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POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF THE PROPOSED ALTAMIRA-XINGU HYDROELECTRIC COMPLEX IN BRAZIL

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In the very near future the Amazon may again be flooded with dollars. Perhaps as early as September of 1988, a proposed Power Sector II loan of \$250 million to the Brazilian "energy sector" (rather than to any specifically named project) may come up for a vote in a meeting of the World Bank's executive board.

The implications of this transfer should be carefully considered, especially in light of the World Bank's repeated expression of its concerns for the environment and the needs of rural and "tribal" peoples.¹ One of the major projects that may be funded by the Power Sector II loan is a hydroelectric project in the eastern Amazon basin, an area known for its pristine tropical rain forests and large number of diverse indigenous populations. The multipurpose Altamira-Xingú dam complex in the state of Pará will divert water from the Xingú River, a southern tributary of the Amazon, to create one of the world's largest reservoirs. It promises to dwarf any previous hydroelectric project in Brazil.

Potential Social Impacts

A series of as many as 47 potential dam sites are under examination, 24 on the Xingú and 23 on its tributary streams (Andrade and Oliveira, p.2). Just two of these dams are expected to flood between 4,735 and 7,365 square kilometers (km²) on the lower Xingú. If only five of the dams now under consideration are constructed, approximately 18,000 km² will be flooded (Andrade and Oliveira, p.9), forming the largest artificially created body of water yet known.

In addition to devastating thousands of acres of tropical woodlands, the dam complex and the associated reservoirs would cause the relocation of approximately 9,000 indigenous people (Gallagher, p.2). Two downriver inundations will directly displace eight groups: Paquicamba, Koatinemo, Yuruna (or Juruna), Arara, Kararão, Kikrín,

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RESEARCH SEMINAR IN NICARAGUA June 11-25, 1988

by
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and
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LASA sponsored its fourth annual research seminar in Nicaragua from June 11 through June 25, 1988. As in the past, the purpose of the seminar, which was open to all Spanish-speaking LASA members, was to provide the participating scholars with intensive exposure to the current situation in Nicaragua and with an introduction to universities, think tanks, research facilities, and colleagues there. The sixteen participants included twelve professors, two Ph.D. candidates, one religious educator, and one retired U.S. Army officer. The academic disciplines represented were anthropology, economics, history, political science, sociology, and Spanish language and literature.

The seminar was designed and coordinated by Thomas W. Walker (Political Science, Ohio University) and Harvey Williams (Sociology, The University of the Pacific). In Nicaragua, Walker and Williams were assisted by the Nicaraguan professional association, CONAPRO Héroes y Mártires. Although the group spent a number of days in other areas, its central base of operations was Managua. The participant fees of \$1160 (\$960 for students) covered all seminar costs including round-trip travel between Mexico City and Managua.

The itinerary reflected the general interests of the group, which this year included war and peace, mass organizations, agrarian reform, the role of women, indigenous minorities, democratization, and the economy. Specific interests of participants were also considered and individual activities arranged where possible. The two-week itinerary included the following activities:

Saturday, June 11. Arrival in Managua, dinner, and introduction.

Sunday, June 12. Morning trip to Boaco, the capital of Region V, one of the few areas in the country in which the contras have had a substantial civilian base. Accompany-

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Chernela

Arawetê, and Parakaná. Three other dams on the lower Xingú and two on the Irirí River will affect the Xipaia-Curuaia and several uncontacted indigenous groups inhabiting the region surrounding the upper Irirí. Subsequent dams programmed further upriver on the Xingú will inundate official reserve lands, legally recognized as belonging to four groups of Kaiapó (Kokraimoro, Aukre, Kuben-kra-kei and Kikretum) as well as many other Kaiapó groups situated inside the well-known Xingú National Park.² While the aforementioned nations will be directly affected—that is, displaced—by flooding, the number of indigenous groups affected by the project increases when related indirect impacts, such as access roads, electrical installations, and centers of operations are considered. Eleven additional populations are likely to be affected by the full complex (Andrade and Oliveira, p.15). In sum, it is not unreasonable to project that at least twenty-four distinct indigenous populations may be affected either directly or indirectly by the project.

The Xingú River valley has long remained remote from the wide-reaching communication networks of large urban centers and industry. It may be considered a refuge area for representative language groups of the major linguistic stocks in lowland South America. Speakers of all four major linguistic trunks are found there: Cariban, Gê, Arawakan and Tupian. Indeed, many of the groups inhabiting the region moved gradually upriver to distance themselves from European contact. The Yuruna, for example, have migrated over 1,000 miles upriver since the sixteenth century when their habitations on the Amazon River were noted by de Carvajal (Nimuendajú).

Resettlement

Forced resettlement of any kind carries an inestimable cost. A resettlement scheme that might be considered acceptable, or even successful, would be one in which disease and other deleterious consequences of relocation were mitigated. Under the best of conditions, a successful resettlement program would be one in which no human life is lost. The cases to be reviewed in Amazonia, however, will illustrate that this goal is difficult to achieve. Even if resettlement were to be successful in the sense of saving lives, any resettlement scheme will bring about cultural disintegration.

Culture is a body of cumulative knowledge, the construction of which is developed over millenia. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the case of the Kaiapó, one of the groups to be directly threatened by the dam complex. The richness of Kaiapó thought and expression has been documented by many researchers (among them Turner, Bamberger, Posey and Werner). Within the complex, integrated body of meanings that constitutes "culture" is a vast quantity of information regarding the local biological and physical environment. This information includes not only means to utilize it but also, as Posey (1982) convincingly

argues, the measures necessary to sustain it. Western scientists have only begun to penetrate the vast amount of valuable environmental information contained in the traditional belief systems as well as the cumulative observations of tribal peoples who have persisted in a single habitat over generations. The death of traditional culture will end access to information crucial to our understanding of the tropical rain forest and its uses.

The Impact of Two Recent Projects

Elsewhere in Amazonia, where similar though smaller-scale projects were undertaken, the consequences for indigenous peoples were disastrous. Let us review two of these cases.

The hydroelectric project at Balbina³ is situated in pristine tropical rain forest in the state of Amazonas, some 145 kilometers from the city of Manaus. A reservoir of 2,346 km² was created for the generation of 240 megawatts (mw) of electricity intended for Manaus. The Balbina project inundated about 311 km² of indigenous area (excluding the areas reached by the dam), including the lands of the Waimiri-Atroari peoples. Although this group had suffered a series of massacres and epidemics since the late nineteenth century, in 1975 there were some 1,000 persons living on lands legally decreed them by the government in 1971. The area belonging to the Waimiri-Atroari was reduced by one-third in 1981, to allow for the entrance of mining interests and the Balbina hydroelectric project. Although the Balbina project forced the resettlement of the population, by April 1987 no resettlement plan was yet underway. Today fewer than 400 Waimiri-Atroari survive (Schwartzman, p.2).

The hydroelectric project at Tucuruí on the Tocantins affluent of the Amazon in the state of Pará, flooded some 2,430 km² to produce 3,960 mw of electricity (Biswas, p.33). In this case, nearly 60 to 70 percent of the indigenous territory was invaded by roads, tractors, transmission towers, and clearings for operations (Andrade and Oliveira). The new city of Tucuruí was constructed across the river from one indigenous group, the Gavião. When transmission towers were constructed alongside them, the Gavião abandoned their territory.⁴

Thirty-six percent of the lands flooded by the reservoir at Tucuruí belonged to the Parakaná nation. Two groups, the Paranati and Marudjewara, found their territories inundated. According to Paiakã Kaiapó, many Parakaná were not advised of the need to resettle (address to the World Bank in January 1988). He reports from their own account to him: "Fleeing from the rising waters, some found themselves on the lands of large landholders, where they were shot as trespassers; others fled to the road where they were arrested by the police." Eventually resettled onto lands they did not know and on which they had no prepared cultivated areas, they were confronted by hostile whites challenging their entitlement. This was not the first forced relocation of the Parakaná; they had been forcibly relocated five times in the six years between 1971 and 1977 (CEDI).

Now, a remaining group of Parakaná (located at Bom Jardim) will be threatened by the Altamira-Xingú complex.

In "The Environmental Assessment of the Tucuruí Hydroproject," Goodland seriously addresses the problem of introduced diseases that result from impounding water. The report describes vector habitats and, wherever possible, suggests measures for monitoring and biological control. In the case of malaria, for example, the report recommends several biological steps, among them the introduction of fish that feed on mosquito larvae.

Other diseases discussed as potential hazards of reservoir formation are schistosomiasis, a deadly disease for which there is no cure, transmitted by a snail vector that inhabits still or slow-moving waters; leishmaniasis, an infection of the cutaneous tissues (with symptoms similar to leprosy) transmitted by a sandfly vector known to inhabit newly cleared forest edges; and onchocerciasis, or river blindness, whose vector is the blackfly *simulid(e)*, with breeding patterns closely linked to conditions of water turbidity. Two of the four diseases, schistosomiasis and onchocerciasis, had not existed in the area before the onset of the project. While I find no recent health reports to indicate the current status of these diseases, the report makes quite clear the strong possibilities of water-borne diseases introduced by reservoirs and the resulting decline in health standards of the populations adjacent to any of the associated dam operations.

Potential Environmental Impacts: The Xingú River

The above examples indicate some of the probable social consequences of a project such as the Altamira-Xingú, consequences that could result from the habitat changes accompanying water impoundment, deforestation, and other major alterations in the local habitat. Our discussion has been focused on the potential impacts to the indigenous inhabitants of the region. Although the two are not in fact separable, we now turn to the bio-physical impacts of the damming proposal. When impacts on the watershed itself are also taken into account, it will be clear that the project has wide-reaching potential for destruction. In addition to the numerous and diverse indigenous nations threatened by the project, an important environmental zone, rich in economic resources, is also seriously endangered by the prospective Altamira-Xingú hydroelectric complex.

The Xingú River, approximately 1500 miles long, is one of the few productive clear-water rivers in the Amazon system. Amazonian river types are categorized by ecologists into black, white and clear waters, with each name referring to a specific set of hydrochemical features.⁵ Each river type is subject to factors that limit primary production; this, in turn, affects the total biomass productivity of the river. In white-water rivers, where the nutrient content is high due to rich suspended solids carried from the Andes, these same suspended particles obstruct the passage of sunlight and thus limit photosynthetic action. In black-water rivers (which are tea-like in appearance), light can penetrate to several meters;

but factors such as acidity, nutrient-deficiency, and lack of substantial oxygen limit in situ productivity.

Only the clear-water rivers, which have fewer limiting factors for productivity, permit the penetration of light to relatively deep levels, thus allowing photosynthesis in the absence of inhospitable limnochemical conditions that characterize black-water rivers. Many clear-water rivers, however, have low levels of nutrient content, a condition that generally prevents the development of extensive aquatic communities (Goulding, p.15). Several clear-water rivers do carry substantial nutrient loads and are highly productive of the phytoplankton on which higher aquatic organisms feed. Such rivers (called by some "green-water rivers") are highly productive in flora and fauna but are relatively scarce in the Amazon system. The Xingú River is one of the few clear-water rivers rich in aquatic wildlife.

Several scientists have remarked about the unusual abundance of fish in the Xingú River. Kalervo Oberg, whose work also took him to the highly productive rivers of north-western North America, describes the fishery harvests of the upper Xingú this way:

The Kuluene [a tributary stream of the Xingú] and Upper Xingú proper are plentifully stocked with many varieties of fish. In one catch of some 80 fish, 20 species were counted. In my experience these waters were the richest ever seen. Fishing in the main streams with hook and line for one minute was usually sufficient to catch a fish or to lose the bait from the hook. (Oberg, p.25)

In researching the migratory patterns of Amazonian fishes, Goulding observed that numerous species hatch on the main river or near the mouths of tributaries, migrate upriver as juveniles, and descend the same streams as adults. A complex of dams on this valuable river system would bring about the irrevocable loss of many species whose life cycles require migrating through the blocked areas. Furthermore, the changed water conditions will result in a loss of all the fish species that inhabit or in other ways are dependent upon rapidly flowing waters. Unless fish ladders are provided, the amount of valuable wildlife potentially lost by such a system of dams and associated reservoirs will be devastating. Since fishing is the principal protein food of the Xinguan Indians (Oberg, p.25), we can expect indigenous groups located upstream from the dam complex to experience a dramatic decline in their main source of sustenance.

Certain technical considerations that have not been discussed deserve at least brief mention, for they carry implications for the future of the watershed and the advisability of the project. Deforestation and changes in hydrological patterns are likely to produce soil erosion, siltation, and unforeseen flooding. Sediment deposition resulting from soil erosion may in turn jeopardize the turbine blades, affecting the turbidity of the water, the conditions for a healthy fish population, and the life of the generating facility. Nutrient inflows from sediment may cause eutrophication (decreased

oxygen content) and aquatic weed problems. The sediment caused by erosion may eventually displace the water in the reservoir, pollute the drinking water, and ultimately decrease the storage capacity and utility of the operation. Scenarios such as these have occurred in many parts of the world and have been carefully documented (see, for example, Dixon).

Project Costs

The financing of electric power projects was one of the first types of lending from the World Bank to Latin American nations. The very first request ever made to the World Bank for substantial funds to be used in a developing country came from Brazil in 1947, when a loan was sought to expand Brazil's electrical power capacity (Payer, p.103). Since its first loan to Brazil's electrical power complex in 1949 (then owned by a private Canadian corporation), the World Bank has invested \$3.1 billion to this sector (Foster). The combined result of government priorities and bank preference, electrical power continues to account for a major portion of World Bank lending. In the case of Brazil, "According to a well-established government programme, hydroelectric production will increase at an average rate of 11.3 percent until 1995" (Biswas, p. 33).

The Altamira-Xingú dam complex, estimated to cost a total of \$10.6 billion, is expected to generate at least 17,000 mw of electricity⁶ for hypothetical "boomtowns," for mineral exploitation and processing, and for population centers or industries located hundreds or indeed thousands of miles from the site. Since Brazilian electricity is largely subsidized by the government, the costs of energy-expensive mineral processing, such as the smelting of aluminum, will be eventually transferred to the taxpayer. The estimated cost of the project is approximately 10 percent of Brazil's current indebtedness. The burden of the increased debt, together with other costs (such as subsidies to large transnational corporations) will be born by Brazilian taxpayers and by the peoples displaced and otherwise affected by the construction of the project.

Accountability

Multilateral lending agencies such as the World Bank would be remiss in financing any area or sector in which its financial assistance could result in such widespread social and natural devastation. Such consequences contradict the Bank's own guidelines. In its public statement on indigenous peoples and bank policy, "Tribal Peoples and Economic Development," the World Bank states its intention not to undertake projects in areas inhabited by indigenous peoples "unless the tribal society is in agreement with the project." The same publication, a document which must be taken as policy, assures the self-determination of tribal peoples, guarantee of their land rights, and respect and maintenance of their ethnic identity and cultural autonomy.

Two more recent statements by the World Bank reiterate its strong official stance with regard to the social

and environmental impacts of projects in which their funds are utilized. The Bank Development Committee's report, released in April 1987 and entitled "Environmental Growth and Development," and President Conable's speech to the World Resources Institute on May 5, 1987, both address the World Bank's concern for the environment.

Whether sector loans are subject to the Bank's accountability for any single project within the sector is an issue of controversy. This is of specific importance to the Altamira-Xingú complex, since it falls within a loan to Brazil that is targeted for the electrical power sector rather than for a specifically-defined project. Yet despite statements that the Bank's environmental advisors do not scrutinize sector loans in the same way as individual projects, Dr. Jane Pratt, World Bank Chief of Environmental Operations and Strategy, informed the New England Environmental Conference (March 27, 1988) that "The Bank has both the capacity and the authority to review environmental impact of individual projects within sector loans."

Groups such as the Environmental Defense Fund and the National Wildlife Federation have called into question the economic rationale of these projects (see, for example, Rich). Pressure from these groups previously resulted in the World Bank's U.S. Executive Director voting against allocation of a \$500 million loan to Brazil's first Power Sector.

When Sector Loan I to the Brazilian Electric Power Sector was voted on in June 1986, Hugh W. Foster, the U.S. Alternate Executive Director to the Board of Executive Directors, explained his opposition in these terms:

We have serious concerns about the potential environmental impact of several of the projects to be financed by this loan . . . [including] the total absence of any possibility that the resettlement will take place without extensive human suffering and bitter recriminations There has been virtually no planning to address the needs of the Amerindian population or the need for protection of the environment in the immediate area of the dam. Furthermore, the dam will flood a portion of an Indian reserve which previous Bank financing helped establish. This is pure folly.

Sector Loan II, to the same sector, possesses many of these same flaws.

Brazilian national policy is also restricted by guidelines set by its environmental agencies. Such policy, as established by the National Council on the Environment (CONAMA res. 001/86, via Brazilian federal Law Number 6,938 of 8/31/1981), states that any activity that would "modify the environment" requires their approval. For such an evaluation, a report on environmental impact (Relatório de Impacto Ambiental or RIMA), based upon field study, is required. There is no evidence that environmental impacts of the Altamira-Xingú project have been studied, or that alternatives to the project have been considered. In the case of Tucuruí, the impact assessment studies were carried out

in less than one month (Andrade and Oliveira). Moreover, it is imperative that such studies be conducted by expert and independent monitoring teams to ensure that the impact studies do not merely serve the interests of the project's designers.

Postimpact studies, where carried out, have shown population decimation due to disease and improper relocation schemes, severe physical and psychological stress, increased impoverishment, as well as massive ecological destruction, including the extinction of many endemic or endangered species. There are numerous precedents to suggest that were this project to be carried out, an entire watershed could be destroyed, and its peoples made to bear the immense, yet hidden, costs of a project of which they are not the beneficiaries.

NOTES

Along with Darrell Posey, Barbara Bramble and Bruce Rich, Janet M. Chernela accompanied Kaiapó leaders Paiakã and Kubei-I on their fact-finding mission to the World Bank in February 1988.

1. Both Brazilian law and World Bank policy statements combine environmental impact into two components: "socioeconomic" and "natural." The Brazilian National Council on the Environment defines environment as including physical and biological characteristics as well as socioeconomic.

2. The Xingú National Park was guaranteed as indigenous territory to numerous groups who were relocated there. A substantial portion of the park has already been lost to make way for the construction of highway B.R. 080 in 1971.

3. The World Bank was involved in the Balbina Project in its last stages; it was called in to resolve initial faulty planning.

4. After seven years of struggle, they were recently indemnized by the government (Andrade and Oliveira).

5. The two major contributing affluents of the Amazon, the Solimões and the Rio Negro, are respectively white- and black-water rivers. In addition to the Xingú River, the Tapajós, Tocantins, and the right-bank tributaries of the Madeira River are clear-water rivers.

6. Generating an expected 17,000 mw, the Altamira-Xingú complex would produce nearly 30 percent more energy than that produced by Itaipú, on the Paraná River. Itaipú, however, is underutilized. Expanding the energy output of Itaipú is one of the economically sound alternatives to the more massive, costly, and environmentally destructive Altamira-Xingú complex.

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Nicaragua

ing the group were Luis Serra, a professor at the Jesuit Universidad Centroamericana (UCA) and a popular educator and researcher for the National Union of Cattlemen and Ranchers (UNAG), and Marta Juárez of the Women's Section of the Rural Workers Association (ATC). Afternoon visits to two war relocation camps (*asentamientos*): the Santa Rosa State Farm (UPE) where we talked with Jesús Velasco of the ATC, and the José Dolores Cantillano Sandinista Agrarian Cooperative (CAS) at Vaguas where we talked with José Cornelio Amador, the coordinator of the CAS.

Monday, June 13. Meeting with National Assembly Deputy (FSLN) Ray Hooker; topic: "The Autonomy Process and the Atlantic Coast." Late morning visits to a supermarket (Plaza España) and a public market (Roberto Hüembes). Lunch with Argentine academician Eduardo Baumeister, a research associate at the UCA; topic: "Agrarian Reform and the War." A welcome gathering with colleagues from ANICS, The Nicaraguan Association of Social Scientists (Marvin Ortega, Bayardo Salmerón, and Eva Margarita Sánchez) and the Nicaraguan professional association, CONAPRO Héroes Y Mártires (Freddy Cruz, president). Late afternoon meeting with researchers at IHCA, The Central American Historical Institute (Judy Butler, Keith Johnson, and Donna Vukelich). Dinner with Laura Enriquez, U.S. sociologist working with PAN, The National Food Program; topic: "Food and Rural Agriculture."

Tuesday, June 14. Meeting with Néstor Leiva, the general coordinator of Red Cross affiliates in Nicaragua; subject: "The Role of the Red Cross in Revolutionary Nicaragua." Interview with Joel Zamora, Coordinator of CIDCA, Center for Investigation and Documentation of the Atlantic Coast. Lunch with members of the Managua Lions Club Silvio Alvarado (Abbott Co.), Noel Parrales (Ahters Co.), and Larry White (Restaurante "La Botija"). Visit to INIES, The Institute for Economic and Social Investigation and meeting with its Subdirector, Jaime Bismark, and International Relations Director, María Aminta Díaz. Visit to a new independent research institute, Itztani. Interviews with Cirilio Ortero (subdirector), Robinson Salazar (head of research on parties, democracy and grassroots participation), and Orlando Morález (head of research on agricultural matters). Dinner with Alejandro Bendaña, General Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Relations; topic: "The Peace Process." Also in attendance as invited guests were his wife Mary and Francisco Campbell, Nicaraguan Ambassador to Zimbabwe.

Wednesday, June 15. Meeting with Father Alvaro Argüello, Vice Rector of the Central American University and former member of the Council of State; topic: "Higher Education and the Role of UCA." Visit to the Instituto de la Mujer and an interview with its Director of Research,

Paola Pérez. Lunch with Carlos Vilas, Argentine social scientist and author of *The Sandinista Revolution: National Liberation and Social Transformation in Central America* (1986), the Spanish version of which won the 1984 Casa de las Américas Prize. Visit to the headquarters of the opposition Independent Liberal Party and interview with its President and National Assembly Deputy, Virgilio Godoy. Late afternoon visit to the bookstore of the Centro Ecueménico Antonio Valdivieso.

Thursday, June 16. Beginning of a four-day excursion through the north. Visit to the Luis Hernández Aguilar tractor repair state school at Chaguitillo and interviews there with Fred Royce (its founder and currently the CARE program coordinator) and Director César González. Noon and afternoon in Matagalpa with free time to sightsee and talk with townfolk.

Friday, June 17. Visit to the Genaro Aguilar coffee-growing state farm (UPE) at Tepeyác. There we saw new housing, visited a rural day-care center (SIR), and talked with Juan Antonio Cruz Hernández, a member of the ATC. Late morning visit to MACRU (Movement for the Animation of Rural Cultures) at la Praga; interviews there with Brian and Patti Erickson of the Bamboo Project. Lunch in Matagalpa with two international volunteers, Lali Salinas (Ecuador) and Juan Burgneijer (Holland). Travel to Estelí and late afternoon visit to the "la Chácara" prison. At the latter institution, which houses common criminals, counter-revolutionaries, and government personnel who commit abuses, the group interviewed a variety of prisoners as well as Lieutenant Rafael Moncada, Chief of Penal Control. Evening lecture on "Grassroots Organizations" by Gary Ruchwarger, the author of *People in Power: Forging a Grassroots Democracy in Nicaragua* (1987).

Saturday, June 18. The group divided into three subgroups. One went with Florinda Alarníz of AMNLAE (the Sandinista Woman's Association) to Mirafior, a heavily war-impacted potato-growing region an hour's drive north of Estelí and talked with members of the *asentamiento* at Puertas Azules. A second group attended a meeting of the Plenary Council of the Oscar Turcios Chavarria State Farm (UPE) in Estelí. The third group visited the SOS Children's Village (orphanage), talked with its director and founder, Luisa Zinnhuber, and then visited the nearby mixed-crop Gámez/Garmendia CAS. That evening the group as a whole visited a "Casa Sandinista" for an ad hoc discussion with Sandinista Defense Committee (CDS) activists, coordinators, and a zonal official in Barrio El Rosario; topic: "Problems of the CDSs."

Sunday, June 19. Visit to the Pedro Altamirano Subregional Hospital in La Trinidad. Introduction and guided tour by Sara Laguna Benavides, secretary general of the local health worker's union, and Dr. René Mueller,

subdirector of the hospital. Sightseeing visit to the volcanic sulphur vents at San Jacinto on the road to León. Short visit to León where members of the group dispersed to visit sites such as the cathedral where poet Rubén Darío is buried and the 16th century church in the Indian neighborhood at Subtiava, where Father Bartolomé de las Casas preached. Late afternoon swim in the pacific at El Veleró, a workers' vacation area run by INSSBI, the National Institute of Social Security and Welfare.

Monday, June 20. Visit to INSSBI and a briefing by Vice-Minister Ricardo Chavarría on "The Social and Economic Impact of the War." Visit to the National Assembly and a presentation by Milú Vargas, Head of Legal Advisors, on "The Legal Institutionalization of the Revolution." Lunch with Edgard Parrales, general director of national and international relations of the National Assembly; topic: "The Peace Process: From Contadora to the Present." Afternoon interview with Mirna Santiago and Sister Mary Hartman of the Nicaraguan Commission for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights. Dinner with Mayra Pasos, Vice-Minister of External Cooperation in charge of the socialist countries; topic: "The Economic Crisis and Foreign Assistance."

Tuesday, June 21. The group attended a "De Cara al Pueblo" (Face the People) held for representatives of sister city and other international groups. Answering questions were President Daniel Ortega, Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, and Cte. Mónica Baltodano. Lunch with Marvin Happel, principal of the American high school in Managua; topic: "Running a U.S.-Sponsored High School in Revolutionary Nicaragua." Afternoon briefing at the U.S. Embassy with Louis Falino, Public Affairs Officer and Director of U.S.I.S.; John Hope, Economic Consul; and David Nolan, Political Officer and author of *FSLN: The Ideology of the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan Revolution* (1984). Dinner with Deborah Berry of the Regional Coordination for Social and Economic Research (CRIES); topic: "The Peace Process in Regional Perspective."

Wednesday, June 22. Visit by part of the group to a large Catholic high school, Colegio el Divino Pastor. After sitting in on part of a religion class, the group interviewed Sister Gloria Serna, director of secondary education, Sister Sara Osorio, and Vilma Salinas, head of natural sciences. Late morning visit to the Mercado Hüembes and the Museum of the Revolution. Lunch with Silvia Amelia Carasco of AMNLAE; topic: "The Women's Movement and the History of AMPRONAC/AMNLAE." Visit to the opposition daily, *La Prensa*. Interview with editor and PLI National Assemblyman, Joaquín Mejía. Late afternoon visit to the Galería Josephine to see a display of Nicaraguan art. Evening performance of reggae music by a creole group, the "Soul Vibrations" and Greg Landau of "El Grupo Mancotal" at the headquarters of the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC).

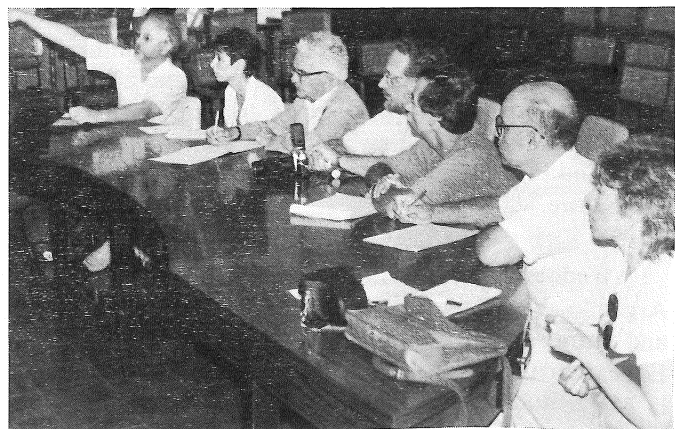
Thursday, June 23. Visit to the children's park and some of the buildings which survived the 1972 earthquake in the center of Old Managua. There the group witnessed a parade of children gathering at the tomb of Carlos Fonseca Amador to celebrate the 52nd anniversary of Fonseca's birth. Late morning visit to COSEP, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise where the group interviewed Jaime Bengochea (president of the Chamber of Industry and vice-president of COSEP) and Nicolás Bolaños (director of UPANIC, Union of Agricultural Producers of Nicaragua, and a member of the directorate of the right opposition, Conservative Party of Nicaragua). Late afternoon interview with the new national coordinator of the CDSs, Guerrilla Commander Omar Cabezas. The author of *Fire From the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista* (1985), Cabezas discussed both the reasons for the decline of the CDSs and his plans for their reformation and revival.

Friday, June 24. Trip through the Carazo highlands to Masaya. Stops in Niquinhomo (birthplace of Sandino) and San Juan de Oriente (where the Auxiliary Bishop of Managua Bosco Vivas was officiating at a saints day celebration). Shopping and lunch in Masaya. That evening, some group members marched part of the "Repliegue," an all-night march commemorating the strategic retreat staged by thousands of Sandinistas from Managua to Masaya in late June 1979.

Saturday, June 25. Departure from Managua.

This year we were again successful in obtaining group interviews with almost all of the individuals with whom interviews were requested. These included a variety of government officials as well as a wide spectrum of opposition spokespersons.

Given the overall success of the first four seminars, it is likely that LASA will sponsor a fifth trip in June or August of 1989. As in the past, it will be open to all LASA members, regardless of political point of view. For further information write or call: Thomas W. Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701 (614-593-4376 or 4373) or Harvey Williams, Sociology, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211 (209-946-2101).



LASA BOOK AWARD ESTABLISHED

On behalf of the Executive Council of LASA, the Association is pleased to call for nominees for the first Bryce Wood Book Award, described below. Susan Eckstein and the Council worked for two years to devise a formula that would give both feasibility and integrity to an award in the far-reaching field of Latin American studies. The most vexing problem was how to limit the potentially enormous pool without excluding books written by Latin Americans.

To truly reflect the international community of scholars in Latin American studies, we wanted to include, as would Bryce Wood, books published in Spanish and Portuguese. It seemed nearly impossible, however, to acquire a representative and manageable sample of publications from so many countries. On practical grounds, the Executive Council regretfully decided to limit the award initially to books published in English. At least some works by Latin Americans appear in that language.

The Executive Council is still considering ways in which a separate award might be established for books in other languages. LASA officers will appreciate any suggestions for broadening the scope of these awards. Meanwhile, the existing award will cover a vast intellectual territory and should bring great distinction to the winner.

Paul W. Drake
President

THE BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association will present the Bryce Wood Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English in the United States. Eligible books will be those published in an eighteen-month period prior to the Congress. Although no book may compete more than once, translations may be considered. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors, or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies.

Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Whoever does the nominating is responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. For the September 1989 XV International Congress of LASA in San Juan, Puerto Rico, books will be eligible published from July 1, 1987, to December 31, 1988. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by February 1, 1989.

The interdisciplinary Award Committee will consist of three members of LASA. They will be appointed every eighteen months by the President, in consultation with the Executive Council. LASA members may suggest appointees to the President. No one may serve on the committee with a book under consideration.

One month before the International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The author or authors of the winning book will have their expenses paid by LASA to attend the Congress, where the award will be presented at the Business Meeting. Ideally the winner should be a member of LASA, but that is not a requirement to receive the award. The only criterion is scholarly excellence.

The members of the Bryce Wood Book Award Committee for 1989 are John D. Wirth, Chair (Department of History, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305); Francine Masiello (Department of Spanish and Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720); and Karen L. Remmer (Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131).

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NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 1989 SLATE

LASA members are invited to suggest potential nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning November 1, 1989.

Criteria for nomination include professional credentials, character, and credible previous service to LASA. Candidates must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to nomination. Biographic data and the rationale for nomination must accompany suggested names and be sent by November 15, 1988, to: James M. Malloy, Chair, LASA Nominations Committee, Department of Political Science, 4L27 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until April 30, 1991, as President from May 1, 1991, until October 31, 1992, and as Past President for an additional eighteen months. The winning candidates for members of the Executive Council will serve a three-year term from November 1, 1989, until October 31, 1992.

The members of the Nominations Committee are James M. Malloy, chair; María Patricia Fernández-Kelly, Johns Hopkins University; Elizabeth Garrels, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Peter Knight, Washington, D.C.; Steve Stern, University of Wisconsin; Marta Tienda, University of Chicago; and Julio Samuel Valenzuela, University of Notre Dame.

RESOLUTIONS RATIFIED

The seven resolutions passed during the March 18, 1988, business meeting in New Orleans [see Spring 1988 *Forum*, pp. 12-15] were ratified by mail ballot of the full LASA membership, as follows:

- I. RESOLUTION ON HAITI
Affirmative: 455; Negative: 27; Abstain: 20
- II. RESOLUTION ON AMNESTY FOR U.S. IMMIGRANTS
Affirmative: 442; Negative: 43; Abstain: 23
- III. RESOLUTION ON COLOMBIA
Affirmative: 492; Negative: 11; Abstain: 10
- IV. THE LATIN AMERICAN DEBT
Affirmative: 436; Negative: 44; Abstain: 32
- V. RESOLUTION ON PARAGUAY
Affirmative: 480; Negative: 11; Abstain: 18
- VI. PACCA'S ALTERNATIVE U.S. POLICY FOR PEACE IN CENTRAL AMERICA
Affirmative: 431; Negative: 41; Abstain: 25
- VII. PACCA'S ALTERNATIVE POLICY TOWARD CUBA
Affirmative: 428; Negative: 39; Abstain: 31

CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD NOMINATIONS

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites LASA members to nominate candidates for the 1989 award, to be made at the XV International Congress in San Juan, September 21-23, 1989. Nominations should be sent to the LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, by September 15, 1988. Proposers should include biographic information and a rationale for each nominee.

The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made a distinguished lifetime contribution to the study of Latin America. Four scholars have received the award to date: John J. Johnson (1983), Federico Gil (1985), Albert O. Hirschman (1986), and Charles Wagley (1988).

The selection committee consists of Cole Blasier (chair), Past President; Wayne Cornelius and Helen Safa, immediately preceding past presidents; and Gilbert Merckx, Editor of the *Latin American Research Review*.

VISA DENIALS ON POLITICAL GROUNDS

The following article, reprinted from the *Washington Post* (May 11, 1988), reports developments opposing government efforts to deny U.S. visas to foreigners because of their political beliefs.

Mrs. Allende and Mr. Frank

After years of controversy and much litigation over the government's right to deny visas for reasons of national security, Congress last December set sensible, if temporary limits. The State Department authorization bill provides that no alien shall be denied a visa "because of any past, current or expected beliefs which, if engaged in by a United States citizen, would be protected under the Constitution of the United States." For the time being, at least, that means that no one will be excluded because of what he might say here or deported because of what he has written or advocated. The problem is that this provision of law will expire when a new authorization bill is passed, and without further action by Congress, the State Department might go back to the old practice of keeping out leftist political figures, radical playwrights and the like.

Two developments in recent weeks, however, encourage the hope that there will be no backsliding. On April 12, a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee reported out a bill sponsored by Rep. Barry Frank that sets a new and permanent national security standard for denying visas. The following day, a U.S. court of appeals in Boston interpreted the original McCarran-Walter Act in a way that would not allow the government to deny a visa (in this case to Hortensia Allende, widow of the Chilean president) because an applicant's mere entry into the United States would be detrimental to the public interest. There must be a reasonable belief that the applicant will engage in activity prejudicial to the public interest. Because of last year's amendment to the authorization bill, speech alone does not constitute prejudicial activity, so applicants such as Mrs. Allende cannot be denied visas.

If the opinion in the Allende case is sustained and if Rep. Frank's bill eventually becomes law, some of the worst vestiges of the McCarthy era will be relegated to history. There are still some unresolved issues in the legislation. Terrorists can be excluded, for example, but how should terrorism be defined? Should members of some organizations—the Palestine Liberation Organization, for example, or communist labor unions—be excluded on grounds of membership? We most emphatically believe not, but this will be debated. Finally, the State Department seeks an amendment that will allow exclusion where "entry could potentially cause serious foreign policy consequences." That puts a broad and vaguely defined power right back into the hands of the State Department and seriously undermines the intent of the bill's sponsors to make visas more widely available. If damaging amendments can be avoided, the Frank bill will be a victory for civil liberties and common sense.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

[Printed below is LASA's revised constitution and by-laws, as approved by the membership (609 for, 29 against) in March 1988.]

CONSTITUTION

Article I. Name and Status

1. The name of this organization shall be The Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

2. It shall be a nonprofit corporation that shall qualify and remain qualified as exempt from federal income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as the same may be from time to time amended.

3. LASA is an independent professional association and is not affiliated with any government.

Article II. Purposes

The purposes of the Association are: to foster the concerns of scholars interested in Latin American studies; encourage more effective training, teaching, and research in connection with such studies; and provide a forum for dealing with matters of common interest to the scholarly professions and to individuals concerned with Latin American studies.

Article III. Membership

Membership in the Association is open to anyone with a scholarly or other professional interest in Latin American studies. Only members in good standing shall be eligible to vote and to serve on the Executive Council, as officers of the Association, or as members of committees and task forces. Student members, who shall enjoy voice and vote in the conduct of the association, are defined to mean students who are pursuing a degree at a university or college. No one may hold student membership for more than five years.

Article IV. Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, Vice-President, and a Treasurer.

2. The President shall serve one term of eighteen months. Upon retirement as President, she/he shall remain on the Executive Council as a voting member of that body for an additional period of eighteen months.

3. The Vice-President shall serve in that capacity for a term of eighteen months, upon completion of which she/he

shall become the President. The membership of the Association shall elect a new Vice-President every eighteen months, by mail ballot, procedures for which are prescribed in the By-Laws. In the event that the Vice-President is unable to assume the office of President, nominations and election for the Presidency shall then be carried out as prescribed in the By-Laws for the Vice Presidency. If the Vice-President's inability to advance to the Presidency becomes known after the regular annual elections but before the time when the new President is to take office, the Executive Council shall call a special election for the Presidency, to be carried out as prescribed in the By-Laws for the Vice Presidency. In the event of absence, death, resignation, or incapacity of the President, her/his duties shall fall upon the Vice-President, who shall serve as President through the current and succeeding eighteen-month terms.

If neither the President nor the Vice-President is able to serve, the Executive Council shall elect one of its own members to serve as Acting President through the current eighteen-month term; nominations and elections for the Presidency for the succeeding eighteen-month term shall be carried out as prescribed in the By-Laws for the Vice Presidency.

4. The President shall serve as chairperson of the Executive Council and shall be responsible for preparing the annual budget for submission to the Council. The President, with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council members, shall appoint such committees as are specified in the By-Laws as well as any task forces deemed useful in pursuing the general objectives of the organization.

5. The Executive Council shall elect from its membership a Treasurer, who shall exercise that office during her/his term of membership on the Council.

6. The Executive Council shall appoint an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Council, under the terms and conditions specified in writing by the Council and accepted in writing by the Executive Director. She/he shall carry out the instructions and policies prescribed by the membership and/or the Executive Council, and shall supervise the work of the Secretariat. Once each year the Executive Director shall prepare the annual financial report of the Association for review by the Executive Council. The Executive Director will be responsible for the publication of the *LASA Forum*, the official LASA newsletter, on a regular basis, as determined by the Executive Council. The Executive Director shall also prepare annually a list of the members in good standing, which shall be open for inspection and may be published by direction of the Council. The Executive Director shall be a nonvoting member of the Executive Council.

7. The Ways and Means Committee assists and provides guidance to the President and Executive Director between meetings of the Executive Council. It is composed of the President, Vice-President, Past President, Treasurer, and Executive Director, the latter to have voice but no vote.

8. Any person made a party to any action, suit, or proceeding by reason of the fact that she/he is or was an officer of the Association or of any corporation in which she/he served as such at the request of the Association, shall be indemnified by the Association against the reasonable expenses incurred by her/him in connection with the defense of such action, suit, or proceeding, except in relation to matters as to which it shall be adjudged that such an officer is liable for negligence or misconduct in the performance of her/his duties.

Article V. Executive Council

1. The Executive Council shall administer the affairs of the Association, and for corporate purposes be considered as its Board of Directors.

a. The Executive Council shall consist of nine voting members: the Immediate Past President, President, Vice-President, and six elected members; and three ex-officio members with voice but not vote: the LASA Executive Director, the editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, and chair of the Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP) Steering Committee.

b. The terms of the elected members shall be for three years. Three shall be elected every eighteen months by mail ballot as prescribed in the By-Laws.

2. The Executive Council shall carry out the Association's purposes and promote its professional interests.

3. The Executive Council shall conduct and supervise the business of the Association, manage its properties, receive gifts, grants, donations, approve and implement annual budgets, and take all the necessary actions in the interest of the Association.

4. The Executive Council shall meet as frequently as the interests of the Association dictate, and at least once a year. The President is empowered to call meetings of the Executive Council, and is required to do so on the petition of four council members.

5. The Executive Council is authorized to call meetings of the membership.

Article VI. CLASP

The Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP) is the institutional affiliate of the Association. Nothing in the CLASP constitution may be contrary to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association.

Article VII. Annual Audit

There shall be an annual audit or financial review of the accounts of the Association, the results of which shall be reported to the membership.

Article VIII. Amendments

Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by two-thirds of the membership of the Executive Council, or by a petition of one hundred members in good standing. Ratification of such amendments shall require approval of a majority of those members who vote within ninety days following the distribution of ballots to all members, either through publication in the *Forum* or by mailing. The date by which ballots must be received will be printed on the ballot. The Executive Director is responsible for the distribution, counting, and reporting of results to the Executive Council and to the membership.

Article IX. Latin American Research Review

The official journal of LASA will be the *Latin American Research Review* (LARR). The appointment of the Editor shall be made by the Executive Council. This appointment and that of Associate and/or Assistant Editors and Editorial Board; selection of the publisher of LARR; policies regarding their tenure, dismissal, and replacement; conduct of the journal; the conditions of bidding; and the relations between the journal and LASA shall be governed by the *LASA-LARR Articles of Understanding*.

Article X. Ethics and Professional Conduct

It is incumbent upon all members to carry out their professional actions in ways that convey respect for the integrity of LASA as an organization, and the status and rights of all members as professional persons regardless of gender, age, sexual preference, nationality, ethnicity, race or belief.

BY-LAWS

Article I. Nominations

1. A Nominations Committee of no fewer than five persons nor more than seven, including a chairperson, shall be appointed by the Executive Council every eighteen months to select candidates for Vice President and Executive Council. One member of the current Executive Council shall be designated by the EC to serve on the Nominations Committee, but never as chair. The chair of the previous Nominations Committee may be a member, but not chair, of the new committee. The Committee will be selected at least six weeks prior to the formulation deadline for the ballot.

a. In constituting the Nominations Committee, the Executive Council shall endeavor to achieve diversity of region, discipline, gender, and by such other criteria as may be judged appropriate.

b. In considering candidates for membership on the Nominations Committee, the Executive Council should select persons with ample experience in their respective fields and who have broad knowledge of the personnel in their disciplines.

c. The Nominations Committee must put forth at least two candidates for each position opening to be elected.

d. The Nominations Committee will submit its choices of candidates to the Executive Council, accompanied by a brief report which summarizes the Committee's deliberations, including the names and numbers of candidates for each position, pertinent comments describing the reasons for the selections, and recommendations to the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall review the ballot of candidates suggested by the Nominations Committee prior to its submission to the electoral process to verify that candidate qualifications are in order and the By-Laws followed. The Executive Council may alter this ballot only by a two-thirds vote of all members of the Council with a right to vote.

e. The Executive Director will assist the Nominations Committee as needed in the provision of information, and the placing of any announcements in the *LASA Forum*, pertinent to the selection process.

2. The Nominations Committee in making its selections, and Executive Council in reviewing them, shall take into account the following attributes for candidates, adhering to these guidelines:

- a. Each nominee for office on the official ballot must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to her/his nomination;
- b. Disciplines: The Committee shall seek to assure that at least four different disciplines are represented on the Executive Council at all times;
- c. Geography: The Committee shall seek to assure representation on the Executive Council from the various regions in which members reside;
- d. Age and academic rank or its equivalent: The Committee shall seek to assure that younger members are represented on the Executive Council at all times;
- e. Gender: The Committee shall seek to assure that women be represented among the nominees for the Executive Council at all times.

3. Candidates for the Vice Presidency shall be nominated according to the following procedures:

- a. The Nominations committee shall nominate two candidates each election;
- b. Members of the Association may propose additional candidates by submitting petitions signed by at least one hundred members in good standing for each candidate;
- c. The Executive Director shall enter on an official ballot the names of the two candidates proposed by the Nominations Committee and the names of all candidates proposed by petition.

4. In the event that an incumbent *LASA* Vice-President assumes the office of *LASA* President, resigns, or is otherwise unable to continue as Vice-President, the Vice Presidency thus vacated shall be filled in the following manner:

a. If a regular *LASA* election has already been held, the Vice-President-elect shall immediately assume the office and duties of the Vice Presidency,
OR

b. If the regular *LASA* election referred to above has not yet been held, the Executive Council shall name from among its number one member to serve as Vice-President until such election is held.

5. Members of the Executive Council shall be nominated according to the following procedure:

- a. The Nominating Committee shall nominate six candidates for each election for three vacancies on the Executive Council for three-year terms;
- b. Members of the Association may propose additional candidates for the Executive Council by submitting a petition signed by at least twenty members in good standing for each such candidate;
- c. The Executive Director shall enter on an official ballot the names of the candidates proposed by the Nominations Committee together with the names of the candidates by petition.

6. In the event that a member of the Executive Council does not attend two consecutive Executive Council meetings, said member shall vacate the office and be replaced by an alternate. In the event of the death or resignation of a member of the Executive Council, two candidates will be nominated for each vacancy at the next regular election. Pending that election, however, the alternate member of the Executive Council who received the highest number of votes in the preceding election shall serve as a member of the Executive Council in place of the member who has died or resigned.

Article II. Elections

1. The Vice-President and the members of the Executive Council shall be elected by mail ballot sent every eighteen months by the Executive Director to all members in good standing. The Executive Director shall be responsible for counting ballots and submitting a report to the Executive Council. Election results will be published in the *LASA Forum*.

2. Of the candidates for the Executive Council on the ballot, the three receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the Council for the ensuing three years. The three receiving the next highest number of votes in that order shall be alternates for eighteen months to serve in the event of temporary inability of a regular member of the Executive Council.

Article III. Treasurer

The Treasurer is the officer principally concerned with financial oversight of the Association's affairs. The

Treasurer will review and report to the Executive Council on all annual and quarterly financial reports of the Association, making such recommendations as she/he sees fit. The Treasurer will cooperate with the President in proposing financial policies and plans.

Article IV. Removal of Officers and Council Members

Any elected officer or member of the Executive Council may be removed from office by a petition bearing the signatures of two-thirds of the members. In such an event the Council shall call a special election to fill the vacated post.

Article V. Committees and Task Forces

1. There shall be three standing committees: the Ways and Means Committee, the Membership Recruitment Committee, and the Nominating Committee. The Executive Council may, if it so decides, assume the functions of the Membership Recruitment Committee. The Executive Council is empowered to create other committees to be governed by a Memorandum of Understanding approved by the Executive Council.

2. The Executive Council may, by majority vote, create ad hoc task forces, specifying in each case the duration of the existence of such task forces if different from the normal term. The President of the Association shall appoint the chairperson and members of such groups, with the advice and consent of the Council. To the maximum extent feasible, committee and task force appointments shall be used to broaden membership participation in the Association.

3. The size and terms of office of all committees shall be determined by the Executive Council. Each standing committee shall ordinarily include a member of the Executive Council. The chairperson of each committee shall make such report on the work of her/his committee as may be requested by the Executive Council. The names of the members of each committee and their terms of office shall be made known to the membership of the Association at least annually.

4. No funds shall be solicited or accepted by any committee without the prior approval of the Executive Council.

5. All committees and task forces shall normally be appointed for the specific term of eighteen months, to coincide with the cycle of international congresses, and all task forces shall dissolve at the end of their term.

6. No committee or task force shall be allowed, without explicit Executive Council authorization, to create or ask to have created any subordinate bodies such as subcommittees or working groups.

Article VI. International Congress

1. At each International Congress there shall be a Business Meeting, during which only members in good

standing may vote. Such a vote shall be effective for any legislative purpose consistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Neither the Constitution nor the By-Laws can be amended at the meeting. Nonmembers may speak at the Business Meeting with the consent of a majority of members present, but not make motions or vote.

2. The agenda for the Business Meeting at the International Congress will be arranged by the President in consultation with the Executive Council and the Executive Director, and normally will include: (1) reports from the Standing and Ad Hoc Committees and Task Forces; (2) a summary of the current report of the Executive Director for the previous 18 months; (3) the Treasurer's report for the fiscal year; and (4) a concise statement by the new President on the "State of the Association" which outlines forthcoming plans and discusses issues of importance to members. Place will be reserved on the agenda for discussion of the items presented.

3. Any legislative action of the members taken at a National Meeting shall be submitted to a mail ballot of all members.

4. The proceedings of the National Meeting shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order, newly revised.

5. All votes in the Business Meeting shall require a quorum, which shall consist of ten percent of those members registered for the Congress.

6. On each occasion for voting, the presiding officer shall determine if a quorum is present and shall call for three categories of preference: yeas, nays, and abstentions.

7. Resolutions for consideration at the International Congress must be signed by at least five LASA members and received by the LASA Secretariat thirty days prior to the beginning of each Congress. All proposed resolutions shall be reviewed by a Subcommittee on Resolutions consisting of three members of the Executive Council, appointed by the President. This Subcommittee may seek advisory opinions from the relevant LASA task forces as well as individual scholars with appropriate expertise, and may recommend revisions. The Subcommittee shall report its findings to the full Executive Council and recommend action to be taken. Resolutions to be referred to the Business Meeting must be approved by a two-thirds majority vote of both the Subcommittee on Resolutions and the Executive Council. The vote on a resolution in its final form at the Business Meeting shall be by secret ballot. A resolution approved by the Business Meeting shall be submitted to the full membership for a mail ballot along with the tabulation of the secret ballot.

8. At business meetings, motions other than those dealing with procedural matters will be accepted only when they address unforeseen new events that preclude the use of normal resolution procedures. Such motions must be signed by five LASA members and presented in writing to the President of the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Business Meeting.

Article VII. Dues

The annual membership dues shall be set by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council. The Council may set differential rates of dues for special categories of members. When the Council sets a special rate for student members, whose status is certified by their principal faculty advisers, such special rate shall be applicable to a member for a maximum of five years.

Article VIII. Amendments

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed either by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council or by petition of fifty members. Ratification procedures shall be as follows:

1. Amendments proposed by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council must be published and distributed to the membership by the Executive Director;
2. Such amendments shall be considered ratified unless at least one hundred members object in writing to the Executive Director within ninety days of distribution of the proposals.
3. Any proposed amendments that have been so protested must be submitted to a mail ballot and shall be considered ratified if approved by a majority of the voting membership that responds within ninety days of the distribution of the ballot.
4. Amendments proposed by petition and subsequently endorsed by two-thirds of the Executive Council shall then be subject to the same ratification procedure as provided in sections 1-3 of this same Article.
5. Amendments proposed by petition but not endorsed by two-thirds of the Executive Council shall be submitted to a mail ballot of the members in good standing and shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those members whose vote is postmarked not later than ninety days after the postmarked distribution of the ballot.

**LASA VS. THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE
FINAL RESOLUTION**

The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR), which had filed a class action against the U.S. Customs Service on behalf of LASA and other plaintiffs with regard to the practice of seizing written materials carried by U.S. citizens returning from Nicaragua, [see *LASA Forum*, Fall 1986, pages 11-12 and Spring 1987, page 11] has reported that the two remaining issues were resolved favorably. The following article, which appeared in *Movement Support Network News* (Vol.4, No.1, Spring 1988, p.7), describes the court's decision.

**JUDGE BARS CUSTOMS FROM TURNING OVER
TRAVELERS' WRITTEN MATERIALS TO FBI**

On March 3, 1988, Judge Spencer Letts of the United States District Court for the Central District of California (Santa Ana) issued a permanent injunction against the U.S. Customs Service regarding their review, copying, and detention of travelers' written materials at the border.

The decision came in *Heidy v. U.S. Customs Service*, a class action filed by the center for Constitutional Rights and cooperating attorney Barrett Litt of Litt & Stormer, challenging Customs and FBI abuses against travelers returning from Nicaragua. The case was brought after CCR received a series of complaints from U.S. citizens who, coming through Customs upon their return from Nicaragua, had personal diaries, letters, address books, magazines, research notes, and other written materials seized by Customs agents and turned over to the FBI.

The suit succeeded in forcing Customs to issue two policy directives to all Customs agents informing them of the severe constitutional restrictions on their power to review, detain, or photocopy travelers' written materials. Under these directives, issued in June and August of 1986, Customs is permitted to detain materials only if they "are intended and likely to produce imminent lawless action," and must turn the materials over to a U.S. Attorney to seek a court ruling to that effect wherever they have probable cause to believe the materials fit this very narrow description. (No materials have ever been found to fit this description.) Customs may keep the materials only for the limited purpose of deciding whether to turn them over to a U.S. Attorney for court review, must make this decision or return the materials within fourteen days, and may make no copies or other use of the materials unless a probable cause determination is made by a Customs supervisor.

The March decision by Judge Letts reinforces those directives, and further enjoins Customs from turning over the materials for review to any agency that does not agree to be bound by the Customs policy restrictions. Under the Customs policy, Customs maintained that it could give the materials to the FBI, and the FBI maintained that it could do with the materials whatever it pleased, as long as they were of any "investigative" interest. Judge Letts' ruling in effect prohibits the FBI from seeing documents detained by Customs unless it changes its policy and agrees to be bound by Customs policy. This will preclude the FBI from using Customs seizures as an easy way to gather intelligence about U.S. citizens traveling to Nicaragua and other countries out of favor with the Reagan Administration.

David Cole, CCR staff attorney who handled the case, stated: "This is an important affirmation that U.S. citizens are free to travel and to return with written materials and information, without fearing the scrutiny of Customs and the FBI upon their return. Particularly given the FBI's demonstrated proclivity for monitoring opponents of the Reagan Administration's foreign policy, this is an important and necessary safeguard."

THE 1984 NICARAGUAN ELECTION OBSERVATION: A FINAL COMMENT

In recent months, much independent evidence corroborating the most significant findings of the LASA report on the Nicaraguan election has come to light, through the disclosures of Arturo Cruz, Oliver North, and other public figures who influenced the events analyzed in the LASA report. The investigative journalism of Roy Gutman, author of the article reproduced below and of a forthcoming book on the same subject, demonstrates the lengths to which U.S. officials went to limit the scope of participation in—and thereby discredit—the 1984 election in Nicaragua.

I have always regarded our delegation's attempt to dig into and shed light on the U.S. role in these events as the report's most important contribution to knowledge and public debate. Our critics almost uniformly have chosen to ignore or downplay this key element of the report, while focusing on its characterization of the domestic policies of the Sandinista government.

While we were forced to work under extreme time constraints, and obviously had no access to the key players in Washington, we sensed that something was terribly wrong in the U.S. "handling" of the potential opposition party candidates in this election, and we were able to turn up some fragmentary but compelling evidence that confirmed our suspicions.

Unfortunately, it proved impossible, in the immediate aftermath of the event, to provoke a sustained public or Congressional debate on the U.S. role in sabotaging the Nicaraguan electoral process. Oliver North, however, was taking note. In a letter to the editor published by *The Washington Post* in December 1984, he dismissed the LASA delegation's report as fiction.

Wayne A. Cornelius
Chair, LASA Delegation
to Observe the 1984
Nicaraguan Election;
Past President, LASA
June 13, 1988

The following article is reproduced, by permission of the author, from *The Nation*, May 7, 1988. Roy Gutman is national security correspondent for *Newsday*. This article was adapted from his recently published book, *Banana Diplomacy* (Simon & Schuster, 1988).

NICARAGUAN TURNING POINT HOW THE 1984 VOTE WAS SABOTAGED ROY GUTMAN

Nicaragua's elections of November 4, 1984, were a turning point not only in the post-Somoza history of Nicaragua but also in U.S. policy. Of the many missed opportunities to achieve at least some of the stated U.S. goals in

Nicaragua, perhaps none compared with this. Policy divisions in Washington all but assured an inconclusive contest.

"One of the biggest mistakes of all, maybe the biggest mistake, was the handling of the election," said a high-level U.S. diplomatic source. "The idea of the CIA and White House staff was to avoid participation in the elections. The debate was over whether to go halfway or not." The State Department's planning for the elections, meanwhile, had gone into high gear following Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega's announcement on February 21, 1984, of the voting date.

In late March of that year, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State L. Craig Johnstone met Arturo Cruz Sr., the former Nicaraguan Ambassador to Washington, to discuss the elections. Over lunch at Germaine's, a Vietnamese restaurant in upper Georgetown, Johnstone asked Cruz if he would be interested in running for the presidency. "We had to be sure there would be a candidate," Johnstone said. "He was the one leader we thought they might be able to allow into an electoral process."

However, while the State Department supported Cruz's candidacy in hopes it would foster a deal in which the *contras* would "go away," members of the hard right—William Casey and Jeane Kirkpatrick at the Cabinet level, Oliver North and Constantine Menges on the National Security Council staff—believed the use of force was the only way to bring about democracy in Nicaragua and that the Sandinistas also had to go away, either through overthrow or removal. They supported Cruz in the expectation that he would not participate in the elections, thereby discrediting the vote. They regarded a U.S. negotiated deal with the Sandinistas as a sell-out.

For the U.S. hard-liners, the actual political situation in Nicaragua was irrelevant. They argued by syllogism. Communists never allow fair elections; the Sandinistas are Communists; for the opposition to participate in elections would legitimize Communist rule.

Although the conservatives kept a low profile, they were able to exercise substantial influence over events. Even Cruz was receiving Central Intelligence Agency funds by this time. "The other guys were able to run it by their complete penetration of the opposition," said a senior diplomat. "None of these people is independent any more."

The hard-liners worked to convince the internal Nicaraguan opposition to insist on election rules so comprehensive the Sandinistas would never accept them. Johnstone viewed these demands as "killers." President Reagan, as usual, did not choose between competing strategies or impose discipline on his subordinates but allowed the different power centers to pursue policy according to their interpretation of the goals.

In addition to the obstacles in his path at home, Johnstone faced a number of challenges in Managua. A major hitch was the divisiveness of the internal opposition, a central feature of Nicaraguan political culture that predated Sandinista rule. In an effort to gain cohesion, in

1982 the opposition formed an umbrella group, the Coordinadora Democrática, which tried to forge unity through making decisions by consensus. The group consisted of four political parties, two trade unions and representatives of six business organizations. The Coordinadora generated rhetoric and wish lists, but its cumbersome decision-making method lent itself to the tyranny of the minority of conservative businessmen, and it proved incapable of crafting a workable election strategy.

By early July, the Coordinadora had yet to choose a candidate. Under prodding by a visiting West German parliamentary delegation, a sort of rump Coordinadora consisting of two political figures, representing each end of the spectrum, got together and made the decision. They were Enrique Bolaños, a wealthy cotton grower and head of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), and Azucena Ferrey, one of the more dynamic women in Nicaraguan politics, who headed the Social Christian Party. The selection process took place "in the darkness of a tunnel," Bolaños said. They wrote down five names: Arturo Cruz; Adolfo Calero; Ismael Reyes, head of the Nicaraguan Red Cross; Alfonso Robelo; and Eduardo Rivas Gasteazora, deputy leader of the Coordinadora. "I said, 'Number one is O.K. with COSEP,'" Bolaños recalled. "'Number two has his finger on the trigger, no good. Number four is the same as number two. Number five is very sick.' So numbers one and three were O.K. with us, in that order."

Ferrey flew to Washington and asked Cruz to run. It was July 11, and the Sandinistas had set a deadline of July 25 for the registration of candidates. Bolaños and Ferrey agreed that if Cruz was willing, he should be the candidate of the entire Coordinadora. He agreed.

Besides diverging from democratic practice, the procedure for choosing the Coordinadora candidate deprived the anointed candidate of a political base; by virtue of the timing, he had no way of creating one on returning to Nicaragua. Cruz was everyone's candidate and no one's candidate. Ferrey wanted him to run under any circumstance. Bolaños's view was close to that of conservatives in Washington—he could not foresee circumstances in which Cruz should run. Cruz's main constituency was in Washington, and Washington was split. Johnstone clearly hoped Cruz could find his way clear to register. White House officials said they supported the goal, but their sincerity was quickly called into question. Constantine Menges at the N.S.C. played a double game. According to Cruz, Menges encouraged him to enter the contest. Behind the scenes, Menges was busy drafting a rhetoric for Reagan that suggested the election would be a farce before Cruz had even tested the waters. In back-to-back speeches in mid-July, Reagan blasted Nicaragua as a "totalitarian jungle" and belittled the election as a "Soviet-style sham." The words had an immediate impact on the ground.

"Reagan's rhetoric produces the triumphalism of the hard-liners. It means you abandon strategy," said Bill Baez, a close associate of Cruz, who, as head of the leading

organization of Nicaraguan cooperatives, was one of the representatives of COSEP in the Coordinadora. Cruz concurred. "As long as the recalcitrant opposition has a reading of things that the United States eventually will invade Nicaragua and kick the Sandinistas out and say, 'Here, now, we will pick a king,' we will not be able to articulate our own policy and really address the issues we have to as Nicaraguans."

Even before setting foot on Nicaraguan soil, Cruz had reason to be ambivalent. With U.S. counsel divided, he was on his own. On the eve of his departure, Cruz gave a long interview to Fred Francis, an NBC television reporter, in which he assessed his chances. As the crew packed up, Cruz approached Francis. "You know I'm really not going to run. You know that." Francis threw out the interview.

Meanwhile, in Washington, the struggle had intensified between Johnstone on the one side and Menges, North and Casey on the other. Johnstone had been working with staff to prepare a new list of demands without the maximalist "killers," while his adversaries worked to avert a moderating impact. North's role by this time extended well into the policy process. At one Restricted Interagency Group meeting, Johnstone sought approval for a concept to test Sandinista promises for a pluralistic political system. North was trying to block it. "At least Constantine believes in democracy," Johnstone snapped. "You don't."

Johnstone won agreement in Washington on a modified set of conditions for participation in the elections, which Cruz essentially adopted as his own. They were: freedom of the press; freedom of assembly; access to voter registration lists and election returns; international observation of the elections; security of voting places; freedom to campaign on military bases; and postponement of the elections to allow at least ninety days of campaigning. The demand for a national dialogue between the Sandinistas and the *contras* was dropped.

But the scale-back of demands only galvanized opponents in Washington and Managua. Calero withdrew his commitment to back Cruz, and some U.S. officials urged the internal opposition to ignore the stated policy that Cruz should run if he obtained fair conditions. One such message came from the U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica, Curtin Winsor Jr., a conservative businessman who was a political appointee and an outspoken proponent of overthrowing the Sandinistas. (Winsor once compared their rule to "an infected piece of meat" that attracts "insects.")

Winsor had known Bill Baez through business contacts for many years. At breakfast in San José on August 29, Winsor told Baez he had received word that the White House did not want the opposition to participate. "I think you should be aware of the problems and situation," Baez quoted Winsor as having said. "There is a division in the government. Some people in the State Department are saying you should participate. I represent the views of the White House. My opinion is that it is not appropriate to go."

Johnstone learned of the Baez-Winsor conversation

from embassy reporting and flew to San José for a dinner with the Ambassador. "I don't know who you're getting your instructions from, but it is no known organ of government," he told Winsor. Once again, Menges was at work. He was certain that the Sandinistas would not hold a fair election and had said as much to Winsor. A further obstacle on the ground was CIA operatives in Central America. "I know the CIA was all against it. They were transmitting this loudly and clearly," said a source familiar with the thinking of Alfonso Robelo, the opposition leader who at the time was in San José. Cruz's son, Arturo Jr., who was frequently in the Costa Rican capital, concurred. "The State Department behaved in a very civilized way. But the sergeants of 'the Company' were behaving differently in the field. They were talking to their clients and saying 'Cruz is going to sell you out.'" And a Congressional source stated that Bolaños had at least two meetings with the CIA station chief in San José at about this time.

The CIA signals fortified the hard-liners in the Coordinadora in Managua, but also led to a profound misunderstanding. Those in Managua agreed with their counterparts in Washington on the intermediate goal of discrediting the elections but not on who should be the beneficiaries. The hard-liners in Managua hoped to destroy the legitimacy of the elections on the assumption that they themselves would profit. Those in Washington did it in hopes that the *contras* and the external military solution would benefit.

The crunch came in Rio de Janeiro on September 30, when Bayardo Arce, in charge of political affairs for the Sandinista Party, met with Cruz in the hotel suite of Carlos Andrés Pérez, a senior Socialist International official and former President of Venezuela.

These were the first real negotiations between the Sandinistas and the opposition since the election had been announced. It was the last best chance to resolve the Nicaragua dispute through political means. It was the decisive moment for U.S. policy. Johnstone said that, of all the efforts to reach a peaceful settlement, "that one came the closest."

The importance of the talks is undisputed. Exactly what went wrong in Rio is very much disputed. Nearly two years later, even Pérez, who chaired the talks, said he had not figured it out.

One reason is that both sides were engaged in gamesmanship. For Cruz, having registered so late in the election process, it was essential to gain a delay in the vote to avoid being accused by his associates of a sell-out. For the hard-liners in the Coordinadora, who wanted to discredit the process, it was essential to block Cruz from reaching a deal. The Sandinistas wanted to avoid a delay but also to avoid blame for the collapse of the mediation.

Pérez urged Arce to accept conditions within which Cruz could participate. He began with nine demands that the Coordinadora had presented to the Sandinistas, separating out statements that would be regarded as ultimatums. The meeting lasted three and a half hours.

Arce and Cruz met again the following morning, Monday, October 1, this time in the presence of Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, a close associate of Socialist International President Willy Brandt, and several West German Social Democrats. Cruz was accompanied by vice-presidential candidate Adán Fletes and Coordinadora President Luis Rivas Leiva. Hanging over the talks was the latest deadline for registration, running out at midnight.

In one hour, the negotiations made remarkable progress. The Coordinadora presented its demands. In return for satisfaction, they promised to participate in the election if the date was postponed to February 24, 1985. Arce readily agreed to all the guarantees.

Cruz and his two colleagues asked for a break to confer with Managua. At the other end, opposition leaders gathered around a speaker phone in the offices of the Social Christian Party. Bolaños kept a low profile; the spokesman was Daniel Bonilla, an industrial associate of Bolaños and perhaps the hardest of the hard-liners. And he was deeply skeptical. Bonilla was an ideologue. "Communists don't convene an election unless they have all the means to win it," he said in an interview more than a year later. "We don't believe in the elections. We would have lost. And there is nothing worse in politics than losing. That is not the worst thing . . . It is that we would have made the Sandinistas win with our presence. My God, do you know what that means?"

After lunch the three negotiators denounced Arce's concessions as demagoguery, demanded additional access to the official news media as a condition and required that the Sandinistas immediately agree to February 24 or some other postponement of election day. Then Arce dropped a bombshell. If the Coordinadora registered before midnight, the contest would be delayed until January 13, 1985, provided there was an effective cease-fire with the *contras*. Arce insisted that the Coordinadora declare a cease-fire by October 10 and that *contra* forces led by Adolfo Calero and Edén Pastora withdraw from Nicaragua by October 25. On the other hand, if the Sandinistas did not live up to their part of the bargain, the opposition could withdraw its registration any time up to October 25. The atmosphere in the room was suddenly electrified.

Cruz called Managua again. "My advice to you is you go and register," Cruz told his associates. "Do it, register, because we have all the necessary safeguards not to be trapped. Do something really meaningful, and we will really grow in stature."

"Arturo," Bonilla intoned, "whatever is going to be done is going to be done here. That is what the Coordinadora wants." Bonilla objected that the Coordinadora could not represent both the armed and the civic resistance. "I cannot have one single man representing the whole, because that would get the civic in bed with the military."

In Washington, Johnstone closely monitored the progress. He was in frequent touch with Baez, who was in Washington. Johnstone asked to be kept informed but felt Cruz should proceed. He also was in touch with Socialist

International officials. "The United States government asked the SI to do its utmost to help the Coordinadora reach a deal," said a close associate of Brandt.

Working along with Johnstone was a senior CIA official. Johnstone said each called contacts in the opposition and the Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) *contras* to keep them from backing away in the midst of the negotiations. The FDN "were extremely concerned about not being undercut by third-force representation in elections that would legitimize the Sandinista regime," Johnstone said. He asserts that the CIA supported his plan. "I was working out of the same room as the CIA guy and unless some other part of the agency was trying to undermine him, we were giving the same advice: Take part if you can get fair terms."

Despite the cold reception, Cruz thought he saw a way to bridge the differences. "This is the most exhilarating day in my whole life," he said that night. But the deadline passed without action.

A dejected looking Pérez received Wischniewski the next morning and pronounced the negotiations a failure. Actually, he had another card up his sleeve. Without telling his SI colleagues, Pérez had asked Arce to prepare a typed summary of the points of agreement, including the election postponement on condition of a cease-fire. Unannounced, an aide to Arce appeared with the document.

Pérez gave a copy to Cruz, who promised to return with a response at 4 PM. Cruz checked with Managua, where he received more discouragement. Bonilla reiterated that the decision must be made in Managua.

Now Cruz dropped his own bombshell. Appearing at the appointed time, he went through Arce's paper point by point, wrote changes of wording, then agreed to it. He conditioned his signature upon a "vote of confidence" by the Coordinadora in Managua. If they did not back him, he would withdraw as their candidate. Arce reacted angrily. "In the beginning, they said a big fat no," Pérez said of Arce. "They said it was a joke to discredit the electoral process by doing this."

"I represent the Sandinista Front, and although only five *comandantes* are now in Nicaragua, I have committed myself here and now," Arce said. "But I have received no comparable pledge from Arturo Cruz; otherwise, the Coordinadora could have registered before the deadline. Either you sign now," he insisted, "or I don't sign."

Pérez stressed the significance of Cruz's personal commitment to return to Managua and put his name on the ballot, and for a brief moment Arce seemed to relent.

It was about 5 PM. "For twenty minutes we had an agreement, said Thorvald Stoltenberg (now Norway's Minister of Foreign Affairs), who had joined the talks for the SI. The two sides shook hands. "They were very, very pleased. We were starting to drink cognac." Stoltenberg suggested they type out the contents of the accord. Cruz dictated the final wording to Pérez. "Luis Rivas Leiva, as President of the Coordinadora, accompanied by Adán Fletes and

Arturo Cruz, also agrees, both parties *ad referendum* to their respective organizations." Stoltenberg took a call from *Dagbladet*, a Norwegian newspaper, and broke the story to the press. An hour later, he had to phone the newspaper back and say the negotiations had fallen through.

Arce suddenly stood up, shook hands with West German SI participants and bolted without further explanation. Cruz thought the signal had been given in New York City by Daniel Ortega. In an interview that morning in *The Washington Post*, Ortega had declared that the election would take place on schedule. "We were flexible on the date until a few days ago," he said. "The elections are going to take place on November 4. At this point we cannot continue to play with the date."

"Extending the campaign was never a position for us," said Sergio Ramírez, the campaign manager and candidate for vice president of the ruling party. "We always considered that it would be damaging for us because people would not be confident about our own elections if we did." Arce had made the offer in the knowledge it was unacceptable. Moreover, according to Ramírez, "Cruz never had authority over [*contra* military commander Enrique] Bermúdez and Calero...and the Coordinadora didn't have that authority."

Cruz said he had known that the Sandinistas were bluffing. "We had to be forthcoming and call their bluff, or to reach a real agreement if it was possible."

Arce went before a press conference. "Yesterday at midnight they lost their last chance to register. There is no longer any question. The elections will be held in Nicaragua on November 4."

Pérez said that information he received subsequent to the Rio meeting gave the impression that "the CIA had given instructions, had put pressures [on representatives of the Coordinadora] against Cruz's candidacy, and therefore it wasn't accepted. They just didn't want someone with the prestige of Cruz to enter the elections, because it would validate them. They wanted to demonstrate there was no freedom of elections in Nicaragua." Pérez felt the "game" of the Coordinadora had been "simply to take away legitimacy."

On October 11, more than a week after the breakup in Rio, the Coordinadora changed its mind and backed the election accord. Stoltenberg of the SI flew to Managua, followed by Brandt, to ask for a postponement of the vote. But the Sandinistas refused. "The case was lost in Rio," Stoltenberg said.

Pérez said he never expected that the Sandinistas would let go of power, but thought the elections might have put Nicaragua on a course similar to Mexico: with left-of-center, semidemocratic, broadly based one-party rule. It was "not a solution to the problem, but it certainly was an opening." Cruz agreed, and his will be the judgment that lasts. "In hindsight," said Cruz, "we should have gone, with or without conditions."

XIV CONGRESS PAPERS AVAILABLE

The following papers from the XIV International Congress in New Orleans may be ordered from the Secretariat for \$3.00 each. LASA attempted to retain at least one copy of every paper submitted. If your paper is not listed below, please send a copy to the Secretariat, and we will include it in future listings. A limited number of programs (xerox copies) are also available for \$4.50 each. Prices include postage.

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Alvares, Sonia E. Women's Participation in the "People's Church"
Alves, María Helena. Dilemmas of the Consolidation of Democracy from the Top in Brazil
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- Gordon, Sara.** Guatemala y El Salvador: Dos regímenes de exclusión
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- Kirk, John M.** The Church-State Rapprochement in Revolutionary Cuba
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- Lugo, Elisa Vargas.** Primeros historiadores del arte colonial
- Lutz, Christopher H.** Core and Periphery in Colonial Guatemala
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- Pastor, Manuel.** Capital Flight and the Latin American Debt Crisis
- Paul, Benjamin.** Entrepreneurs and Economic Inequality in San Pedro de Laguna, Guatemala: A Hundred Years of History
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- Peritore, N. Patrick.** Brazilian Attitudes Toward Agrarian Reform: A Q-Methodology Opinion Study of a Conflictual Issue
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- Plank, David N.** Issues in Brazilian School Finances
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- Polakoff, Erica G.** Opening Urban Frontiers: Squatter Settlements in Managua
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- Prevost, Gary F.** The Development of the Political Philosophy of the FSLN: From Sandino to State Power
- Priego, Rosalba Pérez.** Los caracteres femeninos en la literatura del Porfiriato
- Ranis, Peter.** Argentine Workers: Rethinking Class Consciousness
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- Rodríguez, Adrián.** La deuda pública eterna de Costa Rica: Crecimiento, moratoria y renegociación
- Roldán, Mary.** Guerrillas, Contrachusma, and Caudillos: Local Challenges to Elite Control During *La Violencia* in Antioquia, Colombia, 1949-1953
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- Rus, Jan.** The Revolution and Its Aftermath in Four Tzotzil Communities of Highland Chiapas, Mexico
- Ryan, Jeffrey J.** The Effects of External Support on Latin American Insurgencies
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- Sanborn, Cynthia.** ¿*El futuro diferente?* The Legacy of the 1970s for Peruvian Populism in the '80s
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- Schmidt, Gregory D.** Regime Type, Political Alliances, and Bureaucratization: Explaining Variations in Regional Development Organizations and Decentralized Public Investment in Peru, 1944-1988
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- Scurrah, Martin J.** Civil Institutions and Democratic Participation in Peru
- Selser, Gregorio.** La Internacional Socialista: Contradicciones e incoherencias de su presencia en América Latina y el Caribe
Nicaragua: El presunto incumplimiento del gobierno de la revolución sandinista, de sus compromisos asumidos en vísperas del triunfo sobre Somoza
Paraguay: En elecciones de carnaval, Alfredo Stroessner se hace presidente por octava vez
- Serra, Luis.** Peasant Stores: A Democratic and Feasible Model for the Feeding of the Rural Sector in Nicaragua
- Sigmund, Paul E.** The Catholic Church and Social Change in Latin America
- Sikkink, Kathryn.** The "New Institutionalism" and Economic Policy Making in Latin America: State Autonomy and Developmentalist Policy Making in Argentina and Brazil
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- Valenzuela, María Elena.** Del sufragismo al feminismo: La morilización de la mujer y su cuestionamiento del orden patriarcal en Chile
- Van Bodegraven, Donna.** La geometría en el estudio narrativo de *La casa de los espíritus*
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- Welch, John.** The Possibilities of Financial Integration Between Brazil and Argentina: Preliminary Remarks
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Cristo Chapel

**REPORT FROM THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE
XV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1989**

The XV International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) will be held in San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 21-23, 1989.

In addition to the usual topics that are discussed and debated at LASA congresses, the 1989 meeting presents us with an opportunity to focus comparatively on issues of particular significance to Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. This would include topics such as race and ethnicity, cultural minorities and the national question, international migration, and critical public policy issues.

The Program Committee anticipates that this congress will have the largest registration and the greatest diversity of scholarly activities in LASA's history. The committee will work to ensure the highest attendance ever by scholars from Latin America and the Caribbean and encourages the LASA membership to propose innovative activities that enhance multidisciplinary perspectives on the region.

Four types of sessions will constitute the major part of the program:

1. **PANELS:** consisting of presentations of formal papers prepared especially for the occasion, and related discussion of them.
2. **WORKSHOPS:** consisting of several participants who exchange ideas about common research problems, techniques and perspectives, or teaching interests in new fields of study.
3. **ROUNDTABLES:** sessions consisting of no more than ten persons who wish to discuss a topic of common interest. Participants and organizers must sign up in advance for roundtables; session organizers serve as discussion leaders.

4. **MEETINGS AND SPECIAL EVENTS**

In addition, the program will include film showings, public forums, receptions, and other special activities.

If you wish to organize a session for the San Juan meeting, please send us the information requested on the forms that follow. We deeply appreciate your interest in contributing to the next LASA congress.

PROGRAM COMMITTEE POLICIES AND GUIDELINES FOR SESSION ORGANIZERS

All those who have roles at the 1989 LASA congress should be current members of the Latin American Studies Association. Participants in the San Juan meetings will be limited to one role on the program so as to broaden opportunities for all applicants. The exceptions to this are panel organizers, who may also present a paper on their own panel, and those who are attending from outside the continental United States and Puerto Rico.

Panels, workshops, and roundtables will be limited in size to assure orderly and full discussions. An "ideal" panel would consist of three paper presenters who summarize their work and two discussants. Ample time must be allowed for questions and discussion. An "ideal" workshop would consist of six persons, while an "ideal" roundtable would consist of ten.

Responsibilities of Session Organizers

Session organizers are asked to:

- (1) submit 7 copies of their proposal form to the Program Committee by September 15, 1988;
- (2) ensure that all participants in their sessions are paid-up members of LASA;
- (3) provide complete, accurate and up-to-date information for each participant; i.e., *current* address and telephone number, and for participants who will or may be coming from abroad, the status of their need/request for a travel grant (It is imperative that we know where and how to reach participants for whom funding is requested.);
- (4) inform participants of requirements and responsibilities for the session, including submission of papers in advance;
- (5) notify the Program Committee of any audiovisual needs for their session by August 18, 1989.

The Program Committee will communicate directly with session organizers and will provide them with information and assistance on a timely basis.

Members of the 1989 Program Committee:

Mark B. Rosenberg, Chair
Latin American and
Caribbean Center
Florida International
University
University Park - PC 237
Miami, Florida 33199

Gary Gereffi
Department of Sociology
Duke University
Durham, N.C. 27706

Patricia Pessar
Center for Immigration
Policy and Refugee
Assistance
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C. 20057

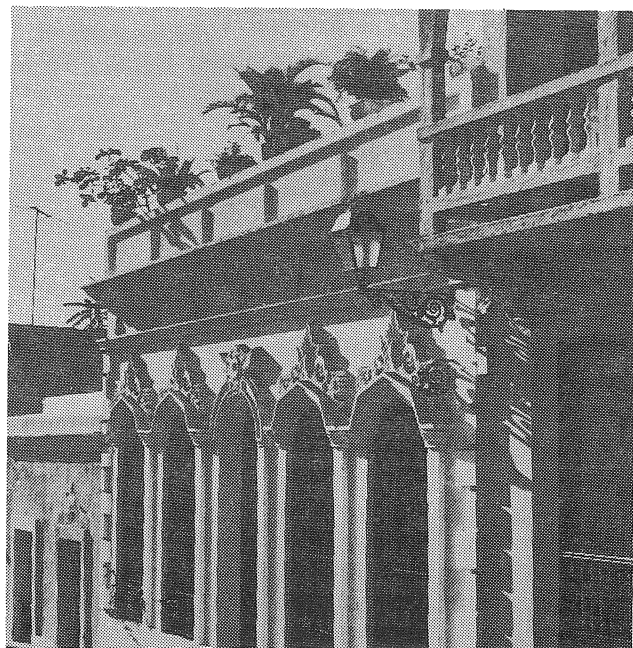
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Loiza Station
Sanjurjo, Puerto Rico 00914



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SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1989**

Mail 7 copies to:

Mark B. Rosenberg, LASA/89
Latin American and Caribbean Center
Florida International University
University Park - PC 237
Miami, FL 33199

PROPOSAL FOR PAPER PRESENTATION

In addition to the usual topics that are discussed and debated at LASA congresses, the 1989 meeting presents us with an opportunity to focus comparatively on issues of particular significance to Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. This would include topics such as race and ethnicity, cultural minorities and the national question, international migration, and critical public policy issues.

All participants in the congress must be members of LASA. Those nonmembers wishing to participate should use the membership form included in the *Forum* or request one from the LASA Secretariat in Pittsburgh.

Instructions: We urge all those interested in presenting a paper on a panel to take the initiative to organize a session or to communicate with others who might be interested in organizing one. If such efforts prove unsuccessful, the Program Committee will assess your paper proposal and, where appropriate, attempt to ensure its inclusion in an organized session. Please submit the information requested below in the most complete and accurate form possible to help the Program Committee make an informed decision. Submit 7 copies of this form as indicated above in English, Spanish or Portuguese. **PROPOSALS MUST BE RECEIVED BY SEPTEMBER 15, 1988. Please type or print clearly.**

Title of Paper:

Description of paper topic (25-50 words):

Please suggest several broad themes that would serve as topics for panels on which your paper might be appropriate:

Name:

Discipline:

Address:

Institution:

Telephone: (office)

(residence)

Please indicate your qualifications and/or prior experience for this paper.

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SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1989**

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Latin American and Caribbean Center
Florida International University
University Park - PC 237
Miami, FL 33199

Type of Session Proposed:

- Panel
 Workshop
 Roundtable

PROPOSAL FOR ORGANIZED SESSION

In addition to the usual topics that are discussed and debated at LASA congresses, the 1989 meeting presents us with an opportunity to focus comparatively on issues of particular significance to Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. This would include topics such as race and ethnicity, cultural minorities and the national question, international migration, and critical public policy issues.

All participants in the congress must be members of LASA. Those nonmembers wishing to participate should use the membership form included in the *Forum* or request one from the LASA Secretariat in Pittsburgh.

Instructions: Please submit the information requested below in the most complete and accurate form possible. This will increase the probability that the proposed session will be included in the final program. To aid the Program Committee in the selection process, particular attention should be given to developing a concrete and informative description of the proposed session. Submit 7 copies of the proposal as indicated above. **PROPOSALS MUST BE RECEIVED BY SEPTEMBER 15, 1988. Please type or print clearly.**

Title of session:

Sponsoring organization, if any:

Description of session (75-100 words):

Organizer:
Address:

Institution:

Telephone: (office)

(residence)

Brief biographical statement (including scholarly experience related to the session topic):

Please suggest how the session will be organized, including allocation of time (in minutes) allotted to each participant and to general discussion. Innovative formats for sessions are particularly encouraged.

Will you require any special equipment? Specify.

List participants in order of their appearance in sessions, including yourself as organizer. Please check carefully for accuracy in information about participants. MARK WITH AN ASTERISK LATIN AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS WHO DEFINITELY NEED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR TRAVEL. FOR PARTICIPANTS COMING FROM ABROAD, PLEASE BE SURE TO INCLUDE A COMPLETE STREET ADDRESS AND A TELEPHONE NUMBER WHERE THEY CAN BE REACHED QUICKLY, AND TO KEEP THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE INFORMED OF ANY CHANGES. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE BE ABLE TO LOCATE THEM AT ALL TIMES. Papers may be given in Spanish, Portuguese, or English; paper titles should be listed below in the language in which the paper will be written and presented.

Participant 1:

Role in session: Organizer Presenter Discussant

Department: Position:

Institution:

Address:

Telephone: (office) (residence)

Title of paper (panels only):

Participant 2:

Role in session: Organizer Presenter Discussant

Department: Position:

Institution:

Address:

Telephone: (office) (residence)

Title of paper (panels only):

Participant 3:

Role in session: Organizer Presenter Discussant

Department: Position:

Institution:

Address:

Telephone: (office) (residence)

Title of paper (panels only):

Participant 4:

Role in session: Organizer Presenter Discussant

Department: Position:

Institution:

Address:

Telephone: (office) (residence)

Title of paper (panels only):

Participant 5:

Role in session: Organizer Presenter Discussant

Department: Position:

Institution:

Address:

Telephone: (office) (residence)

Title of paper (panels only):

Participant 6:

Role in session: Organizer Presenter Discussant

Department: Position:

Institution:

Address:

Telephone: (office) (residence)

Title of paper (panels only):

LASA/89
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1989

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Latin American and Caribbean Center
Florida International University
University Park - PC 237
Miami, FL 33199

PROPOSAL FOR SPECIAL EVENTS AND MEETINGS

In addition to the usual topics that are discussed and debated at LASA congresses, the 1989 meeting presents us with an opportunity to focus comparatively on issues of particular significance to Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. This would include topics such as race and ethnicity, cultural minorities and the national question, international migration, and critical public policy issues.

All participants in the congress must be members of LASA. Those nonmembers wishing to participate should use the membership form included in the Forum or request one from the LASA Secretariat in Pittsburgh.

Instructions: If you wish to schedule an event or meeting that does not fit the categories specified under organized sessions, please use this form and provide the information indicated below. This form may be submitted in English, Spanish, or Portuguese. (Note that all proposals for films and videos not integrated into organized sessions must be submitted on the form entitled "Proposals for Film Submissions" and sent to LaVonne C. Poteet, Coordinator of the Film Council.) **PROPOSALS MUST BE RECEIVED BY SEPTEMBER 15, 1988. Please type or print clearly.**

Title of session:

Sponsoring organization:

Type and purpose of event:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Breakfast | <input type="checkbox"/> Meeting of Task Force |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Luncheon | <input type="checkbox"/> Organizing Meeting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dinner | <input type="checkbox"/> Board/Committee Meeting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reception (paid by sponsor) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Reception (cash bar/no host) | |

Is event open to all interested parties? Yes No

Do you plan to charge an admission fee? Yes No

Brief narrative description of event (for possible publication):

Name/affiliation of chair:

Name/affiliation of organizer:

Preferred date and hour:

Estimated attendance:

Room set-up: Theater (auditorium); head table set for ___ people.
 Conference (up to 15 people).
 Other (please specify) _____.

Will food and/or beverages be served? Yes No

If yes, name/address/phone number of person to be billed:

Name/address/phone number of contact person(s):

Specify any audiovisual equipment required:

Form completed by (name/address/phone):

**LASA/89
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1989**

Mail 4 copies to:

LaVonne C. Poteet, Coordinator
1989 LASA Film Festival
Bucknell University
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Film Council:

LaVonne C. Poteet
Julianne Burton
Dennis West
Randal Johnson

PROPOSAL FOR FILM FESTIVAL SUBMISSION

Film and video materials not integrated into a panel, workshop, roundtable, or meeting may be presented in one of two ways: (1) as selections in a LATIN AMERICAN FILM FESTIVAL; or (2) as part of a noncompetitive FILM EXHIBIT of visual and informational materials. Those not selected for the festival may be presented at the exhibit for a fee. Please use a separate form for each film/video proposed. **PROPOSALS MUST BE RECEIVED BY JUNE 1, 1989. Please type or print clearly.**

Films and videos chosen for the FESTIVAL are designated as recipients of the 1989 LASA Award of Merit in Film for "excellence in the visual presentation of educational and artistic materials on Latin America." Approximately 15 such awards will be made. Selection criteria are: artistic, technical and cinematographic excellence; uniqueness of contribution to the visual presentation of materials on Latin America; and relevance to disciplinary, geographic and thematic interests of LASA members, as evidenced by topics proposed for panels, workshops and roundtables at recent congresses. Films and videos released after January 1989 and those that will premiere at the congress will be given special consideration if they also meet the above criteria.

The noncompetitive FILM EXHIBIT of Latin American films, videos and descriptive materials (brochures, catalogues, etc.) is organized in conjunction with the book exhibit. For information on the film exhibit, contact Harve C. Horowitz & Associates, LASA Film Exhibit, 10369 Currycomb Court, Columbia, MD 21044; phone (301)997-0763.

Title of work:

Format: Film (16 mm ; 35 mm
 Video (available formats: _____)

Distributor (name and address):

Director:

Producer:

Year of release:

Screening time:

Language:

Brief description (25-50 words) of subject, including country or area treated:

Your name:

Affiliation:

Address:

Phone: (office)

(residence)

If you have questions, call LaVonne C. Poteet at (717)524-1286.

LOURDES CASAL FUND

A group of friends and colleagues of Lourdes Casal (1938-1981) has donated \$5,000 to the LASA Endowment Fund in her memory. Lourdes, a member of the LASA Executive Council in 1977, was an associate professor of social psychology at Rutgers University, Newark, N.J. At the time of her death, she was working on a book manuscript about contemporary Cuba. Her research had been funded by the Woodrow Wilson International Center and the Social Science Research Council.

Lourdes' interests also included literature and the arts. *Los fundadores: Alfonso y otros cuentos* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1973) is a collection of her short stories. *Palabras juntan revolución* is a book of poems that received a 1981 Casa de las Américas award. During the 1970s, Lourdes was one of the founding members of INTAR Theatre in New York.

Her native Cuba was at the center of Lourdes' life. She left Cuba in 1961, disenchanted with the revolution. During the next decade, however, she reconsidered the Cuban revolution and became its advocate. Within the Cuban American community, she was an activist in support of normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba. Lourdes was one of the founders of *Areito* magazine and of the Institute for Cuban Studies. She also participated in the 1978 dialogue between the Cuban government and the Cuban-American community. During a trip to Cuba in December 1979 she had a relapse of a long-term illness. She died on February 1, 1981, in Havana, where she is buried.

The donation in memory of Lourdes Casal is to support scholarly exchanges with Cuba within LASA. Additional contributions to the LASA Endowment Fund on her behalf and for these exchanges are welcomed.

CONTRIBUTORS TO LASA ENDOWMENT FUND

We want to thank the following members who contributed to the LASA Endowment Fund from June 1, 1987, to June 20, 1988:

Miguel Basáñez	Barbara Kantz
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If you have contributed to the LASA Endowment Fund and your name does not appear either in the Summer or Fall 1987 *Forum* or on the above list, please notify the Secretariat.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION ENDOWMENT FUND

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.

We invite you to join the generous members who have already contributed and to share in this important investment in the future of Latin American studies. Please indicate below the amount you wish to contribute.

\$25 \$50 \$75 \$100 \$150 \$_____ Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please send form, accompanied by check payable to Latin American Studies Association, to: LASA Secretariat, 9th Floor William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

FOR LASA MEMBERS ABROAD

UNESCO coupons make it possible to pay LASA dues or other fees in national currency rather than U.S. dollars. A coupon for the cost of the payment being made is purchased from the local UNESCO National Commission. The coupon is paid for in national currency at the official United Nations rate of exchange on the day of purchase. A surcharge may be added to cover handling costs, but this should not be more than 5 percent of the coupon's value. The coupon, made out in the amount of your payment, should be sent to the LASA Secretariat. Upon receipt, the Secretariat will update its records accordingly.

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Centre national de la
cinématographie française
12, rue de Lubeck
75116 Paris, FRANCE

Centre national de la
recherche scientifique
Service des Bons de l'Unesco
13, quai Anatole-France
75007 Paris, FRANCE

Indian National Commission for
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Ministry of Education and Social Welfare
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Commission nationale iranienne
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Commission nationale italienne
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LETTERS

To the Editor, *LASA Forum*:

I loved James Petras's spoof on Stalinist agit-prop in the Winter 1988 issue of the *LASA Forum*. His listing of types of states—"authoritarian capitalist" and "democratic socialist"—was a wonderfully subtle touch. Not citing by name anyone other than Norman Vincent Peale shows that he caught perfectly the delicate manner of polemics against unidentified, yet most hostile, "circles."

The *LASA Forum* should be congratulated on the courage shown in publishing this blurb. The only other places where it could appear in print are Cuba and Rumania (Albania no longer?), but there it would be taken seriously. Forced to study the text, peasants and workers, tormented by the guilt of making personal fortunes as neoliberals, would dreamily fantasize about casting pieces of paper into boxes.

Adam Przeworski
University of Chicago
April 9, 1988

Petras Replies

Professor Przeworski's comments are inappropriate to a scholarly discussion. The issue is, and continues to be, the Latin American state and the transition to democracy.

James F. Petras
May 2, 1988

ARTICLES INVITED

The *Forum* invites the submission of brief, research-based articles of timely interest to LASA members. Please submit two clear copies with all material, including extracts, notes, and references typed double-spaced; notes and/or references should be typed separately at the end of the manuscript. Please consult the latest edition of *A Manual of Style*, University of Chicago Press, for matters of style, especially format for notes and bibliographies. The *Forum* is published four times a year: January, April, July, and October. Address contributions to: Editor, *LASA Forum*, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Social Science Research Council has announced the 1988 recipients of its Latin American and Caribbean Program's Fellowships for International Doctoral Research and Advanced Grants for International Research. The Fellowship Selection Committee awarded fellowships to eleven Ph.D. candidates. In addition, the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies selected the following winners of advanced research grants: Samuel Baily, Rutgers University, for research in Argentina on descendants of Italian immigrants in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1925-1975; Heraclio Bonilla, University of California, San Diego, for research in Peru on the shift of power from landowners to civil servants, 1895-1985; David Collier, University of California, Berkeley, for research on comparative method in Latin American studies; Stephanie Kane, Philadelphia Folklore Project, for research in Panama on kinship, race and gender; Herbert Klein, Columbia University, for research in Brazil on wealth distribution in the 19th century; Robert Levine, University of Miami, for research in Brazil on the Canudos peasant uprising; Daniel Levy, State University of New York, Albany, for research in Mexico and Chile on the impact of U.S. private and public assistance on Latin American higher education; Hugo López, University of Antioquia, for research in Colombia on labor mobility and social security; Peter McDonough, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, for research in Chile and El Salvador on Jesuit priests; Arthur Miller, University of Maryland, for research in Mexico on Native American encounters with European literacy, 1500-1700; Anne Paul, Institute of Andean Studies, for research in Peru on images of fabric elements and structures in textile iconography; Marifeli Pérez-Stable, State University of New York, Old Westbury, for research in Cuba on reformist nationalism between revolutions, 1930-1950; Juan Carlos Portanteiro, University of Buenos Aires, for research in Argentina on state reform in periods of democratic transition; Leonardo Senkman, University of Jerusalem, for research in Argentina on the ideology of Argentine intellectuals 1939-1948 as illustrated by the images of Jews in works by Borges and Marechal; Knut Walter, Millikin University, for research in Nicaragua on the state and revolution, 1956-1979; Lorna Williams, University of Missouri, Saint Louis, for research in Washington on the representation of slavery in Cuban fiction; Peter Winn, Tufts University, for research in Chile on participatory socialism in a Chilean factory; Leon Zamosc, University of California, San Diego, for research in Peru, Ecuador and Colombia on changes in the political role of the national peasant federations.

The Howard Heinz Endowment, Pittsburgh, announces the recipients of its 1988 research grants on current Latin American issues: Jeanine Anderson, Lima Working Group on Low-Income Families, Women, and Urban Services, "The Middle Sectors in Peru: A Retrospective Study 1970-88"; Cole Blasier, University of Pittsburgh/Library of Congress, "Soviet Relations with Latin America Since Gorbachev"; Paul G. Buchanan, University of Arizona, "Labor Administration and Democratic Consolidation in the Southern Cone"; Jorge I. Dominguez, Harvard University, "U.S.-Cuban Relations in the 1990s"; William Glade, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars/University of Texas, "The Prospects for Privatization in Latin America"; Susana Lastarria-Cornhiel, University of Wisconsin, "Land Parcelization and Rural Families"; and Hernán Pozo, FLACSO, Santiago, Chile, "Extreme Poverty and Council Social Action in Santiago, Chile."

El Museo Histórico Cultural Juan Santamaría, con sede en la ciudad de Alajuela, Costa Rica, convoca al Primer Certamen "Premio Juan Santamaría" que versará en torno a la guerra contra los filibusteros en 1856-1857 y sus repercusiones en la formación de una conciencia centroamericana. La fecha límite de recepción de trabajos es 22 de abril de

1989. El certamen está abierto a todos los estudiosos e investigadores de cualquier nacionalidad u origen, y la participación puede ser individual o colectiva. El premio es único e indivisible de c150.000.00 en efectivo; o su equivalente en dólares si se tratare de que el autor o autores no residan en el país. El ganador recibirá además un pergamino, la publicación de la obra y los gastos de traslado para retirar el premio en caso de que resida en el exterior. *Requisitos de los trabajos:* Ser inéditos; no haber sido premiados en otros certámenes; mostrar originalidad y rigurosidad científica y estar en idioma español con una extensión mínima de 250 cuartillas de texto, a máquina, doble espacio, en papel tamaño carta por un solo frente y foliadas. La entrega se hará en original y tres copias haciendo constar en el sobre el nombre del trabajo, el nombre del certamen y el pseudónimo con que se participa. Adjunto al trabajo se enviará la plica, en cuya cubierta se anotará el nombre del trabajo y el pseudónimo empleado. En hoja interna: nombre y firma del autor o autores; pseudónimo que lo ampara; lugar de residencia, dirección y número de teléfono del autor o autores; curriculum vitae del autor o autores. Solicite información complementaria a: Comisión Coordinadora, Primer Certamen "Premio Juan Santamaría", Apdo. Postal 785-4050, Alajuela, Costa Rica; teléfonos: 41-4775 y 42-1838.

THE ARGENTINE & IBERO-AMERICAN FOLK ART FOUNDATION, INC. (AIFA)

is a non-profit educational corporation whose purpose is the promotion of the Ibero-American culture in educational and cultural institutions, in academia and among the general public.

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The Smithsonian Institution announces a new internship opportunity in its Office of Public Affairs. For a minimum term of nine weeks the intern will assist in processing news releases, a calendar of events and news clippings, and be responsible for updating mailing lists. The successful applicant must be fluent in Spanish and English, and preferably should have a background in journalism. Although no payment or allowance is provided, the intern can expect to acquire useful experience and have an opportunity to be involved in a number of outreach activities for Latinos. Send letter of application and transcript of grades, anytime during the year, to: Eileen Hall, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Public Affairs, Smithsonian Institution, Arts & Industries 2410, Washington, D.C. 20560. Selection criteria focus on applicant's fluency in Spanish and English, scholastic achievement, and relevant experience.

Exhibition of Latin American Artists. "The Latin American Spirit: Art and Artists in the United States, 1920-1970," a major critical presentation of Latin American artists, will have its premiere showing at The Bronx Museum of the Arts in New York September 29, 1988 through January 29, 1989. The exhibition will then travel to the El Paso Museum of Art (February 27-April 23, 1989), the San Diego Museum of Art (May 22-July 16, 1989), and—of special interest to LASA members—the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture in San Juan from August 14 through October 8, 1989 (covering the dates of the LASA XV International Congress in San Juan). Over 200 paintings, sculptures, and works on paper will be displayed. The more than 140 artists featured represent fourteen Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries of Latin America and include Jacobo Borges, Fernando Botero, Antonio Frasconi, Luis Jiménez, Frida Kahlo, Wifredo Lam, Marisol, Matta, Rafael Montanez-Ortiz, José Clemente Orozco, Emilio Pettoruti, Cándido Pórtinari, Diego Rivera, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Rufino Tamayo and Joaquín Torres-García.

CRIES (Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales), Managua, has established a specific area for research on the Caribbean and linkages between the Caribbean and Central America. They foresee a regional network of research centers, grass-roots organizations, and other groups willing to collaborate in the production of alternative strategies for dealing with the area's socioeconomic and politico-military problems. Projects are already being coordinated with ISER and the Association of Caribbean Economists (ACE) in Jamaica, CERLAC at York University in Canada, and PACCA in the United States. CRIES is interested in establishing collaborative research ventures and publications exchanges, and invites the submission of works on the Caribbean (in Spanish) for publication in its journal, *Pensamiento Propio*, and working papers series, *Cuadernos de Pensamiento Propio*.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Business Association of Latin American Studies (BALAS) will hold its annual conference in Boca Raton, Florida, February 15-18, 1989. Providing a forum for the exchange of ideas and the discussion of issues that affect the economy and business environment in Latin America, this year's conference will focus on the service industries; however, papers in all areas of business and economics are welcomed. The deadline for papers, abstracts, or panel submissions is October 8, 1988. Accepted papers will be published in the *Proceedings*. All submissions and inquiries should be directed to Dr. Robert P. Vichas, Conference Director, Florida Atlantic University (International Business), Business Association of Latin American Studies, Post Office Drawer 7638, Fort Lauderdale, FL 33338.

The Society for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies will hold its annual meeting at the Downtown Marriott Hotel in St. Louis, Missouri, April 20-23, 1989. Proposals for panels and papers should be sent as soon as possible to Ms. Suzanne Burkholder, c/o Department of History, University of Missouri, St. Louis, 8001 Natural Bridge Road, St. Louis, MO 63121.

The Southwestern Historical Association will meet in conjunction with the Southwestern Social Science Association in Little Rock, Arkansas, 29 March-1 April 1989. Proposals for sessions or papers in Latin American and African History, U.S. History, and European and Asian History should be sent to Prof. Lowell L. Blaisdell, Department of History, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX 79409. Proposals for complete sessions are especially encouraged, as are suggestions for interdisciplinary sessions, panels, and roundtables. The deadline for proposals is 1 October 1988. Paper prizes of \$100 will be awarded in each of the three categories.

The Southeastern Council on Latin American Studies (SECOLAS) invites abstracts and organized sessions for its annual meeting April 13-15, 1989, at Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. The conference theme is "Literature, Culture and Revolution in Latin America"; interdisciplinary approaches are especially welcome. Send inquiries and one-page paper abstracts before October 30, 1988, to Dr. Michael Handelsman, SECOLAS Program Chair, Romance Languages, 601 McClung Tower, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0460. For information on local arrangements, contact Dr. James Henderson, Department of Government and International Studies, U.S.C.—Coastal Carolina College, Box 1954, Conway, SC 29526.

The New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS) will hold its annual meeting on October 22, 1988, at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts. Prof. Marjorie Agosin-Wiggins, Department of Spanish, is in charge of local arrangements.

The *Journal of Communist Studies* is sponsoring a conference on "Cuba, 30 Years on: The Dynamics of Change and the International Dimension" at the University of Warwick, 12-14 May 1989. The program includes scholars from the United States, England, and Cuba discussing grass-roots political structures in Cuba, Cuban economic development since 1959, Cuban ideology, Soviet-Cuban relations, the army and leadership succession of the Cuban Communist Party, and comparative views of the Cuban revolution and of the dynamics of change in the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. For further information, contact Richard Gillespie, Department of Politics, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL, England.

The Institut Pluridisciplinaire pour les Etudes sur L'Amérique Latine à Toulouse plans a colloquium on "25 Ans d'Amérique Latine" in Toulouse, France, November 22-24, 1988. For information write IPEALT, Chateau du Mirail, Université de Toulouse le Mirail, 5 Allée Antonio Machado, 31058 Toulouse Cedex.

The Institute for the Study of Genocide is calling a "Genocide Watch" conference on how to detect, deter and stop genocide and mass political killing for May 22-23, 1989. Proposals for papers (and abstracts), discussants and roundtables are requested by October 15, 1988; papers are due December 15, 1988. For more information, write or call the Secretary, ISG, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, Room 3114S., 444 W. 56 St., New York, NY 10019; 212-489-3284.

The 11th National Conference on Third World Studies will be held at the University of Nebraska at Omaha October 20-22, 1988. Beginning this fall conference proceedings will be published in a new journal, *Third World Studies and Review*. For information, write or call Third World Studies Conference, University of Nebraska, Omaha, NE 68182; 402-554-2376.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

University of California, Los Angeles. The Graduate School of Education announces an opening in Comparative and International Education with an area focus in Latin American studies. This is a full-time position, rank open, effective July 1, 1989; teaching duties begin September 1989. Qualifications include a doctorate in a social science field or education from an institution emphasizing theory and research training and evidence of scholarship in areas relevant to education in Latin America. University-level teaching experience is highly desirable. Candidates must demonstrate expertise in some special sphere of inquiry, such as nonformal education, education and national development, education and intergroup relations, teachers and teaching, or educational planning and policy. Vita and the names of three referees should be sent to: Norma D. Feshbach, Chair, Department of Education, University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1521. UCLA is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer; applications from women and minorities are particularly welcome. The deadline for applications is December 1, 1988.

Denison University. The Department of Sociology/Anthropology invites applications for a three-semester visiting assistant professor position beginning January 1989. Candidates must be committed to excellence in liberal arts education and to the principles and organization of a joint department with a fully merged curriculum. Areas of specialization should include minority relations, social change/revolution, classical social theory, and Latin America or the U.S. Applicants should have a background in both anthropology and sociology, and be able to teach an interdisciplinary introductory course. Ph.D. required by time of appointment. Vita and names of three referees should be sent to Bahram Tavakolian, Chair, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Denison University, Granville, OH 43023. Denison University is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer; women and minority candidates are especially encouraged to apply. The deadline for applications is August 31, 1988.

University of Arizona. Applications are invited for Director of the Women's Studies Program and the Southwest Institute for Research on Women. The appointment will be three-year renewable, on a fiscal contract. Applicants must have the Ph.D. and be tenurable as an associate or full professor, discipline open. Other qualifications include a substantial publication record in their discipline and in feminist scholarship, experience in securing and administering grants, and the ability to work with

faculty, students and the community. Vita, letter of intent, and names of three references should be sent to: Karen Anderson, Search Committee, Women's Studies, 102 Douglass Building, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. The University of Arizona is an affirmative action employer and actively seeks the candidacy of minorities and women. The processing of applications will begin November 1, 1988.

University of Pittsburgh. The Department of Sociology invites applications for a tenure-track position as an assistant professor beginning in September 1989. Applicants should have completed the Ph.D. before starting the position and show potential for significant scholarship. The department is interested in persons pursuing research in Latin American studies or East Asian studies, with substantive specialty open. Early applications are encouraged. Vita, letters of reference, and copies of relevant publications should be sent to: Chair of Search Committee, Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. The University of Pittsburgh is an affirmative action/equal opportunity employer; minorities and women are encouraged to apply. Position is subject to budgetary approval.

RESEARCH & STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

Howard Heinz Endowment. The Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh announces the 1989 competition for Howard Heinz Endowment grants supporting research on current issues in Latin American economics, politics, foreign policy, or social development. Applicants must have a Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution. Applications for dissertation research will not be considered. The maximum amount awarded is \$25,000; the Howard Heinz Endowment will not pay university overhead costs. Grants may be used for travel, salary, release time, uncovered sabbatical, research or administrative assistance, computer or reproduction costs, publication or other costs directly related to the research. Deadline for receipt of applications is December 31, 1988; awards will be announced in the Spring of 1989. For further information contact: John Frechione, Center for Latin American Studies, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA; (412) 648-7395.

Institute of International Education. Approximately 56 grants will be awarded under the Fulbright and other programs during the 1989-90 academic year for graduate study in the American republics area. Candidates must be U.S. citizens who will hold a bachelor's degree or the equivalent by the beginning date of the grant, but who do not hold the Ph.D. at the time of application. A good command of Spanish or Portuguese is required at the time of application. Grants provide round-trip international travel, tuition, maintenance for one academic year, and health and accident insurance. Specific eligibility requirements and other information are contained in the brochure, "Fulbright and other grants for graduate study abroad, 1989-90," which may be obtained from campus Fulbright program advisers or from IIE regional offices. Fulbright program advisers establish campus deadlines for receipt of applications; students not enrolled in a college or university at the time of application must submit completed applications to the U.S. Student Programs Division, Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017, by October 31, 1988.

John Carter Brown Library Fellowships. The John Carter Brown Library will award approximately fifteen research fellowships for the year June 1, 1989-May 30, 1990. Short-term fellowships, for periods of two to four months, carry a stipend of \$800 per month. They are open to Americans and foreign nationals who are engaged in pre- or postdoctoral, or independent research. The Library will also receive applications for long-term fellowships funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities: six months with a stipend of \$13,750 or twelve months with a stipend of \$27,500. Applicants for NEH Fellowships must be American citizens or have been resident in the United States for three years immediately preceding the term of the fellowship. Graduate students are not eligible. A limited number of travel grants (\$700 maximum) are also available for scholars wishing to be at the library for one to two months. Fellowships are awarded on the basis of the applicant's scholarly qualifications, the merits of the project, and the appropriateness of the inquiry to the holdings of the John Carter Brown Library (e.g. European accounts of the voyages of exploration, accounts of the American Indians, religious writings, and literature on the growth of the colonies, the colonial wars, and wars for independence). Eleven of the twenty-seven scholars receiving awards for 1988-89 had projects relating to Latin America or the Caribbean. For application forms, write: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912. The deadline for applications is January 15, 1989; awards will be announced by March 15, 1989.

Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships. Forty nonrenewable Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Year Fellowships of \$10,000 each will be awarded to Ph.D., Th.D. or Ed.D. candidates in a doctoral program at a graduate school in the United States. The fellowships are for twelve months of full-time dissertation research and writing. Candidates must have fulfilled all predissertation requirements by December 31, 1988, and expect to complete the dissertation by 1990. Eligible proposals are those that have a central focus on ethical or religious values and elucidate the ways in which such values govern choices made by people and societies. Application forms should be requested, before December 9, 1988, from: Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, P.O. Box 642, Princeton, NJ 08542. The deadline for applications is December 31, 1988; awards will be announced by April 14, 1989.

PUBLICATIONS

Borderline: A Bibliography of the United States-Mexico Borderlands, edited by Barbara G. Valk. UCLA Latin American Center and UC Consortium on Mexico and the United States, 1988, 736 p.; \$65 (individuals and Mexican agencies/institutions), \$150 (agencies/institutions outside Mexico). Encompasses all major academic disciplines in the sciences, social sciences, and the humanities as well as popular subjects such as travel, recreation, folk and domestic arts. Nearly 9,000 entries in English, Spanish, and other Western European languages identify sources treating the four U.S. and six Mexican states that form the boundary region. Relevant materials on issues such as immigration and U.S.-Mexican relations are also covered. The bibliography is arranged by subject and is accompanied by an author index. It includes books, journal articles, documents, manuscripts, serial titles, chapters and sections of books, government publications, conference proceedings, unpublished papers, maps, slides, phonograph records, and video cassette recordings; most cited works have appeared since 1960. To order, send check or money order payable to "Regents-U.C." (include applicable taxes and \$2.50 per volume for postage and handling) to: UCLA Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1447.

Annual Review of Nicaraguan Sociology, Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University. A new annual publication in English containing articles selected from *Cuadernos de Sociología*, *Revista Nicaragüense de Ciencias Sociales*, and other independent scholarly journals from Nicaragua. Presents original research on such issues as agrarian reform, autonomy on the Atlantic Coast, religion and revolution, mass organizations, social justice, mixed economy, and other topics concerning the popular consolidation of the Sandinista Revolution. Annual subscriptions for individuals: \$25 (U.S./Canada); \$30 (all other countries); for libraries and institutions: \$35 (U.S./Canada); \$42 (all other countries). To subscribe, send check payable in U.S. dollars to "Institute of Human Relations" to: ARNS, Editors, Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, Box 12, New Orleans, LA 70118, USA.

Yearbook on Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Policies, 1987, PROSPEL (Programa de Seguimiento de las Políticas Exteriores Latinoamericanas), Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Chile; US\$25 (plus US\$7 air mail postage). Analyzes the external behavior of each country in the region as well as general issues such as external debt, relations with the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union, and Latin American cooperation. (An English version of the 1986 Yearbook will soon be published by the University of Miami). For further information or to order, write: PROSPEL, Catedral 1063, Of.34, Santiago, Chile.

Picture Collections: Mexico, edited by Martha Davidson. Scarecrow Press, 1988, \$49.50. A directory to over 500 public and private collections of pictorial documents belonging to archives, libraries, museums, universities and other institutions, government sources, photographers, private collectors and publishers in Mexico that are accessible to researchers. Source entries are arranged by type of repository and are indexed alphabetically by source name, location, artist, or photographer and by topic, person or place depicted. The volume also contains suggestions for conducting picture research in Mexico, information on current Mexican copyright law, a Spanish/English glossary of picture research terms, two maps, and forty black-and-white full-page reproductions. To order, send check or money order (include appropriate sales tax and \$3 for postage and handling) to: Scarecrow Press, 52 Liberty Street, P.O. Box 4167, Metuchen, NJ 08840.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

LASA Secretariat
William Pitt Union, 9th Floor
University of Pittsburgh
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