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Elections, Repression, and Limited Reform Update on Southern Mexico

by

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For a brief period following Mexico's 1979 *reforma política*, enacted during the oil boom, several key northern and southern cities were governed by opposition parties on both the right and left, and the election of an opposition governor in the north seemed possible. In the subsequent period of economic crisis, however, electoral fraud has been widespread, and the government of President Miguel de la Madrid has not permitted opposition electoral victories on the city or state level since August 1983, effectively ending the experiment in electoral democracy that began with the *reforma*. Consequently, opposition parties have organized large demonstrations and have engaged in well-publicized acts of civil disobedience in an ongoing struggle to achieve their constitutional right to fair elections.

Is the Mexican political system on the verge of collapse? Do fraudulent elections signify the absence of political competition and government responsiveness? Will Mexico face a leftist "takeover," or is it moving toward a two-party, center-right system? These are the questions that underlie much recent political debate about Mexico in the United States. A close look at one example of Mexican politics in action—on a regional level where concrete demands are won or lost—reveals the answer: "none of the above." Rather, the Mexican government knows how to keep order and reform the existing system through an active political process that combines negotiation, concessions, and force. In addition, recent events have pressured the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) to coexist with opposition organizations and parties in a number of important regions.

The city of Juchitán (population about 60,000), in Mexico's southern isthmus, has achieved national prominence as the center of one of Mexico's few large, militant and independent leftist movements. In August 1986, members of the Coalition of Workers, Peasants, and Students of the Isthmus (COCEI) blocked the international Pan American highway

several times. They stopped traffic between the states of Oaxaca, Chiapas and Veracruz, as well as between much of southern Mexico and Guatemala in an effort to pressure the Mexican government to annul municipal elections held on August 3. Members of COCEI also carried out hunger strikes in the halls of the National Legislature and in the state capital, and staged demonstrations in front of Juchitán's city hall.

COCEI and allied leftist parties in the southern state of Oaxaca joined leaders of the rightist National Action Party (PAN) in Oaxaca and in the northern state of Chihuahua to protest what all these groups saw as blatant fraud in last summer's elections. Such joint action, a first in recent Mexican history, reflects the growing popular opposition to government-controlled electoral procedures that have enabled the official party, the PRI, to maintain uninterrupted power in Mexico for 50 years.

Formed in 1973 by local students of middle-class and peasant backgrounds, COCEI gained widespread popular support through a combination of strikes, marches, occupations of government offices, and skilled negotiations that improved living and working conditions. Much of COCEI's initial success derived from the absence or weakness of official peasant and worker organizations in Juchitán. With an economy based on commerce and subsistence agriculture, Juchitán lacked both the industry and government-sponsored collective landholdings (*ejidos*) around which PRI-affiliated mass organizations formed in other parts of Mexico. Along with its initial successes, COCEI suffered violent attacks carried out by the right wing of the local PRI, hired thugs and the state police, resulting in the deaths of more than 20 supporters between 1975 and 1977.

Building on the ethnic identity of the close-knit Zapotec Indian community—the prevalence of indigenous language, dress, fiestas, and neighborhood residential patterns makes

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Juchitán more like a small town than any other Mexican city—COCEI developed a thoroughgoing class consciousness among many of the city's poor and lower middle-class residents. Women and men in Juchitán's neighborhoods state clearly, in nonrhetorical language, that they are "*los pobres*" and that they are exploited in specific ways by local commercial enterprises and government agricultural programs. They say that they are ruled by a local government imposed through fraudulent elections and military force, that they support COCEI because it fights unequivocally for their well-being, and that they participate in politics—attend meetings and march in the streets with raised fists, vote, join communal work projects, and contribute financially—to carry on this struggle.

COCEI participated in municipal elections in the 1970s, fielding independent candidates with little chance of officially recognized victory at a time when most of the Mexican left rejected such participation. After the 1979 political reform put democratization on the national agenda and legalized leftist parties, COCEI gained an official place on the ballot in alliance with the Mexican Communist Party (which later joined other leftist parties to form the PSUM, the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico). This alliance provided a national stage from which to denounce electoral fraud in 1980. In the face of national publicity as well as direct action mobilizations that included the occupation of two foreign embassies in Mexico City, the Mexican government acknowledged that there had been fraud and annulled the elections. In special elections held three months later, COCEI was declared the winner with 51 percent of the vote, and Juchitán became the first and only city in Mexico governed by the left.

In office, the COCEI government acted to end the neglect that the city had suffered under a succession of corrupt PRI administrations. Working together with city residents, municipal officials repaired unpaved streets, constructed and staffed local health clinics, established a public library on the central plaza, and rebuilt the crumbling city hall. They also took on two of the largest local employers, a beer distributor and a Coca Cola bottling plant, and after bitter strikes secured higher wages and better benefits for workers. The COCEI government negotiated with state and local authorities to secure credit for peasant farmers, and it sponsored the invasion of a large tract of government-owned land, where several hundred families built houses. In all these efforts, COCEI bypassed the traditional power structure of the local PRI and negotiated directly with state and national authorities.

These advances, especially efforts opposing ownership of land beyond legal limits and demanding payment of the minimum wage, struck at the privileges of the city's agricultural and commercial elites. In the face of elite opposition, COCEI leaned toward militant rhetoric and action, including veiled threats of violence to property that were occasionally carried out, further alienating opponents.

COCEI's exercise of municipal patronage particularly angered the middle class and led to accusations of arbitrary and illegal practices. Furthermore, as soon as COCEI took office, the state government cut off the municipal budget, and COCEI responded by pressuring local businesses to make contributions to the municipal treasury; these payments became a major point of controversy. COCEI fought not only the economic and political privileges of the PRI and its supporters, but laid claim to the public spaces of the city as well, encouraging supporters to make use of areas such as the plaza in front of city hall, where they had not previously gathered.

In response, local PRI politicians and businesspeople formed new groups that could fight COCEI on the local level and pressure state and national authorities. The right wing of the PRI organized the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the People of Juchitán. Unfettered by official constraints, this group waged a virulent anti-communist campaign and made free use of violence and intimidation. While this did not diminish the militance of COCEI supporters, it fostered an atmosphere of extreme tension and provided an effective means for convincing outside authorities of the need for intervention. Business leaders in Juchitán elected a new, young executive committee to head the previously weak Chamber of Commerce, and they turned this organization into a focal point for unified opposition to COCEI demands and for contact with state and national business confederations. Finally, middle-class opponents, including some who had initially sympathized with COCEI, reached the conclusion that COCEI consisted of illiterate rabble rousers, that the city was no longer safe, and that government should be placed in the hands of the "educated."

In the summer of 1983, an incident of violence, probably provoked by the PRI, gave the state government a pretext for throwing COCEI out of office and appointing a PRI administrative council to run the city. COCEI refused to leave city hall and called out a massive demonstration while federal troops arrived to patrol the streets and set up several permanent barracks in the city. After new elections were decided in favor of a young professional PRI candidate, who officially won 54 percent of the vote, the army attacked city hall, removed COCEI supporters, and instituted a period of severe repression, during which arrests and beatings of COCEI supporters were frequent. The army set up a barracks inside city hall, standing guard on the building's balconies. Four COCEI leaders, jailed without charges or trial, were named prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International (three were released after 20 months).

During this time, which coincided with the period of economic crisis nationally, the Mexican government invested unprecedented millions of pesos in Juchitán, building a bridge, beginning the construction of a 60-bed hospital and a new market, cleaning irrigation canals, and extending the small network of paved streets and sewers. Supporters of both

the PRI and COCEI readily acknowledged COCEI's central role in stimulating government spending. The professional character of the new municipal government was emphasized in public events and speeches, and after several months of repression, COCEI was again permitted to exercise its constitutional rights to free speech and assembly. In 1985 COCEI mounted an active campaign for federal deputy (congressman), celebrating festive meetings over a period of three months throughout Juchitán and surrounding towns. It also defended workers in a labor dispute and successfully fought an increase in irrigation rates.

COCEI entered the 1986 municipal elections with its strength undiminished and ran a short, orderly campaign. At the same time, the PRI experienced an internal crisis, with businesspeople and professionals refusing to support the official candidate, who had been named by the local political boss. Reform-minded state and national PRI authorities initially supported the business-professional group, but subsequently accepted the boss's candidate. As in the first 1980 elections and in 1983, the PRI was declared the winner with 56 percent of the vote, despite evidence of fraud in the preparation of the list of registered voters and the issuing of ID cards necessary for voting. As a result COCEI began to mobilize its protest.

In December 1986, the Governor of Oaxaca oversaw the installation of a coalition COCEI-PRI government headed by a moderate *priista*. This compromise adheres to recent modifications of the electoral law, which now mandates proportional representation for cities of Juchitán's size. The coalition serves some of the interests of reform-minded groups within the PRI and some of the interests of COCEI. When supporters of the political boss refused to participate in a coalition government, the governor replaced the victorious PRI candidate with his own choice, thereby favoring the business-professional group in the internal party struggle. By participating in the coalition, COCEI achieved a position from which to oversee municipal administration and finances, resulting in access to city hall for COCEI supporters, limits on government arbitrariness, increases in the flow of public information, and reigning in of the local police. However, tensions within the PRI continue, and conflicts between the PRI mayor and COCEI have led COCEI to organize protest meetings and marches.

What does this story mean for Juchitán, for Mexico, and for the Mexican left? What does it reveal about the meaning of elections in Mexico and about the exercise of power and politics?

First, COCEI's ability to organize poor Mexicans and maintain its independence from the government for 13 years demonstrates that it is possible for leftist, grass-roots movements to win adherents and successfully challenge the Mexican government through elections and civil disobedience.

COCEI's success illustrates how shrewd use of the openings provided by the government, such as President Echeverría's promotion of independent organizations at the beginning of the 1970s and President López Portillo's subsequent reform of electoral rules, can create spaces for the development of class consciousness and self-government. The Mexican regime's own rhetoric of social justice and its rules of formal democracy provided the basis for COCEI's claims, and opposition efforts succeeded when COCEI used tactics that were technically illegal, but had traditionally been tolerated by the government. Mass mobilizations were essential at crucial moments; by demonstrating both the existence of a powerful popular opposition and a willingness to negotiate and obey the law, COCEI was able to pressure state and national leaders to make concessions.

Grass-roots activists throughout Mexico have understood these possibilities, and as a result leftist unions, peasant federations, neighborhood organizations, and regional political movements have formed and grown during the past 15 years. Such efforts have shown that a combination of electoral participation and grass-roots organizing can win substantive concessions from the government, such as public investment in municipal services, agricultural credits, payment of the minimum wage, and freeing of political prisoners.

Second, politics in Juchitán illustrates that the Mexican government and the PRI are capable of dealing flexibly with a complex and changing situation, combining negotiation, electoral competition, investment, and repression in ways that generally succeed in maintaining order.

State and national leaders employ these strategies in various economic and political arenas, not according to some preordained formula, but in an often tempestuous process of ongoing response and adaptation. By and large the process maintains the dominance of the ruling party and local and state elites, at the same time producing some economic and political reforms. While the Juchitán story supports assertions that the Mexican political system displays considerable injustice with regard to the living and working conditions and political participation of poor peasants and workers, it indicates with equal clarity that the system is not about to break down, as foreign observers are wont to suggest. The proper question to ask is not the often posed, "Will the PRI continue to maintain control or will the system fall apart?" but rather the question one would ask of any long-standing regime that has shown considerable ability to respond to popular pressures over time: "In what ways is the Mexican system changing during a difficult period, and how are these changes affecting the complex relationships between central government, regional elites, and oppositions on the left and right?"

Third, the unique character of Juchitán and COCEI's very limited ability to expand beyond the city suggest that current right-wing scenarios of leftist "takeover" in Mexico have little relevance to Mexican political life, today or in the foreseeable future.

COCEI is perhaps the strongest of a handful of regionally-based leftist movements in Mexico, and it is the only one to have maintained its strength for as long as 14 years. All the strategies the government has used to oppose COCEI have not only enabled the government to maintain control of Juchitán, but have worked even more successfully in opposing leftist organizing efforts in virtually all parts of the country. The two principal characteristics that explain the success of leftist organizing in Juchitán—the lack of pre-existing government-sponsored peasant and worker organizations and the maintenance of a strong indigenous ethnic identity in an urban setting—are not generally found together elsewhere in Mexico.

Fourth, the Juchitán story demonstrates that electoral processes are complicated and that the presence or absence of fair elections does not necessarily indicate the level of civil liberties, the extent of political participation, or the responsiveness of government in a given place.

Elections in Juchitán often are fraudulent, and who wins is generally decided by the national government. However, elections are part of an ongoing process of pressuring and negotiation by which political power and economic benefits are distributed. The emphasis on elections in Juchitán after 1980 changed the relationship between opposition movement, local elites, and the central government. Elections funneled much of COCEI's activity into political campaigning, but officially legitimized the movement and gave it a claim to govern. They brought a permanent federal military presence, but lowered the level of political violence perpetrated by the local right wing. They provided dramatic increases in the level of funding for the local PRI, but challenged—without eliminating—its patterns of political bossism and corruption. And they provided a calendar of events and avenues of direct intervention for the Mexican government, but limited its ability to weaken a strong opposition by violent means, forcing it to accept coexistence.

This past summer, in both the north and the south of Mexico, the national PRI selected gubernatorial candidates whose political ideologies and programs have more in common with the oppositions than with the mainstream of the PRI. The new PRI governor of Oaxaca can be expected to take on the conservative business elite of that state and favor the peasant and worker constituencies of the leftist Democratic Coalition, which includes COCEI. At the same time, Chihuahua's new governor, who addressed the concerns of that state's businesspeople throughout his campaign, will probably move away from some past policies of the PRI, his own party, in order to win over supporters of the rightist PAN.

The role of elections in Oaxaca and Chihuahua underscores the importance of going beyond the question of whether or not fair elections exist and asking rather what elections do and don't do, as well as how they relate to the condi-

tions under which people live, work, think, and speak. The political process in Juchitán permits the exercise of some freedoms and restricts others. It denies self-government and limits economic well-being. At the same time, by promoting class conflict within the city, it facilitates negotiation between local political leaders and national authorities. At a time when the simple presence or absence of fair elections is being used to judge entire political systems, the experience of COCEI in Juchitán demonstrates that it is essential to consider more than this single distinction. Is there genuine opposition on the ballot? Who votes? What civil liberties are protected and when? What kinds of effective political participation are possible? What issues enter political debate and policy making? Who gains and who loses? Does the government shoot those who support the opposition, or does it build hospitals and bridges?

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

The Program Committee met at the conference hotel (the Clarion) in New Orleans April 30-May 2, 1987, to evaluate proposals for LASA/88. It approved for inclusion in the program approximately 140 panels and workshops, 18 roundtables, and 12 other events. Letters advising proposers of the committee's decisions were mailed over the course of the following three weeks. The committee believes that the proposals approved promise a high-quality and diversified meeting.

The next issue of the *Forum* will list all organized sessions for LASA/88.

The Program Committee plans to distribute the printed program to the membership six weeks in advance of the meeting. To accomplish this it is essential that final information on approved sessions be received no later than September 10, 1987.

The committee is vigorously pursuing strategies to raise funds for the participation of Latin Americans at the meeting. This is an issue of special importance given the magnitude of the regional and world economic crisis. Our next report will describe the initiatives taken and report on progress to date.

Charles Bergquist, Chair
Douglas Bennett
Jan Flora
Regina Harrison
Nora Lustig
Scott Whiteford

TASK FORCE ON SCHOLARLY RELATIONS WITH CUBA

Wayne Smith, cochair of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba, reports that the many letters sent to senators and representatives have begun to pay dividends. Printed below is a letter from Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to Secretary of State Shultz. It represents the type of approaches various members of Congress have made in response to the Task Force's efforts.

United States Senate
Committee on Foreign Relations
Washington, DC 20510
April 1, 1987

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba of the Latin American Studies Association has expressed its concern over the Administration's policy of denying entry visas to all Cuban scholars, scientists, and artists. This policy has resulted in the denial of visas for recognized scholars who have been invited by some of our most prestigious universities such as Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Pittsburgh. Cuban scholars have been prevented from accepting invitations from the Smithsonian Institution as well as from the last two International Congresses of the Latin American Studies Association.

Academic, cultural, and scientific interchange is a very important means by which people of different nations strive to communicate with and understand one another despite political and other differences. In the case of Cuba this becomes especially important because the negative state of the U.S.-Cuba relationship these many years has been a deterrent to people-to-people contact.

The people of both countries should not be penalized by their government's policies, and should not be denied the right to have academic and other exchanges. I urge you to reconsider the current policy denying visas to Cuban scholars, scientists, and artists and not permit it to be linked to other problems which the Administration has with the Government of Cuba.

With every good wish.

Ever sincerely,

Claiborne Pell

LASA MEDIA AWARD

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce the LASA award for outstanding media coverage of Latin America. This award is made every eighteen months to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States, as well as for breakthrough investigative journalism. Nominations are invited from LASA members and from journalists. Journalists from both the print and electronic media are eligible.

To make a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's relevant work, by January 10, 1988, to: Cynthia McClintock, Chair of the LASA Task Force on the Mass Media, Department of Political Science, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 20052. If the work is in the electronic media and a copy is not readily available, contact Professor McClintock after December 20, 1987, to discuss further procedures.

A three-member screening committee of the Task Force on the Mass Media carefully reviews each nominee's work and selects the top five candidates. The entire task force then votes to determine the winner, who is honored at the next International Congress. LASA invites the awardee to speak at a session and to submit materials for possible publication in the *Forum*. The association also assumes the costs of the awardee's travel to the meeting site.

PROPOSED LASA/88 PREVIEW

The Nicaraguan Confederation of Professionals (CONAPRO Héroes y Mártires) and the Nicaraguan Association of Social Sciences (ANICS) have proposed a meeting in Managua, Nicaragua, January 13-15, 1988, open to anyone presenting a paper on Nicaragua or Central America, regardless of point of view, at the LASA Congress in New Orleans. Nicaraguan specialists would also present their latest research. The cost, including transportation, would be about the same or only slightly higher than the average cost of attending a conference in the United States. Those interested should immediately notify Prof. Thomas Walker, Department of Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701; (614) 593-4376. If enough people express interest, those wishing to participate will be sent details of conference activities, group accommodations, rates, etc.

LASA BOOK AWARD POSTPONED

The Spring 1987 *Forum* noted that an award for the best scholarly work in Latin American studies would be presented at the XIV International Congress in New Orleans. This award will be postponed until the XV Congress to be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 28-30, 1989. Future announcements will appear in the *Forum*.

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE SLATE

The LASA Nominations Committee presents the following slate of candidates for Vice President and members of the Executive Council. The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity from January 1, 1988, until June 30, 1989, and as President from July 1, 1989, until December 30, 1990. The three winning candidates for members of the Executive Council will serve a three-year term beginning January 1, 1988.

Nominees for Vice President: Jean Franco
Abraham F. Lowenthal

Nominees for Executive Council: Peter Evans
Adolfo Figueroa
Cynthia McClintock
Francine Masiello
Christopher Mitchell
Richard Newfarmer

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

Jean Franco is professor of Latin American literature at Columbia University and has also taught at the Universities of London and Essex in England and at Stanford University. She has been Director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at Columbia University. Since the 1960s and beginning with her book *The Modern Culture of Latin America*, she has concentrated on sociocriticism. Her numerous publications include not only works of literary criticism but also articles on mass culture, feminist theory, culture in authoritarian societies, and culture and modernization. She has just completed a book on Mexico, *Plotting Women*, and is working in collaboration with George Yudice and Juan Flores on a collection of essays on the contemporary culture of Latin America. She was a founding member of the Society of Latin American Studies of Great Britain and has been a member of LASA since 1972. She served on the Executive Council from 1978 to 1980.

Abraham F. Lowenthal is professor of international relations at the University of Southern California and executive director of the Inter-American Dialogue. From 1977-1983, he was the founding director of the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Previously Lowenthal had worked with the Ford Foundation in Latin America, with the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, and at Princeton University. His publications include *Partners in Conflict: The United States and Latin America* and *The Dominican Intervention*, as well as four volumes he has edited or coedited. He has also published often in academic and policy journals, general interest magazines, and many major newspapers. He has served on LASA's scholarly delegations to the Soviet Union and Cuba, and on panels at most LASA congresses. He has served on many boards and councils, including

those of the Helen Kellogg Institute at Notre Dame, the program on U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego, and the American Political Science Association.

Peter Evans is professor in the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California, San Diego, and will be teaching in the sociology department at the University of New Mexico. He is also cochair of the Research Planning Committee on States and Social Structures at the Social Science Research Council and a former member of the LARR editorial board. He is the author of *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil*, and is currently involved in comparative research on the political economy of industrialization in Latin America and Asia.

Adolfo Figueroa has been professor of economics at the Catholic University of Peru since 1970, acting as head of the department from 1976 to 1979. He did his undergraduate work at the University of San Marcos and received his Ph.D. from Vanderbilt University in 1972. His published studies include *Estructura del consumo y distribución del ingreso en Lima 1968-69* (Catholic University of Peru, 1974), *La distribución del ingreso en el Perú* (with Richard Webb, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975), *Capitalist Development and the Peasant Economy in Peru* (Cambridge, 1984), and *Priorización y desarrollo del sector agrario en el Perú* (coeditor with J. Portocarrero, Catholic University of Peru and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 1986). These publications reflect his long-term interest in the economics of peasant agricultures, income distribution, and associated issues. He has been visiting professor at the University of Pernambuco, St. Antony's College of Oxford University, the University of Illinois, and the National Autonomous University of Nicaragua, and a consultant for various international agencies.

Cynthia McClintock is associate professor of political science at George Washington University. She is the author of *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru* (Princeton, 1981) and the coeditor (with Abraham F. Lowenthal) of *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered* (Princeton, 1983). She has also written numerous articles on Peruvian politics, including "Why Peasants Rebel: The Case of Peru's *Sendero Luminoso*," published in *World Politics* in October 1984. In the fall of 1987 she will be in Peru on a grant, completing research for a book on redemocratization. She became a member of the LASA Media Task Force in 1983, and has served as task force chair since 1984. She also served on the LASA Nominations Committee in 1984-85. Currently she is a member of the LARR editorial board.

Francine Masiello is associate professor of Spanish and comparative literature at the University of California, Berkeley. She has written extensively on modern Spanish American literature, with an emphasis on Argentina, and has

addressed questions of avant-garde formations, theories of marginality, criticism and ideology, and the cultures of nationalism as they intersect with the discourse on gender. Her publications include *Lenguaje e ideología: las escuelas argentinas de vanguardia* and numerous articles in the *Latin American Research Review*, *Ideologies and Literatures*, *Hispanía*, *Revista Iberoamericana*, *Symposium*, and elsewhere. She is a founding member of the inter-campus faculty seminar on Feminism and Latin American Culture, which has received support from the Berkeley-Stanford Center for Latin American Studies, the Berkeley Center for Gender Research, and the Hewlett-Packard Foundation. Currently she serves as chair of the predoctoral fellowship selection committee of the Social Science Research Council, as a member of the Executive Committee of the Division on 20th Century Latin American Literature of the Modern Language Association, and Associate Editor of *Hispania*. She also has served as a member of the LASA Nominations Committee.

Christopher Mitchell is associate professor of politics at New York University and Director of the NYU Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. He is the author of *The Legacy of Populism in Bolivia* (Praeger, 1977) and editor of *Windows on Latin America: Insights from Six Disciplines* (Stanford, 1987). His published articles have appeared in *Comparative Politics*, *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, the *Latin American Research Review*, and in a number of edited books. He is currently serving as principal investigator of a study sponsored by the Ford Foundation on immigration as a theme in U.S. foreign policy towards the Caribbean, Central America and Mexico. He has served as a member of the LASA Task Force on Latin American Studies in Latin America, as chair of the Program Committee for LASA's XII International Congress (1985-Albuquerque), and is currently a member of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba.

Richard Newfarmer is a Senior Economist at the World Bank. His publications include *From Gunboats to Diplomacy: New U.S. Policies for Latin America*; *Profits, Progress and Poverty: Studies of International Industries in Latin America*; *The International Electrical Association: A Continuing Cartel*; and *U.S. Multinational Corporations in Brazil and Mexico*. He has published articles in *The Journal of Development Economics*, *The Journal of Development Studies*, *World Development*, *The Cambridge Journal of Economics*, and *Foreign Policy*. Among his latest articles is "U.S. Economic Policy Toward the Caribbean Basin: The Balance Sheet" in *The Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*. Before joining the World Bank in 1983, he was on the economics faculty of the University of Notre Dame (1977-81) and was also a Senior Fellow at the Overseas Development Council (1981-83). He has served as chair and member of LASA's Media Task Force, as a member of the Nominations Committee, as a member of the Task Force on U.S.-USSR Scholarly Exchange, and as chair of the Fourth U.S.-USSR Symposium on Latin America.

The current LASA Nominations Committee consists of Lars Schoultz (University of North Carolina), chair, and Albert Berry (University of Toronto), Elizabeth Garrels (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Louis Goodman (American University), Herbert Klein (Columbia University), William LeoGrande (American University), and Enrique Mayer (University of Illinois).

LASA members may propose additional candidates for the Vice Presidency by submitting petitions signed by at least 100 members in good standing for each such candidate. They may propose additional candidates for the Executive Council by submitting petitions signed by at least 20 members in good standing for each such candidate.

The deadline for receipt of petitions at the LASA Secretariat is September 10, 1987.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor:

I write to add one more reason to Reid Reading's reflective article on why he is more critical of regimes such as that of Pinochet in Chile than of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

For me it is not only that I do not wish to join the big bully and add my voice to those condemning Cuba and Nicaragua, but that as a United States citizen, it is my responsibility to disagree with my government when I believe it to be wrong. I take the duties of citizenship seriously. United States policy is wrong in its support of Pinochet and its opposition to the Sandinistas. These policies are being justified with information seriously distorted by ideological convictions. Government officials would like us to criticize the other guy, not them. But it is my government and it partly speaks for me and all citizens. I wish to clearly disassociate myself from that voice and hopefully change its direction.

Sincerely,

William P. Mitchell
Freed Professor of Social Sciences
Monmouth College
June 10, 1987

MEMBER NEWS

Peter F. Klaren, professor of history at George Washington University, has been appointed director of the Latin American Studies Program for a three-year term beginning in the fall 1987. He also chairs the University's faculty seminar on Andean Culture and Politics.

MORE ON CUSTOMS

Printed below is an exchange of letters between Donald H. Frischmann, assistant professor of Spanish language and literature, Texas Christian University, and the U.S. Customs Service.

March 31, 1987

Superintendent
U.S. Customs Service
Immigration Port of Entry
720 E. San Ysidro Blvd.
San Ysidro, California

Dear Sir:

As a law-abiding citizen and respected university professor of Spanish language and literature, I never imagined that I would need to protest treatment received from U.S. Customs Inspectors. However, a week ago Saturday I experienced an extremely unpleasant and puzzling incident upon returning to the U.S. on foot through the San Ysidro Border Inspection Station.

On March 19 and 20 I participated by invitation in an international symposium held at San Diego State University. My primary field of interest and research is the culture of Mexico; therefore, once the symposium had ended, I naturally decided to spend an afternoon in Tijuana, where I visited the Cultural Center, purchased books, and had lunch.

On the way back to the Border Inspection Station, a sudden rainstorm surprised me, and upon arrival I was soaked and chilled. The pedestrian traffic was heavy but the Inspectors were quickly clearing the tourists' purchases, and in little time I had reached the front of the line. An accompanying colleague's sole purchases were a package of books, which was of little interest to the Inspector, but when I presented an identical package of books, the Inspector took me aback with a question I have never before been asked in my nearly twenty years of travelling to Mexico: "What kind of books do you have?" "Just books,"* was my innocent reply, which immediately provoked an unexpected and undeniably aggressive reaction in the Inspector: "Well, we don't permit the importation of pornographic or seditious material, so open the package." As I was doing so, I explained my position at Texas Christian University and my personal interest in books on Mexican anthropology, sociology, literature, and theatre. None of my professional information mattered to him.

The Inspector carefully leafed through each of the nine books, after which I asked if he found the books to be acceptable, to which he roughly responded: "Not yet—come with me"; he then led me to an adjoining area and demanded that I list the title of each book on a customs declaration form. I wrote the

titles with a visibly shaking hand, since I was drenched and chilled to the bone. Upon completing the list, the Inspector double-checked to see if I had written all of the titles. I reiterated my desire for an explanation as to why, for the first time in twenty years, I was obliged to list every book purchased. "The law has changed," I was told. He also repeated that pornographic or seditious material cannot be brought across the border; I repeated that I do not purchase such material.

The Inspector seemed to grope for another explanation, and then offered the following rationale: Since I am a professor, I may at some time give one of these books to a student to read; since my students pay tuition, that would constitute a commercial enterprise, and therefore I really need to apply for an import licence! He then handed me the books, at which time I asked if he had approved these books, to which he responded: "That remains to be seen."

Interestingly, another Inspector who witnessed the latter portion of the incident with an incredulous look on his face then asked me where I teach. I told him: "Texas Christian University"; he shook his head in the presence of the other Inspector, and commented: "Pretty incredible, eh?" "Yes," I replied, "pretty incredible."

Unfortunately, I was so taken aback by the incident that I did not obtain the abusive Inspector's name. This is unfortunate since I would like very much to pursue an official complaint against him. The only information I can provide is that I crossed at 4:20 PM on Saturday, March 21; the Inspector was a white male, around 50 years of age, built on the husky side, wore a mesh cap which seemed to reveal graying hair and a balding head, and wore no glasses.

*In a subsequent letter to LASA, Professor Frischmann listed the books as follows:

- Bartra, Roger, et al. *Caciquismo y poder político en el México rural*, 8a edición. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1986.
- Franco, Jean. *La cultura moderna en América Latina*. México, D.F.: Grijalbo, 1985.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *Antropología estructural*, 4a edición. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1984.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. *Magia, ciencia, religión*, 2a edición. Barcelona: Ariel, 1982.
- Pozas, Ricardo, and Isabel H. de Pozas. *Los indios en las clases sociales de México*, 14a edición. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1985.
- Ribeiro, Darcy. *El dilema de América Latina*, 11a edición. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1984.
- Stavenhagen, Rodolfo. *Las clases sociales en las sociedades agrarias*, 14a edición. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1984.

I demand a swift explanation, apology, and investigation regarding this incident. I categorically condemn this discourteous and ignominious treatment received from an individual whose role is to protect and serve me as an employee of my government. During and after the incident I felt as if I had tried to enter not the United States, but rather some totalitarian state which seeks to control its citizens' access to information.

Sincerely,

Prof. Donald H. Frischmann, Ph.D.

cc: Mr. William von Raab, Commissioner of the U.S. Customs Service
The Honorable Jim Wright, U.S. Congress
President, American Association of the Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese
President, Modern Language Association of America
President, Latin American Studies Association
President, Texas Faculty Association

Department of the Treasury
U.S. Customs Service
Washington, D.C. 20229

May 1, 1987

BAG-2-01-IC:W BH

Mr. Donald H. Frischmann
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas 76129

Dear Dr. Frischmann:

We have received your April 3, 1987, correspondence concerning your March 21 Customs inspection at San Ysidro, California.

We regret any unpleasantness you experienced as a result of your Customs inspection. We would like to point out, however, that all items, except those covered by diplomatic exemption, entering the United States are subject to examination. Apparently the Customs officer who examined your books was concerned about a possible violation of Section 305 of the Tariff Act of 1930, which prohibits the importation of obscene or seditious material. In cases where the Customs officer has doubts about the accuracy of a traveler's oral declaration, he may request the traveler to complete a written Customs declaration, as apparently occurred during your inspection.

Your description of the Customs officer as rude and overbearing does, of course, concern us. We train and supervise our officers to treat all travelers with courtesy and tact. When we can substantiate that one of our officers has failed to maintain

our strict professional standards, we take firm corrective action. We are asking the Regional Commissioner of Customs, 300 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California 90053-3379, who has jurisdiction over San Ysidro, to look into the circumstances of your March 21 Customs inspection. Following his investigation, the Regional Commissioner will reply directly to you.

Meanwhile, we hope that your future contacts with our Service are pleasant.

Sincerely,

Sanuel H. Banks
Assistant Commissioner
Office of Inspection and Control

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 Neighbourhoods 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
_____. Recent Stabilization Programs in Argentina (1973-1986)
- Fiscal Pérez, María Rosa.** "De noche vienen" 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
- Geddes, Barbara.** The Insulation of Economic Decision Makers in the Brazilian Bureaucracy, 1930-1964
- 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.** Domination 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
- Márquez, 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 livres 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.** NGOs and Grass-Roots Development in Latin America
_____. Linking Latin American and Western Development Organizations
- Paoli, Maria Célia.** 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
- Rubluó, 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
- Will, W. Marvin.** No Room for Error: Evolving Patterns of Anglophone Caribbean-United States Relations
- 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

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Tinker Postdoctoral Fellowship Awards. The Tinker Foundation announces the winners in the twelfth and final postdoctoral fellowship competition. Created in 1975, the Tinker Postdoctoral Fellowships, which carry a stipend of \$25,000, have enabled mid-level scholars to conduct Ibero-American research having significant theoretical or public-policy implications. The fellowships are now being terminated due to the availability of funds from other sources. The 1987 Tinker Postdoctoral Fellows are: Marshall C. Eakin, Vanderbilt University, "Business and Politics: The Industrialization of Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1897-1964"; Elizabeth Graham, Royal Ontario Museum, "Maya-Spanish Relations on a Colonial Frontier"; Elena López, University of Alcalá de Henares, Madrid, "The Structure of Spanish Trade: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives"; Antonio Mitre, Federal University of Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, "From Silver to Tin: The Mining Industry in Bolivia and the Problems of Transition, 1890-1920"; Beverly Nagel, Carleton College, "Agricultural Growth, Socioeconomic Development, and Ethnolinguistic Differentiation in Paraguay"; and David Reher, Complutense University of Madrid, "Urban Behavior in Historical Perspective: Cuenca, 1550-1870."

John Carter Brown Library Awards. The John Carter Brown Library has awarded fellowships to 18 scholars for 1987-88 who will conduct research using the library's substantial collection of primary materials relating to the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of the New World. Three of the scholars received six-month fellowships funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities; the others will work at the library for one to four months.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES/SYMPOSIA

BALAS Annual Conference. The Business Association of Latin American Studies invites paper proposals for its annual conference to be held February 18-20, 1988, at the Hanalei Hotel in San Diego, California. The conference provides a forum for the exchange of ideas and the discussion of issues that affect the economy and business environment in the Latin American region. The deadline for papers, abstracts or panel submissions is November 1, 1987. All submissions and further inquiries should be directed to Drs. Joan Anderson and Denise Dimon, Co-Program Chairs, School of Business Administration, University of San Diego, San Diego, CA 92110; phone (619) 260-4857.

Borderland Scholars Annual Meeting. The Association of Borderland Scholars (ABS) invites paper and panel pro-

PLAN NOW TO ATTEND

LASA'S XIV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MARCH 17-19, 1988

posals for its annual meeting, held in conjunction with the Western Social Science Association in Denver, Colorado, April 27-30, 1988. The deadline for papers, abstracts and panel proposals is October 15, 1987. Contact: Dr. Joan Anderson, ABS Vice President/Program Chair, School of Business Administration, University of San Diego, San Diego, CA 92110; phone (619) 260-4857.

Southwestern Historical Association. The Southwestern Historical Association will meet in conjunction with the Southwestern Social Science Association in Houston, Texas, March 23-26, 1988. Proposals for papers or sessions on Latin American and African history should be sent to Prof. Victoria Cummins, Box 1606, Austin College, Sherman, TX 75090. Proposals for complete sessions are especially encouraged, as are suggestions for interdisciplinary sessions, panels, and roundtables. The deadline for proposals is October 1, 1987.

Congress on the Caribbean. An International Congress on the Caribbean will be held October 8-9, 1987, at the San Germán campus of Inter American University of Puerto Rico. Commemorating the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, the congress is sponsored by the Division of Humanistic Studies of Inter American University at San Germán. Papers will be presented by scholars from South and North America in the fields of art, culture, history, language, literature, music, philosophy, politics and sociology. Contact: Olena H. Saciuk, Department of English, Division of Humanistic Studies, Inter American University of Puerto Rico, Call Box 5100, San Germán, P.R. 00753.

NCCLA Fall Meeting. The North Central Council of Latin Americanists will hold its annual fall meeting October 1-3, 1987, in Northfield, Minnesota. 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; David Schodt, Department of Economics, Carleton College, Northfield, MN 55057.

MALAS/ICLA Joint Conference. The Midwest Association for Latin American Studies and the Illinois Conference of Latin Americanists will meet November 6-7, 1987, at De Paul University in Chicago. The theme is "Latin American Transitions: Reflections on Critical Junctures." Contact: Susan Ramirez, Department of History, De Paul University, 804 West Belden, Chicago, IL 60614; (312) 341-8555.

RMCLAS Annual Meeting. The 36th annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies will be held February 4-6, 1988, in Ft. Collins, Colorado. Interested participants should contact Stephen P. Mumme, Department of Political Science, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, CO 80523; (303) 491-5156.

SECOLAS Annual Meeting. The Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies invites proposals for its

1988 meeting, to be held April 14-16 at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville. The theme is "Transportation and Communication in Latin America." Proposals for complete panels are encouraged. Deadline for submissions is December 1, 1987. Contact: James D. Henderson, Department of Government and International Studies, University of South Carolina-Coastal, P.O. Box 1954, Conway, S.C. 29526.

Demography of Inequality. A conference on "The Demography of Inequality in Contemporary Latin America," funded by the Social Science Research Council, will be held at the University of Florida, Gainesville, February 21-24, 1988. The conference will bring together 20 to 25 scholars concerned with research on social change, inequality, and population in Latin America and the Caribbean. The keynote address will be delivered by Prof. Paul Singer of CEBRAP in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Contact: Charles H. Wood, Center for Latin American Studies, Grinter Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

Aging, Demography and Well-Being. The Center for Gerontological Studies at the University of Florida, in conjunction with HelpAge International of London, the International Exchange Center on Gerontology in Tampa, and UF's Center for Latin American Studies, will hold an international conference focusing on issues of aging in Latin America and the Caribbean. The conference will take place in Gainesville, February 23-25, 1988. The central theme will be on self-help/self-care as an essential complement to the consumer/provider model in developing research and human service programs on aging in Latin America. Contact: Darrel Miller, Center for Gerontological Studies, 3357 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

XI Encuentro Caribeño. El Departamento de Lenguas y Literatura de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, el Comité Editorial de *A History of Literature in the Caribbean* de la Asociación Internacional de Literatura Comparada, y CISCLA (Centro de Investigaciones del Caribe y América Latina), Universidad Interamericana, San Germán, anuncian **XI Encuentro Caribeño: Unidad y Diversidad en el Caribe**, 3-5 de marzo de 1988. Se aceptará un número reducido de ponencias. Estas serán consideradas para su inclusión en *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*—una obra en varios volúmenes que se publicará bajo los auspicios de la Asociación Internacional de Literatura Comparada—, en la *Revista/Review Interamericana* o en los Documentos de Trabajo de CISCLA. Las propuestas de ponencias (150-200 palabras) deben enviarse antes del primero de agosto de 1987 a: (Literatura) Dr. A. J. Arnold, Editor-in-Chief, *A History of Literature in the Caribbean*, University of Virginia, 302 Caball Hall, Charlottesville, VA 22903; o (Historia y Sociología) Dr. Juan E. Hernández Cruz, Director, CISCLA, Apartado 5100, Universidad Interamericana, San Germán, Puerto Rico 00753. Se recomienda que haga sus arreglos de viaje con anticipación. Para información pertinente a la asistencia, favor de dirigirse a: Dr. Susan Homar, Directora,

Sección de Literatura Comparada, Apartado K, Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

U.S.-Brazilian Relations. The Florida-Brazil Institute is sponsoring a week of activities designated "Brazil in Florida," November 15-21, 1987. Of special interest is an international symposium on United States-Brazilian relations to be held November 19 and 20 at the downtown campus of Miami-Dade Community College. Three working sessions will be open to the public: Economic Issues and Commercial Relations; Political Development and Governmental Relations; and Cross-Cultural Perceptions. Other events will include a film festival, television programming, performances by Brazilian orchestras, and an art exhibit. The Institute's director in Rio de Janeiro is Prof. José Raymundo M. Romeo, former president of the Council of Brazilian University Rectors. For further information, contact one of the Florida cochairs: Terry McCoy, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, (904) 392-0375; Elizabeth Lowe, Miami-Dade Community College, Miami, (305) 347-2695.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Latin American History. The Department of History at the University of California, Riverside, will have a tenure-track position at the assistant professor level in colonial and/or nineteenth-century Latin American history beginning Fall 1988. Applicants must have the Ph.D. in hand by the time of appointment. Minority and women candidates are particularly encouraged to apply. Applications should be postmarked by November 14, 1987. Write to Professor Carlos E. Cortes, Chair, Search Committee, Department of History, UC Riverside, Riverside, CA 92521. An affirmative action/equal opportunity employer.

Rural Sociology. The Department of Rural Sociology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison is seeking a sociologist for a tenure-track position at the rank of assistant professor effective January 1988. Preference will be given to candidates with a strong and proven research record. Specialty areas of interest are international development, community analysis, natural resource sociology, rural population analysis, rural stratification and sociology of agriculture. The position requires teaching two courses per year in addition to research. This is an academic-year appointment at a competitive salary. The Department of Rural Sociology, which is part of the College of Agricultural and Life Sciences, and the Department of Sociology jointly administer graduate training at the doctoral and masters levels in all phases of sociology. The two departments have separate undergraduate programs. Interested persons should send a letter of application, curriculum vitae and samples of publications to Gene F. Summers, Search Committee Chair, Department of Rural Sociology, 350 Agriculture Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI

53706; applicants should also have three letters of recommendation sent directly to the Search Committee Chair. Application materials are due by 31 August 1987. The University of Wisconsin is an equal opportunity employer.

Medical Anthropology. Georgia State University anticipates a position at the assistant or associate professor level in the area of applied medical anthropology with an emphasis on biomedicine. Area specialty must include Latin America and Caribbean and/or the urban United States. Applicants must have a strong record in research and publication, activities which apply results to the solution of human health problems, and experience in teaching graduate students; they must be prepared to teach courses in ecology and epidemiology, nutrition, statistics, and population genetics. Interested applicants should send curriculum vitae and list of five references by January 15, 1988, to Carole E. Hill, Department of Anthropology, Georgia State University, University Plaza, Atlanta, GA 30303. An affirmative action/equal opportunity employer.

Applied Anthropology. Georgia State University anticipates a position at the assistant or associate professor level in applied anthropology. Area of specialty must include Latin America and the United States. Applicants must have a strong record in research and publication, activities which apply results to the solution of human problems, and experience in teaching graduate students. They must also have experience in working with public and private agencies in urban settings. A commitment to providing applied research opportunities and internships for students is essential. Interested applicants should send curriculum vitae and list of five references by January 15, 1988, to Carole E. Hill, Department of Anthropology, Georgia State University, University Plaza, Atlanta, GA 30303. An affirmative action/equal opportunity employer.

RESEARCH & STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

Fulbright Scholar Awards. Among awards made by the Council for International Exchange of Scholars are 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. 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. Application deadlines are September 15, 1987, for lecturing awards to Mexico, Venezuela and the Caribbean.

Under the Scholar-in-Residence Program, U.S. colleges and universities are invited to submit proposals for visiting scholars in the humanities and social sciences, or in scientific

or professional specializations with a strong international focus. Of particular interest for 1988-89 are proposals to bring scholars in American literature, history, or politics; professionals from the media or government; or specialists in constitutional law or politics. A Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence may teach regular courses from a foreign area perspective, serve as a resource person in interdisciplinary courses, assist in developing new courses, or participate in special seminars. The host institution is expected to share the visiting scholar's expertise with neighboring institutions, involve him/her in community activities and professional organizations, and provide opportunities for the visitor to pursue personal research interests. The program provides round-trip travel for the grantee and, for full-year awards, for one accompanying dependent, a monthly maintenance allowance, and incidental allowances. The host institution is expected to provide supplementary funding and in-kind support such as housing. The deadline for receipt of proposals is November 1, 1987. Detailed program guidelines and proposal forms are available from the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Eleven Dupont Circle N.W., Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20036-1257; (202) 939-5401.

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.

Tinker Field Research Grants. The competition for Tinker Field Research Grants is open to all accredited U.S. universities with recognized centers or institutes of Ibero-American or Latin American studies. The university must offer a Ph.D. degree with a concentration in Latin American or Ibero American studies, although not necessarily a Ph.D. in that field per se. This grants program enables exceptional graduate students and junior faculty with little or no previous field experience to conduct research in specific regions of Latin America and Iberia. U.S. researchers must use the awards for a project involving field research in Spain, Portugal, or the Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking countries of Latin America. There is no restriction against nationals of Latin American and Iberian countries at U.S. institutions utilizing the funds for research within their own countries. The Foundation awards \$15,000 per year and requires matching funds from the recipient institution of at least \$10,000 per year in real monies (not overhead, faculty time, administrative costs). Up to three new institutional awards may be granted annually. Each award is for one year, with the possibility of two one-year extensions if the Foundation has evidence that the program is meeting its objectives. Applications must be received by the Tinker Foundation before October 1, 1987; awards will be announced by January 1, 1988. For full guidelines or further information, contact: The Tinker Foundation, Inc., 55 East 59th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022; (212) 421-6858.

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.

Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program. Applications are available this summer for the 1988-89 Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program. Eligible Latin American countries are Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Panama. The deadline for applications is October 15, 1987. Contact: Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program, E/ASX, United States Information Agency, 301 Fourth Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20547; (202) 485-2555.

John Carter Brown Library Research Fellowships. The John Carter Brown Library, an independently managed research institution at Brown University, offers some 15 one-to-four month fellowships each year with a monthly stipend of \$800. These fellowships are open to Americans and foreign nationals engaged in pre or postdoctoral, or independent research on topics related to the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of North and South America before 1830. The library also offers NEH-sponsored long-term fellowships carrying a stipend of \$27,500 for one year or \$13,750 for six months. NEH fellowships are restricted to scholars engaged in postdoctoral research who are U.S. citizens or foreign nationals who have lived in the United States for three years immediately preceding the award. The deadline for applications is January 15, 1988; announcement of awards will be made in March. For further information and application forms, write to the Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, R.I. 02912.

Heinz Archaeological Field Research Grants. The H. John Heinz III Charitable Trust announces a 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.

Tinker Foundation Fellowships. The John Carter Brown Library will award two research and teaching fellowships for 1988-89 to scholars from Latin America: one from Brazil and one from any Latin American country. At least one of the fellows is chosen on the basis of his or her interest in the colonial period of Latin America. The ten-month fellowship includes a stipend of \$25,000 plus travel costs. Tinker Foundation Fellows are expected to teach one seminar in each semester of their fellowship year (one at Brown and one at the University of Connecticut) on some topic in Latin American studies; to give three public lectures; and to participate in a symposium. Teaching and lecturing are done in English. Scholars who have previously held a Tinker Foundation fellowship are not eligible. The deadline for receipt of completed applications is December 1, 1987; awards will be announced early in 1988. Application forms may be obtained from the Director, Tinker Fellows Program, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, R.I. 02912.

Fulbright Collaborative Research Grants. These grants are for collaborative research abroad by teams of two or three U.S. graduate students or recent postdoctoral researchers for academic year 1988-89. Applicants must be U.S. citizens at the time of application and must hold a BA degree or equivalent before the beginning date of the grant. Grants are available for all countries except most East European countries, the USSR and Indochina. The statement of proposed research submitted by team members may be identical, complementary, or present a different dimension of the team's research. Guidelines are available upon request. Deadline for receipt of completed applications from all team members is January 16, 1988. Contact: Theresa Granza, Institute of International Education, U.S. Student Programs Division, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 984-5329.

USIA and IIE Grants. The 1988-89 competition is open for U.S. Information Agency and Institute of International Education grants for graduate study or research abroad in academic fields and for professional training in the creative and performing arts. Application guidelines are available upon request. Deadline for receipt of completed applications is October 31, 1987. Contact: Walter Jackson, Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017; (212) 984-5327.

PUBLICATIONS

SALALM Publications. The Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials announces three recent publications: *A Guide to Spanish Correspondence for Acquisitions Librarians*, compiled by Terry C. Peet and Marta Stiefel Ayala, 127 p. (SALALM Bibliography and Reference Series 18), \$18 plus \$2 for postage and handling; *Cuban Exile Periodicals at the University of Miami Library: An Annotated Bibliography*, by Esperanza B. de Varona, 203 p., Indexes (SALALM Bibliography and Reference Series 19), \$20 plus \$2 for postage and handling; *Latin American Masses and Minorities: Their Images and Realities*, edited by Dan C. Hazen, 2 vols., 718 p. (Papers of the Thirtieth Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials, Princeton University, June 19-23, 1985), \$55 plus \$2.50 for postage and handling. These publications can be ordered from the SALALM Secretariat, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706. Prepayment is required. **Checks must be in U.S. currency and made payable to SALALM, Inc.**

National Endowment for the Humanities. The *NEH 21st Annual Report*, containing brief descriptions of Endowment programs and complete listings of all Endowment grants for fiscal year 1986 (October 1, 1985—September 31, 1986), is available free of charge while the supply lasts. Request from: NEH 1986 Annual Report, Room 409, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506.

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The LASA Endowment Fund was created with an initial grant from the Ford Foundation. Its purpose is to assure the financial stability of the Latin American Studies Association. Earnings generated by this fund will be used to support travel by Latin Americans to LASA International Congresses, to fund the activities of the LASA Task Forces, and to support LASA publications and other special projects that cannot be covered by regular income.

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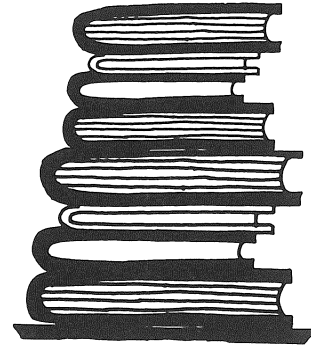
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Harve Horowitz, our advertising/exhibits representative, thanks all of you who have informed him in the past about books you wanted to promote at LASA congresses. Publishers often respond positively and display recent titles of members.

We are pleased that Mr. Horowitz will represent us again at our 1988 New Orleans meeting. Please let him know about your latest publications so your publishers can benefit from the marketing potential of our exhibits and program advertising. This is a valuable opportunity to bring titles of interest to the attention of your colleagues.

Please photocopy the form below and send it to Mr. Horowitz, or otherwise provide him with the following information. Thanks for your attention to this important matter.



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Please contact the following publisher(s) concerning recent titles I have authored that would be of interest to my colleagues and appropriate for display at the March 17-19, 1988, LASA congress in New Orleans:

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**LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
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You are cordially invited to join LASA in 1987. Members in all categories enjoy voice and vote in the conduct of the association. The three-year rate (for 1987, 1988 and 1989) avoids probable dues increases in 1988 and 1989.

<u>Membership Categories and Rates</u>	<u>One Year</u>	<u>Three Years</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Introductory (for new members only)	<input type="checkbox"/> \$21	(one year only)	\$ _____
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If you wish to receive the **LASA Forum** by air mail, please add the following amount per year for postage: Canada and Mexico, \$3; all other countries, \$13. \$ _____

We encourage you to make a contribution to the LASA Endowment Fund. \$ _____

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All members receive three issues of the **Latin American Research Review** and four issues of the **LASA Forum** per year. If you desire air mail delivery of **LARR**, please contact the LARR office at the Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131.

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We are pleased to announce the availability of the 1986-87 LASA Membership Directory, which can be purchased from the Secretariat for \$2.50 per copy. Inexpensively produced in 8-1/2 x 11" format, it contains an alphabetical list of members with their mailing addresses and a list by discipline, which includes office telephone numbers when provided by members. Please use the form below to request copies; be sure to include your check, payable in U.S. dollars to the Latin American Studies Association, for \$2.50 per copy ordered.

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