center, is the author (\$4.00).

"The Colombia-Nicaragua Dispute over San Andrés and Providencia" (Occasional Papers #38) explores the recent Nicaraguan reassertions of a dormant claim for the return of these islands from Colombia, which has administered them since the early 1800s. The study utilizes sources from Colombia and Nicaragua, including that government's *libro blanco* on its claim. Curtis Curry, a graduate student at FIU, and Patricia Hernández Curry are the authors (\$4.00).

"Notas sobre la formulación de decisiones en la política exterior de México: su aplicación en Centroamérica"

(Occasional Papers #39) is a study of Mexico's Central American foreign policy decision-making. The paper examines the linkages between foreign and domestic policy-making and explores the decision-making roles of both government and nongovernmental actors. Humberto Garza and René Herrera, both professors at the Colegio de México, are co-authors (\$4.00).

"The Cuban Population of the United States: The Results of the 1980 U.S. Census of Population" (Occasional Papers #40) studies the Cuban population residing in the United States. Findings deal with the uniqueness of the age and sex composition of the Cubans, the presence of the three-generation family and the apparent links between family structure and economic adjustment. Dr. Lisandro Pérez, associate professor of sociology at Louisiana State University, is the author (\$4.00).

"The Interdependent Economies of Latin America and South Florida" (Occasional Papers #42) outlines the impact of Latin America's debt crisis on South Florida's economy and questions several myths about the two economies' interdependence. Recommendations for U.S. and Latin American economic recovery are offered. Carlos J. Arboleya, vice-chairman and chief operating officer of Barnett Bank of South Florida, is the author (\$4.00).

"Democracy in Central America?" (Occasional Papers #44): Mark B. Resenber, director of FIU's Latin American and Caribbean Center, analyzes political institutions in the area, seeking to determine factors inhibiting or fostering the emergence of democracy in Central America. This paper was prepared for the Conference on Redemocratization in Latin America, held in conjunction with the twentieth anniversary of the University of Pittsburgh's Center for Latin American Studies, March 28-30, 1985, in Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Algunas consideraciones sobre el proceso de la toma de decisiones y la estrategia en la política exterior del partido y del estado sandinistas," (Occasional Papers #43). Francisco Fiallos Navarro fue director general de relaciones exteriores en el Ministerio de Canadá, así como embajador del gobierno sandinista ante los Estados Unidos. Salió del gobierno y hoy vive en exilio por estar en desacuerdo con el gobierno sandinista, a fines de 1982. Lic. Fiallos recibió su maestría en derecho (LL.M.) de Harvard University en 1972. Actualmente es un candidato para el Ph.D. en ciencias políticas en Boston University.

"Voice of a Limonise" (Occasional Papers #45). Quince Duncan, perhaps the best-known Central American writer of West Indian descent and certainly one of Costa Rica's leading literary figures, is the author of this work.

"The Caribbean Vision of Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago" (Occasional Papers #46). This paper is part of a larger manuscript being written on the life of Caribbean statesman Dr. Eric

Williams by Ken Boodhoo, associate professor of international relations at Florida International University. Ivan Harnahan, an adjunct professor of International Relations at FIU, contributed to the research and writing of this study.

"An Analysis of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act" (Occasional Papers #47). The author, Paul E. Linet, is a specialist on international trade issues and is currently associated with Sandler & Travis, P.A.

"Revolutionary Grenada and the United States" (Occasional Papers #48). Ken I. Boodhoo, an associate professor of international relations at FIU and a native of Trinidad, has recently conducted research throughout the Eastern Caribbean and is completing a book-length work on the Grenadan Revolution and its destruction by the events of October 1983, from which the present study is taken.

"The Decline of the Recognition Policy in United States-Central American Relations, 1933-1949" (Occasional Papers #49). This century, the United States has utilized a range of instruments to effect its policy on Central America. Thomas M. Leonard's paper is a study of the use of recognition policy by United States decision makers to influence Central American governments. A professor of history at the University of North Florida, Leonard recently authored *The United States and Central America, 1944-1949: Perception of Political Dynamics* (University of Alabama Press, 1984). To order, write Latin American & Caribbean Center, FIU-Tamiami Campus, Miami, Florida 33199.

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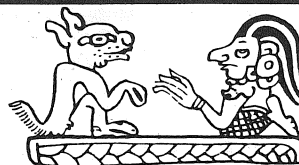
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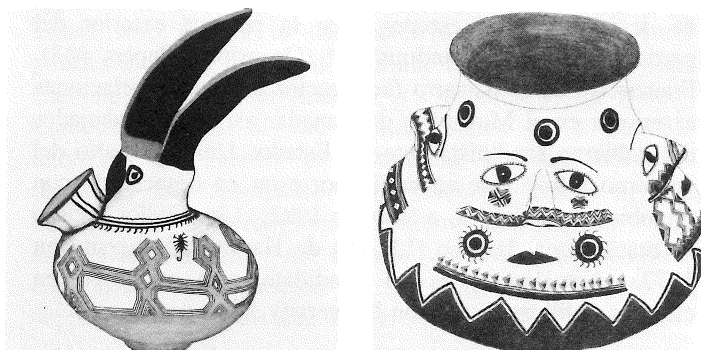
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