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ON TRANSITIONS: POLITICS AND LETTERS IN TWO LATIN AMERICAN STATES

Los Vargasos and the Crisis of Ecuadorean Democracy

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The January 1987 kidnapping of President León Febres-Cordero by air force troops at the Taura base is cause for renewed reflection on the character of Ecuador's six-year-old democracy. The hostage crisis was the culmination of ongoing institutional clashes that surfaced in March 1986 with two abortive military uprisings led by Air Force Commander, General Frank Vargas Pazzos. The violent conflict between Frank Vargas and León Febres-Cordero is indicative of the unresolved dilemmas in the consolidation of Ecuador's democratic regime. Indeed, the three Vargas incidents ("*los vargazos*") can be read as an inventory of the deep structural problems within Ecuadorean democracy: the lack of definition of appropriate spheres of authority for government branches, a continuing authoritarian style in politics, and the still ambiguous relationships of elites and masses to the new institutional structures.

The emergence of General Frank Vargas as cult figure and symbol of opposition to the Febres-Cordero government began on March 7, 1986, with his seizure of the coastal air force base in Manta. With the support of 500 troops and personnel, Vargas took over the base to protest government corruption. Specifically, Vargas charged high-ranking military and administration officials with graft in the purchase of two Fokker airplanes from a Dutch firm and called for the resignation of Minister of Defense Luis Piñeiros and Commander General Manuel María Albuja. But underlying Vargas' charges were more generalized dissatisfactions with Febres-Cordero's decisions on internal promotions in the armed forces, especially the reactivation of Piñeiros.

Moreover, Vargas' audacious action against the tough government of Febres-Cordero seemed to give voice to popular discontent with the direction and style of the administration. Dating from his inauguration in August 1984 after a slim electoral victory, Febres-Cordero's attacks on the

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Uruguay: ¿"La Atenas del Plata" o la tiranía retrospectiva?

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Un mes en el Uruguay, entre julio y agosto de 1986, abrió la posibilidad de estudiar una realidad sociopolítica y cultural en un período de transición: y, específicamente, observar cómo dos realidades—la de la dictadura, la de la democracia—se insertaban y se expresaban en el diálogo de la cultura nacional.

Es una perogrullada afirmar que el pasado condiciona el presente. Pero en ella hay que insistir en el caso de la memoria colectiva del Uruguay, cuyas claves culturales simbólicas entrañan el concepto, no sólo de una idealización del pasado, sino "también [de] una cristalización de valores e identidades anteriores al régimen autoritario".¹ Pues, como muchos han afirmado, se trata de "un país en el que uno de los ejes de la construcción de la memoria colectiva ha sido, tradicionalmente, el postulado que 'todo tiempo pasado fue mejor'.²

De este modo, por ejemplo, analiza Carina Perelli uno de los mitos sociales de mayor fuerza catalizadora en la experiencia uruguaya, contribuyendo así al diálogo abierto recientemente sobre el pasado y el presente de una nación que en 1973 se sumó a un período autoritario que se prolongó hasta el acuerdo del Club Naval, 1985, cuando el Uruguay volvió a la vida democrática.

Ordenar la conciencia nacional en términos del pasado tiende a deslegitimizar el presente, y, en el fondo, revela una voluntad de disminuir la trascendencia de doce años de miedo y terror que trastornaron la cultura nacional. Fueron años que hoy en día la memoria popular evoca con el eufemismo curioso de "proceso militar", sugiriendo al observador "fuera del juego", una tentativa de ocultar o un deseo de obviar o enterrar una experiencia aterradora, de no asumirla, de no hacerle frente como "imaginario", es decir, como algo inventado, o cambiado de sentido, o como un elemento que

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majority opposition parties (joined together in the *bloque progresista* legislative coalition) successfully marginalized Congress from the policy-making process and broke apart the majority by August 1985.¹ With the opposition defused, the administration embarked on a neoliberal economic program and a staunchly pro-U.S. foreign policy; it also turned increasingly repressive. Human rights organizations registered growing lists of violations by the Febres-Cordero government that included torture and attacks by paramilitary groups linked to administration supporters. Government officials scoffed at the human rights charges; they argued that increased security measures were necessary to combat guerrilla groups (*Alfaro vive*, *¡carajo!* and *montoneras patria libre*) and that such accusations were simply part of a political attack by the "extreme left."²

When news of the seizure of the Manta base spread, spontaneous pro-Vargas demonstrations broke out throughout the province, and civilian supporters surrounded the base. Initial attempts at negotiations throughout the weekend failed. In a televised address to the nation on Monday, March 10, Febres-Cordero announced his decision to recapture the base by force. On March 11 Vargas ended the showdown by announcing that a deal had been struck to exchange his surrender for the resignation of Piñeiros and Albuja, along with an agreement that the legal charges against him would be dealt with by a military tribunal. Vargas was transferred to the Mariscal Sucre air force base in Quito to await legal proceedings.

But the conflict was far from over. On the following day Febres-Cordero declared that there was no deal with Vargas, and events took an even more bizarre turn. In the early evening of March 13, the country was shocked by the news that Vargas had taken over the Quito air base where he was under arrest. Vargas maintained that the administration had reneged on the Manta agreements and raised the stakes of the conflict by calling for a mass mobilization against the regime. Febres-Cordero immediately declared a state of emergency and a complete press blackout. On the morning of March 14, army troops retook the base. Vargas was again arrested and taken to the Epiclachima army base outside of Quito.

Vargas' flamboyant actions took place on the heels of a critical political setback for Febres-Cordero. After months of legal maneuverings aimed at suspending mid-term congressional and local elections, heavy pressure from the United States forced the administration to announce its intentions to proceed with the electoral process. The rapid change in the political climate induced by Vargas created the conditions for a resuscitation of the opposition and a rout of the government in the June elections. The government-sponsored plebiscite to amend the election laws to allow independents to stand for election was rejected by 69 percent of the voters. The *bloque progresista* parties regained control in the unicameral Congress. With a new antigovernment majority in place, the stage was set for another clash between Congress and the Executive

over the question of amnesty for Frank Vargas. The *bloque progresista* majority voted in favor of the Vargas amnesty, and its decision was upheld by the Tribunal de Garantías Constitucionales. Nonetheless, Febres-Cordero and the military court refused to recognize the validity of Congress' action despite the explicit powers to grant amnesty given to the legislature in the constitution.

Febres-Cordero's decision to ignore congressional authority was nothing new. Since 1984 the polity had staggered from one executive-legislative conflict to the next, with each crisis raising the spectre of a rupture in the constitutional order. Battles over 1984 supreme court appointments, 1985 salary hikes, and the 1986 censure of Finance Minister Alberto Dahik had threatened to bring the institutional structure to the point of breakdown. Politics turned into an increasingly pathological game in which the system was thrown from crisis to crisis. Institutional actors questioned each other's legitimacy and authority, only to recoil from the controversies when the system appeared on the point of breakdown. The result of this politics-by-crisis was to leave key questions concerning the power and authority of each institutional player unresolved. Short-term political fixes (*medidas coyunturales*) rather than clear-cut agreements on the rules of the game prevailed. To bypass Congress completely, Febres-Cordero frequently resorted to Executive Decrees and vetoed Congress by refusing to publish laws in the *Registro Oficial*.³

While civilian politicians were questioning the legitimacy of each other's actions, elite paratroopers at the Taura base decided to take direct action to free Frank Vargas. On the morning of January 16, 1987, air force troops attacked the President and his entourage upon their arrival at the base, killing two presidential guards. In addition to Febres-Cordero, the hostages included Minister of Defense Medardo Salazar and Air Force Commander Jorge Andrade. The rebels threatened to kill Febres-Cordero unless Vargas was released. In Quito, Vice President Blasco Peñaherrera was party to the negotiations with the rebels but did not assume temporary presidential powers. The hostage crisis was concluded by early evening. An obviously shaken Febres-Cordero appeared on television signing agreements that freed Frank Vargas and committed the government not to take reprisals against the Taura rebels.

With the hostages free, the locus of political crisis moved from Taura to the Congress in Quito. Although all congressional leaders condemned the rebellion, there was considerable support, even within the ranks of progovernment legislators, for a succession by Vice President Peñaherrera. Opposition leaders saw the Taura incident as a direct response to the climate of violence created by the administration and its chronic violations of the constitution; they argued that Febres-Cordero's disregard for institutions created a situation in which those dissatisfied with the administration had no recourse but to act outside the legal framework. President of the Congress and leader of the *bloque progresista* forces, Andrés Vallejo, convened a special legislative session to

discuss a motion drafted by *bloque progresista* legislators requesting Febres-Cordero's resignation. The motion condemned the President for a long list of irregularities that included human rights violations and a total disregard for the legal powers of the Congress.

A tense atmosphere surrounded the congressional sessions of January 20 and 21. Riot police ringed the Congress as pro and antigovernment demonstrations took place. Inside Congress the long debate between *bloque progresista* and progovernment legislators was part political theater and part therapy session as the deputies shouted and came close to fisticuffs. Rumors of a closure of Congress by the President and a coup were informally circulated to the press corps and legislators by administration spokesmen. One high-ranking advisor told reporters that the deputies would be leaving Congress "with their hands in the air."

For opposition leaders, the congressional debate became a forum to air their deep disagreements and fears about the character of the Febres-Cordero administration. José Moreno (MPD) and Efraín Álvarez (FADI) hammered on the government's alignment with U.S. foreign policy in Central America. César Verduga (ID) argued that Febres-Cordero had created a "clandestine state" with an alarming record of human rights violations. Jorge Zavala (ID) pointed to Febres-Cordero's behavior as being unstatesmanlike. Progovernment deputies responded by maintaining that the congressional resolution recommending the President's resignation was illegal and nonbinding. Andrés Vallejo concluded the emotional session with a statement implying that personal animosities toward the opposition underlay the President's debilitating attacks on Congress as an institution. The session ended with a vote of 38 in favor of the motion, 29 opposed, and 2 abstentions.

To nobody's surprise, Febres-Cordero refused to accept the congressional recommendation, characterizing it as "irrelevant, antidemocratic, and lacking juridical and moral force." Because the *bloque progresista* forces lacked the two-thirds majority required for impeachment, Congress could take no action beyond a request for resignation. As in previous executive-legislative conflicts, the final result was an uneasy denouement; Congress questioned the legitimacy of the President's stay in office and the President responded by belittling the legal and moral authority of Congress. Meanwhile the armed forces moved to put its house in order. The paratrooper unit in Taura was dissolved. Notwithstanding the presidential promise of "no reprisals," the 80 Taura rebels were arrested and slated for processing through military courts. Even with his amnesty for the March uprisings in hand, Vargas still faces military charges for his own involvement in the Fokker case.

The effects of *los vargazos* on Ecuador's political development are at best ambiguous. Certainly, from the perspective of consolidating a democratic regime, the incomplete subordination of military to civilian authority remains problematic. Vargas' actions resurrected the notion of the military's right to defy civilian authorities when "honor" and corporate interests are involved. The studious public silence

of the armed forces during the actual events in March and January indicated the serious divisions inside the military with regard to Vargas and Febres-Cordero. This breach in civil-military relations undermined the integrity of the entire institutional structure of the state.

Nonetheless, the damage has to be weighed against its possible preemptive effects; i.e., by exposing the troubled character of the Febres-Cordero administration, Frank Vargas acted as a brake on the dictatorial tendencies inside the executive branch and created the conditions for a resurgence of an opposition bent on containing any further creep toward authoritarianism. As many observers of the Ecuadorean military argue, while *los vargazos* constituted the most visible and visceral military response to Febres-Cordero's policies, there has been steady resistance within the armed forces which has been critical in thwarting the development of a full-blown civilian dictatorship.

Los vargazos and their aftermath reflect the high level of distrust among political elites. This distrust is largely the creation of civilian politicians who are responsible for the degeneration in the character of political discourse. Febres-Cordero consciously cultivates an ultramacho, highly confrontational approach to politics. In his public discourse, opposition tends to be characterized as incompetent, weak ("*señoritos*," "*jovencitos*," "*payasos marxistas*") or disloyal ("*antipatria*"). Rather than seeking consensus, Febres-Cordero has used every opportunity to bulldoze opposition in the party system, in the military, and in civil society. And the attacks are not simply verbal; the height of abuse occurred last September when the national police teargassed Congress during the debates on the censure of Finance Minister Dahik. The result has been a complete alienation of opposition forces, who have themselves been drawn into this discourse of suspicion and hostility. If, as analysts from DeToqueville to Dahl argue, the creation of a political culture of tolerance and trust is essential for the consolidation of a democratic regime, then civilian politicians are performing poorly across the board. *Los vargazos* were merely an extension of this cowboy style of politics, demonstrating how destructive it can be for continued democratic development.

NOTES

1. The *bloque progresista* is currently composed of the following principal parties: *Izquierda Democrática* (ID), *Democracia Popular* (DP), *Partido Roldocista Ecuatoriano* (PRE), *Partido Socialista Ecuatoriano* (PSE), *Movimiento Popular Democrático* (MPD), and *Frente Amplio de Izquierda* (FADI). The progovernment bloc includes the *Partido Liberal Radical* (PLR), *Partido Conservador Ecuatoriano* (PCE), *Partido Social Cristiano* (PSC), and *Partido Nacionalista Revolucionario* (PNR). The two populist parties of the coast, *Concentración de Fuerzas Populares* (CFP) and the *Frente Radical Alfarista* (FRA), vote along with the progovernment bloc.

2. The Comisión Ecuémica de Derechos Humanos and the Asociación para los Derechos Humanos have been especially active in documenting human rights violations.

3. León Roldós Aguilera analyzes the administration's use of emergency economic decrees in *El abuso del poder* (Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1986). For essays reviewing the policies of Febres-Cordero see María Arboleda et al., *Los placeres del poder* (Quito: Editorial El Conejo, 1986).

rebas los límites de las significaciones sociales y culturales "normales".³ Son escasos los comentaristas sobre estas cuestiones de cultura y vida nacionales que, como Juan Rial, analizan de modo abierto todas las facetas de esta experiencia compleja y nefasta. Dilucidarla con claridad entraña la necesidad de reconocer la pérdida permanente de la prosperidad y los logros del "battlismo", de abandonar los trillados, y hoy en día inoperables mecanismos retóricos de la "Atenas del Plata", "el paísito", o "el laboratorio del mundo",⁴ etiquetas que fluyen de una edad dorada en lugar de la cultura del miedo⁵ del pasado inmediato.

El hecho incontrovertible de este panorama intrincado es que hoy por hoy la preocupación mayor operante en la cultura uruguaya es la forma de ir entrando de nuevo en un proceso democrático. Pero, repetimos, sin asumir ni recobrar del proceso antípodo, el cual, Rial, por ejemplo, denomina la "inexistencia", la "neutralidad" o el "autismo social".⁶ Son éstas, formas de aludir a la forzada no-existencia característica de la dictadura militar, durante la cual, las casas editoriales fueron silenciadas, su producción limitada o desviada hacia formas enmascaradas y disimuladas; en que revistas, compañías teatrales y periódicos desaparecieron, en que se produjo *el exilio* de muchos de los intelectuales distinguidos, o *el inexistencia*, de otros, quienes hicieron la decisión de permanecer en el país y reducir su existencia y su expresión literaria a formas minimalistas, o luchar en la clandestinidad, lucha que a menudo terminó en la cárcel y la tortura física y emocional. La *no* o la *inexistencia*, que a la postre debe verse como una forma de salvación a nivel personal de los inexistencia, ha tenido la consecuencia de condicionar el pensamiento de muchos intelectuales a tal punto que apenas ahora, año y medio después de la reinauguración de la democracia, empiezan a publicar y conocer una literatura que nace y se ocupa de la experiencia de una década terrible. El discurso de los dos exilios—el interno y el externo—se inicia con la publicación, ahora posible, de una literatura testimonial de la clandestinidad. Son textos escritos en la cárcel, o en la clandestinidad y salvados de la censura y la destrucción por el azar. Así, por ejemplo, tenemos los del tupamaro Mauricio Rosencof, *Canciones para alegrar a una niña*.⁷

XXII. ¿DONDE ESTAN?

De qué lejano cielo
a nuestro cielo
llegaron las estrellas;

En qué frío atardecer
tiritaron y fueron
cristales de hielo.

Lejanas, hermosas,
un día vinieron.

Y yo te pregunto:
las que no se ven hoy,
¿adónde se fueron?

(p. 22)

XXXVIII. FANTASMITA

Te has posado en la reja, hijita.
¿Qué haces allí? Vete.
Afuera corren los resueños aires de abril.
¿Por qué rondas y rondas
como una mariposa
en este pozo?
En el follaje vibra una tarde de otoño.
¿La oyes? Vete.
Vete, que donde tú vayas yo vivo en ti.
Anda, fantasmita:
Elije un lugar al sol,
tómame de la mano
y vete.

(p. 31)

La voz del hablante de la poesía de Rosencof es desgarradora, llena de tensión emocional, desnuda de artificio. Para algunos será una voz sin arte, pero sólo para los que no reconocen o no aceptan que la "literatura abarca...al conjunto de los mensajes escritos que integran una determinada cultura, al margen del juicio de valor que por su calidad merezcan".⁸ En esta literatura de vigilia se descubre la desesperación, el delirio, el silencio y también la ternura. En el período de su encarcelación muchos intelectuales, orientados hacia la acción social, descubrieron el valor, si no la necesidad, de la palabra escrita. Libros como los de Rosencof, que, dicho sea de paso, no abundan—aún si se toma en cuenta la producción relativamente reducida de las prensas uruguayas—pertenecen a un discurso incipiente. Este discurso de la época militar, que se inserta en la democrática, es para muchos un discurso ausente, marginado por críticos y creadores que tienden a pasarlo por alto, condicionados ambos por la memoria colectiva de un mito nacional basado en la persistencia de la prosperidad, y la otredad de la existencia uruguaya vis-à-vis los demás países latinoamericanos. Este complejo de elementos les ciega frente al pasado inmediato concebido como experiencia prescindible. De allí la miopía cultural que hoy en día presencia el estudioso del fenómeno de la apertura hacia la democracia y su funcionamiento en la cultura y la literatura del Uruguay, o, dicho de otra forma, así se explican las pervivencias de una conceptualización cultural retrospectiva. En una referencia alusiva a la cuestión del exilio, pero también al retrospectivismo uruguayo, observa Eduardo Galeano:

¿No resulta cómodo refugiarse en el pasado, cuando la realidad me da miedo o bronca porque no se parece a mis deseos? ¿Me refugio en el pasado que realmente fue o en el que invento, sin saberlo, a la medida de mis necesidades actuales? El presente, que está vivo, se

retoba. El pasado, que está quieto, es más dócil, me contradice menos, y en esa bolsa puedo encontrar lo que pongo...petrificarme en la nostalgia puede ser una manera de negar no sólo la realidad que me toca vivir en el exilio, no sólo la realidad actual de mi país, sino también la realidad de mi experiencia pasada.⁹

Así es desgraciadamente. Pudimos confirmar la profundidad de esta ceguera en una reunión extra-oficial celebrada en la Biblioteca Nacional del Uruguay el 20 de julio de 1986, con un grupo de creadores y críticos, jóvenes algunos, otros establecidos: Teresa Porzekanski, Uruguay Cortazzo, Carlos Pellegrino, Rubén Cotelo, Armonía Somers, Enrique Fierro, Walter Rela. (Por el problema de la politización de la cultura uruguaya, explicado abajo, nos vimos obligados a sondear las opiniones de otras figuras uno por uno, y en privado, tales como Hugo Achúgar, José Pedro Díaz y Amanda Berenguer.) El intercambio intelectual giró en torno a la situación del escritor uruguayo en el momento de su encrucijada actual, y los problemas de la cultura contemporánea. El diálogo entablado se basó en una serie de preguntas concebidas para medir la problemática cultural uruguaya desde dos perspectivas: el pasado inmediato de la dictadura, y el presente, mirando hacia el futuro—y, en relación con ambas perspectivas, las presencias y los vacíos. Mediante ese diálogo se produjo una radiografía que nos ha permitido ver por debajo de las superficies y percibir canales y nexos secretos, o al menos ocultos. El aludido cuestionario era el siguiente:

1. ¿Cómo le ha afectado al escritor uruguayo el cambio de un régimen militar a una sociedad abierta, democrática?
2. ¿Existe una literatura que refleja este cambio sociopolítico?
3. ¿Cómo un pueblo rinde cuenta de su historia del pasado? Y, ¿cómo este proceso se refleja en la producción literaria?
4. ¿Cómo, en qué forma, se insertan los exiliados en la vida cultural? ¿Cuáles son los problemas de este proceso de reintegración cultural?
5. El cambio en el proceso político, ¿cómo le ha afectado al escritor y al crítico?
6. Los que estuvieron fuera del país durante la dictadura, ¿cómo ese distanciamiento forzado modificó su visión nacional?
7. ¿Cuáles son los vacíos culturales o literarios obvios más necesitados de reforma en este momento?
8. Respecto a la cultura, o el papel del escritor, ¿qué funciones puede o debe asumir el gobierno en la actualidad?

9. ¿Qué visión tiene Ud. del futuro en este momento respecto a la cultura o la producción literaria?

Frente a este cuestionario, hubo reacciones muy diversas. Pero, las semejanzas fueron más reveladoras que las diferencias. Y una de las sorpresas del diálogo fue la insistencia de muchos que no se podía practicar un corte entre el golpe militar y la vuelta a la democracia, pues muchos de los intelectuales y los escritores habían pasado por la dictadura sin fractura alguna, y por lo tanto, el pasado inmediato no afectó la escritura de los que vivieron esa experiencia. Curiosamente, esta actitud, con pocas excepciones, se justificó apelando a las teorías de Angel Rama desarrolladas en *La generación crítica* (1971),¹⁰ libro en que el crítico uruguayo examina dos promociones “críticas” de su país, activas entre los años 1939 a 1969. Rama, al iniciar su análisis, formula una serie de interrogantes dirigidas a la cuestión fundamental del retrospectivismo:

La pregunta que nos dirige el extranjero no es demasiado distinta de la que se ha venido formulando el hombre común uruguayo, aunque éste, obviamente, con mayor desconcierto y emoción: ¿Qué nos ha pasado? ¿Por qué hemos llegado a esto? ¿Cómo fue que se nos perdió el Uruguay? ¿Como se concluyó, así, tan de golpe, el bienestar, el civilismo, la democracia?¹¹

De esta manera, durante unos treinta años, según Rama, las dos promociones de la generación crítica se enfrentaron con un sentimiento de derrumbe, de pérdida, de inestabilidad, en especial, a partir del año de 1955, hito cronológico que marca el comienzo de la crisis económica y asimismo la separación de la primera de la segunda promoción. Pero, curiosamente, entre ambas, “no se descubre hiato visible y sí la continuidad, progresión, y aceleración de una misma voluntad”.¹² Si hemos citado dos veces el análisis de Rama, referido a las generaciones anteriores al golpe militar, es porque todavía hoy, quince años después de la publicación de su obra arriba citada, insisten los críticos en medirse por ese análisis y en explicar el presente en términos del pasado lejano. En esta insistencia perenne, se descubre lo que nos parece una característica fundamental de la cultura uruguaya actual, es decir, su visión retrospectiva con cierta tendencia a idealizar con nostalgia el pasado. De ahí nace la idea expresada en el coloquio de la Biblioteca Nacional, de que el creador de la dictadura escribía sin enfrentamientos, pues fue una época de silencio. Sí hubo, según esta teoría, un discurso del régimen militar, pero ese discurso se limitó a los periódicos oficiales, o a los que ocuparon los puestos de los exiliados. Corolario de este teorema de enfocar las cosas es la insistencia en que la democracia no se plasmó inmediatamente en el discurso literario después del 85. No había necesidad de que fuese así, pues el discurso de la democracia, el discurso crítico, ya estaba en el discurso de la generación de 1925, el cual nunca desapareció. Por lo tanto, el proceso cultural uruguayo debe verse en la forma de un arco extenso de cuestionamientos y

formulaciones críticas no interrumpidas en cuya continuidad la dictadura sólo fue un elemento de peso, mas no decisivo.

El anverso del medallón sería una visión de rupturas históricas, visión defendida con menos energía común. Según ella, la experiencia de la dictadura rompió canales, y, por lo tanto produjo una ruptura de la praxis literaria. Captar el pasado inmediato así implica la existencia para el escritor y para el crítico de tres tiempos históricos: el tiempo de los que se quedaron en el país, el de los presos, y el de los exiliados. Quizá la experiencia más aterradora del período militar, según esta visión, fue el estancamiento y la ausencia de parricidios culturales. La presencia del enemigo común—los militares—creó la necesidad de hacer causa común, y por consiguiente, los escritores que sobrevivieron la experiencia de esa década, han llegado a la democracia sin la experiencia de un enfrentamiento crítico—el del parricidio—capaz de autodefinirlos como creadores y condicionar la naturaleza de sus creaciones. Extrapolando estas ideas, podemos decir que la generación actual, término que no necesariamente implica la de los jóvenes (pues actúan en ella muchas figuras de la generación crítica definida por Rama), siente la necesidad de empezar de nuevo, casi desde cero, con la engorrosa y definición de su cultura y la elaboración de su perfil contemporáneo.

La labor de empezar desde cero es también la consecuencia de la emigración—movimiento demográfico que en el caso del Uruguay hay que entender con dos acepciones. La primera está constituida por un fenómeno constante, es decir, el desplazamiento hacia el exterior de generaciones de jóvenes, en especial a partir de 1955, por una crisis económica sin resolver hasta hoy; la segunda, de raíz política, consecuencia del golpe militar del 73. A causa de ambas al Uruguay se le llama “país de emigración” y como tal ha perdido una porción valiosísima de su población a través de los años. Esta pérdida repercute en el panorama cultural de la actualidad, pues crea la necesidad de repensar los problemas culturales frente a la ausencia de una porción sustanciosa de su población renovadora. Todo esto se ve agravado por un deseo de afirmar la nacionalidad—el problema de la identidad cultural que asedia al país—en un ambiente en que ya no se quiere recibir las influencias europeas de modo tan abierto como antes—pese a su formación moderna europea—, o sólo cuando esas corrientes europeas han perdido su vigor y relevancia en los sectores dominantes del mundo. Todo lo cual crea una atmósfera de reticencias, de desorientación y, en el fondo, contribuye a un sentimiento de insuficiencia en un nivel nacional. Los vacíos de la cultura también son el resultado de un proceso de politización extremada, pues el 90% de la cultura oficial, hoy por hoy, se inscribe en el campo izquierdista. Y, esta izquierdización (si se me permite el término), silencia o debilita aquella porción de la población no inscrita en la banda izquierdista. De allí la necesidad de revisar actitudes, de reactivar un ambiente de comentario crítico más abierto, de fundar otras revistas, de crear un ámbito en el que podrían funcionar no solo las fuerzas oficiales izquierdistas sino las de todas las afiliaciones

políticas. El estado actual—es decir, cultura oficial = cultura de izquierda—ha permitido el crecimiento de lo que algunos han llamado una historia cultural secreta, o sea, la imposibilidad de establecer un diálogo libre; la permanencia en la sombra, o peor, en el silencio, de pensamientos; la ruptura de un discurso cultural nacional; y, por fin, la carencia de una verdadera autocrítica en un momento de crisis, pero también de oportunidad para el Uruguay.

Cultura desnortada, la actual del Uruguay. Pero, al mismo tiempo se observa en el ambiente de Montevideo, entre escritores y críticos, un deseo de superar las limitaciones del momento. Es posible que sea demasiado temprano para observar cómo el pasado inmediato se va a insertar en el presente, cómo el proceso militar va a ser asumido en el período de la democracia. Quizás habría que aplicar el principio formulado hace años por Alejo Carpentier quien insistió en la necesidad de dejar pasar entre veinte y treinta años para poder ver un discurso literario que reflejara el proceso de la Revolución Cubana. De ahí tal vez la necesidad de esperar para poder interpretar y valorar en todas sus manifestaciones esta nueva época de diálogo iniciado por el proceso democrático.

NOTAS

1. Carina Perelli y Juan Rial, *De mitos y memorias políticas; la represión, el miedo y después...* (Montevideo: La Banda Oriental, 1986), p. 98.
2. Ibid.
3. Perelli y Rial, p. 17.
4. Carlos Real de Azúa, *El impulso y el freno; tres décadas de battlismo* (Montevideo: La Banda Oriental, 1964), p. 17.
5. Perelli y Rial, p. 63.
6. Perelli y Rial, p. 65.
7. Montevideo: Ediciones de Uno, 1985.
8. Eduardo Galeano, *Contrasena* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Sol, 1985), p. 117.
9. *Contrasena*, p. 96.
10. *La generación crítica* (Montevideo: Arca, 1971).
11. *La generación crítica*, p. 11.
12. *La generación crítica*, p. 20.

LASA ENDOWMENT FUND

We want to thank all those who have contributed to the LASA Endowment Fund. The fund contained \$18,000 as of early February 1987. This is a good start, but we need more to justify the Ford Foundation's initial contribution of seed money. Please give what you can.

ON SCHOLARLY BOOKS ADVICE AND DEBATE

President's Corner: Placing Academic Manuscripts

by
Cole Blasier

For younger members of LASA who may be interested in publishing with a university press, I offer some suggestions for shaping and presenting manuscripts in ways that will enhance prospects for acceptance. These suggestions are based on my twenty years of experience as editor of the University of Pittsburgh Press series on Latin America, which now produces about six titles a year. Here are some things editors look for.

Most good books have a clearly identifiable main theme. The manuscript should reveal the author's purpose in writing the work and demonstrate that the purpose has been achieved. Findings are thus set forth in a convenient place, usually in the concluding chapter. The conclusion should do more than restate the objectives spelled out in the introduction; it should also summarize the arguments and data necessary to prove the author's claims. Editors need to know what the work adds up to, and they expect to find out fairly easily. Often writers are so familiar with their work that they are unaware that readers need to have the main conclusions simply and clearly stated.

Authors should keep their manuscripts as short as good scholarship permits. Other things being equal, publishers prefer shorter manuscripts because they are a smaller financial risk and are easier to sell. Shorter manuscripts can be priced lower than longer works, and if they consequently attract a larger market, can have greater influence.

Most academic books properly have notes. But authors who append 100 pages of notes hurt their chances for acceptance. Like the text, the notes should be at a minimum consistent with their purpose. Charts, tables and graphs are often helpful too, but they are expensive to edit and print. Some authors present bibliographies of 50 or more pages. Since the major works used in a manuscript are usually cited in the notes, much of the bibliography is repetition. The overall length of a manuscript can be reduced by mentioning all essential sources in the notes and eliminating the bibliography. Sometimes a short bibliographic essay is more useful than a list.

Prospective editors of volumes should know that many presses have reservations about multi-authored books, especially those based on conferences. Such manuscripts tend to have too many contributors, resulting in a book that is long, costly to publish, and therefore high priced. More

important, it is difficult to maintain uniform focus and quality in such works. Most volume editors don't have the heart to exclude the two or three weak contributions. The editorial work for the press is also time-consuming and costly since its editors may have to work with a dozen authors rather than just one. Some of the better books published by the University of Pittsburgh Press have been multi-authored, but they have also caused more than their share of headaches. Group research can produce useful benefits and merit publication of results, but to be attractive a multi-authored volume should be an integrated work in which the volume editor is willing to exercise firm control. [For a debate on individual vs. joint authorship, see the accompanying articles by Jorge Heine and Gordon Lewis.]

Dissertations are often presented to university presses for publication. Most dissertations are training devices, however, designed to demonstrate that the degree candidate has acquired the skills required by a particular department or committee. Not infrequently the dissertation is shaped to meet the demands of members of that committee. The resulting manuscript has a form and emphasis which is usually unsuitable for a broader readership; therefore, most dissertations are not publishable as books. Authors should instead consider preparing one or more articles from the work. If they do want to try for a book, they generally must reshape the manuscript.

Many authors today place great stock in paperback publication. That publishing decision, however, is based on market considerations, not on quality. Most academic authors should not expect paperback publication unless prospects are good for substantial classroom adoptions.

Submission Tactics

In the early stages of writing some authors may be tempted to submit two or three chapters to a prospective publisher either for advice about how to shape the manuscript or to find out whether the publisher is interested in it. Ordinarily this is not a good idea unless the writer has a personal relationship with one of the editors. Most presses are unable to advise authors on incomplete manuscripts; they are forced to devote their editorial time to complete manuscripts which are under review or have already been accepted. Nor are they likely to be in a position to evaluate a partial manuscript; they need all of it to make an authoritative judgment.

Once the manuscript is complete, or a month or so before, the author should test the waters with prospective publishers, identifying three or four, not necessarily all university presses, that are most likely to be interested in the manuscript. Often this means consulting with colleagues who have had a relationship with a particular press. A personal letter should then be sent to appropriate publishers. This letter of inquiry is important partly because most editors form their

first impression of the work on the basis of the letter and can often predict the quality of a manuscript from that impression. A form letter is unacceptable and may not even be acknowledged; writers who treat prospective publishers so cavalierly do not endear themselves.

Editors need to know the scope of a work, its contribution to the literature, how it relates to the competition, and its intended audience. Authors greatly improve their prospects for acceptance if their letter deals with these issues explicitly. Although the editor is not likely to base a decision on the author's word, it is much easier to verify specific claims than to start from scratch. Other information, such as the author's sources, biographic data, other publications, etc., may be helpful, but ordinarily the letter of inquiry should not be much longer than one page. Enclosing a table of contents can be helpful. The writer's most important function is to determine in advance what the editor needs to know to make a decision.

After the author has several replies, (s)he should submit the manuscript to one press. The consideration of a manuscript is a costly and time-consuming process which most presses are unwilling to undertake unless they can expect the manuscript to be available if they accept it. If a writer insists on sending the manuscript to several presses, the ethics of the trade require that each press be so informed. Then each has the option of deciding whether to compete for it. Unpublished writers, especially, are well advised to select one press, be patient, and stick with it until a decision is reached even though this may take at least three months.

Although these suggestions do not guarantee success, I hope you will find them helpful guidelines in your publishing efforts.

On Intellectual Collaboration

by

Jorge Heine

University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez

The words of Gordon K. Lewis, dean of Caribbean intellectuals, carry weight. And as a longtime admirer of his massive and impressive work, I am reluctant to cross swords with a scholar whose erudition and command of the English language is matched only by his inimitable Welsh wit.

However, it is precisely because of Professor Lewis' stature that I feel compelled to express my strong disagreement with the first three of his "Ten Commandments for Writing a Good Book," as published in Roland Perusse's recent column [*San Juan Star*, 14 October 1986]: (1) Do it alone. (2) Avoid joint authorship. (3) Avoid joint editorship.

If followed to their ultimate conclusion by all Caribbeanists in the region and elsewhere, they can lead only to further fragmentation and compartmentalization of scholarly research in a field where much more cross-cultural and cross-

national collaboration is badly needed to overcome the *insularismo* imposed by geography and reinforced by centuries of colonialism.

There is, of course, nothing wrong with one scholar sharing with others the secrets to his or her productivity. Professor Lewis' ten commandments have certainly worked for him, and we are all richer for that. What is startling about his recipe for unbridled individualism in intellectual enterprise is the explicit downgrading and berating of all works that do not fit into this arbitrarily erected standard of what a "good book" is. From two premises that are undoubtedly true (1. There is no substitute for the single-authored "big book," like Lewis' own *Growth of the Modern West Indies*, Thomas' *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom*, or Moreno Franginal's *El Ingenio*; and 2. Many edited collections are poorly conceived and executed), Gordon Lewis draws an altogether illogical conclusion: all multiple-author books are not good and therefore not worth doing.

Professor Lewis' absolutist *diktat* flies in the face of the needs and concerns of many social scientists at the end of the 20th century, particularly in the Caribbean. For better or for worse, we have become more and more interested in empirical and theoretical problems that often have a strong comparative component. If time and money were unlimited resources, presumably a single scholar could write a book such as the 864-page *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* recently published by Johns Hopkins University Press. It includes a theoretical overview of the problem, with some 20 case studies in Latin America and Southern Europe. Coedited by three leading scholars (Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead), it took seven years and over 20 authors, and it is a first-rate book.

In some 150 years of toiling in libraries across the world, a single author could perhaps produce such a book, and even then it is unlikely the case studies would have the richness and contextual nuances only country specialists can provide. The best single book available today for courses on Caribbean society and politics is *Caribbean Contours*, coedited by Sidney Mintz and Sally Price (Johns Hopkins University Press), a first-rate collection of essays (which, incidentally, includes one by Gordon Lewis).

And country studies also can benefit from the different disciplinary tools and perspectives brought to any single research project by a team of authors. By far the best available book on the Pinochet dictatorship, *Military Rule in Chile*, is a coedited symposium volume by Arturo and Samuel Valenzuela (Johns Hopkins University Press). To follow Professor Lewis' *diktat* and stop producing such volumes would simply exclude from our agenda a large part of some of the most interesting and potentially fruitful questions we face in the social sciences today—just because their scope is too wide for any single author.

But if the case against edited volumes implies an extraordinary narrowing of our intellectual agenda, Professor Lewis' cavalier dismissal of coauthored books ("I never heard of a good book put together by a committee except, perhaps, the King James version of the Bible") is surely tongue-in-cheek. Is Marx and Engels' *German Ideology* a "bad book?" I cannot imagine such a well-read scholar as Professor Lewis being unaware that the *locus classicus* of dependency theory is Cardoso and Faletto's *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (now in its ninth edition in Spanish).

And it may not be entirely coincidental that the single most important statement on the Caribbean variant of dependency theory has come out in the joint work of Canadian economist Kari Levitt and Trinidadian thinker Lloyd Best. By far the best study of the Manley years in Jamaica is Evelyn and John Stephens' *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica* (Princeton University Press), a landmark study in the development of Caribbean political science.

The list of first-rate coauthored books is long. Admittedly, joint authorship is not for everybody. But if one is lucky enough to find a partner with whom one shares certain elective affinities as far as values and strategies of intellectual inquiry are concerned, and whose background and skills complement one's own, the product to emerge from collaboration on any specific project can be (and often is) far superior to the one likely to come out of individual efforts. And the process need not be an agonizing or antagonistic one. Some of the most rewarding moments of my career were spent with Juan M. García-Passalacqua making outlines, discussing evidence and developing various lines of argument as we prepared *The Puerto Rican Question*.

And even for the single-authored book, Professor Lewis' first commandment ("do it alone") can be misleading. As I approach the tenth and final chapter of a 350-page manuscript I have been working on over the past three years, I must confess that without the many useful and thoughtful comments from the friends and colleagues who have kindly shared with me their reactions to the various chapters as they came out of my typewriter, the manuscript would be on far less solid ground than I consider it to be today.

In that regard, even single-authored books, when they have benefitted from such comments, are a collective product. And my own piece of advice for prospective authors is quite the opposite from the one implied by Professor Lewis' "loneliness of the long-distance runner": never, never submit a manuscript for publication before you have had the reaction to it of at least two or three colleagues whose judgment you trust.

I fully agree with Professor Lewis that the actual act of composing text is a profoundly individual process, one that can emerge only from "blood, sweat and tears"; the long process that precedes it (definition of the problem,

development of research design and strategy, etc.) and follows it (revisions, refinement of arguments, etc.) is one that can benefit from collaboration and exchange—which is what, in the final analysis, the scholarly community is all about.

Ultimately, of course, each author should follow the strategy that works best for him or her. What is most surprising about Professor Lewis' first three commandments, however, is the assumption that, because they do not suit his own intellectual style, the products of other approaches are somehow second-rate. And that this call for unfettered, Manchesterian liberal individualism in intellectual production should come from a Fabian socialist well-known for his oft-repeated calls for pan-Caribbean collaboration and integration is perhaps most disconcerting of all.

[Reprinted from the *San Juan Star*, 5 November 1986.]

A Reply to Jorge Heine

by

Gordon Lewis

University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

Perhaps Jorge Heine has taken my *jeu d'esprit* a little too seriously. Even so, there is a real argument at hand, to which I would have addressed myself had I been writing a serious analytical article. In such an article, I would of course have accepted many of his strictures as conditions, qualifications and exceptions to what I was saying.

It is true, for example, that there are classic coauthored books. Heine mentions Marx and Engels. He could have strengthened his case by mentioning the American historians Charles and Mary Beard, the British social historians Barbara and J.L. Hammond, and the British political sociologists Sidney and Beatrice Webb. But in those cases, most of them involving husband-and-wife partnerships, there existed a lifelong intellectual partnership. They are not what I had in mind.

Rather, I addressed myself to a vulgar expression of the genre, the coedited and symposia volumes in which, because of multiple authorship, there is no theoretical coherence. Contributors contradict each other and are more interested in impressing the reader with their academic credentials than with communicating exciting ideas; and all is accompanied by the usual manic footnoting. The result is that the editors are constrained to write introductions trying to put it all together, faced with the task of reconciling the irreconcilable, or valiantly attempting to identify a minimal consensus. This is not, as Heine claims, a necessary specialization of intellectual labor. It is, rather, a dismal atomization of knowledge. It even extends to academic journals. You can read journals such as *Social Forces*, for example, in which even articles of a dozen pages are coauthored by three or four persons.

It is also true, as Heine says, that modern scholarship is characterized by empirical and theoretical problems with a strong comparative component that necessitates united effort, although that is nothing new, for it goes back to the 18th-century Enlightenment with the beginning explosion of the modern natural and social sciences. The fact that American social scientists, as a class, are so badly trained in history accounts for their temptation to identify the contemporary with the new. Their endemic specialization of research—which goes back to the German origins of the Ph.D. satirized in William James' acid essay of 1904, "The Ph.D. Octopus"—also makes them incapable of appreciating that it is still possible for the single scholar to combine detailed research with wide imagination. The modern scholars who have done that—Croce, Coulton, Bloch, Braudel—are, significantly enough, European rather than American. Nor does Heine bother to ask himself how much of this defect has its roots in contemporary American "academic capitalism."

Heine chastises me for being contradictory in my position as a socialist and my espousal of what he terms "Manchesterian liberal individualism." But there is really no such contradiction. For socialist theory throughout has never claimed that planned production for community consumption in the economic field should go hand in hand with collective intellectual productivity. Where that does in fact happen, as in Moscow and Havana, it leads to state publishing houses that put out a dull production of what in the churches we call "devotional literature." Just because I am a socialist, does Heine want me to join a radical writing collective? God forbid. This position has nothing to do with classic individualism, but a lot to do with the vexed problem of the relationship of the intelligentsia to the state power, whether capitalist or socialist. I merely add that this problem, so central to socialist discussion, has recently been revived in the United States by new radical journals such as *Socialism and Democracy*, out of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

One final point. What is really at issue here is, in part, the nature of American life and society, which I myself have followed as a British visitor in the tradition of Bryce, Brogan and Laski. I note in a recently published and, again, edited book, *Scholarly Writing and Publishing: Issues, Problems, and Solutions*, edited by Mary Frank Fox, (Westview, 1985) that there is a chapter entitled "The Lone Scholar Myth." Is it possible that there is an endemic fear of loneliness in the American national psyche at all levels? The British visitor, in any case, is always astonished at the socially gregarious character of American academic life, with its almost manic obsession with conferences, conventions, symposia, round tables, "think-tank" colloquia and the rest, many of which end up as collectively edited volumes. It seems at times that the average American academic is almost afraid to stay at home. Somehow or other, there is a serious psychological problem secreted here. One sometimes wonders what the families think about it all.

DEFENDING FREEDOM OF INQUIRY LASA VS. THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE WRAP-UP

The United States Customs Service recently implemented two policy directives resulting from the lawsuit filed by the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), with LASA as a codefendant, challenging the practice of seizing written materials carried by U.S. citizens returning from Nicaragua (see *LASA Forum*, Fall 1986, pages 11-12). Since then the CCR is unaware of any further customs incidents of this nature; however if readers know of such incidents, they should report them to the CCR (666 Broadway—7th Floor, New York, NY 10012).

There is one remaining issue on which agreement has not been reached: whether the FBI is subject to the same limitations as Customs. Since seized material often is turned over to the FBI, it is essential that they be bound by the same measures as Customs; otherwise a serious loophole exists. This issue is still under litigation.

MEMBER NEWS

[Editor's note: If interest warrants, the Forum will publish brief mention of LASA members' professional accomplishments on a space-available basis as the information comes to us. While promotions and advancement normally will not be noted, LASA scholars who earn distinguished titles in conjunction with promotions will be mentioned. Recipients of major prizes also will be included, along with newly appointed chairs of Latin American studies programs and centers.]

James Holston, assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Southern California, received the 1986 Council of Graduate Schools/University Microfilms International Distinguished Dissertation Award for his doctoral dissertation (Yale University, Department of Anthropology, 1986) entitled "The Modernist City: Architecture, Politics, and Society in Brasilia." The dissertation, which also won Yale's 1986 John Addison Porter Prize, will be published in a revised version by the University of Chicago Press.

Martha Paley Francescato, a faculty member in the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures at George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia, has been appointed chair of George Mason's Latin American Studies Program.

On Being Targeted Some Personal Reflections¹

by
Reid Reading

Just what kind of organization LASA should be has been the subject of debate almost since its founding; certainly most every dimension of the argument about the extent to which LASA should attempt to influence policy—through the generation of resolutions, direct lobbying of government officials on policy matters, the reports of its task forces and even via the kinds of themes chosen for panels and discussion in its international congresses—has been aired. The present constitution allows for a significant measure of activism since procedures exist for the generation of resolutions in the business meetings of the international congresses. Sponsors of these resolutions traditionally have been critical of U.S. policy toward Latin America and critical also of regimes the United States has tended to support in the context of its cold war policy. Resolutions passed in business meetings are published in the *Forum*, and if approved by a majority of the LASA membership via mail ballot, are sent to U.S. officials and others who might be influential in bringing about the changes called for.

So it was at Boston. Resolutions challenging U.S. policy on Cuba, Nicaragua and Central America generally, as well as resolutions against the policies of Pinochet and Stroessner (and the U.S. contribution to their survival) were passed in the business meeting. In a subsequent mail ballot, to which almost 40 percent of the membership responded, there were more-than-landslide votes in favor of all the resolutions.²

During the congress I was approached by a reporter whom I understood to be representing *Times of the Americas*. On the basis of the “interview” that followed, conducted hastily in the corridor of the convention hotel amidst much confusion, both LASA and I were “targeted” by Accuracy in Academia in a recent edition of its newsletter, *Campus Report*.³ I did not see the publication, nor to my knowledge had it been distributed on campus, but since I appeared to be the first and only member of the University of Pittsburgh community to be singled out by the conservative monitoring group, word of it inevitably reached a local newsroom.

The education reporter for the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* broke the news. She called me on Friday morning, January 30, to ask if I had any reaction to the Accuracy in Academia report. This call was followed up by an interview in my office later that day. The next morning’s edition of the paper carried a front-page story under the headline “Conservative Group Targets Professors”; it reported on our interview and contained quotes from the Accuracy in Academia person who had talked to me in Boston.

The Accuracy in Academia representative had begun our short exchange in Boston by commenting on the antiad-

ministration tone he detected at the convention. He then asked me how I could justify LASA’s emphasis on human rights violations in such countries as Chile and Paraguay, without concern for these problems in Cuba and Nicaragua. I responded that many LASA members felt that the abuses in Chile and Paraguay were more serious than those occurring in Cuba and Nicaragua. I also commented that discussions of human rights abuses constituted only a small part of what the twenty-year-old organization was about, i.e. promoting scholarly exchange on topics of interest to Latin Americanists. I added that I thought the organization was fulfilling its mission quite satisfactorily. He obviously was unimpressed by my reply, and his views of me, apparently on the basis of that conversation, led to singling me out in the Accuracy in Academia publication. LASA was censured, according to the *Post Gazette* article, because it was assumed that the information the professors imparted in papers, delivered in the anti-Reagan atmosphere of the convention, would also be passed along to students in classrooms. LASA also was described as a political lobby for the radical left.

That LASA should be so designated was nothing new. As far as I was concerned personally, on the face of it this was a minor incident with little likelihood of further ramification and I should have been able to forget about it. I should easily have been able to rationalize that anyone who would hold me suspect under these circumstances was not worthy of a second thought. Even though elements of the far right were on the move, I most assuredly would not experience the kinds of unrelenting persecutions that notable figures like Robert Colodny at the University of Pittsburgh have had to endure. And most certainly I was pleased that my views were reported reasonably accurately in the local press, albeit in abbreviated fashion.

But this occurrence was not easy to dismiss. I resented the intrusion, and more importantly, the innuendo. Such an incident carries with it a certain stigma, since many people, and governments for that matter, tend to harbor doubts about individuals whose patriotism is publicly questioned to any degree whatever.

I also began to reflect on the apparent inconsistency of my position. Why wasn’t I, neither a socialist nor a radical, unduly uncomfortable as a member of an organization that generates resolutions against Pinochet of Chile and Stroessner of Paraguay, but not against the Nicaragua of the Sandinistas nor against Castro’s Cuba? All these regimes, after all, are authoritarian to one degree or another, and all could be criticized to some extent for their records on human rights. I began to sort it out. Perhaps my observations will prove helpful to those of you who have struggled with this issue.

Admittedly part of the reason for not feeling a great deal of discomfort with the apparent inconsistency may be attributed to an irrational, gut reaction: if one is so alienated and distanced from the underlying thrust of Reagan's foreign policy generally,⁴ it might be quite natural to feel that whatever his administration disapproves of probably has some fundamental merit. These urges are to be resisted, obviously, and recognition of them is a useful first step.

But more important, I would argue, is the broadly accepted view that Cuba, and more especially Nicaragua, already are under siege by the U.S. government. So why should I join the dogpile? It is rather ironic that the willingness of some of us to pay less attention to the sins of these two regimes may be related to the actions of our own government, which, in the case of Nicaragua, has shown itself willing to do anything short of sending U.S. troops, at least until now, to dislodge the present government. I, for one, often tend to cheer a bit for the underdog (a fact that has perennially distressed my sons during winning seasons of the Pittsburgh Steelers and the Pitt Panthers), and I cannot bring myself to accept the application of analogies like that of the Munich beer hall to Central America that would have us view the U.S. as the ultimate victim in this conflict. Thus it does not seem to me unreasonable to think that we have found the big bully, and he is us.

Governmental and police abuse in Chile and Paraguay do, at any rate, seem to many of us to be more serious and widespread than in Cuba and Nicaragua, hence an important reason for not coming down harder on the latter countries. Additionally, however, if one can accept that the governments of Cuba and Nicaragua are truly under siege and are justifiably concerned about their survival, as well as the independence of their countries, he or she likewise may tend to be less ready to rush to judgment about repression in those systems than in others not so dangerously threatened.

There are other, admittedly more controversial, reasons for not being totally upset with what is happening in places like Cuba, and they are related to cultural and intellectual concerns. U.S. intellectuals justifiably appreciate the broad latitude our system affords them, especially in terms of freedom of speech and movement, but are concerned, if not appalled about the increasing extent to which the intellectual enterprise is unappreciated here. As honored as I would be to sit in on a chat between Mr. Reagan and anyone else he might be interested in talking to, if I had to choose between that conversation and listening to an exchange between Fidel Castro and Gabriel García Márquez, for example, the latter would be my choice, hands down.

The choice would not be made because Fidel Castro is a socialist. In fact the underpinnings of socialism are themselves inherently materialist, and some Cuban, and to a lesser extent, Nicaraguan so-called scholars often manifest a basic anti-intellectualism in their simplistic parroting of Marxist tenets.

Many of us sense, however, that there has been a relationship between the extent to which Cuba, for example, has distanced itself from the United States, (the repressiveness of its system and its somewhat understandable, but no less unfortunate embracing of the Soviet Union notwithstanding), and the Cuban emphasis on the kinds of values that many scholars tend to embrace.

Perhaps you can never take the José Enrique Rodó out of some of us: the decades-old idea of this Uruguayan writer that the greatest danger faced by Latin Americans from the United States may not be military, or directly political, but from what we export, rings truer and truer as time goes on, with each trip to Latin America. It's not that the U.S. doesn't have culture to export, nor is it that the intellectual enterprise doesn't exist here to a still respectable degree; it's that too much of what leaves the United States for Latin America is not determined by intellectual or cultural criteria, and appears to diminish the extent to which those societies traditionally have emphasized the nonmaterial. On that basis one hesitates to attack societies that may be attempting to defend some of the kinds of values that many of us hold dear, and in the process are manifesting the same sort of stubborn independent stance that we Americans would struggle for if we were in the shadow of a great power.

How much freedom of speech should be allowed in our democratic system is the subject of a classical dispute, and while all but a tiny fraction of people in the United States probably agree that advocating the violent overthrow of our government goes beyond the limits of what is permissible, the extent to which a host of other ideas and actions should be tolerated is highly controversial. Those that I have touched on here are likewise controversial. The beauty of the university, and of organizations like LASA, is that because we are not all expected to embrace, nor have to embrace the same ideas, controversy can rage. May it rage forever, and this latest phase of witch-hunting suffer an early demise.

NOTES

1. These comments are adapted from an article published by the *University Times*, University of Pittsburgh, March 5, 1987, page 3.

2. See the previous issue of the *Forum* for the texts of the resolutions and the voting results. Of the more than 1,000 LASA members who mailed in ballots, only 11 members wrote in comments critical of the resolutions and/or LASA's activist role.

3. Accuracy in Academia, a spin-off of Accuracy in Media, normally makes public the names of college and university professors who in their judgment are teaching leftist ideology; decisions are made about whom to single out on the basis of reports from students who supply evidence to the organization.

4. Some of my views appear in the concluding section of Alan Adelman and Reid Reading (eds.), *Confrontation in the Caribbean Basin: International Perspectives on Security, Sovereignty and Survival* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Latin American Monograph and Document Series, 1984).

CHAIRPERSONS FOR 1987

Nominations Committee:	Lars Schoultz Department of Political Science University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, NC 27514	Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba:	Wayne S. Smith School of Advanced International Studies The Johns Hopkins University 1740 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20036
Congress Program Committee, LASA/88:	Charles Bergquist Center for International Studies Duke University 2122 Campus Drive Durham, NC 27706		Helen I. Safa Center for Latin American Studies University of Florida 319 Grinter Hall Gainesville, FL 32611
Kalman Silvert Memorial Prize Committee:	Cole Blasier Department of Political Science University of Pittsburgh Pittsburgh, PA 15260	Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua:	Charles Stansifer Center for Latin American Studies University of Kansas Lawrence, KS 66045
Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom:	Martin Diskin Program in Anthropology Massachusetts Institute of Technology 20D-109 Cambridge, MA 02139	Cochair:	Michael E. Conroy Department of Economics University of Texas Austin, TX 78705
Task Force on the Mass Media:	Cynthia McClintock Department of Political Science The George Washington University Washington, DC 20052	Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Spain:	Federico Gil 314 Hamilton, 070A University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, NC 27514
Task Force on Women:	Norma S. Chinchilla Program in Women's Studies California State University Long Beach, CA 90840 Marysa Navarro Faculty for the Social Sciences Dartmouth College Hanover, NH 03755	Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union:	Alejandro Portes Department of Sociology The Johns Hopkins University Baltimore, MD 21218

LASA MEDIA AWARD

The LASA Task Force on the Mass Media will present an award for outstanding media coverage of Latin American affairs at the XIV International Congress in New Orleans, March 17-19, 1988. For information on how to make nominations for this award please write to the LASA Secretariat after June 1, 1987. The Secretariat is located in the William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

FIELD SEMINAR IN NICARAGUA JUNE 1987

The LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua will conduct its third two-week field seminar in Nicaragua for LASA members June 13-27, 1987.

As in the past, the seminar is designed to introduce established Latin Americanists and advanced graduate students to a variety of institutions, people, resources, protocols and methods for studying and teaching about Nicaragua, and conducting research there. Participants will be introduced to various social science "think tanks," academic institutions and research facilities.

A second objective is to give LASA scholars a close-up view of the multifaceted reality of revolutionary Nicaragua. The group will have discussion and interview sessions with important persons from across the political spectrum, including, for example, representatives of the churches, mass media, business community, grass-roots organizations, diplomatic community, government and military.

Participants will spend much of their time in Managua, but trips to a variety of rural communities are also planned. Group activities will be tailored to the major interests of the participants. In addition, an effort will be made to accommodate individual interests through special interviews, etc. For an idea of how the seminar works in actual practice, prospective participants should read the "Report on the 1986 LASA Research Seminar in Nicaragua" on page 29 of the Winter 1987 issue of *LASA Forum*.

The entire seminar—including living expenses, in-country transportation, and round-trip group airfare between Mexico City and Managua—will cost around \$1100 per person barring unforeseen price changes (bona fide graduate students will receive a \$200 discount). The group will

be limited to 15-18 participants plus the two coordinators. Participants must be Spanish-speaking LASA members. All philosophical and political points of view are welcomed.

Each applicant is requested to submit a current résumé and a 250-500 word letter of application explaining what (s)he expects to gain professionally from the seminar. Participants will be selected primarily on the basis of the potential relevance of the seminar to their professional plans as outlined in the letter. An effort will also be made to balance the group in such terms as gender, discipline and region of origin. Deadline for the first round of selection is **May 10, 1987**. Qualified late applicants will be included if space permits.

Since graduate students and professors with relevant specialization are normally exempt from U.S. travel bans, it is expected that the seminar will take place even in the event that the United States imposes a Cuba-style ban on travel to Nicaragua.

Seminar coordinators are Tom Walker and Harvey Williams. For more information write or call:

Professor Thomas W. Walker
Department of Political Science
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio 45701
(614) 594-5495 or 594-5626

Professor Harvey Williams
Sociology Department
University of the Pacific
Stockton, CA 95211
(209) 946-2101

LASA BOOK AWARD

At the XIV International Congress in New Orleans, March 17-19, 1988, LASA will present an award for the best scholarly work in Latin American studies published between January 1986 and June 1987. For further information about this award, please write to the LASA Secretariat after June 1, 1987. The Secretariat is located in the William Pitt Union 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

**REPORT FROM
THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE
XIV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
MARCH 17-19, 1988**

The proposal deadline for all organized sessions, special events, and papers for LASA's XIV International Congress was April 1, 1987. The Program Committee will meet in early May to consider the proposals and will be in contact with proposers in the weeks following.

Four categories of sessions will constitute the bulk of the program:

1. **PANELS** consist 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 will be summarized by their presenters and discussed by an additional panelist or two; then the session will be 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 each be limited to 8 to 10 minutes of formal presentation; a lengthy period for general discussion will follow.

2. **WORKSHOPS** consist 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** are breakfast sessions consisting of no more than 10 persons who discuss a focused topic of common interest. Participants sign up in advance, and the organizer serves as discussion leader.

The Program Committee is planning a series of plenary sessions, which will place issues in Latin American scholarship in comparative context. The committee plans to invite major scholars from outside the field to comment on state-of-the-art papers on specific themes prepared by outstanding Latin Americanists. Proposed themes include: development theory, social and labor history, international relations, women's studies, literary theory, popular culture. The committee plans to make final decisions about the plenary sessions at its meeting in May; it welcomes specific suggestions from all LASA members on possible comparative issues to be addressed and potential participants.

The Program Committee for LASA/88 is chaired by Charles Bergquist (Duke University). Members are Douglas Bennett (Temple University), Jan Flora (Kansas State University), Regina Harrison (Bates College), Nora Lustig (EI Colegio de México), and Scott Whiteford (Michigan State University). Please send inquiries and suggestions to Charles Bergquist, Center for International Studies, 2122 Campus Drive, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706.

PROGRAM FOR NEXT CONGRESS

The Program Committee for the XIV International Congress and the Secretariat will work hard to provide a preliminary congress program to all LASA members weeks before the New Orleans meeting. This information, to include topics of panels and other group sessions, names of participants and titles of presentations, should prove valuable for making the decision to attend as well as facilitating the preparation of travel schedules.

To this end we urge all potential participants to make early decisions about the form and substance of their participation, to observe deadlines and to otherwise cooperate in the communication of information we need to prepare an early version of the program.

GOOD NEWS ABOUT LASA's XIVth!

Preregistration materials for the XIV International Congress, to be held in New Orleans March 17-19, 1988, will be sent in due course. Meanwhile we are very pleased to announce that rates for the congress locale, the Clarion Hotel, will be \$60 for single or double/twin. *Anímense* and meet with us in 1988!

XIII CONGRESS PROGRAM AND PAPERS FOR SALE

A limited number of programs from the XIII International Congress in Boston are available from the Secretariat at \$5.00 each. The following papers may also be ordered from the Secretariat for \$3.00 each. Prices include postage. LASA made every attempt to retain at least one copy of every paper, whether sent to the Secretariat in advance or brought to Boston. If your paper is not listed below, please send a copy to the Secretariat.

- Agosin, Marjorie.** Whispers and Triumphs: Politics and the Latin American Woman Writer
- Aguayo Quezada, Sergio.** Los centroamericanos olvidados de México
- Albert, Lilia A.** Some Problems with Pesticide Use in Mexico
- Anderson, Rodney D.** Race, Class and Capitalism in Early Republican Mexico
- Baer, Werner.** Austerity Under Different Political Regimes: The Case of Brazil
- Benassy-Berling, M.C.** Nuevo examen de algunos documentos relacionados con el fin de la vida de Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz
- Berry, Albert.** Patterns of Economic Change in Ecuador: Before, During and After the Oil Boom
- Biddle, William Jesse and John D. Stephens.** Dependency and Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice in Jamaica
- Boswell, Thomas D.** Racial and Ethnic Change and Hispanic Residential Segregation Patterns in Metropolitan Miami: 1980
- Brockett, Charles D.** The Commercialization of Central American Agriculture: An Empirical and Theoretical Assessment
- Buchanan, Paul G.** Labor Administration and Democracy in Argentina
- Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio.** Houses of Respect
- Calvert, Peter.** British Relations with the Southern Cone States
- Cardoso, Ciro Flamarion S.** The Transition from Coerced to "Free" Labour in Latin America and the Caribbean
- Cardoso, Ruth Correa Leite.** Segregation and Integration in the City: The Study of Poor Neighborhoods on the Outskirts of Large Cities
- Carr, Barry.** The Mexican Communist Party and Agrarian Mobilization in the Laguna 1920-1940: A Worker-Peasant Alliance?
- Cavalcante, Antônio Mourão.** O charme discreto das terapias populares
- Chaffee, Lyman.** Political Graffiti and Street Propaganda: Dimensions of Basque Nationalism
- Child, Jack.** Antarctica and South American Geopolitical Thinking
- Clark, Margaret L.** Antarctica: Cornerstone of the South. The Potential for Southern Cooperation
- Coleman, Kenneth M. and Charles L. Davis.** How Workers Evaluate Their Unions: Exploring Determinants of Union Satisfaction in Venezuela and Mexico
- Conway Dennis, Ualthan Bigby and Ronald S. Swann.** Caribbean Migrant Experiences in New York City
- Cott, Kenneth.** The Presidency, The Courts, and Foreign Entrepreneurs in Porfirian Mexico
- De Souza, Juárez.** Social Backlog in Brazil: A Parameter in the Renegotiation of External Debt
- Duarte, Luiz F.D.** What It Means to Be Nervous (Competing Concepts of the Person in Brazilian Urban Culture)
- Dussel, Enrique.** Del descubrimiento al desincubrimiento, el camino hacia un desagravio histórico
- Epstein, Edward C.** What Difference Does Regime Type Make? Economic Austerity Programs in Argentina
- Epstein, Edward C.** Recent Stabilization Programs in Argentina (1973-1986)
- Fiscal Pérez, María Rosa.** "De noche vienes" o el despertar de la conciencia social de Elena Poniatowska
- Frederick, Howard H.** Electronic Penetration in Low Intensity Warfare: The Case of Nicaragua
- Frühling, Hugo.** La defensa de los derechos humanos en el cono sur. Dilemas y perspectivas hacia el futuro
- García Passalacqua, Juan M.** Uncertainty Dispelled: Steering Puerto Rico Towards Its Future
- Garretón M., Manuel Antonio.** Transición y consolidación democráticas en América Latina: Una perspectiva general
- Gordillo, Gustavo.** Mercado, democracia y movilización social: La deconstrucción del leviatán rural mexicano
- Helguera, J. León.** Some Observations on the Cartoon as a Source for Colombian Social History
- Henderson, James D.** Conservative Thought in Twentieth Century Latin America: A Statistical Approach to the Study of Intellectual History
- Henkel, Ray.** Resource Utilization in the Upper Amazon of Bolivia and Its Impact on the Environment
- Ho Kim, Sung.** Intervention in Nicaragua: The Issues of International Law, Morality, and Prudence in U.S. Foreign Policy
- Holston, James.** The Signature House: A Study of "Auto-Construction" in Working Class Brazil
- Jameson, Kenneth P.** The Effect of International Debt on Poverty in Bolivia and Alternative Responses
- Keck, Margaret E.** Great Expectations: The Workers' Party in Brazil (1979 1985)
- Kovacs, Karen.** Regime Transformation and Public Policy: A Dynamic Model
- Kramer, Frank.** The Impact of External Markets on the Structure of Peasant Agriculture in Western Honduras
- Langton, Kenneth P.** Who Should Manage the Shop? Worker Self-Management Ideology, Protest and Electoral Participation in Peru

- Laplantine, François.** Os sistemas de representações da doença e da saúde na umbanda em Fortaleza
- Leite Lopes, José Sérgio.** Dondnation and Resistance to Domination in a Brazilian Northeastern Textile Company-Town
- Love, Joseph L.** Raúl Prebisch: His Life and Ideas
- Maier Hirsh, Elizabeth.** Las sandinistas: La lucha de la mujer nicaragüense por su igualdad
- Marquez, Viviane Brachet.** How Is Class Mediated by the State: The Case of Mexico
- Mattos Gomes De Castro, Hebe Maria Da Costa.** A margem da história: Homens liveres pobres na crise do trabalho escravo
- McCoy, Jennifer L.** The Politics of Adjustment: Labor and the Venezuelan Debt Crisis
- Mezzer, Jaime.** El sector informal como expresión del excedente de oferta de trabajo urbano
- Naím, Moisés and Ramón Piñango.** Una ilusión de armonía: Los resultados del proyecto "El Caso Venezuela"
- Ogliastri-Uribe, Enrique.** Estado, empresarios, sindicatos, trabajadores, administradores: Experiencias sobre gerencia y revolución en Nicaragua
- Ortiz, Renato.** Cultura de massa e cultura popular no Brasil
- Padrón, Mario.** NGDOs and Grass-Roots Development in Latin America
_____. Linking Latin American and Western Development Organizations
- Paoli, María Celía.** Working Class São Paulo and Its Representations
- Peschard, Jacqueline.** Las elecciones en el Distrito Federal (1964-1985)
- Reinhardt, Nola.** Agro-Exports and the Peasantry in the Agrarian Reforms of El Salvador and Nicaragua
- Riesco.** Ausencia y presencia: "La flecha y la manzana" de A. Roa Bastos
- Rigau, Marco Antonio.** Certain Future for Puerto Rico
- Rodríguez Berrutti, Camilo H.** Diplomacia de los Estados Unidos en la historia de las fronteras argentinas
- Rublúo, Luis, Juan Manuel Menes Llaguno and Victor M. Ballesteros.** La explotación británica de las minas de Real del Monte: Expansión del colonaje en América Latina
- Sabat-Rivers, Georgina.** Antes de Juana Inés: Clarinda y Amarilis, dos poetas del Perú colonial
- Schneider, Ben Ross.** Framing the State: Economic Policy and Political Representation in Post-Authoritarian Brazil
- Schodt, David W.** Austerity Policies in Ecuador: Christian Democratic and Social Christian Versions of the Gospel
- Schutte, Ofelia.** Three Representative Philosophers of Liberation
- Scott, Renée.** Cristina Peri Rossi: Superación de un exilio
- Semo, Enrique.** Las raíces sociales del autoritarismo y la democracia en México (1810-1930)
- Sikkink, Kathryn.** The Influence of Raúl Prebisch on Economic Policy Making in Argentina, 1950-1962
- Smith, William C.** The "New Republic" and the Brazilian Transition. Elite Conciliation or Democratization?
- Street, James H.** Mexico's Prospects for Resuming a Growth Path Under Institutional Reform
- Street, Susan.** Public Policy and Mass Struggle in Mexican Education: Reproductive and Subversive Tendencies in Transforming State Bureaucracy
- Trudeau, Robert H.** Democracy in Guatemala: Present Status, Future Prospects
- Williams, Harvey.** The Social Impact [draft chapter for inclusion in Thomas W. Walker, ed., *Reagan vs. the Sandinistas: The Undeclared War on Nicaragua*]
- Zamosc, León.** Lucha por la tierra, recampesinización y capitalismo agrario en la costa atlántica colombiana
- Zapata, Francisco.** Sindicalismo, ideología y política en Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán
- Zapata, Roger A.** Tradición y cambio en la cultura peruana: Del neoindigenismo de Arguedas a la *Historia de Mayta* de Mario Vargas Llosa
- Zermeno, Sergio.** Hacia el fin del populismo mexicano (Propuestas para discusión)
- Zimbalist, Andrew.** Cuban Industrial Growth, 1965-1984

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LETTERS

Dear Dr. Blasier:

I write in response to your letter of January 30, 1987, to Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Abrams concerning a resolution on scholarly exchanges with Cuba which the membership of your association adopted.

The resolution states that the President's proclamation of October 4, 1985, impedes the free flow of ideas and information between Cuba and the United States. While it takes note—without criticism—of Cuba's unilateral suspension of the U.S.-Cuba agreement on migration, the resolution states—apparently in justification of the Cuban action—that this was in retaliation for the inauguration of Radio Martí.

The Radio Martí program of the Voice of America is a noteworthy example of the free flow of ideas and information across international frontiers, a concept which the Department of State favors and which is recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The information flows not merely to a relatively limited and necessarily selective number of persons but to millions who may freely choose to accept it or reject it by the turn of the dial. As such I would hope and expect that your association would strongly welcome this program, which provides objective news and information to a country which lacks any independent mass medium of communication. These Voice of America broadcasts in no way warranted or explain Cuban actions to disrupt migration between the United States and Cuba.

The U.S.-Cuba migration agreement provided for the return to Cuba of persons who had committed common crimes or who suffered from severe mental disorders and who were sent by Cuba to the United States in 1980. In return the agreement provided for restoration of normal processing of visas for Cubans wishing to come to the United States. It also made possible a refugee program for those who had suffered in Cuban jails for political offenses. This was a fair and balanced agreement in itself and, in addition to its indisputable humanitarian value, was also a means for promoting the flow of ideas and information between Cuba and the United States. There was no basis whatsoever for Cuba to suspend this agreement because of Radio Martí. Cuba thereby did a signal disservice to the flow of ideas and information, as well as family reunification and human rights.

I am not aware of any action taken by your association to criticize the action of Cuba in this regard.

The President's proclamation of October 4, 1985, was an appropriate response to Cuba's action. It is aimed at officials and employees of the Cuban regime and the single Cuban political party. The measure in no way affects the travel of American scholars to Cuba except as Cuba might choose to restrict such travel.

Your resolution asserts that the U.S. measures are more restrictive than those of Cuba. It is astonishing that an organization composed of scholars interested in Latin America would make such an assertion. The closed nature of the Cuban system is too sufficiently known as to require elaboration here, but it should be clearly understood that Cuba exercises complete control over all persons who would be permitted to leave Cuba to visit the United States just as it applies severe sanctions to those who seek to leave Cuba without official permission. It also controls carefully the admission of American scholars who wish to visit Cuba, as you are aware from a case at the University of Pittsburgh.

Your association could serve the cause of a freer flow of ideas and information between the United States and Cuba if it would persuade your correspondents in the government of Cuba to end their suspension of the 1984 migration agreement, accept back the criminals sent to the United States in 1980 and facilitate the normal processing of immigrant visas for Cubans.

If Cuba does so, I am glad to be able to reiterate that the government of the United States stands fully prepared immediately to meet its own responsibilities under that agreement. There would in that case be positive effects with respect to visas for official Cuban travelers to the United States.

Sincerely,

Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr.
Director
Office of Cuban Affairs
U.S. Department of State
February 25, 1987

Dear Mr. Skoug:

Thank you for your letter of February 25, 1987. I much appreciate your thoughtful reply to LASA's recent resolution on the President's October 4, 1985, proclamation.

LASA's resolution mentioned, but did not judge or justify, the inauguration of Radio Martí or Cuba's suspension of the U.S.-Cuban agreement on migration. The issue is, of course, whether the President's proclamation was "an appropriate response." We think it was not. It was a response that was taken at the expense of the legitimate interests of the U.S. academic community. Viable educational exchanges require that each side be able to visit the country of the other.

Almost all Latin Americanists of my acquaintance are familiar with the characteristics of the Cuban system which you correctly describe. Even so, the fact remains that U.S. visa policies are more restrictive than Cuba's in the sense that the United States refuses visas to most Cuban academics, while Cuba admits most U.S. academics.

You make the constructive suggestion that LASA encourage its Cuban correspondents to end the suspension of the 1984 migration agreement. I personally will make this point at the first suitable opportunity. I believe there is widespread support for the implementation of that agreement.

It was a real pleasure to meet with you on my visit to Washington in January and helpful to have your statements of official views.

Sincerely,

Cole Blasier
President
Latin American Studies
Association
March 3, 1987

Dear Dr. Blasier:

I read with interest and attention your letter of March 3, 1987, and appreciated the constructive spirit with which you approached the problem.

You state that the President's proclamation was a response taken at the expense of the U.S. academic community. To the extent that the Cuban officials in question were coming or might potentially have come to U.S. academic institutions, I would acknowledge that there was a cost. This was of course not the intent of the measure. Sanctions seldom affect only the party to which directly applied. The purpose of the measures is to encourage a more genuinely free flow of persons and ideas, including the ideas of those persons whom the Cuban government does not presently permit to travel, by reducing modestly the capacity of the Cuban government to send to the United States officials of its own choice.

As to the relative restrictiveness of the two countries with respect to academic travel, it cannot be contested, I think, that Cuba has total power over which of its nationals—including academicians— will travel abroad, when and where. By contrast, the United States sets no political test at all on U.S. academic travelers to Cuba. Similarly, the government of Cuba has total control over which foreigners will be allowed to enter Cuba. It is also, I believe, beyond debate which scholars will find more opportunity to satisfy their intellectual or other curiosity on the territory of the other state. Finally, Cuba does apply strict political tests to the admission of

visitors, such as journalists, even though Cuba's overarching perceived need at present appears to be greater access to influential Americans for Cuban leaders. In these circumstances, and bearing in mind the conduct of Cuba in world affairs, it is appropriate and prudent that the United States government be able to restrict official Cuban travel to the United States.

Your commitment to seek LASA encouragement of an end to Cuban suspension of the 1984 migration agreement is very much appreciated, both for the spirit of the pledge and because your members can influence a positive change in Cuba's attitude on a matter of great importance to all concerned. Early reinstatement in force of that 1984 agreement would permit a very significant flow of persons and ideas. It would be in the clear interest of all parties and could alleviate many of the problems which you and LASA have mentioned.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr.
March 12, 1987

Dear Professor Reading:

Thank you for your letter enclosing the complimentary copy of the *Forum*. I believe that I already paid my dues, but I would like the opportunity to answer your letter.

The reason why so many of us, long time members, have lost interest in LASA is the political slant that the organization has taken. I realize that most of our faculties are "liberals" but LASA has become the spokesman for Marxism in the field. Even if you look at the Winter 1987 *Forum*, you will see that all resolutions favor Marxist causes, articles are definitively Marxist in orientation, and intended to glorify Cuba and Nicaragua, ignore Mexico and attack Chile. Is there anyone for the capitalistic system? Or even for the center? After the country has elected and reelected Ronald Reagan, elected a conservative, even if Democratic congress, it is hard to believe that LASA can be so far out of touch with the political realities of the country. Do we have to be politicized?

Well, "*bueno el cilantro, pero no tanto*," so I will stop here; I am sure that you get my point. I enclose front page of *Campus Report*, which shows that the Boston meeting was not a success in every quarter.

Afectuosos saludos,

Carlos Lopez
March 15, 1987

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Hubert Herring Awards. The Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies (PCCLAS) requests nominations and submissions for the Hubert Herring Awards. These awards, named after the distinguished scholar who devoted his life to the promotion of Latin American studies, are to encourage, promote and recognize significant research in Latin American studies. The award categories are: best article or article-length manuscript; best book or book-length manuscript; best masters or senior thesis; best Ph.D. dissertation; best film, videotape or nonprint media. To be eligible candidates should meet one of the following criteria: (1) have carried out the project while affiliated with an institution within the PCCLAS geographic region (British Columbia and Alberta, Canada; Baja California and Sonora, Mexico; the states of Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, Nevada, Idaho, Hawaii and Alaska); (2) have been a PCCLAS member in good standing for at least three consecutive years prior to nomination. In addition, the work must have been completed, published or produced no more than two years prior to nomination. Candidates may be nominated by a publishing house, faculty member from a PCCLAS regional institution, a member of PCCLAS, or by him/herself. Three copies of qualifying works (one copy of film, video and nonprint media) should be submitted before June 1, 1987, to: Dr. David W. Foster, Chair, 1987 Hubert Herring Awards Committee, Foreign Language Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85287; (602) 965-3752.

Pittsburgh Appointments. Mitchell A. Seligson, recently appointed professor of political science and director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, has announced four appointments to the Center's core faculty: James S. Boster, Anthropology; Thomas J. LaBelle, Dean, School of Education; Jeremy A. Sabloff, University Professor, Anthropology, and History and Philosophy of Science; Katherine Terrell, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs. In addition, Dr. Antonio Cornejo-Polar, former Rector of the Universidad Nacional de San Marcos in Lima, Peru, has been appointed to Pittsburgh's Department of Hispanic Languages and Literatures effective September 1987.

Howard Heinz Endowment Awards. The Howard Heinz Endowment, Pittsburgh, has announced the recipients of its Research Grants on Latin American Issues for 1987: Diane E. Davis (Gordon Public Policy Center, Brandeis University), "Urban Services, Urban Protest, and the Mexican State's Political Legitimacy in the Aftermath of Debt Crisis"; Michael Fleet (Political Science, Marquette University) and Giles Wayland-Smith (Political Science, Allegheny College), "Christian-Marxist Relations in Latin America"; Jay R. Mandle (Economics, Temple University), "Problems of Caribbean Development"; Kevin J. Middlebrook (Political Science, Indiana University), "Turning Point: Organized

Labor's Response to Economic Crisis in Mexico"; Alejandro Portes (Sociology and International Relations, Johns Hopkins University), "Trends in Latin American Urbanization During the Economic Crisis"; and Steven E. Sanderson (Political Science, University of Florida), "Recasting the Politics of Inter-American Trade."

Hispanic and Ibero-American Influences in the Design Arts. On behalf of the National Endowment for the Arts, Partners for Livable Places is seeking to identify organizations and individuals concerned with Hispanic, Portuguese and Brazilian influences in the design arts, including those who have undertaken design-related research, communication and demonstration projects directed toward Quincentenary commemorations. This field includes architecture, urban design, historic preservation, urban planning, landscape architecture, graphic design, industrial design and interior design. The data will be made available to interested persons through Partners' Livability Clearinghouse (which contains abstracts and contact information on all grants awarded by the Endowment's Design Arts Program). This information will help the Design Arts Program to plan for future initiatives and grant programs relating to the Quincentenary. Contact Kathleen Zwicker, 1992 Program Development Officer, Partners for Livable Places, 1429 21st Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; (202) 887-5990.

Tinker Visiting Professors and Lecturers. The following Latin American scholars have received Tinker Foundation support for teaching or lecturing at U.S. universities: Alice Campos (Brazil), visiting professor at the Latin American Center for Minerals and Energy Development, Colorado School of Mines, Spring 1987; José Roberto López (Costa Rica), visiting professor, and Alfredo Guerra Borges (Mexico), Carlos Glower (Honduras) and Manuel Rojas B. (Costa Rica), visiting lecturers at Florida International University, Spring 1987.

H. John Heinz III Archaeology Awards. The H. John Heinz III Charitable Trust of Pittsburgh has awarded five grants for archaeological field research in Latin America: Mark Aldenderfer (Northwestern University), "Excavations at Asana, a Stratified, Open-Air Archaic Period Site in the Osmore Drainage, Department of Moquegua, Southern Peru"; Elizabeth M. Brumfiel (Albion College), "Aztec Xaltocan: Regional Center of the Late Postclassic Valley of Mexico"; William H. Isbell (State University of New York), "Steps to an Empire: An Archaeological Study of Hunari's Provincial Administrative Center at Honco Pampa in the Callejón de Huaylas, Peru"; Susan A. Niles (Lafayette College), "The Palace of Huayna Capac at Quispiguanca"; Robert S. Santley (University of New Mexico), "Specialized Ceramic Production at El Salado, Veracruz, Mexico."

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES/SYMPOSIA

NCCLA Fall Meeting. The North Central Council of Latin Americanists will hold its annual fall meeting October 1-3, 1987, in Northfield, Minnesota. Co-hosts are St. Olaf College and Carleton College. The conference theme is "State and Society in Latin America." Contacts: Gastón Fernández, Program Chair, Department of Political Science, St. Olaf College, Northfield, MN 55057; (507) 663-3345 or NCCLA Secretariat, Center for Latin America, P.O. Box 413, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Milwaukee, WI 53201, (414) 963-5986.

PCCLAS Conference. The Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies will hold its 33rd Annual Meeting at Arizona State University October 8-11, 1987. There will be some 40 panels on the meeting theme, "Latin America: Crisis and Change," as well as other Latin American topics. Special events featuring Latin American art, film, music and dance are also planned. Contact: Prof. Jerry R. Ladman, President PCCLAS, Center for Latin American Studies, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona 85287; (602) 965-5127.

Latin American Indian Literatures. The Fifth International Symposium on Latin American Indian Literatures will be held June 3-6, 1987, at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Contact: Dr. Richard N. Luxton, LAILA/ALILA Symposia Chair, P.O. Box 163553, Sacramento, CA 95816.

Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana. The 26th Congress of the Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana will be held June 8-12, 1987, in New York City, sponsored by the City College of the City University of New York. The theme is "History and Fiction in Latin American Literature." Contact: Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, President, Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana, Department of Romance Languages, City College, CUNY, New York, NY 10031.

Book in the Americas. The Book in the Americas conference, sponsored by the John Carter Brown Library Center for New World Comparative Studies, will take place June 18-21, 1987, on the campus of Brown University. The conference will examine the role of printing, publishing and reading in the development of colonial Latin American culture and society, giving attention to the comparative dimensions of the subject (Brazil, Spanish America and British North America). For a detailed program and registration information, write to: JCBL Conference, Box 1894, Providence, Rhode Island 02912; or telephone (401) 863-2725.

North American Economies in the 1990s. An international symposium on the economies of North America will be held June 18-21, 1987, at the Holiday Inn-Civic Center in Laredo, Texas. Sessions will be held on the following topics,

among others: Foreign Debt Issues, Exchange Rate Fluctuations, International Banking Issues, Technology Transfer, Economic Performance of the Caribbean Region, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, Economic Relations with the Third World, Economic Relations with Socialist Countries, Border Issues: U.S.-Mexico, Development Planning in Mexico and Latin America, *Maquiladoras* and Production Sharing, and Sociocultural Issues. The registration fee of \$45 includes one copy of the Symposium Proceedings, two receptions, and a dinner. The Holiday Inn-Civic Center in Laredo is offering special symposium rates of \$38 single, \$45 double. To register or obtain additional information, contact: Dr. Khosrow Fatend, Program Chair, International Symposium, Laredo State University, West End Washington Street, Laredo, TX 78040.

Federación Internacional de Estudios sobre América Latina y el Caribe. The III Congress of FIEALC will take place September 23-26, 1987, in Buffalo, under the sponsorship of the Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought (SILAT), the State University of New York and the New York Council for the Humanities. The theme, "Critical Evaluation of Latin American Studies," will encompass sessions on anthropology, literature, linguistics, political science, sociology, and other disciplines involved in the study of Latin America. Centers interested in participating should contact Dr. Jorge J.E. Gracia, president of SILAT, or Dr. Amy A. Oliver, secretary of SILAT, Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Social Sciences, State University of New York at Buffalo, Amherst, N.Y. 14260; (716) 636-2444.

Association of European Latin Americanist Historians. The VIII Congreso de la Asociación de Historiadores Latinoamericanistas Europeos (AHILA) will take place September 8-11, 1987, in Szeged, Hungary. The theme is "Iglesia, Religión y Sociedad en la Historia Latinoamericana (1492-1945)." [The congress will be conducted exclusively in Spanish and Portuguese.] Contact: Dr. Gyorgy Kukovecz, Secretario General del Comité Organizador, Centro de Estudios Históricos de América Latina, Universidad de Szeged, Egyetem u. 2. 6722. Szeged, Hungría.

Sociology of Education. The Sociology of Education Research Committee of the International Sociological Association will hold a regional conference for Latin America and the Caribbean on the sociology of education in Caracas, Venezuela, November 24-26, 1987. The theme is "The Effect of State-Formulated Educational Policies: A Sociological View." Contact: Prof. Orlando Albornoz, Presidente del Comité de Investigación en Sociología de la Educación, Asociación Internacional de Sociología, 1986-90, Apartado No. 50.061, Caracas 1050-A, Venezuela.

The Rise of Merchant Empires. The Department of History and the Center for Early Modern History at the University of Minnesota are sponsoring a conference on "The Rise of Merchant Empires: Changing Patterns of Long-Distance Trade, 1350-1750" at the University of Minnesota October 9-11, 1987. Principal speakers will be: Niels Steensgaard (History, University of Copenhagen); Carla Rahn Phillips (History, University of Minnesota); Douglass C. North (Economics, Washington University); Russell R. Menard (History, University of Minnesota); Frederic Mauro (History, University of Paris X); Michael Pearson (History, University of New South Wales). Copies of papers will be available to registrants; papers will be discussed—not read—at the conference. For further information contact: Lucy Simler, Department of History, University of Minnesota, 267 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

Ethnomusicology. The Society for Ethnomusicology will hold a conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, November 5-8, 1987. Contact: Arnold Perris, Department of Music, University of Missouri-St. Louis, 8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121-4499.

Women and the Constitution. The Carter Center of Emory University, Georgia State University, and the Jimmy Carter Library are sponsoring a conference on "Women and the Constitution: A Bicentennial Perspective" to be held in Atlanta, Georgia, February 10-12, 1988. Papers and panels are being solicited; among the suggested areas is a comparative analysis of women's constitutional rights: a survey of how other countries have performed. Abstracts of papers and panels should be sent as close to May 1, 1987, as possible to: Dr. Cornelia Flora, Department of Sociology, Waters Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506; (913) 532-6865.

Congress of Americanists. The Latin Americanists of the Netherlands will host the 46th International Congress of Americanists in Amsterdam July 4-8, 1988. The deadline for proposing a symposium is May 31, 1987. Write, giving the suggested topic and possible participants to: 46th International Congress of Americanists, c/o CEDLA, Keizersgracht 395-397, 1016 EK Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Those wishing to be brought into contact with scholars having interests similar to their own, or wishing to participate as observers, should write to the above address before October 1, 1987; be sure to include your full name (print), institution, position, and mailing address.

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RESEARCH & STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

NEH Translation Awards. The National Endowment for the Humanities Translations Category invites applications for scholarly translations into English of works providing insight into the history, philosophy, and artistic achievements of other cultures, from ancient times to the present. Awards usually range from \$3,500 to \$100,000, depending upon the scope and magnitude of the project. The deadline is June 1, 1987. For application material and further information, write or call: Translations, Room 318, Division of Research Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC 20506; (202) 786-0207.

Fulbright Scholar Awards. The Council for International Exchange of Scholars has announced the opening of competition for the 1988-89 Fulbright grants in research and university lecturing abroad. The awards include more than 300 grants in research and 700 grants in university lecturing for periods ranging from three months to a full academic year. Fulbright awards are granted in virtually all disciplines, and scholars at all academic ranks are eligible to apply, including retired faculty and independent scholars. Benefits include round-trip travel for the grantee and, for most full academic-year awards, one dependent; maintenance allowance to cover living costs of grantee and family; tuition allowance, in many countries, for school-age children; and book and baggage allowances. The basic eligibility requirements are U.S. citizenship; Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications; university or college teaching experience; and, for selected assignments, proficiency in a foreign language. The previous limit of two Fulbright grants to a single scholar has been removed. Application deadlines are: June 15, 1987, for Latin America (September 15, 1987, for lecturing awards to Mexico, Venezuela and the Caribbean); November 1, 1987, for institutional proposals for the Scholar-in-Residence Program. For more information and applications, call or write: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Eleven Dupont Circle, N.W., Washington, DC 20036-1257; (202) 939-5401.

Howard Heinz Endowment Research Grants. The Howard Heinz Endowment is accepting grant applications for research on current issues in Latin American economics, politics or social development. Applicants should have a Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution. Applications for dissertation research will not be considered. The maximum award is \$25,000. Grant funds may be used for travel, salary, release time, research or administrative assistance, computer or reproduction costs, publication, or other costs directly related to the research. The Endowment does not include university overhead costs in its grants. Deadline for receipt of proposals is October 30, 1987; awards will be announced by February 19, 1988. For information on eligible fields of study and proposal requirements, write: Mrs. Marty Muetzel, Howard Heinz Endowment, 301 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15222; (412) 391-5122.

SEMLA-University of Pittsburgh. The Seminario Latinoamericano de Gerencia de Políticas, Programas y Proyectos: Diseño, Evaluación e Implementación will be conducted at the University of Pittsburgh, May 4-June 27, 1987. Sponsored by the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and the Center for Latin American Studies, the seminar is designed to strengthen the management capability of upper and middle-level officials in the public, semipublic and private sectors of Latin America. Financial assistance for participants may be obtained through international organizations such as the Organization of American States, International Development Bank, U.S. Agency for International Development, United Nations Development Program and World Bank. Persons or institutions interested in additional information should contact: Prof. Héctor Correa, Director of SEMLA, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA; (412) 648-7653; Telex: 199126.

Social Science Research Council. Advanced research fellowships include support for up to two years of research on the processes of U.S. foreign policy making, particularly studies that compare contemporary U.S. foreign policy-making processes across historical periods, issues or countries; analyze how institutions, groups, sectors or broad societal forces bear on these processes; and make use of theories and insights from diverse social science disciplines. Research need not be conducted in the United States, nor is residency at a research center required. Applications are welcomed without regard to the prospective fellow's citizenship, nationality or country of residence. Applicants must hold a Ph.D. or equivalent research degree at the time of application; those with professional backgrounds in law, journalism, or government must evidence a level of accomplishment equivalent to the Ph.D., typically demonstrated by the publication of articles or books which contribute to the research literature. The award includes a stipend and limited funds to cover research expenses. The size of the stipend will depend on the fellow's current salary or level of experience, but in no case can the total award (stipend plus research expense) exceed \$35,000 per year. Fellowships must be taken within 18 months of the announcement of the award. Application deadline is November 1, 1987. For further information and application materials, contact: Social Science Research Council, Program in Foreign Policy Studies, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158., (212) 661-0280.

The Social Science Research Council also sponsors or cosponsors research programs of interest to Latin Americanists: Public Policy Research on Contemporary Hispanic Issues; MacArthur Foundation Fellowships in International Security (postdoctoral or dissertation training and research); Fellowships for International Doctoral Research. For information write to the Council at the above address, inserting the name of the program for which information is requested.

Institute for Advanced Study. The School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study announces fellowships for research in the history, thought and culture of the western world. The Ph.D. (or equivalent) and publications are required. Qualified candidates of any nationality may apply for one or two terms. Some travel funds are available. Deadline for 1988-89 applications is October 15, 1987. For further details, write: Administrative Officer, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Olden Lane, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

Heinz Archaeological Field Research Grants. The H. John Heinz III Charitable Trust announces its program of small grants to support archaeological field research in Latin America (Mexico, Central America, South America). Three or four grants of up to \$8,000 maximum will be awarded in February 1988 for the following types of research activity: (1) projects which are designed as an integral but discrete part of a larger research program; (2) preliminary research which is expected to lead to future, large-scale projects funded by other sources; (3) small, self-contained research projects. Applicants should have Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution. Applications for dissertation research will not be considered. The Trust does not pay university overhead charges. The deadline for receipt of proposals is October 30, 1987. For proposal requirements or additional information, contact: June Belkin, 420 Lockhart Street, Pittsburgh, PA 15212; (412) 322-3942.

Center for Historical Studies. The Seminar of the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton University will explore the subject of "Power and Responses to Power" during the 1988-89 and 1989-90 academic years. It seeks fellows and papers that attempt to apply in specific historical contexts the range of analytic and exploratory perspectives being brought to bear on power in contemporary scholarship. The topic will embrace imperialism, acculturation to it, and anti-imperialism; foreign domination, acceptance of it, and rebellion; internal power struggles between status, class or religious groups; and consensus or conflict within intermediary institutions such as churches, cities, villages, schools and economic organizations. The Center will offer a limited number of Research Fellowships for one or two semesters, from September to January and from February to June. Highly recommended younger scholars as well as senior scholars with established reputations are eligible. Candidates must have finished their dissertations and must have a full-time paid position to which they can return. Fellows are expected to live in Princeton. Funds are limited, and candidates are therefore urged to apply to other grant-giving institutions as well if they wish to come for a full year. The deadline for applications and letters of recommendation for 1988-89 is December 1, 1987; for 1989-90, December 1, 1988. Inquiries and requests for application forms should be addressed to: Secretary, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, 129 Dickinson Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

University of Arizona. Opening for Assistant Director of the Latin American Area Center effective July 1, 1987. This is a 12-month appointment with eligibility for continuing appointments. Requirements: Ph.D. with Latin American concentration in one of the social sciences; fluency in Spanish or Portuguese; grant-writing skills; teaching and administrative experience desirable. Send letter of application and current curriculum vitae to: Dr. Michael C. Meyer, Director, Latin American Area Center, University of Arizona, Social Sciences Building, Room 228, Tucson, AZ 85721. Equal opportunity/affirmative action employer.

PUBLICATIONS

Overview of Endowment Programs is the National Endowment for the Humanities' guide that describes the pertinent steps for those seeking funding for humanities projects. The 1987 edition is now available. It includes program descriptions of NEH's 35 funding areas, all 1987 application deadline dates, data on this year's special emphases and initiatives, list of state humanities councils with addresses and telephone numbers, list of other NEH publications, and advice and tips on how to communicate with NEH. A free copy of the *Overview* may be obtained by writing or calling: NEH Overview, Room 409, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506; (202) 786-0438.

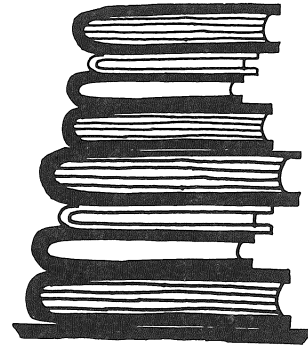
Brazilian Teaching Materials. The Latin American Institute (LAI) of the University of New Mexico has completed twelve Brazil Study Guides. This collection of introductory essays and bibliographical studies on Brazilian topics in history, philosophy, literature, music, the arts, and several realms of the social sciences, written by distinguished scholars in Brazilian studies, was produced with the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The curriculum guides are designed to aid both Latin Americanists interested in Brazil and specialists who want to develop topics outside their areas of expertise. Each guide costs \$2.50; the complete set of twelve can be purchased for \$15. LAI is also producing twelve audiovisual slide sets, documenting various Brazilian cities and regions, and such topics as ethnicity and population, life in a favela, and the legacy of the gold era in Minas Gerais. Each set will include 45-50 slides, an audio cassette, and a printed booklet describing each slide and providing supplementary information. Both English and Portuguese versions will be offered. The first sets, to be ready by October, will cost \$20 each. For further information or order forms contact: Jon M. Tolman, Director of Luso-Brazilian Programs, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131, (505) 277-2961.

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