

LASA Forum

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Hurricane Hugo Casts Adrift LASA's XV Congress by Reid Reading LASA Executive Director

It took only a few hours for Hurricane Hugo, wherever it hit, to take lives, cause millions of dollars of damage to property--and to wipe out the efforts of significant numbers of dedicated individuals who had worked on LASA's San Juan congress over the last several years. On Monday, September 17, just an hour after the winds had calmed we looked out over a city stunned by nature on a rampage. Trees were down everywhere. Huge windows on several buildings were poked out and awnings were in shreds, if attached at all. The sea off Condado Bay, always clear and beautiful, was a dull brown. Disbelieving citizens began to survey the damage and contemplate putting everything together again. Against such violence those of us who escaped unharmed felt fortunate indeed. ¹

Clearly LASA's show could not go on as scheduled, and a comprehensive survey conducted a few hours later produced serious doubts about whether a meeting of the scale of LASA's XV could be held in San Juan even over the next several weeks. Representative damage just to the Caribe Hilton: the floor-to-ceiling window panels in two of the Tower meeting rooms were blasted out; several window and door panels, frames and all, had blown out in the Expo Center, site for the book exhibit and all the on-site administrative functions, and the carpeting appeared ruined; Club Caribe C also was heavily damaged, and access to this and other meeting rooms was rainsoaked; the roof had been torn off the Galeria, our child care site; ceilings had come down in some areas; huge trees blocked access to the hotel; and most of the foliage on the grounds was devastated.

GETTING THE WORD OUT

The Caribe Hilton's phone system was knocked out, but miraculously the public phones in the lobby had dial tones. About 10:00 pm, after hours of competing for the few working phones and then trying to get a line through to

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Report from the Program Committee XVI International Congress Washington, DC April 4-6, 1991

Planning for LASA's April 1991 Washington, DC Congress is now beginning, even before LASA 89/Miami takes place. The 1991 Program Committee's work will be greatly assisted by the high level of computerization achieved by Mark Rosenberg in the preparation of the 1989 Congress. The new Program Committee expects to build on the 1989 advances and refine the process even further.

Although new and innovative dimensions that might be incorporated in LASA 91 await decisions by the Program Committee when they meet in Miami in December, some inklings of what the Committee is considering can be found in the survey on page 37. The Committee will explore the possibility of televising live a series of panels to Latin America and to campuses across the U.S., via satellite. This is feasible because a number of the commercial communications satellites presently have excess transponder capacity that can be donated for nonprofit purposes. This possibility will be pursued if the response of the membership survey indicates sufficient interest.

The official call for papers will appear in the January 1990 issue of the *LASA Forum*, along with forms to be submitted to propose panels, workshops, and other events. *The deadline for all panel and workshop proposals will be April 1, 1990.* The Program Committee will meet shortly after that, and the following six months will be spent communicating with panel organizers and creating the program schedule.

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The LASA Forum is published in the winter, spring, summer and fall. Deadlines for receipt of copy are November 20, February 20, May 20 and August 20 respectively. All submissions (on WordPerfect 5.0 where possible) should be directed to Reid Reading, Editor, LASA Forum, William Pitt Union-9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. We welcome responses to any material published in the Forum.

(Hurricane Hugo, cont.)

the U.S., contact finally was made with Harve Horowitz, LASA's hotel arrangements and exhibits representative, based near Baltimore. The next morning we were most pleased to receive a hand-delivered note from Luis Agraít, Local Arrangements Chair. It said that Harve had reached Mark Rosenberg, Program Committee chair, who in turn had called Luis at 3:00 am to confirm that he would call people to cancel the Congress for the 21-23 September dates.

In the next call to Harve (who by now was our primary contact, since he has an office in his home, and could be reached night or day on the same telephone), we emphasized that all the affected airlines should notify travelers of the cancellation and tell the passengers to retain their tickets pending further instruction.

We were relieved that word of the cancellation had gotten out of Puerto Rico so quickly under the circumstances. Also, according to news broadcasts over portable radios, the San Juan airport would not be open for incoming flights until Thursday at the very earliest. This, we thought, would buy time while the word was spread further, and that soon the airlines themselves would be able to spread the news of the cancellation, informed as they were to that effect by Around the World Travel. Meanwhile, we took it for granted that airlines would not allow passengers to board if their final destination was in crisis. It was discouraging to find out subsequently that several passengers had reached Miami even so.

ON RESCHEDULING

Negotiations with hotels in various locations on the mainland proceeded apace. Through a combination of good fortune and a highly successful, well coordinated effort by Mark and Harve, in consultation with LASA President Paul Drake, competing bids were obtained from two major hotel complexes in Miami.

It was impossible to cheer loudly, however. Everything had been in place in San Juan. Eighty volunteers, with assigned four- to five-hour shifts, had been recruited to administer the on-site functions; about 10,000 copies of panel papers had been made by Luis Agraít's Fundación Luis Muñoz Marín and other San Juan institutions and individuals; all the materials shipped from the Secretariat and Florida International University had arrived by the weekend, including more than 600 pounds of programs for on-site registrants or new members; tons of books for the book exhibit had arrived; and the band was ready to strike it up. Governor Rafael Hernández Colón had looked forward to receiving LASA attendees in the Fortaleza on Thursday evening. The flyers announcing LASA's good fortune at this felicitous change of venue for the Thursday reception had been photocopied on Saturday and were

ready to stuff into registration packets.

The pros and cons of changing the congress location came to us relentlessly. If by some miracle arrangements for space, which had taken three years to make, could be made again in Puerto Rico, it would signify a vote of support for a community adversely affected by the storm. If San Juan could demonstrate that it could host a meeting of this magnitude in the near future, LASA could help contribute to the resurgence of the tourist industry, crucial to the island's economy. LASA attendees' expenditures on the island would help the tourism industry in general, and at least some of the tax revenues would reach people in need.

On the other hand, would bringing an academic conference, an obvious luxury to many, to a place where many people were desperately attempting to reconstruct their lives, be viewed as insensitive, or perhaps even cynical? And so it went, back and forth, with the financial aspect always looming: LASA stood to lose a substantial sum of money if the meeting were moved from San Juan.²

LASA 89/MIAMI

Once the conditions of the Miami contracts were transmitted to us, we approached the Caribe Hilton, which, given the number of its guest rooms and meeting areas, was the *sine qua non* for a meeting 60 percent larger than our impressive New Orleans encounter. Raúl Bustamante, the Hilton's General Manager, was willing to match the rates and other terms of the Miami contracts; however our search in the newly restored computer system revealed no available dates through 1989 except some that were well into the December vacation period. Thus, even though a small number of very determined people in San Juan told us that all we had to do was to say the word and they would make sure the meeting would be held, our view was that this could not be guaranteed sufficiently and we relayed this judgment to the Program Committee.

On Friday, September 29, LASA signed a contract with the Intercontinental Miami, 100 Chopin Plaza, Miami FL 33131, for December 4-6, 1989. Reservation cards and an information sheet summarizing what is reported in detail here were sent to all LASA members and non-member advance registrants on Sunday, October 1. See special

MARK YOUR CALENDARS

LASA's XVI International Congress will be April 4-6, 1991, in Washington, DC.

sections in this *Forum* for complete information on accommodations.

The dates deviate from our usual Thursday-Saturday pattern, but avoid conflicting with other professional meetings and conferences that also hold to the Thursday to Saturday schedule. Reports from people who know the hotel well are very favorable. Nearby overflow accommodations are convenient.

THE SPIRIT OF LASA 89/SAN JUAN

Determined devotees of LASA 89/San Juan refused to be defeated by Hugo. Sometimes by lamplight, and other moments by candlelight, a few of us who had gathered on Saturday night, September 23, in the apartment of Iris Zavala Martínez heard Elizabeth Lira hold forth on "Human Rights Activities: Psychological Effects of Repression." An absorbing discussion ensued. There was word of similar sessions in other settings during the weekend.

...And there was the cinema. A small crowd attended LASA's mini-film festival on Friday evening. LaVonne Poteet organized the event. Poet David Huerta from Mexico introduced several of the films. *Plena is Work*, *Plena is Song*, a Puerto Rican production, won accolades from the audience. Don't miss it in Miami.

And our spirits still are high! While many would attribute this to the comic relief from pronouncements like, "Well, LASA is always kicking up a storm," or "Lucky that LASA people weren't there during the storm to add their hot air," our morale is so high because so many people came through for us. There also have been many kind words and sincere expressions of sympathy from callers over the last few days.³ Thanks to all.

1. Many in the city were not so fortunate. There even were problems in the relatively safe area the Hotel Caribe Hilton had designated as a shelter: although reinforced by plywood, a huge panel of glass which some of us were directly facing blew in at the height of the hurricane, hurling the plywood and broken glass on top of people seeking sanctuary in the densely occupied room. Several people sustained cuts. One hotel guest had a deep gash on his foot, which required medical treatment and subsequent casting.

2. Examples of these losses include refinancing the travel of LASA grantees who used all or portions of their tickets to San Juan; costs for printing and delivering more than 2,000 new addenda booklets; paying freight costs to send over several hundred pounds of program booklets as well as all other materials sent from Pittsburgh back to Miami; costs for shipping several thousand copies of panel papers for San Juan to Miami; paying for secretariat travel and expenses again, etc.

3. LASA apologizes for the inconvenience and confusion that were bound to occur. Although decisions on the scene and in Miami, Baltimore and San Diego were made quickly, the congress was so large that it was impossible to keep everyone abreast of what actions were being taken, and there was a period of time in which questions simply could not be answered.

NEW LASA OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS

Due to the rescheduling of the San Juan Congress, the terms of the new LASA President and Executive Council members will begin immediately after the Miami Conference rather than November 1. At that time, Jean Franco will become President of the Latin American Studies Association.

The 1989 election was completed on September 15, 1989, with the official vote count at the LASA Secretariat. Exactly one thousand valid ballots were received, 39 percent of the 1989 membership at the time the ballots were mailed. Lars Schoultz was elected Vice President. Susan Bourque, John Coatsworth, and Larissa Lomnitz were elected to the Executive Council, joining Peter Evans, Adolfo Figueroa, and Cynthia McClintock. Gabriel Murillo-Castaño is first alternate. Gilbert Merckx, editor of *LARR*, Richard Greenleaf, chair of CLASP, and Reid Reading, Executive Director, remain ex officio members of the Executive Council.

Warmest congratulations and many thanks to all who participated in the election. Welcome to our new Vice President and Executive Council members--we will look forward to working with them over the next 18 months.

ACCOMMODATIONS LASA 89/MIAMI

HOTEL INTERCONTINENTAL MIAMI, 100 Chopin Plaza, Miami, FL 33131 (telephones: 800-327-3005; 305-577-1000; FAX: 305-577-0384). Rates: \$79 single/double, \$95 triple; tax is 11 percent. This is the congress hotel--if possible, make reservations here as long as rooms are available. Up to 500 rooms blocked.

SHERATON BRICKELL POINT MIAMI ON BISCAYNE BAY, 495 Brickell Avenue, Miami, FL 33131 (telephones: 800-325-3535 or 305-673-6000; FAX: 305-374-2279). Rates: \$79 single/double, \$95 triple. Block: 200 rooms. Comparable to Intercontinental and a five to seven minute walk from there. Cutoff date for guarantee of these rates: November 22, 1989.

DUPONT PLAZA CENTER, 300 Biscayne Blvd., Miami, FL 33131 (telephones: 800-327-3480 or 305-358-2541; in FL, 800-432-9076). Rates: \$65 single/double (check for rates for triples). Block: 200 rooms. Not upscale, but lobby area and sleeping rooms have been refurbished within the last year. Under five minute walk to the Intercontinental.

SHELBORNE HOTEL, 1801 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, FL 33139 (telephones: 800-327-8757 or 305-531-1271). Rates: \$60 single/double (check for rates for triples). Block: 50 rooms. A beach hotel about 20-25 minutes by car from the Intercontinental.

Important Information
XV International Congress
 December 4-6, 1989
 Miami, Florida

THE PROGRAM

The San Juan program will be mirrored in Miami to the extent possible. Events scheduled for Wednesday, September 21 will take place on Monday, December 4, and so on. Meeting room locations and changes in the program will be noted in a final addendum, available on site. Please do not forget to take your program books to Miami.

As communicated in an early October mailing to all LASA members and advance registrants, all program changes must be sent in writing by November 1, 1989 to:

Mark Rosenberg, Program Chair
 Latin American and Caribbean Center
 Florida International University
 University Park, Miami, FL 33199
 Fax: 305-554-3593

TRAVEL

LASA regrets that several people had to use portions of their tickets to San Juan. You may be entitled to a new ticket if the airline initiating your travel allowed you to fly during the time when the San Juan airport was closed. Contact the travel agency which issued your ticket as a first step.

Instructions for LASA Travel Grantees

LASA congress participants holding tickets paid for by LASA please read and follow these instructions carefully. Panel Organizers: please help us communicate these requests. LASA will do everything possible over the next few weeks to reallocate funds for tickets used by LASA travel grantees. Thank you for cooperating with these requests.

1. If you have an unused airline ticket that included travel from your city to Miami, and you will attend LASA 89/Miami, keep that portion of your ticket for use in December, and return the Miami-San Juan round trip portion to the secretariat immediately.
2. If you have an unused ticket that did not include travel from your city to Miami, and you will attend LASA 89/Miami, keep your ticket pending further instructions. We will try to arrange for conversion of your ticket.
3. If you have an unused ticket, or portion of a ticket, and you cannot attend LASA 89/Miami, please return the ticket to the secretariat immediately.

Rebooking /New Travel

Check with Around the World Travel (ATWT) about the possibilities for applying the value of tickets (even restricted ones, given an act of God) purchased through them to travel to Miami. ATWT will attempt to obtain the best fares to Miami for new customers. Booking through ATWT helps LASA. Call 800-327-0180 outside Florida, or 800-330-3434 in Florida. Identify yourself as a LASA traveler. Check ATWT for automobile rental rates.

PAPERS

If you sent your paper to San Juan by the deadline, copies of your paper should appear in the paper sales area of LASA 89/Miami on time. If you did not meet this deadline, or are uncertain about it, you may send an original copy to Mark Rosenberg at Florida International University (see address above). Your original must arrive by November 10. Write "LASA" on the outside of your envelope. Check previous correspondence for specifications.

HOTEL REFUNDS

Marcia Rivera, Program Committee member, has committed to help recover funds sent to Puerto Rican hotels to guarantee the first night's reservations in congress hotels. Follow-up calls to our San Juan hotels confirm that they are cooperating.

REGISTRATION

Advance registration will not be reopened. To all who will attend LASA 89/Miami and have not paid preregistration fees: please pay your registrations on-site. All attendees must register. No exceptions can be granted. Please understand the importance of helping LASA with its expenses, especially given the unfortunate turn of events.

Advance registrations already paid for LASA XV/San Juan will of course be honored in Miami. Since LASA has lost several thousand dollars because of the postponement, we would ask those who paid their advance registrations but will not attend LASA XV/Miami, to consider donating the value of their advance registration to LASA to help cover losses. To donate, simply do not request a refund. LASA will acknowledge your generosity in a published list.

As previously announced, those wishing refunds must write

to the Secretariat by November 10.

GRAN BAILE

Our landmark social event will be held on Tuesday at 9:00 pm. If you did not purchase tickets in advance, they will be available at the door.

CHILD CARE

Contact Mark Rosenberg, address above, for child care arrangements.

A PLEA FOR SUPPORT

Several avenues are available for those who wish to support LASA at this critical juncture. First, even at this late date, we are hopeful that many of the 700 individuals who have not yet renewed their memberships for 1989 will do so as soon as possible. If your colleagues are not 1989 members, please provide them with photocopies of the form in this issue. All those renewing will receive back issues of *LARR* and the *LASA Forum*.

Second, please renew now for 1990. In order to keep things simple at the congress, we will be processing memberships there only for 1989. We will process all 1990 applications by mail, only.

Third, please encourage colleagues who were unable to attend the San Juan Congress because of time constraints to consider attending the Miami Congress.

Fourth, please contribute generously to the Puerto Rico relief effort. See page 11. We hope to make at least some impact on a most unfortunate situation, especially now that U.S. relief efforts seem concentrated elsewhere.

Finally, please contribute to the LASA endowment. We will use the interest on the Lourdes Casal component of the fund to support a Cuban participant in the XV congress, and as the fund grows more of the proceeds can be used for this kind of support.

**RENEW YOUR LASA
MEMBERSHIP NOW**

FORMS FOR 1990 ARE ON PAGE 51.

Research Seminar in Nicaragua June 17-July 1, 1989

by
Thomas W. Walker
Ohio University
and
Harvey Williams
The University of the Pacific

LASA sponsored its fifth annual research seminar in Nicaragua from June 17 through July 1, 1989. 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 extensive exposure to the current situation in Nicaragua and with an introduction to universities, think tanks, research facilities, and colleagues there. The sixteen participants included nine professors, two Ph.D. candidates, four M.A. candidates and one religious educator. The academic disciplines represented were community health, economics, history, labor relations, Latin American studies, philosophy, political science, social work, sociology and Spanish.

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 \$1200 (\$1000 for students) covered all seminar costs including round-trip travel between Mexico City and Managua. The itinerary was designed to reflect the general interests of the group which this year clustered around political economy, church and state, and women in the revolution. Emphasis was also placed on preparations for the 1990 election. In addition, specific interests of participants were considered and individual activities arranged where possible. The two week itinerary included the following activities:

Saturday, June 17. Arrival in Managua, dinner, and introduction.

Sunday, June 18. Morning trip to Boaco, the capital of Region V, one of the few areas in the country in which the *contras* once had a substantial civilian base. Accompanying 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). Visit to the Santa Lucía Credit and Service Cooperative (CCS). There CCS Director Ernesto Herrera Piñeda explained the UNAG/Ford Foundation appropriate technology soil and water conservation project implemented with

the technical advice of Mexican peasants. Afternoon interview with FSLN Federal Deputy Juan Tijerino and his wife Piedad in their home in Boaco. Juan is a cattleman. Piedad was a founding member of the pre-revolutionary Association of Women Facing the National Problematic (AMPRONAC).

Monday, June 19. Meeting with Jesuit Father Alvaro Argüello, former member of the Council of State and current Chair of the Graduate Program of International Relations at UCA. Topic: The current situation in Nicaragua. Meeting with Juan Arrien, Vice Minister of Education for Planning. Topic: The history of education and the impact of the war. Lunch with Jairo Arce, coordinator of the Board of Directors of the Peace and Justice Service (SERPAJ) and Rev. Carlos Escorcía, Executive Secretary of The Evangelical Commission for Responsible Social Development (CEPRES). Topics: The work of SERPAJ in monitoring the peace effort and the role of Protestantism in revolutionary Nicaragua. Afternoon visit to the Mercado Roberto Huembes, one of the major public markets constructed after the revolutionary victory. Dinner with economist Jesuit Father Xavier Gorostiaga and Patricia O'Kane both of the Regional Coordination for Economic and Social Research (CRIES). Topic: Economic planning.

Tuesday, June 20. Meeting with Mignonne Vega Sánchez, a sociologist and researcher at the Instituto de la Mujer. Topic: The status of women and the role of the Institute. Briefing at the United States Embassy with John Boardman, Political Counselor, Louis Falino, Public Affairs Officer, Valentino Martínez, Political Officer, and Christopher McMullen, Political/Economics officer. Topics: The current situation in Nicaragua, upcoming elections, and U.S. policy. Meeting with Vilma Nuñez de Escorcía, Director of the National Committee for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights (CNPPDH) and former Vice President of the Nicaraguan Supreme Court. Topic: Human rights in Nicaragua. Afternoon meeting with Guerrilla Commander René Vivas, Vice Minister of the Interior. Topics: Defense, internal security, and human rights. Dinner with Laura Enriquez, a U.S. sociologist teaching at UCA and working with The National Food Program (PAN). Topic: Food and agriculture.

Wednesday, June 21. Visits to the Antonio Valdivieso Ecumenical Center (CAV) bookstore and the Ministry of Culture bookstore. Lunch with Marvin Happel, Director of the American Nicaraguan School and part-time small businessman/farmer. Topic: Running an American school and doing business in revolutionary Nicaragua. Meeting with National Assemblypersons on the National Council on Political Parties (CPP) Danilo Aguirre Solís and Angela Rosa Acevedo. Topic: The role of the CPP in the electoral process. Meeting with members of the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE): Rodolfo Sandino Argüello, Acting President; Guillermo Selva Argüello, First Vice President

(representing the Liberal Independent Party [PLI]); and Rosa Marina Zelaya, Alternate Member (representing the FSLN) and Secretary of the CSE. Topic: Preparations for and rules governing the 1990 elections. Evening gathering for part of the group, with poets Daisy Zamora and Claribel Alegría.

Thursday, June 22. Early morning meeting with Paul Oquist, Advisor to President Daniel Ortega. A Ph.D. in Political Science from Berkeley and now a naturalized Nicaraguan citizen, Oquist discussed the low intensity war and the current situation in Nicaragua. Meeting with Guillermo Quant, Vice President of The Higher Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) representing the Nicaraguan Chamber of Commerce. Topic: State-private sector relations. Midmorning departure for Matagalpa in the North. Lunch at Selva Negra, a privately-owned resort in the mountains above Matagalpa. Afternoon meeting with the Committee of Heroes and Martyrs. Dialogue with about eighty mothers of young people killed in the War of Liberation and the contra war. Visit to the Committee's housing project for mothers. Dinner and overnight stay at Selva Negra.

Friday, June 23. The group witnessed and attended a children's parade and piñata party in Matagalpa celebrating the birthday of martyred FSLN founder, Carlos Fonseca Amador. Midmorning meeting with Miguel Ruiz, Augusto César Cisneros, and Ernesto López of the Communal Movement Committee (formerly Sandinista Defense Committee) of the Carlos Fonseca Amador neighborhood of Matagalpa. Topic: The current situation of the urban grassroots organizations. Lunch at the Sandinista People's Army (EPS) Military Club in Matagalpa. Departure for Estelí. En route visit to a Sandinista Agrarian Cooperative (CAS), the Augusto César Sandino Cooperative in San Isidro. Conversations with San Isidro Mayor Luis Antonio Martínez and CAS president Eduardo Flores Gutiérrez. Arrival in Estelí. Late afternoon visit to National Institute for the Rescue of Folk Medicine. Interview with Filiberto Cruz, the Director of Data. Topics: The history and function of the Institute and the role of folk medicine in the revolutionary health system.

Saturday, June 24. In the morning the group divided into two subgroups. One went in the back of a pickup truck with José "Chepe" Martínez (the Director of Public Relations and Training for UNAG in Region 1) to Miraflores, a heavily war-impacted potato-growing region about an hour's drive into the backlands northwest of Estelí. There they talked with members of a kibbutz-like CAS (The Teodosio Pravia Cooperative) at El Segovial, and visited with the manager of a People's Store (Tienda Popular) at a similar CAS in Puertas Azules. (Both of these CASs are *asentamientos* or war resettlement villages organized as agricultural self defense communities.) Meanwhile, the other group went to the Aldea SOS children's village in Estelí and met with house mother Marta López. Late afternoon

visit to the Casa de Parto (The Childbirth House) in Estelí where we interviewed its Director, Alicia Huete. Topic: The function of the Casa and the role of midwives in revolutionary health care.

Sunday, June 25. Early morning meeting with lay Delegates of the Word and Catechists from about twenty local Christian Base Communities (CEBs) at the church of Father Ernesto Bravo in La Trinidad, a town about a half hour south of Estelí. Topic: The current situation and role of CEBs. Mid-morning visit to the Pedro Altamirano Subregional Hospital in La Trinidad. Interview with Sara Laguna Benevides, President of the Federation of Health Workers (FETSALUD) local, and Carmen Picado, hospital administrator. Topic: War and the crisis in curative health care. Lunch in Managua. In the afternoon the group divided into three sub-groups. The largest group travelled to the Pacific Coast beach at Pochomil for recreation including swimming and the consumption of rum and cola, lobsters and huge freshly-caught red snappers. Of those who stayed in Managua, one group attended a concert by Enrique Mejía Godoy and "los de Palacagüina," while another attended evening mass at the church of revolutionary priest Uriel Molina in Barrio Rigüero. Those who did the latter also participated in a meeting with Molina after the service.

Monday, June 26. Meeting with Marta Medina, Director of Planning of the Ministry of Health. Topic: Health care delivery in a situation of war and economic scarcity. Mid-morning meeting with Reinaldo Antonio Téfel, the Minister President of the Nicaraguan Institute of Social Security and Integral Welfare (INSSBI). Topic: The impact of war and economic crisis on Nicaragua's social programs. Lunch with Oscar René Vargas, a former FSLN militant who currently runs ECOTECTURA, a new research and technological development institute. Topic: Constructive criticism of FSLN policy making. Afternoon visit to the Center for the Investigation of Latin American Reality (CIRA), a new research institute concerned with history, labor relations and the situation of women. Conversations with CIRA personnel Marvin Wallace, Director; Xiomara Chamorro, Documents Editor; and Telma Argüello, Director of Women's Affairs. Topics: The role and function of CIRA and constructive criticism of FSLN policy making. Others of the group interviewed INSSBI professionals Marcia Ramírez, Director of General Welfare programs, and Adilia Amaya, Director of Family Protection Services. They also made an on-site visit to the INSSBI-sponsored project for street children in the Mercado Oriental.

Tuesday, June 27. Meeting with National Assembly Deputy (FSLN) and head of the Autonomy Commission, Ray Hooker, concerning the history of the Atlantic Coast and the recent autonomy process. Meeting with National Assembly Deputy (FSLN) and leader of the Protestant Development Committee (CEPAD) Sixto Ulloa in the

National Assembly building. Topic: Protestants and the revolution. Afternoon visit to the Center for the Investigation and Documentation of the Atlantic Coast (CIDCA). Conversation with CIDCA Director Galio Gurdíán as well as Dennis Williamson, German Romero, Danilo Salamanca and Miguel Gray, also of CIDCA. Topics: The role of CIDCA and the current situation on the Atlantic Coast. Interview with Communal Movement organizer for District 3, Managua, Orlando Blandón. Topic: The current situation of the urban grassroots organizations. Dinner with Alejandro Bendaña, Secretary General of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry. Topic: The peace process and the international context.

Wednesday, June 28. Meeting with Vida Luz Meneses, Director of International Relations, and Ruben Bak, Director of Theological Formation, of the Antonio Valdivieso Ecumenical Center (CAV). Topic: The debate over Liberation Theology, CEBs, etc. in the Church in revolutionary Nicaragua. Meeting with Judy Butler, Editor of the English language edition of *Envío* at the Central American Historical Institute (IHCA). Topics: The work of IHCA, *Envío*, and the current situation in Nicaragua. Lunch with Judy Butler. Early afternoon return visit to the Roberto Huembes Market. Late afternoon interview with Alejandro Martínez Cuenca, Nicaraguan Minister of Budget and Planning. Topics: Economic planning, war and the current crisis. Dinner with Carlos Vilas, Argentine sociologist and the 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 Americas Prize. Topic: constructive criticism of FSLN policy making.

Thursday, June 29. Visit to the Casa Benjamin Linder, headquarters for a number of organizations of U.S. citizens critically supportive of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua. Visit to the opinion polling and research institute, ITZTANI. Conversations with ITZTANI personnel, Cirilio Otero, Sub-Director in Charge of Public Opinion Surveys; Orlando Morales, Agricultural Sector; Ada Julia Brenes, Women's Sector; and Freddy Quesada, Opinion Surveys. Topic: The role of ITZTANI. Interview with Mons. Bismarck Carballo, Director of Catholic Radio and of Public Relations for the Archbishopric. Topics: Religious persecution and the role of the Church in the peace process. Afternoon meeting with Lt. Cl. Rosa Pasos, Press Officer for the Sandinista People's Army (EPS). Topic: The problem of defense. Late afternoon social with William Martínez and other representatives of CONAPRO Héroes y Mártires, LASA's sister organization. Dinner with CONAPRO members.

Friday, June 30. Trip through the Carazo highlands to Masaya. Stop in Niquinhomo, the birthplace of Sandino. Shopping and lunch in Masaya. Visit to the Volcano of Santiago.

(continued on page 9)

MEDIA AND BOOK AWARDS

The 1989 Bryce Wood Book Award Committee of LASA has designated Thomas Skidmore as the recipient of the first Bryce Wood Book Award for his book, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-85*, published by Oxford University Press, 1988. An honorable mention was awarded to Patricia Seed for *To Love, Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821*, published by Stanford University Press.

Over 90 books were reviewed by the Committee, which was composed of Professors John D. Wirth, chair, Department of History, Stanford University; Francine Masiello, Department of Spanish and Comparative Literature, University of California at Berkeley; and Karen L. Remmer, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico.

Pamela Constable of *The Boston Globe* was selected to receive the LASA Media Award in recognition of her long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America. Constable was selected by the LASA Task Force on the Mass Media chaired by Richard A. Nuccio, Georgetown University. Task Force members were: Marvin Alisky, Arizona State University; Robin K. Anderson, Fordham University; Peter Hakim, Inter American Dialogue; A. Douglas Kincaid, Florida International University; Jack Spence, University of Massachusetts; and Peter Winn, Tufts University.

Congratulations and thanks to Thomas Skidmore and Pamela Constable for their contributions to scholarly and journalistic work on Latin America. Awards will be made at the Business meeting of LASA's XV International Congress in Miami. Thanks also to the Task Force members who devoted their time to this endeavor.

(Nicaragua, cont.)

Saturday, July 1. Departure from Managua.

This year we were again successful in obtaining interviews with almost all individuals from whom they were requested. These included a variety of government officials as well as a wide spectrum of opposition spokespersons and government critics on the right and the left. There were remarkably few last minute cancellations.

Given the success of the first five seminars, it is likely that LASA will sponsor a sixth trip in June or August of 1990. As in the past, it will be open to all LASA members, regardless of political point of view. In fact, *diversity of opinion is most welcome*. For further information, write or call: Thomas W. Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701 (614-593-1339) or Harvey Williams, Department of Sociology, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211 (209-946-2101).

CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD NOMINATIONS

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites LASA members to nominate candidates for the 1991 award, to be made at the XVI International Congress in Washington, DC. Nominations should be sent to the LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, by March 15, 1990, along with 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.

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

UNA DEDICATORIA

The September 1989 issue of La Revista de Bellas Artes, published by the Centro de Bellas Artes in San Juan, carried this dedication:

El Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Estudios Latinoamericanos (LASA) es una ocasión especial para el Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico siempre ha sido un pueblo hospitalario y acogedor; casa de buena voluntad; batey abierto al diálogo libre y creador.

La presencia de tantos estudiosos e investigadores de América Latina y del Caribe; de los Estados Unidos y Canadá; de Europa y de Asia, nos recuerdan en la amplitud del intercambio de ideas que provocara las palabras de Don Rómulo Betancourt:

"Puerto Rico se convirtió en el asilo de todos los hombres libres de América y de Europa. Aquí pudimos vivir, crear Pablo Casals, Pedro Salinas, Luis Alberto Sánchez, Ciro Alegría. Los argentinos, los dominicanos, los nicaragüenses encontraban en este pueblo acogedor y en Luis Muñoz Marín el estímulo, el apoyo, la solidaridad".

El Centro de Bellas Artes ha sido igualmente casa de buena voluntad para todas las manifestaciones de la cultura y ha ofrecido al pueblo de Puerto Rico y a sus visitantes una ventana al lenguaje universal del arte así como un sólido baluarte de afirmación de la capacidad del pueblo puertorriqueño.

Espero que durante su estadía los participantes del Congreso Internacional de LASA tengan la ocasión de compartir el ofrecimiento cultural del Centro.

Carmen Junco
Gerente General

COMMITTEES AND TASK FORCES 1989-91

The following committees and task forces have been named to serve through March 1991. The composition of the XVI Congress Finance and Local Arrangements Committees have not yet been finalized, nor has the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba. These, along with the Working Groups, will be reported in the next issue of the *LASA Forum*.

Nominations Committee

Thomas Skidmore, Chair (Department of History, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912)
Kathleen Newman (University of Iowa)
Marianne Schmink (University of Florida)
John Sheahan (Williams College)
William Smith (University of Miami)
Carlos Waisman (University of California at San Diego)

Congress Program Committee, Washington, DC 1991

Michael Conroy, Chair (Department of Economics, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712)
Arturo Arias (University of Texas)
Elizabeth Jelín (CEDES, Buenos Aires)
Francesca Miller (University of California at Davis)
Jennifer Schirmer (Wellesley College)
Mitchell Seligson (University of Pittsburgh)

Kalman Silvert Award Committee

Paul Drake, Chair (Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92092)
Cole Blasier (Hispanic Division, Library of Congress)
Wayne Cornelius (University of California at San Diego)
Gilbert Merckx (University of New Mexico)

Bryce Wood Book Award Committee

Georgette Dorn, Chair (Hispanic Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540)
George Priestly (Queens College)
Cynthia Steele (University of Washington at Seattle)

Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom

Michael Fleet, Chair (Department of Political Science, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI 53211)
Marie Claire Acosta (Amnesty International, Mexico)
Adolfo Aguilar Zinzer (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace)
William Bollinger (Interamerican Research Center)
Holly Burkhalter (Americas Watch)
Christina Cerna (Inter-American Human Rights Commission, OAS)
Bell Chevigny (SUNY)
Ralph Della Cava (Queens College)
Patricia Fagen
John Gitlitz (SUNY at Purchase)

Robert Goldman (American University)
Jack Hammond (Hunter College)
Margaret Keck (Yale University)
Beatriz Manz (Wellesley College)
Kenneth Sharpe (Swarthmore College)
Jack Tobin (Harvard University)
J. Samuel Valenzuela (University of Notre Dame)
Alexander Wilde (Washington Office on Latin America)

Task Force on the Mass Media

Richard Nuccio, Chair (Georgetown University)
Marvin Alisky (Arizona State University)
Robin Anderson (Fordham University)
Peter Hakim (Interamerican Dialogue)
Deedee Hallek (University of California at San Diego)
William Hinchberger (Third World Magazine)
A. Douglas Kincaid (Florida International University)
Jack Spence (University of Massachusetts)

Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua and Central America

Rose Spalding, Chair (Department of Political Science, DePaul University, 2323 N. Seminary Avenue, Chicago, IL 60614)
Leslie Anderson (University of Colorado at Boulder)
Craig Auchter (Butler University)
John Booth (North Texas State University)
Amalia Chamorro (Universidad Centroamérica)
Michael Conroy (University of Texas at Austin)
Elizabeth Dore (Middlebury College)
Laura Enriquez (University of California at Berkeley)
Charles Hale (University of Washington at Seattle)
Mark Rosenberg (Florida International University)
Jack Spence (University of Massachusetts)
Carlos Vilas (CIDCA, Nicaragua)
Thomas Walker (Ohio University)
Harvey Williams (University of the Pacific)

Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union

Peter Winn, Chair (Department of History, Tufts University, Medford MA 02155)
Philip Brenner (American University)
Margaret Crahan (Occidental College)
Richard Feinberg (Overseas Development Council)
Ivan Shulman (University of Illinois at Urbana)

Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Spain

Federico Gil, Chair (Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 314 Hamilton, 070A, Chapel Hill, NC 27514)
Wilfredo Corral (Stanford University)
Rafael Lopez Pintor
Eusebio Mujal-Leon (Georgetown University)
Joaquin Roy (University of Miami)
Pilar Saro (Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana)

Joseph Tulchin (University of North Carolina)
Diana Velez (Tinker Foundation)

Task Force on Women in Latin American Studies

Edna Acosta-Belen, Co-Chair (Department of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, SUNY at Albany, SS-250, Albany, NY 12222)

Norma Chinchilla, Co-Chair (Women's Studies Program, California State University at Long Beach, Long Beach, CA 90840)

Joan Anderson (University of San Diego)

Elli Bartra (Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana)

Susan Bourque (Smith College)

Elsa Chaney

Helen Delpar (University of Alabama)

Kristyna Demaru (California State University)

Cornelia Flora (Kansas State University)

Virginia Leonard (Western Illinois University)

Stacey Schlau (West Chester University)

Elena Urrutia (Colegio de México)

NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 1991 SLATE

LASA members are invited to suggest potential nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning May 1, 1991.

Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and 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, which must be sent by July 1, 1990 to: Thomas Skidmore, Chair, LASA Nominations Committee, Department of History, Brown University, Providence, RI, 02912.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until October 31, 1992, and as President for an additional eighteen months. Executive Council members will serve a three-year term from May 1, 1991 to April 30 1994.

The members of the Nominations Committee are Thomas Skidmore, Chair; Kathleen Newman, University of Iowa; Marianne Schmink, University of Florida; John Sheahan, Williams College; William Smith, University of Miami; and Carlos Waisman, University of California at San Diego.

LASA FAX NUMBER

LASA can be contacted by FAX at 412-624-7145, and is currently investigating electronic network services.

FAREWELL AND THANKS TO LYNN YOUNG WELCOME TO LISA DUCKWORTH

The Latin American Studies Association must regretfully say goodbye to Lynn M. Young, Assistant to the Executive Director, who has left LASA to join the University of Pittsburgh Center for Latin American Studies. Lynn, who joined LASA in May of 1986, was instrumental in reorganizing the administration of the office as well as expanding LASA membership to nearly 3000 members. Lynn came to LASA after working in Mexico in an administrative and fundraising capacity at an orphanage and several language schools. Concurrently with her work at LASA and now at the Center, Lynn is pursuing a Master's in Business Administration at the Katz School of Business, University of Pittsburgh, with a focus on economic development.

Although we are sorry to say goodbye to Lynn, we are happy to welcome Lisa Duckworth as the new Assistant to the Executive Director. Lisa comes to LASA from her position as Assistant Director for Institutional Relations of Denmark's International Study Program, a university exchange program. She recently completed a master's degree at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh. She has studied at the Fundação Getulio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro and the Universidad de Puerto Rico.

LASA MEMBERS

are invited to

AID PUERTO RICO

in its efforts at
reconstruction.

Please contribute to *Dale la mano a Puerto Rico*. Send donations to: Mrs. Lila Hernández Colón, La Fortaleza, P.O. Box 82, San Juan, PR 00901.

LASA - USSR Academy of Sciences Exchange: An Appraisal*

by
Russell H. Bartley

Nine years have passed since LASA entered into a formal exchange agreement with the Latin American Institute (ILA) of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Moscow. As one who was involved in negotiating that agreement and whose own professional dealings with Soviet Latin Americanists span more than twenty years, I wish to offer some thoughts on the LASA-ILA exchange. It is perhaps well to point out that I make these observations from a certain distance, inasmuch as significant differences of perspective early led to my exclusion from LASA's Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union. I have had no involvement in the exchange since 1981.

The primary purposes of the LASA-ILA exchange, as expressed by former Task Force chairman Cole Blasier, were 1) to open new avenues of communication between the United States and the Soviet Union with a view to "promoting mutual interests and reducing tensions;" 2) "to learn about the scholars and publications of the largest single research institution on Latin America in the world..., as well as about scholarship on the area at other [Soviet] institutes and universities;" and 3) "to increase our knowledge of the impact of the Soviet Union on Latin America and vice versa." [LASA Newsletter, Winter 1983] Implicit in this statement of purpose is that LASA as a professional organization, and the scholars it serves, should be the beneficiaries of insights and knowledge gained through the ongoing exchange with Soviet colleagues. In actuality, it seems to me, this has not been the case. Indeed, the exchange is currently moribund, although I doubt that the LASA membership is aware of that fact from the remarkably uninformative Task Force notes that continue to appear in the *Forum*.

From the outset it has seemed to me that this exchange was conceived on the U.S. side more as an exercise in intelligence gathering than as a genuine scholarly endeavor. Whereas the Soviets have reported fully in their journal of Latin American studies, *Latinskaia Amerika*, only the most cursory of summaries have appeared in LASA's *Newsletter* and *Forum*, and nothing at all in the *Latin American Research Review*. While the Soviets have published several papers by LASA members (e.g. Kaufman, Lowenthal, Portes), there has been no reciprocity on the U.S. side. This is especially lamentable in light of the fifth and unfortunately final symposium held in Leningrad under LASA-ILA auspices in June 1986, at which an inexcusable confrontation of personalities led to the effective termination of the exchange -- including the publications exchange -- to the considerable detriment of those few U.S. Latin Americanists who have serious research interests in the USSR. Recent Task Force notes in the *Forum* about "broadening relations with the Soviet scholarly community," a new emphasis on "individual and small group visits," and

short-term "research and consultation awards" from IREX to be "coordinated with the Institute of Latin America of the USSR Academy of Sciences" are thoroughly deceptive. As things now stand, the exchange is dead and the Institute in Moscow is not receiving U.S. Latin Americanists sponsored by the Task Force.

To give the LASA membership some insight into how the Soviet side has approached its relationship with the Association and what they have reported to their own scholarly community, as well as some sense of what transpired at the last LASA-ILA symposium in Leningrad, I offer the following excerpts from a summary of that meeting published in the November 1986 issue of *Latinskaia Amerika*:

In his opening remarks, Viktor Volsky underscored that the practice initiated in 1981 of holding regular meetings in the USSR and the United States between Soviet and U.S. Latin Americanists fosters the exchange of ideas between scholars of the two countries and contributes to peaceful cooperation and enhanced mutual understanding.

The theme of this latest symposium - "Latin American Revolutions in the 20th Century" - allowed the Soviet and American colleagues to raise and discuss a wide range of economic, social and political issues and to trace basic trends in the region's revolutionary process. The sharply polemical nature of discussion revealed substantial differences in how given phenomena are perceived. Nonetheless, the discussion was useful, inasmuch as participants generally agreed that it afforded them an opportunity to learn about each other's methodology and research and to have a frank exchange of views on current issues in the Latin American field.

The first topic on the symposium's agenda, "Economic and Social Factors and Preconditions of Latin American Revolutions," was examined by Frederick Nunn, L.L. Klochkovskii and B. M. Merin. Discussion focused on the nature and tendencies of class struggle in the region and the role of the working class and other social forces in Latin American revolutions. The American participants in the meeting differed from the Soviet scholars in denying that the proletariat plays a growing role in the revolutionary liberation movement. What matters,

*Professor Bartley's article, as well as the responses that follow, are reproduced as they were received by the *Forum*.

argued the American specialists, is not class and class struggle, but rather the political positions and actions of diverse social groups, particularly the youth. In his closing remarks, Volsky stressed that however complex and contradictory the processes of social change in Latin America may be, class struggle in fact plays a decisive role.

The second topic on the program, "The Agrarian Question in Latin American Revolutions" (papers by Brian Loveman and M.V. Kulakov), produced animated discussion on the role of the peasantry and rural proletariat in the social life of the Latin American countries. Many participants shared the view that in present conditions it is incorrect to speak of the Latin American peasantry in general, inasmuch as conditions vary greatly from one country to another and each must be subjected to scholarly analysis.

The divergent positions of the Soviet and American scholars were especially apparent in the discussion of "External Factors in Latin American Revolutions," a topic covered in papers by Cole Blasier and P.P. Yakovlev. In the course of discussion it became clear that the question of external factors in Latin American revolutions represents one of the most complex issues of contemporary Latin American studies, continually producing sharp clashes of approach and viewpoint.

The following four sessions were devoted to an examination of the major Latin American revolutions of the 20th century: the Mexican, Bolivian, Cuban and Nicaraguan. Michael Meyer and Yu. I. Vizgunova gave papers on "The Mexican Revolution in the Historical Context of Latin America." It was noted that the revolution of 1910-1917 represented a turning point in the history of Mexico, inasmuch as it undermined the rule of the most reactionary segment of the bourgeois-landholding oligarchy, dealt a blow to pre-capitalist relations, heightened the consciousness of the working masses, and created conditions for a more rapid development of the country. There was general agreement among the participants that the revolution in Mexico influenced the course of history throughout the region.

"The Bolivian Revolution: Causes, Consequences, Lessons and Prospects" was the title of a paper by UCLA professor James Wilkie, who was himself unable to attend the symposium. The U.S. was therefore represented by Jerry Ladman, the Soviet side by A.D. Ignat'ev. It was emphasized that the triumph of the 1952 revolution constituted an important historical experience for the left in Bolivia, influencing diverse sectors of Bolivian society, including the military, from whose ranks emerged a

group of nationalistic officers. In the course of discussion, the American participants argued that the fruits of the revolution have been enjoyed above all by the middle sectors of the populace.

"Twenty-five Years of the Cuban Revolution: Social Aspects" was the topic of papers by Richard Fagan and A.D. Bekarevich. Commentators were A.V. Eliseev, Brian Loveman and V. Volsky. Volsky vigorously rejected the thesis of U.S. scholars that Cuba is "dependent" on the USSR. He drew participants' attention to the fundamentally different nature of relations between capitalist and socialist countries.

Most timely was discussion of the symposium's final topic: "The Nicaraguan Revolution and International Relations." Papers were presented by Lars Schoultz and A.N. Glinkin. Discussion once again revealed profound divergences of viewpoint between Soviet and American colleagues. Nonetheless, symposium participants were united in the view that it is essential to exert every effort to find a peaceful solution to the situation in Nicaragua and throughout Central America. In this sense, there was a positive assessment of the efforts the "Contadora Group".

The symposium has confirmed once more the wisdom and usefulness of meetings between Soviet and U.S. Latin Americanists, who, despite deep and serious differences, have an objective interest in continuing to promote dialogue among scholars of the two countries.

While this summary may suffer from familiar rhetorical formulations and in fact offers limited insight into the particulars of debate at the Leningrad meeting, it does provide Soviet readers with a general sense of what transpired in that last exchange between Soviet and U.S. Latin Americanists, which is substantially more than LASA has provided its constituency. Moreover, it reconfirms ILA's commitment to continuing cooperation and dialogue with U.S. colleagues.

The one requirement for renewed exchange between ILA and LASA is simply a reaffirmation of mutual respect and good faith. Here, regrettably, LASA's Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union has not acquitted itself well. From its inception the Task Force has been dominated by a cold war myopia antithetical to scholarly exchange. In a curious way, historical roles seem to have been reversed: it is the Task Force which over the past nine years has reflected a programmatic rigidity more characteristic of pre-Gorbachev *apparatchiki* than of critical-minded American scholars, while our Soviet colleagues have shown themselves far more open to a meaningful

exchange of views and ideas than have their LASA counterparts.

This, too, is reflected in *Latinskaia Amerika's* summary of the June 1986 ILA-LASA symposium. Negatively, it is reflected as well in the Task Force's failure to inform LASA membership of the critical juncture reached on that occasion in the Association's evolving relationship with ILA and its subsequent attempt to cover up what amounts to a unilateral termination of that relationship by LASA.

The Latin American Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences remains "the largest single research institution on Latin America in the world" and for that reason alone warrants a continuing institutional relationship with LASA. Task Force circumlocutions about the desirability of "broadening relations with the Soviet scholarly community" beyond ILA, while in principle meritorious, in reality mask the Task Force's inability to conduct responsible relations with the core institution of Latin American studies in the Soviet Union. What is urgently required at this point is *perestroika* of the Task Force. The best interests of LASA and the profession demand it.

RESPONSES TO BARTLEY

The US/USSR Exchange
in Latin American Studies
by

Cole Blasier

Chair, LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations
with the Soviet Union, 1980-86

LASA members who wish to evaluate the US/USSR Exchange in Latin American Studies may find a brief history of the exchange helpful. This account is limited to my own experience, but others may have testimony about the exchange.

Origin. My interest was a natural outcome of graduate work at Columbia University where I studied Russian and specialized in international relations and Soviet studies and wrote my Ph.D. dissertation on Soviet relations with Latin America. During the winter 1978-79, which I spent in Moscow as a senior researcher on an ACLS/Academy of Sciences exchange, I proposed that LASA and the Institute of Latin America (ILA) establish an exchange in Latin American studies. After arrangements for sponsors had been made on both sides, a delegation of three members from ILA came to Pittsburgh in October 1980 to plan the exchange.

Conferences and Visits. Subsequently, we had five conferences: Pushino-Moscow (1981), Pittsburgh (1982), Erevan (1983), Hilton Head (1984), and Leningrad (1986),

as well as several business meetings conducted separately or during the conferences. Alex Portes, Richard Newfarmer, and Michael Meyer chaired the last three conferences. Except for conference chairs, no American scholar participated in more than one conference in the Soviet Union.

In the visits to the Soviet Union we met with Soviet scholars or officials at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, the Institute of Universal History, Institute of the USA and Canada, the journal *Latinskaia Amerika*, the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Institute of the International Workers Movement, the U.S. Embassy, and at some comparable institutes in Moscow and other cities. On its trips to the United States the Soviet group visited similar organizations in Washington, New York, and at various university campuses.

A New Format. In 1986, after returning from the USSR and on completing my term as chair, I recommended to the Task Force and to IREX that we try a new format, moving from the relatively large conference to research visits for about a month for one or two scholars each. My reasons were that we had five conferences in a row, which was suitable in the introductory stages, but that research visits would permit deeper acquaintance with the work of the other. In view of its own fiscal stringencies and our frequent conferences, IREX was not disposed to fund the exchange for at least another year. There was precedent for skipping a year because no conference had been held in 1985. In his letter published in these columns Wesley Fisher of IREX discusses funding problems. (See page 16.)

Two Spinoff Exchanges. In the meantime, two other exchanges developed that were offshoots, or at least related to the LASA exchange. The first was led by Ivan Shulman in Latin American literature, about the formation of which I was consulted and to which I gave strong support. The other emerged from Richard Feinberg's participation earlier and at Hilton Head when a group of us urged him to take the leadership in a US/USSR exchange in Third World economics. My impression is that both have been successful.

Journals. During my Moscow stay in the winter of 1979 the journal *Latinskaia Amerika* published my contribution to a round-table discussion and subsequently published articles by several of the participants in the exchange. Up to that time U.S. scholars had rarely appeared in that journal. We felt that its publication marked a step forward in our relations. Most of what is published in *Latinskaia Amerika*, including Soviet reports of the exchange, is accessible to U.S. scholars in the Spanish language version, *America Latina*.

In the early 1980s I was able to secure funding for two special visits to the USSR and invited the editors of the *Latin American Research Review (LARR)* and the *Hispanic*

American Historical Review (HAHR), both of whose editorial judgment I respect, to make two week visits to the USSR. The editor of *HAHR*, John Johnson, went but Gil Merckx of *LARR* was unable to go. While I discussed criteria for the publication of Soviet articles with them, I had no wish to interfere in the publication process. Like Soviet editors, they determine what they publish. I am not aware that any work by Soviet authors was submitted to them other than the excellent "Notes of a Latin-Americanist" by M.S. Al'perovich, introduced and translated by Russell Bartley and published in *HAHR* 3, 1982. Part of the arrangements for this article were made during our 1981 conference visit.

Scholarly Publications. We made great efforts to organize a book exchange, but it ceased because we were unable to find a continuing funding source and Soviet shipments differed little from what was already being made available in the U.S.

Partly as a result of interactions generated by the exchange there has been a surge of publications about the USSR and Latin America. Two books published in the series of the University of Pittsburgh Press were Aldo Vacs, *Discrete Partners, Argentina and the USSR Since 1917* and William H. Richardson, *Mexico through Russian Eyes, 1806-1940*. I participated in the editorial conferences and strongly supported two of the big books on Soviet Relations with Latin America, one edited by Augusto Varas and the other by Eusebio Mujal-León. Several publishers on this and related topics asked me to evaluate manuscripts for them. My own book, *The Giant's Rival, the USSR and Latin America*, now in revised edition, owes much to the exchange. My article, "The Soviet Latin Americanists," was published in *LARR*, No. 16 1981.

Scholarly Relations. The LASA initiative to open relations with Soviet scholars took place during the height of the new cold war, tensions and suspicions being much greater then than now. During these years arranging, hosting, and escorting Soviet delegations took most of my time at LASA congresses in Atlanta ('76), Houston ('77), and Bloomington ('80).

Based in Pittsburgh during those years, I hosted many Soviet Latin Americanists who came to our campus for from a few days to several weeks and facilitated their visits to other University campuses. They lectured in classes, used the libraries, and engaged in local tourism. Similarly, I have met with specialists and lectured on Soviet Latin American relations in Eastern and Western Europe, many countries of Latin America, and China as well as widely in the United States.

Young Scholars. With support from IREX we attempted to establish an exchange for scholars under the age of 40. We had the money, but our efforts to persuade our Soviet partner never succeeded. In the meantime Pittsburgh was

beginning to attract Latin American graduate students interested in USSR relations, including Aldo Vacs (Argentina), Rubén Berríos (Peru) and Carlos Romero (Venezuela). All three have justified their early promise, with extensive publications on the subject.

Goals Achieved? LASA officers, members of the Executive Council, and other leading Latin Americanists have been involved in designing, planning, and implementing the exchange since its inception. All have shared a common objective of strengthening teaching and research about Latin America through closer associations with our Soviet colleagues. Many have also broadened their view of the world.

Some participants in the exchange emerged exhilarated from the experience, others were more skeptical. Almost all the participants have expressed satisfaction in having had a part in the exchange, and all of us would like to see it continue. That depends, now, on finding the money to finance it. In this and other respects I wish the new LASA leadership well.

The Demise of the LASA-ILA Exchange

by

Alejandro Portes

Chair, LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations
with the Soviet Union, 1986-89

Bartley is right that the LASA exchange with the Institute of Latin America (ILA) of the Soviet Union is moribund, but not for the reasons he suggests. What has brought about this situation are serious difficulties of communication and the absence of financial support. The leaders of the Institute of Latin American Studies in Moscow took *seven months* to respond positively to LASA's invitation in the Spring of 1988 to renew the exchange through individual research visits. By the time the Soviet message was received, funds to support the exchange had dried up. To our immense surprise, the agency which funds these exchanges -- the International Relations and Exchanges Board (IREX) -- declined to continue supporting LASA-ILA joint activities, arguing that budget cuts had made this decision necessary. This was done after the seeming main obstacle to the continuation of the exchange -- the Soviet lack of response -- had been removed. With both sides now agreeing to cooperate and with the opportunities opened by *glasnost* clearly in sight, the powers that govern Cold War academic interactions, decided that those among Latin Americanists were not important enough. IREX could not be persuaded to change its position, which led to my resignation in the Spring of 1989.

Unlike relations between governments, those between academic institutions often depend on very basic considerations such as funds to maintain communication and

support travel. It is important to look at these basics before spinning out wild theories about intelligence-gathering and ideological agendas. The simple story told above can be proven in detail by existing documentary evidence. If Bartley knows of funds to support the continuation of the exchange and of ways to get the ILA leadership to respond more promptly to important messages, I am sure that the LASA Council and the next head of the Task Force would like to know.

**US-USSR Scholarly Relations
on Latin American Issues**

by

Wesley Fisher

Acting Director of Soviet Programs

International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX)

As the originator from the administrative standpoint of the relations between the Task Force on US/USSR Scholarly Relations of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) and the Institute of Latin America (ILA), USSR Academy of Sciences, I would like to call the following information to the attention of the LASA membership in regard to Russell H. Bartley's appraisal of those relations.

The principal channel for US relations with the USSR Academy of Sciences in the humanities and social sciences has been since 1961 the agreement between the American Council of Learned Societies and the USSR Academy of Sciences, administered in the United States by the International Research & Exchanges Board (IREX). This agreement is the oldest uninterrupted relationship between the USA and the USSR with the exception of diplomatic relations themselves. Scholars in the USA and USSR in need of access to the other country for their individual research have generally traveled pursuant to this agreement or to the intergovernmental cultural agreement which involves the Soviet university system rather than the Academy and is also administered by IREX.

In 1975, recognizing the need to go beyond exchanges of individual scholars to various types of collaborative research, the American Council of Learned Societies and the USSR Academy of Sciences established the US-USSR Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences. With the Commission's sponsorship, the first Soviet-American scholarly discussions of world regions were begun, and in October 1980 IREX sponsored a visit by Viktor Volsky and colleagues to the United States to plan future cooperation in Latin American studies. This visit resulted in the agreement between LASA and ILA. I would note that the intention on the American side was always to develop cooperation in Latin American studies generally and not simply with the ILA as an institution.

Beginning in June 1981, conferences in Latin American

studies were then held annually, alternatively in the USSR and the USA. By the time of the fifth conference in June of 1986, due to considerable financial and administrative investment by IREX as well as the efforts of Cole Blasier and colleagues on the LASA Task Force, the two communities of Latin American specialists had come to know each other well. This period of familiarization was more intensive than in other fields such as Asian studies and African studies where symposia were held much less frequently, and it was all the more remarkable for having occurred during a period of tension in US-Soviet relations.

By 1985-86 it had become clear that: a) forms of cooperation with the ILA other than symposia, such as an increase in individual research opportunities, were desirable since the period of general familiarization had essentially been completed and completed successfully; and b) it was important to establish links with specialists on Latin America not affiliated with the ILA. Unlike the directors of many of the other institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Viktor Volsky insisted on the participation almost solely of ILA staff in the symposia, and it was clear that many fields of interest would be well-served by closer contact with other institutes of the Academy and with the Soviet university system. Accordingly IREX initiated in consultation with the LASA Task Force and other relevant scholarly bodies a) a project in economics on the USA and the USSR and the developing world coordinated by Richard Feinberg of the Overseas Development Council and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), USSR Academy of Sciences; b) a project on Latin American literature coordinated by Ivan Schulman and Evelyn Garfield of the University of Illinois and the Gorky Institute of World Literature, USSR Academy of Sciences; c) a symposium on labor issues in the developing world coordinated by the University of Pittsburgh's University Center for International Studies and the Institute of the World Labor Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences; d) opportunities for younger US scholars in Latin American studies to receive training in Soviet studies prior to spending a research year in a Soviet university.

In accordance with the LASA Task Force's wishes, IREX informed Viktor Volsky and the USSR Academy of Sciences of our willingness to receive scholars from the ILA for research visits instead of holding yet another conference. Relying on a positive response and continued IREX funding, Alejandro Portes as Chairman of the Task Force collected the names of US scholars in Latin American studies who were interested in utilizing this special quota of research visits for Latin American studies only. For almost a year there was no response from the ILA.

When a response did come, it was to suggest that Viktor Volsky visit the United States to discuss matters. Unfortunately the response came well into IREX's 1988-89 fiscal year during which the demand for our funds tripled or

quadrupled as the result of the general rise in interest in the Soviet Union but our total funding remained steady. In the absence of sufficient funding, priorities had to be set, and the US-USSR Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences felt that much investment in Latin American studies had been made, was still being made through several projects (although not with ILA), that Soviet and American scholars in this field have ample opportunity to apply for research visits through the regular exchanges, and that under all circumstances support of a separate research quota in this field could not be justified.

There is at present a general problem in the funding for Soviet-American scholarly cooperation. Ironically, the perception in the United States of changes in the USSR has led to a lessening of support for the principal channel for such cooperation. To the extent that there has been any increase in funding for Soviet-American collaboration, it has been for citizen diplomacy and activities that generate publicity rather than for serious research. More important in regard to Latin American studies than the funding issue, however, is the very limited number of specialists in the United States with dual competence in both Latin America and the Soviet Union. In point of fact, the research opportunities in the USSR are there through the general exchanges, and there are special fellowships to give US scholars dual competence, but it is rare indeed that a specialist in Latin American studies applies to us, or that a request is made for funding to bring a Soviet Latin American specialist to the United States.

While I understand Russell Bartley's concern for the institutional arrangements between LASA and the ILA, it seems to me that a far greater concern should be the lack of US scholars interested in utilizing what opportunities exist.

CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association presents 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 April 1991 LASA XVI International Congress in Washington, DC, books published from January 1, 1989 to June 30, 1990 will be eligible. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by August 1, 1990.

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 during 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 1990 are Georgette Dorn, (Library of Congress, Hispanic Division, Washington, DC 20540); Cynthia Steele, (University of Washington, Dept. of Romance Languages GN-60, Seattle, WA 98195); and George Priestly, (Queens College).

LASA VS. THE U.S. CUSTOMS SERVICE FINAL REPORT

*LASA recently received an update on the class action against the U.S. Customs Service seizing written materials carried by U.S. citizens returning from Nicaragua. LASA was a co-plaintiff [see LASA Forum, Summer 1988, p. 15]. The following is from the text of a memo to the plaintiffs in *Heidy v. U.S. Customs Service from David Cole of the Center for Constitutional Rights, dated July 25, 1989.**

As you will recall, over a year ago we obtained a favorable ruling from the district court judge in the above case, requiring Customs and all who work with them to obey constitutional limitations in searching and seizing written materials from travelers going through Customs. The government initially appealed, but last month decided that discretion was the better part of valor, and voluntarily dismissed the appeal. This means we've won! It also means we can seek attorneys' fees from the government. But in doing so, we must represent to the government that none of the plaintiffs is worth more than \$2,000,000. If anyone is worth more than that, please let me know.

Thanks, and if you have any future troubles of this nature, feel free to call.

[After a thorough assessment of LASA's post-Hugo resources, the Executive Director determined that it was not necessary to notify CCR.]

DERECHOS HUMANOS, ESTADO Y DEMOCRACIA EN EL PERU

por
Carlos Escobar Pineda

[An edited version of Mr. Escobar Pineda's account was submitted to the Forum by Human Rights Watch, a Washington, DC- and New York-based human rights organization. Rubén Berríos and Hugo Zegarra, of the departments of Economics and Political Science, respectively, at the University of Pittsburgh, and both from Peru, were asked by the editor to review the manuscript. They preserved the tone of the narrative, but abbreviated it somewhat and offered some suggestions on reorganization. They also collaborated on a brief introduction, portions of which are included here in translation.]

The author of the narrative that follows is a public prosecutor who was commissioned by the government in 1987 to investigate the disappearances of peasants in the "emergency zone" of Ayacucho. The account is testimony to the fact of one form of human rights violation in Peru. It also constitutes a plea for justice in a fragile democratic political system.

What is revealed here pales before the magnitude of the problem. In the last nine years more than 11,000 people have been killed, 3,000 are missing and untold damage has been done to property, the result of both terrorist and military and paramilitary violence.

It is not surprising that Sendero Luminoso has its roots in Ayacucho, a province in which many poor people have undergone great hardship for decades and one in which violence is longstanding. It is ironic that among those whose civil rights have been violated with impunity are the struggling poor -- second class citizens who never had been allowed to enjoy the full range of human rights in the first place. In contrast, the police and military, in their mission to defend the constitutional order, often assume rights over the destinies and properties of individuals that far exceed their constitutional mandate as well as the limits of compassion.

Little improvement in the defense of civil rights in Peru will occur until military power is effectively controlled by judicial and executive power. But *Sendero* also must renounce its terrorist ways and utter disregard both for peasant lives as well as the lives of individuals in the established order.

Hope is universal that democratic regimes will be both more valiant and more effective in the defense of human rights than nondemocratic regimes. It is indeed disheartening to have to acknowledge that it has been in a Peru framed by democratic forms where the worst kinds of crimes against human rights have been committed, both by the forces of order and the insurrectionists.

THE NARRATIVE

En el Perú el problema de los desaparecidos empezó a partir de 1980, cuando un grupo terrorista denominado

Sendero Luminoso asoló la zona de la sierra central y en especial el departamento de Ayacucho. Pero el problema de los desaparecidos no es culpa solamente de Sendero Luminoso, sino también de la acción de las Fuerzas Armadas y la Policía Nacional.

Cuando empecé a investigar los casos de desaparecidos, llegué a Ayacucho el 4 de mayo de 1987. Al llegar ya contábamos con muchas denuncias que investigar, las cuales habían sido dejadas en Lima por los representantes de las comunidades indígenas de Ayacucho. Se procedió a establecer un orden de prioridades. Se separó en un primer grupo las denuncias que obedecían a desapariciones ocurridas con anterioridad a enero de 1987; en un segundo grupo, las que eran posteriores a ese mes pero anteriores al 4 de mayo de 1987. Se montó una oficina con todo el material de trabajo necesario, contándose además con un mecanógrafo y un empleado de servicio. Este último tenía la particularidad de hablar quechua, que es la lengua que habla la mayor parte de los comuneros de la zona. Nos sirvió entonces como intérprete para las investigaciones de los desaparecidos.

La denuncia de más importancia en esos momentos era la que habían hecho llegar los comuneros de Cuchucancha y los de Pampampuquio, en las cuales según la denuncia, miembros del ejército habían detenido a nueve personas. Los resultados de nuestra investigación fueron publicados en Ayacucho por una revista mensual denominada "Ahora". Esta revista publicaba las denuncias que hacía el pueblo sobre los abusos de los militares y asimismo las malas acciones de los funcionarios estatales. También los diarios de Lima empezaron a publicar los avances de nuestras investigaciones y sus logros, todo lo cual generó en el pueblo de Ayacucho un sentimiento de confianza en nosotros. Luego se empezó a concurrir a las invitaciones de los organismos defensores de Derechos Humanos en Ayacucho, lo que nos granjeó el apoyo y el acceso a denuncias de esta gente. Una denuncia importante fue la que recibimos de Doña Angélica Mendoza de Ascarza. Ella era madre de dos jóvenes a los cuales efectivos del ejército habían detenido.

Concurrimos también a algunos almuerzos que nos ofrecieron estas instituciones e hicimos uso de la palabra ante muchas madres llorosas que suplicaban en quechua se les

escuchase. El sitio de reuniones fue el local de los profesores, a cuatro cuadras de nuestra oficina. Era un lugar pobre, donde se preparaba "olla común" para gente de pocos recursos económicos, y para toda madre que viniera desde lejos a presentar su correspondiente denuncia sobre desaparición, o detención-desaparición de algún familiar.

En estas reuniones las relaciones con la gente del pueblo llegaron, creo, al mejor momento. Muchas denuncias empezaron a llegar a nuestra Fiscalía. Eran denuncias de 1983, 1984 para adelante. La gente tenía confianza en lo que hacíamos, pareciera que era la primera vez que alguien les prestaba atención.

Conforme las denuncias aumentaban, el trabajo también, al extremo que no cerrábamos la oficina en las tardes-- como se acostumbraba-- para almorzar y trabajábamos hasta las ocho de la noche. La correspondencia se acrecentó; casi diariamente nos llegaban denuncias de organismos de derechos humanos, no solamente nacionales sino también internacionales. Además muchos parlamentarios solicitaban información sobre determinados desaparecidos y nos ponían alerta sobre alguna denuncia que aún no se hubiese efectuado por parte familiar.

Finalmente, decidimos también abrir investigaciones en base a denuncias periodísticas. Así ocurrió con otro de los casos importantes que investigamos, esta vez en Santa Rosa. Este es un pueblo ubicado en la ceja de selva de Ayacucho, exactamente en la provincia de La Mar. Efectivos del Ejército Peruano, de los denominados "Linces" habían detenido en el mes de septiembre de 1987 a siete campesinos de dicho lugar, indicando a los demás pobladores que se los llevaban como guías por ser los más muchachos. Los condujeron hasta un local y los torturaron toda la noche. Cinco de ellos murieron, los otros dos restantes habían escapado y los pobladores los tenían ocultos hasta que yo y los Fiscales de mi departamento nos apersonemos a dicha comunidad.

El lugar era muy distante por tierra. En vehículo motorizado uno demoraba más de 14 horas y había el peligro de ser emboscado en el camino, razón por la cual se solicitó helicóptero. El Jefe del Comando Político Militar de la Zona me comunicó que debía ir acompañado de dos altos oficiales del Ejército, un General y un Coronel. Dispuse entonces viajar con la Sra. Fiscal. Ella es una joven mujer muy atractiva, lo cual serviría para distraer a dichos oficiales y me dejaran trabajar con más comodidad.

Se llegó a la zona de Santa Rosa y se recibió los testimonios de personas que habían estado presentes durante la detención de dichos comuneros. Una declaración muy importante fue la que proporcionó el técnico sanitario; es decir, la persona que fingía de médico legista y que había ido al levantamiento de los cinco cadáveres pre-citados. Dicho testigo refirió que había identificado dos de los

cadáveres como muchachos a los cuales el había atendido antes en su posta médica y dijo algo que no dejó lugar a dudas: la cabeza de los cinco comuneros había sido objeto de impacto de bala, pero de una bala capaz de destrozarse el cráneo. La bala a la que se refirió es disparada por un FAL, arma que usa el Ejército peruano.

Lo más difícil era lo de los testigos sobrevivientes: los hermanos Medina Amao. Ellos estaban allí y había que sacarlos con destino a Huamanga ya que sus vidas corrían peligro. Durante ese día, mi estadia en Santa Rosa estaba siendo muy controlada por efectivos de la Marina de dicha zona, los cuales no dejaban que se me acercase gente del pueblo. Tuve que solicitar al General que me acompañaba que quería hablar con el Alcalde del lugar. Dicho Alcalde había sido antes detenido por los militares y había estado más de cuarenta días en calidad de detenido desaparecido, conjuntamente con dos personas del Consejo de Santa Rosa, los cuales ese día también declararon, indicando que durante la detención habían sido torturados por efectivos de la Marina de dicha zona. A los hermanos Medina Amao los llevamos por helicóptero a Huamanga. Al día siguiente fueron remitidos al médico legista en Huamanga, acompañados de mi Fiscal adjunto. Uno de ellos aún presentaba huella de lesiones.

Estos dos jóvenes relataron sus experiencias, indicando que efectivamente habían sido detenidos, habían sido torturados en el local del Hospital desocupado de Santa Rosa, y sacados de éste en la madrugada del día siguiente, llevándolos los "Linces" con destino al monte, a un lugar muy oscuro donde llovía fuerte. Le dispuse a mi Adjunto de trámite el exhorto que traíamos desde Tambo, exhorto en el cual un Juez Instructor comisionaba a un Juez de Paz de San Francisco para que efectuara las exhumaciones en esta investigación. Le indiqué asimismo el camino a seguir y donde nos encontraríamos. Yo seguí con dirección a un pueblo llamado Catute Baja, a cinco minutos de Santa Rosa, lugar en donde me esperaba la madre de dos de los muertos de esta investigación, es decir, la señora que vió por primera vez los cinco cadáveres. Iba yo acompañado del guía.

La comitiva incluyó el Juez de Paz, dos guías, mi Fiscal Adjunto, la citada anciana y los cuatro efectivos de la Marina. Casi como a la hora y media y con un calor agobiante y como la anciana no daba con el lugar ni el guía tampoco, decidimos parar y esperar.

Reiniciamos la marcha con el guía hasta que llegamos a un lugar en donde había una tumba en el medio monte, se procedió a cavar en la misma, pero no se halló nada. La mencionada anciana me había referido que ella había llegado hasta ese lugar la noche anterior y que fue llevando flores a sus hijos. Se dió con la sorpresa esta vez de que la cantidad de tierra que cubría la tumba había mermado y que los cadáveres de sus dos hijos habían sido sacados. Los campesinos le dijeron que los "Linces" habían

llegado, habían sacado los cadáveres de sus tumbas y los habían llevado monte adentro más arriba, donde los habían hecho volar con dinamita. Cuando habíamos andado unos metros, la anciana empezó a llorar pues reconoció la ropa de sus dos hijos, la cual estaba hecho pedazos como consecuencia de la posible explosión.

La pericia practicada sobre estos restos concluyó que eran humanos, gente joven y que habrían sido volados con explosivo. Antes de que fuese separado de estas investigaciones, mandé un oficio al Señor Fiscal de la Nación, a efecto de que por intermedio del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas en Lima, se procediese a identificar a los efectivos del Ejército (Linces), que conformaban la patrulla que dió muerte a estos cinco comuneros de Santa Rosa. Hasta el mes de noviembre de 1988 no tuve ninguna respuesta. Cuando se trata de solicitar información sobre el personal militar, ésta debe solicitarse al Comando Conjunto o al Ministro de Defensa en mi país. La única autoridad que puede dirigirse a ellos en mi país por el rango, es el Señor Fiscal de la Nación, quien tiene la potestad de que si no le responden, puede efectivizar una denuncia por violencia y resistencia a la Autoridad. Hasta noviembre de 1988 el Señor Fiscal de la Nación no había dado trámite a mi pedido.

Las denuncias siguieron aumentando, el trabajo también. Mi familia ya me veía muy poco, lo mismo que sucedía con mis Fiscales. Creo que ello fue lo que origina los reclamos de la Sra. Fiscal que conformaba nuestro equipo. En una oportunidad llegó su esposo y me reclamó que porque trabajábamos inclusive los días sábados. Yo le expliqué porque el estado nos pagaba bien, no era exactamente la verdad, sino que lo que sucedía era que de lunes a viernes recibíamos denuncias y testifiscales en el local de la oficina y los fines de semana salíamos a realizar investigaciones al interior del departamento.

A fines de 1987, llegó el Señor Fiscal de la Nación a Ayacucho, en visita oficial. Yo había puesto muchas esperanzas en dicha visita, me sentía orgulloso. Hasta ese entonces lo habíamos mantenido informado de todos los avances que lográbamos y en especial de la gente que iba apareciendo gracias a nuestra labor. Estábamos casi en un cincuenta por ciento de efectividad. Es decir que por cada denuncia o por cada dos denuncias de desaparecidos, lográbamos que apareciera uno. Costaba arduo trabajo, pero la satisfacción era inmensa, sobretodo cuando venía a nuestro despacho alguien que ya había sido puesto en libertad después de haber estado muchos días en algún cuartel en calidad de desaparecido, y nos daba las gracias, no lo puedo negar ello me llenaba de orgullo. Era el resultado de todo el esfuerzo de mi departamento, un departamento organizado netamente por nosotros, un departamento en donde nosotros habíamos creado nuestras propias reglas para obtener resultados y el resultado inmediato era que la genta apareciera y estaba apareciendo.

En 1987 tuvimos además otra investigación importante, generada por una denuncia de los familiares del estudiante universitario, Mariscot Glicerio Santa Cruz Miranda, quien fuera detenido conjuntamente con otros dos estudiantes: Wilfredo Garay Poma y Segundino Gutiérrez Medina. Esto fue por el mes de noviembre de 1987. Durante la detención de estos estudiantes en la Universidad de Huamanga hubieron algunos testigos de vistas, los cuales aseveraban que los autores eran miembros del Ejército. Después de recibir sus manifestaciones decidí utilizar una vía que estaba abierta, es decir llamar a un amigo que es Coronel del Ejército. La conversación con dicho oficial fue provechosa. Se le dió a entender que habían más pruebas de que estaban detenidos los tres estudiantes dentro del Cuartel "Los Cabitos" en la misma ciudad de Huamanga y que a fin de evitar problemas lo mejor era que dichas personas fueran puestas en libertad.

Sostuvimos una reunión con dicho Coronel y el comandante amigo de él, a quien le solicité viera la forma de proporcionarnos el nombre de los oficiales que habían intervenido en los hechos atribuibles a su Cuartel, y que mientras ello ocurriera yo retendría la denuncia. Con esta promesa se consiguió que dos de los estudiantes fueran puestos en libertad, quienes fueron dejados con los ojos vendados en un lugar de la ciudad. Inmediatamente los familiares de uno de estos estudiantes lo trajeron a nuestro local. Este estaba muy asustado, y nos narró una serie de mentiras, como que nunca había sido detenido por efectivos del Ejército y que él había viajado a Lima sin conocimiento de sus familiares. Como aún permaneciera detenido Mariscot Santa Cruz y no se había avanzado nada con la declaración del primer reaparecido, hubo que ver la forma de tomar la manifestación del otro estudiante, que también había sido puesto en libertad al igual que el anterior. Este estudiante no quería declarar. Hubo necesidad de hablar con el Rector de la Universidad a efecto de poderlo ubicar en dicho centro de estudios porque en su casa lo negaban. Hablé con él y le referí todo lo que se había hecho para que lo pusieran a él en libertad, indicándole que ahora era necesario de que él colaborara, porque de su versión dependía que se pusiera en libertad a su amigo Mariscot. Tanto se le habló a este estudiante que terminamos por convencerlo, optando por declarar que efectivamente los tres, o sea él, Mariscot y el estudiante que negó haber sido detenido habían estado juntos. A los tres los habían intervenido miembros del Ejército, llevándolos al Cuartel "Los Cabitos" donde él había escuchado cuando torturaban a Mariscot, de quien dijo se quejaba porque parecía que le habían quebrado uno de los brazos, y que tal vez esa era la razón por la cual no lo pusieron en libertad junto con ellos. El estudiante en mención tenía temor que los que lo habían puesto en libertad se enteraran de que él había declarado, porque se lo habían prohibido bajo amenaza de matarlo si se enteraban que había hablado ante la Fiscalía.

Una vez que terminamos de tomar dicha declaración

remitimos un Oficio al Jefe del Comando Político Militar, acompañando una fotocopia de dicha versión e indicándole que sabíamos con certeza de que el estudiante Mariscot estaba detenido dentro del Cuartel "Los Cabitos" y que responsabilizábamos al Comando Político Militar de Ayacucho de lo que le pudiera pasar al estudiante. Esto fue suficiente, esperábamos unos días y para fin de año dicho estudiante, Mariscot Santa Cruz, fue puesto en libertad y no volvieron a molestar a ninguno de estos tres estudiantes.

Durante el año 1987 no solamente logramos un buen record de gente reaparecida, sino que cosechamos una amistad muy importante, la de Pablo Rojas. El tenía y tiene a su cargo una organización que vela por los derechos humanos en mi país, la Comised, la cual actualmente pertenece o forma parte de la Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos en Perú. Gracias a dicha organización y a la APRODEH nuestro despacho tomaba conocimiento de las violaciones de derechos humanos ocurridos en el departamento. Una vez recibida la denuncia que los familiares interponían ante estos dos organismos, nosotros éramos los que nos desplazábamos hacia la comunidad agraviada a recibir declaraciones de los comuneros.

Esta labor no sólo la hemos desarrollado en Ayacucho sino también en el Departamento de Apurímac, zona también incluida en la Resolución que nos comisionaba como Fiscales, y a lo que hubo que viajar pues habían muchas denuncias pendientes por investigarse.

1989 LASA CONGRESS FILM FESTIVAL

The following films, many of which are international premieres or U.S. premieres, will be screened at the 1989 LASA Congress in Miami. The Film Festival schedule will be available at the Congress.

Azul. Nicaragua, 1988, 107 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director-Producer: Roland Legiardi-Laura. Distributor: Legiardi-Laura. (U.S. Premiere)

Biografía del poder: Emiliano Zapata. Mexico, 1987, 60 min. Color, Spanish. Director: Jaime Kuri. Producers: Georgina Balzaretto, Benjamín Cabral, Monique Damet, Rocío Martínez. Distributor: Videovisa.

Chicano Park. U.S., 1988, 59 min. Color, English/Spanish. Director: Marilyn Mulford. Producers: Mario Barrera, Marilyn Mulford. Distributor: Redbird Films.

Crónica de un fraude. Mexico, 1989, 60 min. Color, Spanish. Director: Carlos Mendoza. Producer: Redes. Distributor: Redes. (U.S. Premiere)

Dance of Hope. Chile, 1989, 75 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director: Deborah Shaffer. Producers: LaVonne Poteet, Deborah Shaffer. Distributor: First Run/Icarus. (International Premiere)

El secreto de Romelia. Mexico, 1988, 100 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director: Busi Cortés. Producer: Eduardo Maldonado. Distributor: Centro de Capacitación Cinematográfica.

Elvia: The Fight for Land and Liberty. Honduras, 1988, 30 min. Color, Spanish/English. Directors-Producers: Laura Rodríguez, Rick Tejada-Flores. Distributor: Alturas Films.

Imágenes de Nicaragua. Nicaragua, 1989, 9 min. Color, Spanish. Director-Producer: Alberto Cortés. Distributor: Latina S.A. de C.V.

In the Absence of Peace. Nicaragua, 1988, 54 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director: Michael Martin. Producers: Michael Martin, Robert Shepard. Distributor: Martin/Shepard Productions.

Lembrai-vos de 37. Brazil, 1988, 60 min. Color/B&W, Portuguese. Director: Wilson Magalhães. Producer: Núcleo Audiovisual/Universidade Federal Fluminense. Distributor: NAV/UFF. (U.S. Premiere)

Los confines. Mexico, 1987, 80 min. Color, Spanish. Director: Mitl Valdez. Producer: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Distributor: Latina S.A. de C.V.

Only the News that Fits. U.S./Nicaragua, 1988, 29 min. Color, English/Spanish. Director-Producer: Peter Raymont. Distributor: First Run/Icarus.

Onward Christian Soldiers. U.S./Ecuador/Brazil, 1989, 52 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director-Producers: Gastón Ancelovici, Jaime Barrios. Distributor: First Run/Icarus.

Plena Is Work, Plena Is Song. Puerto Rico/U.S., 1989, 37 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director-Producers: Pedro A. Rivera, Susan Zeig. Distributor: Cinema Guild. (U.S. Premiere)

Stories from Cuscatlán. El Salvador, 1989, 52 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director-Producers: Peter Chappell, Jane Ryder. Distributor: First Run/Icarus. (Festival Premiere)

Turning Dreams into Reality. Cuba/Argentina, 1988, 29 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director-Producers: Monica Melamid, Rafael Andreu. Distributor: Cinema Guild.

Villa El Salvador: A Desert Dream. Peru, 1989, 50 min. Color, Spanish/English. Director-Producers: Robbie Hart, Luc Coté, Joel Bertomeu. Distributor: Cinema Guild. (International Premiere)

LASA ACKNOWLEDGES CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAN JUAN CONGRESS

Many people deserve our thanks. We cannot acknowledge strongly enough the attention of several people in San Juan, who gave unfailing service to LASA despite personal losses and the knowledge that months of hard work had been frustrated by the hurricane. Luis Agraít, Angel Calderón and Marcia Rivera are among them. Luis now will arrange to ship almost a ton of materials to Miami. Marcia has agreed to coordinate the refunding of the first night's lodging to all those who paid it, including those whose checks were cashed by the hotels. Angel Calderón made several trips to the hotel to offer his services after the hurricane struck.

Mark Rosenberg, among all those who rose to the occasion, went far and above the call of duty, and now, in addition to the Program Committee responsibilities he has undertaken, virtually will head a brand new Local Arrangements Committee.

Thanks to Harve Horowitz, who along with Mark, worked long and hard to salvage LASA 89. We are grateful also to Lucy Santiago, Caribe Hilton Sales Department, and Raúl Bustamante, General Manager, for attending to us under most unfavorable conditions. Mr. Bustamante and his staff merit special recognition for exercising good judgment during the emergency.

At home base, Amy Shannon-Boyer and Anna DeNicolò were besieged by telephone calls to the Secretariat over a period of days and worked long hours patiently communicating what they knew. Mitchell Seligson and his staff at the Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh effectively moved into the Secretariat via a direct phone hookup and he and his staff fielded hundreds of overflow calls at a time when it could not be determined what the next moves would be. Mitchell also sent several electronic mail messages via LASNET and answered dozens of queries personally. President Paul Drake kept in close touch and also made several calls to lighten our load.

LASA is also indebted to Lisa Duckworth, scheduled to replace Lynn Young on October 2. She traveled to San Juan in advance of formally assuming her position with LASA. This was quite an initiation! Without someone as cool, competent and supportive, LASA business in San Juan, which included everything from congress preparations to locating and taking inventory of our materials and preparing several hundred pounds of materials for shipping, could not have been concluded as quickly, efficiently or wisely as it was.

LASA '89 SAN JUAN VOLUNTEER STAFF

The following list represents the people, with their affiliations, who had volunteered for congress duties. We know

they would have come through for us as we attempted this huge undertaking. Even with the hurricane on their doorsteps some of the crew assigned to work Sunday reported for duty.

CEREP

Matilde Lausell, Nilsa Medina, Lisa Rodríguez

FEAGM/PRJC

Victor Cintrón, Dennis Madrigal, Carlos Medina

FEAGM/Turabo

Luis Arroyo (and Universidad del Sagrado Corazon), Gloria Claudio, Marcelino Colón

FEAGM/UMET

Carmen D. González, Alberto Irizarry, Angel Marrero, Justo Ortega

Fundación Luis Muñoz Marín

María Curras, Julio Quirós, Jane Russell

Instituto de la Cultura Puertorriqueña

Antonio Meléndez

U/A Central Administration

José Ortega

U/A Recinto Metro

Carmen Conder, María Guerrero, Wilfredo Méndez, Elba Pacheco, Silvia Rodríguez, Demaris Rosado, Wilda Soto, Maritza Torres

Universidad de Puerto Rico

Angel Calderón (Assistant Chair, Local Arrangements Committee and chief volunteer recruiter), Julia Cruz, Zulma González, Francisco Lozada, Gloria Lube, Flavia Lugo, Laura Nater, Zaida Nieves, Lucila Ortiz, Ana Pacheco, Jacinta Pagán, Luis Pagán, Augustina Rexach, Mabel Rodríguez, Waldo Sánchez, Milagros Santiago, Edna Sierra

Universidad del Sagrado Corazón

Hilda D. Acosta, Dotman Adams, Alicia Anglades, Lisbeth Aulet, Edris Berrios, Rafael Boadan, Enrique Boneta, Lisette Camacho, Edgardo de la Cruz, Marnie Ferrer, Lisbeth Gutiérrez, Rafael Lebrón, Myrna Luna, Jose Llop Mera, Ana Ortiz, Ingrid M. Ortiz, Margelad Otero, Clotilde Picard, Yamilet Pinzón, Aurelio A. Ramos, Orlando Ramos, Dionella Rivas, Saria Rivera, Maradenise Rodríguez, Mayra Rosario, Lydia Ruiz, Catherine Samthon, Oscar Santiago, Bernice Tejadas, Bernida Tejadas, Oscar Torres, Maite Vázquez, Pura Vázquez, Julian Vélez, Maite Vilella

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies has announced the 1989 recipients of International Doctoral Research Fellowships and Advanced Research Grants.

Doctoral fellowships were awarded to: ROBERT BARROS, Ph.D. candidate in political science, University of Chicago, for research in Chile on democratic traditions and redemocratization; TERESA P. CALDEIRA, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, for research in Brazil on collective experiences and representations of violence and fear; LUIS C. CERDA, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Chicago, for research in Mexico on the impact of Porfirian monetary policies in the development and crisis of the export economy, 1890-1910; SARAH C. CHAMBERS, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Wisconsin at Madison, for research in Peru on urban culture and society in Arequipa, 1780-1854; FRANCES M. HAYASHIDA, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, University of Michigan, for research in Peru on the dynamics of imperial control in the Lambayeque region; ROBIN A. KING, Ph.D. candidate in economics, University of Texas at Austin, for research in Mexico on the political economy of international debt renegotiation; ALDO A. LAURIA-SANTIAGO, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Chicago, for research in El Salvador on coffee, agrarian society, and the origins of authoritarianism, 1880 to 1940; BRENT H. MILLIKAN, Ph.D. candidate in geography, University of California at Berkeley, for research in Brazil on the dynamics of land degradation and colonist attrition in the Amazon basin; ZITA C. NUNES, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, University of California at Berkeley, for research in Brazil on race and the construction of a national identity; LINDA REBHUN, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, for research in Brazil on emotional expression and folk medicine in a peasant village; MARK W. THURNER, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, University of Wisconsin at Madison, for research on Andean peasant politics, regional society, and the nation state, 1854-1920.

Advanced grants were awarded to: EDUARDO BAUMEISTER, research associate, Universidad Centroamericana, Nicaragua, for research in Nicaragua on agrarian structure, social forces and rural transformation under the Sandinistas; DEBORAH A. CARO, assistant professor of anthropology, George Washington University, for research on the role of hand-woven textiles in defining ethnic identity and socioeconomic and political relations in nineteenth and twentieth century Bolivia; MARCOS CUETO, researcher, Grupo de Análisis Para el Desarrollo, Peru, for research on epidemics, sanitation policies, and social reaction in Peru, 1900-1980; DIANE DAVIS, assistant professor of sociology, New School for Social Research, for research on middle class formation and political change in Mexico;

CARMEN ESCALANTE, research associate, Centro E.R.A. Bartolomé de las Casas, Peru, for research on the world view of Quechua-speaking peoples as depicted in the narration of their life histories and myths; WILLIAM R. FOWLER, assistant professor of anthropology, Vanderbilt University, for research on the social historical archaeology of the Pipil of Central America; DAVID GUSS, visiting assistant professor of anthropology, Vassar College, for research on traditional festivals and the creation of a new populist identity in Venezuela; JORGE HEINE, associate professor of history, University of Puerto Rico at Mayaguez, for research for a biography of Salvador Allende as a case study of political leadership; RICHARD G. PARKER, for research on the cultural and social dimensions of the AIDS epidemic in Brazil; HECTOR PEREZ-BRIGNOLI, professor of history, Universidad de Costa Rica, for research on regional economic structure of Guatemala and Honduras in the nineteenth century; JUAN PABLO PEREZ-SAINZ, researcher, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Guatemala, for research on the urban informal sector and popular identity in Guatemala City; LETICIA REINA, researcher, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico, for research on electoral conflict in the Mexican countryside, 1885-1910; PRISCILLA RIVAS-PEREZ, research associate, University of Iowa, for research on the state, class, and women's participation in the transformation of primary health care in Cuba; MARIANNE SCHMINK, associate professor of anthropology, University of Florida, for research on urbanization and eco-demographic change in Amazonia; ROSE J. SPALDING, associate professor of political science, DePaul University, for research on state-private sector relations in revolutionary Nicaragua; EDUARDO TEJEIRA DAVIS, professor of architecture, University of Panama, for research on the cities of Central America and the quest of modernity, 1800-1930.

The National Endowment for the Humanities Division of Research Programs is pleased to announce the awarding of the following grants for the programs of Interpretive Research, Reference Materials, and Centers for Advanced Study: JOHN F. SCHWALLER, Florida Atlantic University, for a "Guide to Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States;" ROBERT E. CONRAD, for a comparative study of slavery in Brazil and the United States; ROBERT M. LEVINE, University of Miami, for the preparation of a book analyzing the history of the Canudos community in rural Brazil, 1894-97; ARTHUR G. MILLER, for research on the "Interaction of European and Indigenous Modes of Thought and Representation in Colonial Mexico: Oaxaca, 1500-1700;" AMY OAKLAND RODMAN, for a stylistic and scientific analysis and conservation of Tiwanaku textiles and other grave goods in Northern Chile; PATRICIA A. URBAN, Kenyon College, for the investigation of terminal prehistoric developments in northwestern Honduras; AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, for the appointment of six NEH fellows over the course of 1990-93; CENTER FOR ADVANCED

STUDY IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES, to enable five scholars in the humanities to be in residence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences during 1990-91; INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, to enable the School of Historical Studies and the School of Social Science of the Institute each to appoint four visiting members during 1990-91; INSTITUTE OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE, to enable a beginning postdoctoral scholar with a publishable dissertation to do the final research and writing required to prepare it for publication; JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY, to enable two or three postdoctoral fellows to come to the John Carter Brown Library in 1990-91 to pursue research in the history of the Americas before 1830; NATIONAL HUMANITIES CENTER, to support thirty-six fellows at the National Humanities Center during 1990-93; NEWBERRY LIBRARY, to support five postdoctoral fellows at the Library during 1990-91; NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, to enable the Schomburg Center to bring six scholars over the period 1990-93 to its program for the study of Black history and culture; SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH, to bring two postdoctoral fellows to its campus in Santa Fe, New Mexico during the 1990-91 academic year for research in cultural anthropology and cognate fields of the humanities.

The Tinker Foundation has announced the recipients of its visiting professorships at U.S. universities for 1989-90. Those interested in contacting the Tinker Professors should write to them directly at the institution of their appointment.

Columbia University. ADOLPHO ATILIO M. GILLY, Professor of Political Science, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, appointed to the Department of Political Science and Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Fall 1989; EZEQUIEL GALLO, Professor of History, Universidad de Belgrano (Argentina), appointed to the Department of History and Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Spring 1990.

Stanford University. AUGUSTO ROA BASTOS, Professor Emeritus of Spanish American Studies, Université de Toulouse (France), appointed to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Spring 1990.

University of Chicago. JOSE LUIS REYNA, Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) Mexico office, appointed to the Department of Sociology, Fall 1989; LINDA MANZANILLA, Researcher, Institute of Anthropological Research at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, appointed to the Department of Anthropology, Winter 1990; MARIA MANUELA CARNEIRO DA CUNHA, Professor of Social Anthropology, Universidade de São Paulo, appointed to the Department of Anthropology, Spring 1990; MARIA HERMINIA BRANDÃO TAVARES DE ALMEIDA, Professor of Political Science, Universidade de São Paulo, appointed to the Department of Political Science, Spring 1990; GILBERTO MENDONÇA TELES, Professor of Literary Theory and Brazilian Literature, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, appointed to the

Department of Romance Languages, Spring 1990.

University of Texas at Austin. RAUL H. ANTELO, Associate Professor of Brazilian Literature, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (Brazil) appointed to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Institute for Latin American Studies.

University of Wisconsin at Madison. JAIME SILES RUIZ, Institute of Spanish Culture (Austria), appointed to the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Fall 1989; ELIZABETH SUSSEKIND, Federal Ministry of Culture (Brazil), appointed to the School of Law, Women's Studies, and Ibero-American Studies Departments, Fall 1989.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California at San Diego, has announced the winners of its tenth annual residential fellowship competition. The fellowship selection committee consisted of 14 leading Mexican and U.S. scholars representing all of the social science disciplines and history. Since 1980 the Center has hosted 173 predoctoral and postdoctoral scholars and non-academic professionals from 15 different countries. Thirteen nationalities are represented among the 23 visiting scholars who will be in residence in the Center in 1989-90.

The 17 scholars awarded fellowships for 1988-89 include: KIRSTEN APPENDINI, economist, El Colegio de México, for research on "Basic Food Supply Strategy in Mexico: The Role of Peasant Agriculture;" OTHON BAÑOS RAMIREZ, sociologist, Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán, for research on "The Decline of the Collective Ejido, 1940-1988;" MARCELLO CARMAGNANI, historian, University of Torino, Italy, for research on "The Formation and Financing of the Modern Mexican State, 1857-1911;" MIGUEL ANGEL CENTENO, sociologist, Ph.D. candidate, Yale University, to complete his dissertation on "The New Cientificos?--Public Policy and Political Elites in Mexico;" FERNANDO CORTES CACERES, sociologist, and ROSA MARIA RUBALCAVA RAMOS, sociologist, El Colegio de México, for a joint research project on "Development Strategies and the Distribution of Wages and Income in Mexico, 1970-1986;" CAROL DUDZIAK, sociologist, University of California at San Diego, for research on "Impacts of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act on U.S. and Mexican Labor Markets;" JOE W. FOWERAKER, political scientist, University of Essex, England, for research on "Linkages Between Popular Movements and Institutional Change in Mexican Politics;" PIERRETTE HONDAGNUE-SOTELO, sociologist, Ph.D. candidate, University of California at Berkeley, to complete her dissertation on "Gender Differences in Mexican Undocumented Migration and Settlement in California;" AKIHIRO KOIDO, sociologist, Ph.D. candidate, Johns Hopkins University, to complete his dissertation on "The Impact of U.S.-Japanese Competition on Mexican Maquiladora Industries;" JUAN MOLINAR HORCASITAS, political scientist, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México; Ph.D. candidate, University of California at San Diego, for graduate study and research on "Mexican Electoral Behavior in Comparative Perspective;"

MARGARITA NOLASCO ARMAS, anthropologist, Instituto Nacional de Antropología Social and Centro de Ecodesarrollo, Mexico, for research on "Political Change in the Mexican Borderlands, 1979-1988;" PEDRO PEREZ HERRERO, historian, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, for research on "Space and Power in the Formation of the Independent Mexican Nation, 1765-1854;" ARTURO SANCHEZ GUTIERREZ, political scientist, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Azcapotzalco, and Ph.D. candidate, Oxford University, to complete his dissertation on "Development of the Mexican Political System during the 1950s;" CATHRYN L. THORUP, political science, Ph.D. candidate, Harvard University, to complete her dissertation on "Domestic Interest Group Politics and Conflict Management in U.S.-Mexican Relations;" ARTURO YUNEZ-NAUDE, economist, El Colegio de México, for research on "Evolution and Prospects of Agricultural Trade Between Mexico and the United States;" CAROL ZABIN, economist, Ph.D. candidate, University of California at Berkeley, for research on "The Social Process of New Migration to California from Oaxaca, Mexico."

In addition, the following persons will be Guest Scholars in residence in the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies in 1989-90: SOPHIE BODY-GENDROT, political scientist, Université Blaise Pascal, Paris; research on "Impacts of Immigration on Inter-ethnic Relations;" MIRIAM L. CAMPANELLA, political scientist, University of Torino, Italy; research on "Political Decision-making in Subcontinental Economic Regions;" BARRY CARR, historian, La Trobe University, Australia; research on "The Impact of the Great Depression on Labor and Peasant Mobilization in Central America and the Caribbean;" LUIN GOLDRING, sociologist, Ph.D. candidate, Cornell University, to complete her dissertation on "Impacts of the Simpson-Rodino Immigration Act on Immigrant Social Networks;" PHILIP HERMANS, anthropologist, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium; research on "School Performance and Integration Problems of Immigrant Children;" LUIZ ORENSTEIN, economist and political scientist, Ph.D. candidate, Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, to complete his dissertation on "Macroeconomic Policies and Political Networks."

The Center for Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, announces the selection of nine Latin Americanists in its Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues 1989 competition. The program, sponsored by the Howard Heinz Endowment and the Center for Latin American Studies, annually awards grants to citizens from any country for research in any of three broad categories: (1) projects that review and analyze current issues in U.S.-Latin American relations; (2) projects that examine socioeconomic performance either among countries that represent important models of development in the region, with particular emphasis on social services, or for a single country on which relatively little research has been done; and (3) projects that examine the roles of political parties or other interest groups in Latin American political change.

The winners of the 1989 competition were: SUSAN C. BOURQUE, Professor of Government, Smith College, and Director of Smith Research Project on Women and Social Change, for "Education, Development, and Gender: The Politics of Cultural Change;" HENRY A. DIETZ, Associate Professor of Government, University of Texas at Austin, for "The Effect of Economic Crises on Issue-Oriented and Party Identification Models of Voting: The Urban Poor in Lima, Peru, 1980-90;" STEVE ELLNER, Associate Professor of General Economic History, Universidad de Oriente, Venezuela, for "The Venezuelan Labor Movement, Political Party Interference and Autonomous Directions;" GARY S. FIELDS, Professor of Labor Economics and Economics, Cornell University, for "Poverty and Inequality in Latin America;" LOWELL W. GUDMUNDSON, Associate Professor of History, University of Oklahoma, for "Coffee and Class Formation in Costa Rica;" BEN SCHNEIDER, Assistant Professor of Politics, Princeton University, for "Elite Bureaucrats and the Politicized State in Postwar Brazil;" DANIEL M. SCHYDLOWSKY, Professor of Economics, Boston University, for "Adjusting Structural Adjustment Policy to Latin American Reality;" ROSE J. SPALDING, Associate Professor of Political Science, DePaul University, for "Private Sector-State Relations in Revolutionary Nicaragua;" ARTURO VALENZUELA, Professor of Government, Georgetown University, for "The Legacy of Authoritarianism: Party Politics, Partisan Attachments and the Transition to Democracy in Chile." The members of the selection committee this year were: Carmelo Mesa-Lago, Distinguished Service Professor of Economics and Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh; Christopher Mitchell, Director, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, and Professor of Politics, New York University; Lars Schoultz, Director, Institute of Latin American Studies, and Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina; and Paul E. Sigmund, Professor of Politics, Princeton University.

Alfred Hower Book Prize. As part of an expanded publications program, the Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Florida is pleased to announce the Alfred Hower Book Prize for the best book-length manuscript on a Brazilian topic. The Prize has been established in honor of Alfred Hower, Professor Emeritus of Romance Languages and Literatures and Latin American Studies, in recognition of his teaching and his contribution to scholarship on Brazilian studies and the Portuguese language. Hower, who taught Portuguese and Brazilian literature at the University of Florida for 25 years, is co-editor with Richard Preto-Rodas of the annotated Portuguese readers *Crônicas Brasileiras* and *Quarenta Historinhas e Cinco Poemas* (by Carlos Drummond de Andrade) and the book *Empire in Transition: The Portuguese World at the Time of Camões*. Authors writing on a Brazilian topic are encouraged to submit completed manuscripts in English on any aspect of Brazil. The manuscript selected for the Prize will be published by the Center through the University of Florida Press, and the

author will receive a cash prize of \$1,000 to be awarded at a ceremony at the University of Florida. All manuscripts will be evaluated by a multi-disciplinary committee. Deadline for receipt of manuscripts is *March 15, 1990*, for publication in spring 1991. They should be submitted to: Hower Prize Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

In 1992, The University of Michigan will present a series of yearlong programs on the theme "Jews and the Encounter with the New World." Through lectures, panel discussions, concerts, and exhibits designed for scholars and the general public alike, the programs will explore the extent and the meaning of Jewish participation in the historic events of 500 years ago. Thanks to recent scholarship, a Jewish dimension of the Quincentenary has emerged, adding depth to our ideas about the discovery of America. In 1992, programs relating to "Jews and the Encounter with the New World" will take place in Ann Arbor and in four other Michigan cities. For information on the programs, and the ways in which your community can bring them to your city, contact Dr. Judith Elkin, Project Director, in care of the Jean and Samuel Frankel Center for Judaic Studies, 206 Angell Hall, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109; 313/763-9047.

El Centro Boliviano de Estudios Multidisciplinarios (CEBEM) tiene el agrado de anunciar su creación como una asociación sin fines de lucro que se dedicará a la investigación en el campo de las ciencias sociales. Sus objetivos fundamentales son: 1) Realizar estudios académicos sobre la realidad social, económica, política y cultural del país, poniendo de relieve aspectos comparativos relacionados con las problemáticas centrales en América Latina; 2) Difundir mediante publicaciones y seminarios los resultados de la investigación; 3) Establecer relaciones de diálogo permanente con los diferentes actores sociales del país con el objetivo de comprender sus intereses y orientaciones, y estudiar conjuntamente alternativas de cambio social; 4) Desarrollar nuestras actividades de investigación en un contexto académico de permanente diálogo y discusión con investigadores y centros de América Latina. Las áreas de estudios serán: estado, política y movimientos sociales; crisis económica y alternativas de desarrollo; población y desarrollo; y cultura e ideología. El CEBEM estará dirigido por José Blanes y un Comité Directivo, y se puede mandar comunicaciones a CEBEM, Casilla 20486, La Paz, Bolivia; FAX: 591-2-357352.

For the purposes of establishing a data bank and organizing a conference, the University of North Florida is trying to identify individuals actively engaged in research on Belize in all academic disciplines. In responding, please identify general area of interest, specific research topics, current research project(s) and publications. Forward information to Dr. Thomas M. Leonard, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32217.

WorldTeach announces a new volunteer teaching program in Costa Rica. College graduates are sought to teach English at rural Costa Rican high schools for terms of one year. No prior teaching experience or knowledge of Spanish is required. The Costa Rican schools provide housing and a small living allowance; volunteers pay a participation fee of \$2950 to cover airfare, health insurance, orientation, and support. WorldTeach, a non-profit program of Harvard University's social service organization, places volunteers as teachers in developing countries around the world. For more information, call or write WorldTeach, Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138; 617/495-5527.

The International Association for the Study of Common Property is devoted to understanding and improving the management of environmental resources that are held or used collectively by communities, whether in developing or developed countries. The Association represents interdisciplinary approaches (e.g., anthropology, sociology, history, political science, public policy, geography, agricultural and resource economics, forestry and fisheries management, environmental studies and human ecology), area specializations all over the world, and all resource sectors. Members are scholars, government officials, development consultants, and resource managers with a shared interest in understanding common property resources in order to avert tragedies of the commons. Dues are US\$20 for members whose annual incomes exceed US\$15,000 per year and US\$5 for those with annual incomes below US\$15,000. Members receive the *Common Property Resource Digest* without charge and news of Association activities and meetings. Members of the Association are also eligible to apply for travel funds to subsidize the cost of attending the annual meeting; these funds are intended to encourage international participation and will be awarded on the basis of need. Prospective members should write to Edward Lotterman, Secretary-Treasurer, *Common Property Resource Digest*, Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, University of Minnesota, 1994 Buford Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55108.

**KNOW A COLLEAGUE WHO DID NOT
RENEW FOR 1989?**

**SHARE YOUR 1989 MEMBERSHIP
FORM ON PAGE 49!**

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Library of Congress Office, Rio de Janeiro, and the Fundação Getúlio Vargas will co-host the **Thirty-Fifth Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials, June 3-8, 1990**. The meeting will be held at the Hotel Meridien Copacabana, Rio de Janeiro. The conference theme will be "Continuity and Change in Brazil and the Southern Cone: Research Trends and Library Collections for the year 2000." The program, with scholars and librarians as speakers, will focus on transitions in economics, politics, the societies, literature, science and technology, library and information science, and other spheres of activity in the vast and vibrant region comprised of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and Paraguay, and on the implications of these developments for research and on library collections for the 1990s and beyond. Conference sessions will include panels, workshops, and field trips, with simultaneous translation in English and Portuguese, the working languages of the conference. Invitations and registration materials for SALALM XXXV will be mailed in January, 1990. Information on the content of the program can be obtained from Ann Hartness, President, SALALM, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78713-7330; 512/471-3818. Details concerning local arrangements are available from Lucy Rocha Souza, Library of Congress Office-Rio, American Consulate General, APO Miami, FL 34030-0002; 55/21/292-7117. For general information about SALALM, contact Suzanne Hodgman, Executive Secretary, SALALM, Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706; 608/262-3240.

The third annual *Feria Internacional del Libro (FIL)* of the University of Guadalajara, will take place *November 25 to December 3, 1989*. The Fair, which is supported by the University of Guadalajara and the state government of Jalisco, will be held at the Expo-Guadalajara exhibition center. Publishers from Mexico, Latin America, Europe, the United States and the Pacific Basin will exhibit over 50,000 titles in 400 booths. Three days of the Fair will be devoted exclusively to professional conferences including an International Colloquium For Librarians and a Seminar for U.S. Bilingual Teachers. FIL '89 will also focus on the Latin American oral tradition with 70 professional storytellers from various countries in attendance. For more information, contact FIL, Universidad de Guadalajara, Hidalgo 1417, AP 39-130, C.P. 44170 Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico.

The **Conference on New Anthropological, Demographic, and Ecological Perspectives on the Conquest of America** will take place in Barcelona, Spain April 17-24, 1990. Participants will include Xavier Albó, Manuel Burga, Alfred Crosby, Noble David Cook, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, and Shelton Davis. The conference will focus on historical anthropology, and the demographic and ecological history of Latin America from 1492 to the present. The con-

ference is supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation and local sources. There exists the possibility of extending invitations to a small number of researchers, particularly Latin Americans. Those interested should send a paper and curriculum vitae before *February 1990*. An important purpose of this conference is to advance knowledge and awareness of recent research on the history of America among university teachers and graduate students in Spain. For more information, please contact Verena Stolcke, Dpt. Antropología Social, Facultad de Letras, Universidad Autónoma, Bellaterra, Barcelona 08193, Spain; or J. Martínez Alier, Dpt. Economía e Historia Económica, Universidad Autónoma, Bellaterra, Barcelona 08193, Spain.

Reflections of Social Reality: Writings in Colonial Latin America is the title of a five-college symposium honoring Lewis U. Hanke, Professor Emeritus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. The Symposium, to take place April 19-20, 1990, will feature addresses by Rolena Adorno, Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, Asunción Lavrin, Walter Mignolo, and Enrique Pupo-Walker. This is an interdisciplinary conference addressing issues of writing, gender, and ethnicity in Colonial Latin American Discourse. Papers focusing on a variety of topics in history, art, literature, and linguistics will be considered. The deadline for finished papers is *January 1, 1990*. Selected papers will be published. Please respond to: Colonial Latin America Symposium, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 418 Herter Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003; 413/545-2887.

The Southwest Council of Latin American Studies (SCOLAS) 1990 meeting will be jointly hosted by Texas Lutheran College and the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León. It will be held in Monterrey, Nuevo León, Mexico from *March 29-31*. The theme of the meeting is "Borders: Bridges and Barriers." Papers from a variety of disciplines which examine economic, social, political, cultural or artistic interaction between the U.S. and Latin America and the Caribbean are called for. Presentations may be in either English or Spanish. For further information contact Dr. Richard Milk, President, SCOLAS, Department of History, Box 322, Texas Lutheran College, Seguin, TX 78155; 512/379-4161 ext. 215.

Siena College is sponsoring its fifth annual multidisciplinary conference commemorating the 50th anniversary of World War II. The focal point for the 1990 conference, to be held May 31 and June 1, 1990, will be the year 1940 and earlier. Presentations on a variety of topics, including diplomatic, political and military history, popular culture and women's studies dealing with the era are anticipated and welcomed. Asian, African, Latin American and Near Eastern topics of relevance are also solicited. The deadline for paper submission is *December 15, 1989*. For more information, contact Professor Thomas O. Kelly, II,

Department of History, Siena College, Loudonville, NY 12211.

The 27th International Geographical Congress of the International Geographical Union is a gathering of the world's most influential geographers to be held in Washington, DC from August 9-14, 1992. Geographers throughout the United States will plan and execute this event. The host for the Congress is the National Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the American Geographical Society, the Association of American Geographers, the National Geographic Society, and the National Council for Geographic Education. The Congress will draw attention to new global realities--the interconnected, integrated, and interdependent character of our lives. In addition to plenary and technical sessions, numerous workshops, short courses, and field excursions will be offered. Site visits to United States federal agencies, museums, and historical landmarks are also planned. For more information, contact Dr. Anthony R. de Souza, Secretary General, 27th International Geographical Congress, 1145 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036; 202/828-6688.

The International Association for the Study of Common Property will hold its first annual meeting on September 27-30, 1990, at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina. The theme of the conference will be "Designing Sustainability on the Commons," and we welcome proposals for individual papers and entire panels. At this first meeting we would particularly like to encourage panels that combine disciplines, resource types, and/or geographic areas, and that will allow for considerable discussion between panelists and audience. Proposals for papers and panels are due by March 1, 1990, and official participants in the program will have to become members of the International Association for the Study of Common Property by the time of the September 1990 meeting. For more information, please contact Margaret McKean, Program Chair for 1990 meeting, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706 USA.

MEMBER NEWS

Emilio F. Moran, professor of Anthropology, Indiana University at Bloomington, has been appointed editor of a new book series at the University of Michigan Press, "Linkages," which will be dedicated to publishing manuscripts that deal with the articulation of local level systems to more inclusive systems.

Robert M. Levine, Chairman, Department of History, University of Miami, has been named Director of Latin American Studies. He also has been awarded a grant from the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation to support team research on a project under the general editorship of David Wyman: "Cuba Reacts to the Holocaust, 1933-89." Professor Levine invites anyone with suggestions about sources

for this topic, which seeks to examine the ways in which Cubans--officially and unofficially--reacted to and dealt with, over time, the question of refugees from World War II and the news of the Holocaust, to contact him at the University of Miami, Department of History, P.O. Box 248194, Coral Gables, FL 33124.

Nettie Lee Benson, professor emeritus of Mexican History at the University of Texas at Austin and long time LASA member, has donated \$101,000 of her personal savings to establish the Nettie Lee Benson Library Endowment for the acquisition of Latin American research materials. This year she retired from teaching, culminating a distinguished career as historian, teacher and director of the institution which today bears her name. Benson spent forty years collecting manuscripts, books and other resources which have enriched the Benson collection. To celebrate her upcoming 85th birthday, colleagues, friends, and admirers wish to increase the Nettie Lee Benson Fund by \$85,000: \$1,000 honoring each year of her life and work. If you are interested in contributing to this fund, you may send checks payable to the University of Texas and noting that donations are for the Benson Endowment. Contact Terry Newman, Assistant for Fiscal Services, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78713-7330. Your gift will help to ensure that the seminal work begun by Dr. Benson continues for many years to come.

LETTERS

To the Editor, *LASA Forum*:

In response to Forrest Colburn's interview with Sandy Thatcher, I would like LASA members to know that it is not at all necessary to publish a large number of titles, to use inferior grades of paper and binding materials, nor to forego a thorough external review process, editing, and proofreading in order to publish good books on Latin America.

We manage, instead, as do a number of other publishers, by doing without book jackets, which we feel contribute to the expense of a book, but not to its quality; by limiting ourselves to two colors on our paperback covers, though we would much prefer something more spectacular; and by putting an enormous amount of effort into our promotion program, recognizing that we cannot afford not to sell the books we have published.

No one ever said that publishing scholarly books was without problems. But we like it. And we are able to continue--and we intend to continue--to stay with Latin American Studies.

Lynne Rienner
Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
August 14, 1989

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Applications are invited for the position of Chair of the Department of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Caribbean Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the New Brunswick Campus of Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. Applicants must hold a Ph.D. in the Humanities or the Social Sciences. This is a senior level appointment at the rank of full professor, but an associate professor appointment can be considered. Requirements include a strong commitment to building the department, teaching, and administrative responsibilities geared to program development. The applicant must have significant scholarly publications, demonstrating a special interest and expertise in the Hispanic Caribbean as well as an understanding of Hispanic Caribbean communities in the United States. Send vita to Ms. Kathryn Woods, Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University, 77 Hamilton Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. Deadline for receipt of vita is *November 15, 1989*. AA/EOE.

Connecticut College, a privately supported liberal arts college located in New London, Connecticut, invites applications for a regular tenurable position in Latin American history at the Assistant Professor level beginning with the 1990-91 academic year. Initial two-year appointment. Research stipend for first two summers and semester's leave at full salary in fourth year if reappointed for full probationary period. Specific area, period and field of Latin American history open. Candidates should hold a Ph.D. or be near completion. Salary competitive. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and at least three letters of recommendation by *November 22, 1989* to Professor Bruce H. Kirmmse, Department of History, Connecticut College, New London, CT 06320. Women and minority candidates are encouraged to apply. AA/EOE.

The University of Connecticut invites applications for an anticipated tenure-track position beginning September 1, 1990 at the rank of Assistant or Associate Professor in the field of Spanish Caribbean and/or Puerto Rican history; ability to teach Latin American and western civilization survey courses. Ph.D. required; publications and teaching experience desired. Send application, curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation to Latin American Search, Search #1, c/o Bruce M. Stave, Chair, Department of History, 241 Glenbrook Road, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-2103. Screening of applications will begin *November 1, 1989* and will continue until the search is completed. AA/EOE.

The Department of Political Science of the University of New Mexico invites applications for a tenure-stream position in international relations with a special interest in inter-American affairs. A Ph.D. is required by August 1990 which is the starting date. Teaching responsibilities

will include introductory international relations and advanced undergraduate and graduate courses in international relations and inter-American affairs. For full consideration, send credentials and three letters of reference by *December 15, 1989*, to Recruitment Committee/IR, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. AA/EOE.

A specialist in the study of Latin American women is sought by Ohio State University. An assistant or associate professor, tenure-track joint appointment position is open in the Center for Women's Studies and an academic department appropriate to the candidate's discipline, beginning September, 1990. Teaching responsibilities are divided between Women's Studies and an appropriate department, and include undergraduate and graduate courses. Qualifications: Ph.D. by September, 1990; ability to teach interdisciplinary Women's Studies courses; and evidence or promise of significant scholarly achievement. Candidates should submit credentials and a list of three references by *December 31, 1989* to Susan M. Hartmann, Director, Center for Women's Studies, The Ohio State University, 207 Dulles Hall, 230 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210. The Center for Women's Studies is committed to the goals of Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunity.

Michigan State University's Department of Political Science invites applications for two positions to begin September 1, 1990. An assistant professor in the area of comparative politics is sought for a tenure stream position. The primary qualifications are: strong theoretical interests and aptitude for research in any substantive area of comparative political analysis; and a focus on either Latin America/Caribbean or East Asia. An additional important qualification is a strong interest in and aptitude for teaching at the graduate and undergraduate levels. Applications are also sought for an assistant professor of international relations. Primary qualifications include strong theoretical interests in and aptitude for research on any aspect of international relations, though there would be a preference for a candidate with an interest in quantitative or formal-theoretical approaches. A strong interest in and aptitude for teaching at the graduate and undergraduate levels is also important. Candidates for either position should have Ph.D. in hand by September 1, 1990. Send curriculum vitae, at least three letters of recommendation, and samples of written work to: Prof. Brian D. Silver, Chairperson, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, 303 So. Kedzie Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824-1032. An AA/EO employer.

James Madison College of Michigan State University seeks a tenure stream faculty member at the assistant or associate professor level, beginning in September 1990, with expertise in international relations and comparative politics

to teach courses in the area of international political economy or comparative political security systems as well as one or more of the more traditional subfields of international relations: foreign policy decision-making, development, international law and organization, world politics. Regional specialty preferred: Latin America. Women and minority candidates are strongly urged to apply. Ph.D. is preferred by date of appointment for assistant professors. Applicants should supply vita, transcripts, confidential letters of recommendation which speak of teaching expertise and scholarly promise, and an example of scholarly research (e.g., dissertation chapter, article, conference paper). All materials should be sent to the Dean, James Madison College, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48825-1205. Applications are due preferably by *December 1, 1989*.

The Department of Government at Connecticut College invites applications and/or nominations for the position of Robert J. Lynch associate professor of government with special attention to Latin American politics and international political economy. The professorship, which begins with the 1990-91 academic year, carries with it early consideration for tenure, competitive salary, guaranteed research stipend for two summers, and a semester's leave at full salary following early tenure. The teaching load is three/two, part of which may include participation in the program of the College's Center for International Studies in the Liberal Arts. Candidates should have distinctive teaching and research experience with significant achievements and be committed to the goals of a small private liberal arts college which is expanding its programs in international studies. Letters of nomination and applications should be sent to: Professor Wayne R. Swanson, Chair, Department of Government, Box 5575, Connecticut College, 270 Mohegan Avenue, New London, CT 06320-4196. Applicant letters should be accompanied by curriculum vitae, three current letters of recommendation and writing samples. The deadline for receipt of applications and supporting documents is *December 1, 1989*. AA/EO employer.

The Carter Center of Emory University, an international, interdisciplinary, non-partisan institute combining study and analysis with the practical applications of scholarship, focuses its program activity on such fundamental issues as conflict resolution, human rights, agriculture, health, and governance within specific world regions (Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, the Soviet Union and the United States). The Center is a division of Emory University, equal in standing to the professional schools of the University. At its core are distinguished fellows and research associates who collaborate with one another and with former President Jimmy Carter. The position of Associate Provost and Associate Director for Academic Affairs is a newly established senior position at the Center, a dual appointment between the Carter Center and the University. The incumbent will provide academic leader-

ship within the Center, will coordinate Center activities with University programs, and will contribute to the University's growing emphasis on international programs. Candidates should have an earned doctorate, a distinguished scholarly record appropriate to a senior faculty rank at Emory University, and significant administrative experience within a university or other non-profit setting. Nominations and applications should be sent to the Carter Center Search Committee, Office of the Provost, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322. Letters of application will be held in strict confidence and should include a statement of interest, a curriculum vitae, and a list of three references. The Committee will begin screening applications on *November 1, 1989*, and will continue to accept them until the position is filled. Emory University is an equal opportunity employer.

The Department of Economics at Florida International University anticipates that it will have two tenure track positions beginning Fall 1990, at the assistant professor level. The Department is seeking persons with solid theoretical training. For the first position, priority will be given to candidates whose primary specialization is development economics or international economics (with an interest in the Southern Cone). For the second position, priority will be given to candidates whose primary specialization is industrial organization or public finance. Preferably, candidates for both positions should have a theoretical orientation in their research and be conversant with alternative approaches in their respective areas. Ours is a research-oriented department, offering a Ph.D. program in economics, along with B.A. and M.A. programs. The salary is negotiable. Applicants should have a Ph.D. in economics upon assuming appointment. Applications must be postmarked no later than *November 22, 1989*. Please indicate whether you are applying for the first or second position. Send vitae, sample of writings, teaching evaluations and three letters of recommendation to: Search and Screen Committee, Department of Economics, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199. Florida International University is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer and member of the State University System of Florida.

Bard College is seeking to fill a tenure-track position at the Assistant Professor level in comparative politics with a preferred specialization in Latin America. Position begins in Fall 1990. Additional interest in either Africa or Western Europe desirable. Research interests might include, but are not limited to, public policy-making under constraints of the global political economy and state theory. Consideration may be given to candidates with competence in any two of the above geographical areas. Minority candidates are strongly encouraged to apply. Send curriculum vitae and letters of recommendation by *November 30* to: Stuart Levine, Dean of the College, Attn: Political Studies, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY 12504.

RESEARCH & STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The John Carter Brown Library in conjunction with Brown University, the University of Connecticut, and the University of Massachusetts, will award three Tinker-Lampadia Research and Teaching Fellowships each year for the next three years to established scholars from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Funding for these fellowships (one from each of the three countries) has been provided by the Tinker Foundation, Inc. of New York City; Fundación Antorchas of Buenos Aires; Vitae, Apoio à Cultura, Educação e Promoção Social of São Paulo; and Fundación Andes of Santiago. The fellowships are for a continuous ten-month period (approximately August 15 to June 15) and carry a monthly stipend of \$2,600, (\$26,000 in total) plus special allowances for travel costs, health insurance, and U.S. taxes. The Tinker-Lampadia Fellows will be expected to teach one seminar in each of the two semesters of their residence in the United States, on some topic in Latin American studies; to give several public lectures; and to participate in a symposium at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. The seminars will be taught at two of the three universities participating in the fellowship program: Brown, the University of Connecticut, and the University of Massachusetts. Applicants should note that teaching and lecturing will be in English. Apart from these duties, which are intended to be light, the fellowship is designed to offer Latin American scholars an opportunity to do research in the United States and to share their research interests with colleagues and graduate students in the USA. The library facilities of all three universities and others in the vicinity are readily available. Since the resources of the John Carter Brown Library are concentrated in the colonial period of Latin America, at least one of the fellows each year will be chosen on the basis of his or her interest in that period. The fellows will be affiliated with the Latin American Studies centers or other related centers at the three institutions, and will be given appropriate appointments in academic departments. Scholars working in diverse fields such as anthropology, economics, history, law, political science, and sociology are encouraged to apply for the fellowships. Scholars who have previously held a Tinker Foundation fellowship or professorship are not eligible for these appointments. Application forms may be obtained from: Director, Tinker-Lampadia Fellows Programs, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912, USA. The deadline for receipt of completed applications for the 1990-1991 Fellowships is *December 1, 1989*. Announcements of the fellows chosen for 1990-91 will be made early in 1990.

The Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program provides short-term study/travel opportunities abroad for qualified U.S. educators in the fields of the social sciences, the humanities and social studies to improve their understanding and knowledge of the people and culture of another country under the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange (Fulbright-Hays) Act of 1961. Those eligible

include college, university and community college faculty members whose professional activities primarily include the teaching of undergraduate introductory courses in the social sciences or humanities; curriculum specialists of state or local education agencies; senior and junior high and elementary school teachers with an emphasis on social studies subjects; and teachers of foreign languages. For more information and application forms, write to: Fulbright-Hays Seminars Abroad Program, Center for International Education, U.S. Department of Education, 400 Maryland Avenue, SW, Washington, DC 20202-5332; 202/732-3283 or 202/732-3292. The deadline for application is *December 1*.

The Women's Studies Program at Hunter College is pleased to announce its selection as a site for the Rockefeller Fellowships in the Humanities for 1990-93. Each year of the grant period, the program will seek two scholars with earned doctorates (or the equivalent) and serious research interests in the project's overall theme, "Gender and Feminism in Third World Contexts." The residency program will begin in September of 1990, with a deadline for applications for the first year's fellowships of *January 1, 1990*. Applicants for fellowships in 1990-91 should be currently doing research related to traditional and/or changing concepts and representations of gender within any particular cultural context of African, Asian, Caribbean, Latin American, or Middle Eastern societies. Their work should be informed by, though not necessarily centered on, an interest in current issues of feminist theory and analysis, particularly the intersections between gender, class, race/ethnicity and nation. Work in or across any of the humanistic disciplines will be considered but should be grounded in knowledge of at least one of the major regions of the Third World. Finally, applicants should be eager to engage in the sharing of their work and ideas with a community of women's studies scholars and students from diverse cultural and multi-disciplinary backgrounds. Fellows will be expected to be in residence at Hunter College in New York City for the 10-month period of the fellowship (September 1 - June 30). Their responsibility will be mainly to work on their own research and writing, as well as to participate in program seminars and other activities. They will be paid a stipend of \$30,000 plus \$5,000 to cover housing, relocation or other travel, and fringe benefits. For further information and to receive application materials write to: Professor Rosalind P. Petchesky, Coordinator of Women's Studies, Hunter College - City University of New York, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021.

The Inter-American Foundation offers three fellowship programs to support development practitioners and researchers from Latin America, the Caribbean, and the United States whose research and career interests concern development activities among the poor. Because the fellowship program complements Foundation support for non-govern-

mental grassroots development projects, preference is given to those candidates whose research projects or careers are related to the topics of greatest interest to the Foundation. Currently, these priority topics include: (1) The nature and dynamics of effective local organizations of the poor; (2) The nature and roles of effective intermediary or grassroots support organizations; (3) Systematic appraisals of local development activities related to the fields of community health care, innovative credit mechanisms, marketing by small-scale agricultural and artisanal producers, and micro-business; (4) Emerging trends which affect the poor, including the impact of redemocratization on non-governmental development organizations, the influence of changing labor markets, and the effect of increased concern for conservation on local projects and programs. Approximately 15 fellowships are awarded annually in each of the three programs. Deadlines are as follows: Latin American and Caribbean Program for U.S. Graduate Study, *February 15*; Doctoral Program for Field Research, *December 5*; and Master's Program for Field Research, *March 1*. For more information, contact: IAF Fellowship Program, P.O. Box 9486, Arlington, VA 22209-0486.

The Kellogg Institute is dedicated to advancing research in comparative international studies, with special emphasis on Latin America. For the 1990-91 academic year, the Kellogg Institute will offer about five residential fellowships of one or two semesters at the University of Notre Dame. Fellows work on individual or joint research projects related to the Institute's themes, and take part in Institute seminars and other meetings. Kellogg fellows have faculty status within the University. The Institute's research reflects commitment to democracy, development, and social justice, and focuses on five major themes: democratization and the consolidation of democracy, alternative paths to development, the role of religion and the Catholic Church in Latin America, popular sectors, and public policies for social justice. The Institute seeks fellows of high scholarly accomplishment and promise, both at senior and junior levels, whose work and presence will contribute creatively to its major research themes. It welcomes applications from candidates of any country who hold a Ph.D. or equivalent degree in any discipline of the social sciences or history. Candidates will be evaluated individually, but joint projects will be considered. Complete applications, including all documentation, must be received by *November 15, 1989*. Awards will be announced by January 31, 1990. For application forms and more information, contact Erika M. Valenzuela, Academic Coordinator, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

The Social Science Research Council and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation will award dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships for training and research in international peace and security in 1989. The program encourages critical thinking about significant policy issues and the development of new perspectives on international

affairs. The fellowships enable individuals to conduct research that requires the knowledge and tools of more than their own field. The Council especially encourages work on international issues by qualified area studies researchers and scholars whose fields have not traditionally attended to such questions. These fellowships provide full-time support for both postdoctoral and dissertation researchers. Fellows are not permitted to be otherwise employed during the term of the fellowship. They may receive funding from other sources only with the prior approval of the Council. In most cases, the term will be two years, although in special cases--including foreign area field work--somewhat longer terms are possible if essential and fully justified in the proposal. Applications will also be accepted for somewhat shorter terms. Fellows will spend roughly one-half of their time in training which adds a new competence to their existing skills. All successful applicants will propose feasible training programs that are essential to their research. Specific information and application materials for the dissertation fellowships and postdoctoral fellowships should be requested as soon as possible from the Social Science Research Council, Program in International Peace and Security, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158, as no applications will be accepted after the deadline of *December 1, 1989*.

The Travel to Collections Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities provides grants of \$750 to assist American scholars to meet the costs of long-distance travel to the research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories throughout the United States and the world. Awards are made to help defray such research expenses as transportation, lodging, food, and photoduplication and other reproduction costs. The application deadlines are *January 15* and *July 15, 1990*. Information and application materials are available by contacting the Travel to Collections Program, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20506; 202/786-0463.

The Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Year Fellowships are designed to encourage original and significant study of ethical or religious values in all fields. In addition to topics in philosophy and religion, dissertations might consider the ethical implications of foreign policy, the values of determining political decisions, the moral modes of other cultures, and religious or ethical values as reflected in history or literature. Applicants must be candidates for a Ph.D., Th.D. or Ed.D. degree in doctoral programs at graduate schools in the United States. Candidates must fulfill all pre-dissertation requirements by December 1, 1989, and expect to complete their dissertations by August, 1991. These awards are not intended to finance field work or research, but rather the last full year of dissertation writing. Applicants who have held another of the Foundation's fellowships or a similar dissertation year award, such as a Whiting, Mellon, Javits, or AAUW

fellowship, are not eligible. Eligible proposals are those which have a central focus on ethical or religious values and elucidate the ways in which these values govern the choices made by people and societies. Selection committees of noted scholars will look for proposals that add to the understanding of values and that illuminate a religious or ethical question of broad significance. Critical editions, biographies, or annotated texts are not generally acceptable. Candidates in the arts should apply only if ethical or religious values are their main concern. Applications must be requested by *December 1, 1989* from Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, P.O. Box 642, Princeton, NJ 08542. Supporting documents include graduate school transcripts, letters of reference, and a dissertation prospectus six-eight pages long outlining the dissertation and discussing its relevance to religious and ethical inquiry. Applications and prospectuses must be postmarked by *December 15, 1989*. Applications being mailed from outside the United States or Canada must be postmarked by *December 1, 1989*.

The Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh and The Howard Heinz Endowment announce the 1990 competition for grants supporting research on current issues in Latin American politics, economics, foreign policy, and development. This year, grants will be considered for research projects that deal with current or emerging policy issues either on individual countries, groups of countries, or the entire Latin American/Caribbean region on any of the following three thematic areas: (1) Current political or socioeconomic relations between the region and the United States, within the region itself, or between the region and other world areas, when such relations are or might be significant for US policy concerns; (2) Political change -- especially as it concerns democratization, political stability/instability, the status of minorities, or environmental politics; (3) The success/failure either of models of development and their performance or specific policies (e.g., inflation control, export promotion, debt reduction, coverage and quality of social services, equity, and poverty). The applicant (principal investigator) must have a Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution (grant applications for dissertation research will not be considered). A maximum of \$25,000 will be granted per award (it is expected that from six to ten grants will be awarded in the 1990 competition). Grant funds may be used for release time/salary replacement, travel, maintenance (for time spent in research locale), and data collection/analysis. Grants will not include payment for overhead/indirect costs. All proposals must include a cover sheet with project title, amount requested, name/address/telephone number and institutional affiliation of primary investigator as well as signature of authorizing institutional official; an abstract (maximum of 250 words) that describes the project and explains its significance; a description of the proposed project not to exceed five single-spaced typewritten pages (the description must include a clear delineation of the research method-

ology to be utilized as well as the specific objectives that can be realized within the proposed schedule and the amount of funding requested); a detailed budget of research expenditures that delineates expenses for each of the four categories (if applicable) specified above (cost-sharing for applicants from institutions in the United States is encouraged); and curriculum vitae of applicant(s). An application package, containing six (6) complete copies of the grant proposal must be received by *February 1, 1990*. For a brochure describing the program, write or call: John Frechione, Program Coordinator, Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues, Center for Latin American Studies, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA; 412/648-7395; TELEX 199126; FAX 412-648-2199; BITNET SELIGSON@PITTVMS.

The United States Institute of Peace invites qualified candidates to compete for three types of fellowships offered by the Institute's Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. These fellowships enable outstanding professionals and scholars to undertake research and education projects that will increase knowledge and spread awareness among the public and policymakers regarding the nature of violent international conflict and the full range of ways to deal with it peacefully. Individuals from a broad spectrum of backgrounds--higher education, government, diplomacy, international affairs, military service, law, the media, business, labor, religion, humanitarian affairs, and others--are encouraged to propose innovative, carefully conceived fellowship projects reflecting diverse interests, project approaches, and communication mediums. Stipends and other support are ordinarily provided for a one-year period beginning in September 1990. There are three types of awards. *Distinguished Fellows* are statesmen, scholars, or other professionals with national or international stature by virtue of widely recognized scholarly or practical accomplishments in international peace and conflict management or other relevant fields. They must be nominated on an official form by a person well acquainted with the nominee's career and achievements. *Peace Fellows* are professionals or scholars who demonstrate substantial accomplishment or promise of exceptional leadership in various career fields. *Peace Fellow* candidates must submit an official application form, which includes a project proposal and requires three letters of reference. *Peace Scholars* are outstanding students in recognized doctoral programs in American universities who have demonstrated a clear interest in issues of international peace and conflict management and have completed all required work toward their doctoral degrees except their dissertations. Candidates must have a letter of support sent to the Institute from the chairman of the department or professional school in which they will conduct their dissertation research (each department or school may endorse two students in each competition cycle). The candidate must submit an official application form, which includes a research plan and requires graduate transcripts and three letters of reference. Completed nomination and

application forms, including the required letters and other materials, must be postmarked no later than *November 15, 1989*. For application forms, contact: Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, United States Institute of Peace, 1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005-1708; 202/457-1706; FAX: 202/429-6063.

The Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships are for humanities scholars whose research furthers understanding of contemporary social and cultural issues and extends international or intercultural scholarship. In 1990-91, the fellowships will be offered as residencies at host institutions selected for their potential to promote individual scholarship in the humanities. The sites selected to sustain such scholarship will now focus on international issues, foreign languages and literatures, the cultures of non-Western nations and aspects of American cultural pluralism. Host institutions include academic departments such as the Department of Spanish and Portuguese of the University of Maryland, area studies and other interdisciplinary programs such as the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin, museums, and research libraries. These institutions select scholars to receive Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship stipends. Applications are also invited from programs in colleges and universities and other institutions, such as libraries and museums, with resources of value to emerging fields of the humanities. Selected sites will be expected to mount open and well-publicized fellowship competitions, awarding two grants per year over a three-year period to support advanced scholarly research in the humanities, leading to publication. A letter notifying the Foundation of a program's intent to apply and briefly describing the focus of the proposal is requested by *December 1, 1989*. For the complete list of host institutions for individual fellowships and institutional application information, contact Humanities Fellowships, The Rockefeller Foundation, Arts and Humanities Division, 1133 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036.

Two Rockefeller Foundation Humanist-in-Residence Fellowships will be awarded in 1990-91 to post-doctoral scholars to work on a book-length original manuscript that focuses on the relationship between cultural context, domestic or international, and women's lives and, ideally, addresses issues of race, class, or ethnicity. The work should contribute to the development of feminist theory. Fellows will receive a stipend of \$30,000 and will be required to be in residence from August 23, 1990 to May 10, 1991 to give several presentations, and participate in other Women's Studies/SIROW activities. Women of color are particularly urged to apply. Applications are due *January 12, 1990*. Selections will be made by mid-March. For information and application materials, write to Women's Studies/Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW), University of Arizona, 102 Douglass Building, Tucson, AZ 85721; 602/621-7338.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California at San Diego is accepting applications for Visiting Research Fellowships to be held during the year beginning September 1, 1990. Since 1980, the Center has hosted more than 170 Visiting Fellows from 14 different countries. Fellowships are offered at both the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels, for research and writing on any aspect of contemporary Mexico (excluding literature and the arts), Mexican history, U.S.-Mexican relations (including immigration studies), Mexico's international economic and political relations in general, and larger comparative or international political economy projects that have a substantial Mexico component. Mexico-based researchers wishing to study some aspect of the United States are especially encouraged to apply. Applications from journalists, public officials, and other non-academic professionals are also welcomed. Students seeking admission to the Ph.D. program in any of the social sciences or history at UC-San Diego for Fall 1990, may also apply for a fellowship from the Center. Each fellow is expected to spend from 3 to 12 months in continuous residence at the Center. Summer fellowships are not offered. Applications must be received by *January 1, 1990*. Awards will be announced in February. Application materials may be requested from: Graciela Platero, Fellowships Coordinator, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies (D-010), University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093, USA.

The Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council invite applications for advanced grants on all aspects of the societies and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean. Comparative projects involving more than one country in the region, or a Latin American and a non-Latin American country are also accepted. Projects in the humanities are especially encouraged. There are no citizenship requirements. Applicants must have received a Ph.D. (or another degree acceptable for a university career, or completed work equivalent to a doctoral dissertation) within the last ten years. This requirement applies to all applicants, except those doing research on countries defined as under researched: the seven countries of Central America, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Cuba. Scholars who have previously accepted an SSRC advanced grant are not eligible to apply. The deadline for applications is *January 15, 1990*. Awards are announced in June. Individuals requesting application materials for the advanced grants competition should state degrees earned with dates, and submit a brief description of the proposed research project. For further information and application materials, contact: Latin American and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

The American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council regret to announce that this year's competition for Doctoral Research Fellowships for

Latin America and the Caribbean has been cancelled.

The Institute of Latin American Studies, the African and Afro-American Studies Research Center, and the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin announce a Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship Program in the Humanities on historical foundations of ethnic relations in Latin America and the Caribbean. The fellowship program will provide support for North and Latin American scholars from any area of the humanities to work in the Benson Latin American Collection and with scholars at the University of Texas on the history of ethnicity and ethnic relations in Brazil, Middle America, and the Caribbean. Two nine-month fellowships of \$30,000 will be offered annually. These may be taken in addition to sabbatical or other support. Fellowships will be granted only to full-time participants. Semester applications will be considered. Fellows will spend the major portion of the time in Austin. Fellows will be expected to participate in activities of the ethnic relations working group composed of faculty and graduate students, to offer seminars and lectures, and to be available for consultation. Applicants should submit a 100-word abstract, an essay of no more than 1,500 words detailing the proposed research, a full curriculum vita and bibliography, three letters from scholars familiar with the area of research and three from persons familiar with the applicant's professional work. Inquiries and completed applications should be addressed to Ms. Pat Boone, Rockefeller Program in the Humanities, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712; 512/471-5551. The deadline for applications is *February 15, 1990*.

Cornell University announces its program, "The Andean World: A Millenium of Achievements and Transformation," an NEH Summer Institute for 1990. The program emphasizes two themes which in presenting recent scholarly work on the Andes. The first theme asserts the importance of native Andean accomplishments. The native world was much more than its traditionally-depicted prologue to European arrival: it held a record of Andean achievements which can only be described as remarkable. The Inkas, their predecessors, and their contemporaries showed formidable skills in technology, politics, cognition, and the arts. The second theme explores the impact of European contact with the Andes. The Spanish conquest shattered the Inka state while attempting to use traditional systems of political control and economic exploitation. Spanish arrival in the Andes also set in motion a series of interactions--both biological and cultural--which transformed native modes to adapt to new realities. Out of these interactions emerged a new culture, neither totally indigenous nor totally European, which has both historic and contemporary implications. The course curriculum is designed to guide participants to an understanding of the implication of those interactions. For more information about the Summer Institute, contact Billie Jean Isbell, Cornell University, Latin American Studies Program, Ithaca, NY 14850.

(Program Report, cont.)

Particular attention will be given to creating "tracks" or "streams" of sessions on closely related themes, so that participants will be forced to choose as little as possible between simultaneous panels on similar themes.

The LASA Program Committee will also consider initiating an improved mechanism for soliciting, creating, and maintaining contact with panel participants outside of the U.S., as well as seeking local coordinators or local liaison for panels by participants from outside of the U.S. so that travel and hotel arrangements and other communications can be simplified.

The Washington, DC location of LASA 91 will encourage substantially increased participation by national and international organizations located in Washington. The timing of the Congress, at the mid-point of the Bush administration, will encourage a stronger than usual focus on U.S.-Latin American policy issues.

The quality of the program will depend, as always, on the breadth of themes, the innovation, and the participant quality of panels proposed by LASA members. This will be an excellent opportunity for LASA to show U.S. national leadership that we have, among our members, a vast array of insightful scholars, from the U.S. and abroad, who should be consulted more on Latin American issues.

The list of the full membership of the Program Committee is provided on page 37.

The Washington Office on Latin America
announces forthcoming publications on:

Chile's Return to Democracy.

Based on first-hand information gathering and interviews with a wide range of Chilean popular and governmental organizations, this report focuses on the social and political conditions for the December vote, on the pre-election debate over human rights and other key issues for the future government, and on U.S. policy as Chileans prepare for the first free elections since 1970. A vivid and timely resource on the key Chilean case of democratic transition (November 1989, 40 pp., \$6.00).

Political Violence in Colombia.

In the midst of international outcry against drug trafficking, the escalation of generalized violence in Colombia has led to massive violations of human rights and imperiled civilian rule. This solid and well-documented report, which draws on WOLA's particular expertise on Colombia, exposes military complicity in paramilitary death squad activity and examines the potential for meaningful civilian control of a country in crisis (October 1989, 60 pp., \$8.00).

Discounts for quantity orders available.

Send orders to:

Washington Office on Latin America
110 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002



PUBLICATIONS

Note: This section will mention only new periodicals or series and bibliographic or reference materials. We regret that time and space limitations preclude our listing the many interesting books and articles that come to our attention.

The Washington Office on Latin America announces the publication of a new Human Rights Report Series, which addresses critical issues for the worldwide human rights movement. The first report, *New Challenges, New Strategies: Human Rights and Elected Civilian Governments in Latin America*, follows a WOLA-organized conference of international human rights organizations and examines the changing character of their work under emerging civilian governments. Particular issues addressed include military accountability and insurgencies (September 1989, 35 pp., \$6.00). The second report, entitled *The Armed Forces and Democratic Accountability: Human Rights and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay*, focuses on the return to civil rule after years of military dictatorships in the Southern Cone and on the expanded focus of military accountability to include not only the question of past human rights abuses but the problem of structural responsibility within the democratic order as well (October 1989, 100 pp., \$10.00). For more information, please contact the Washington Office on Latin America at 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002; 202/544-8045.

An offprint containing the "Politics and Government" and "International Relations" sections of *The Handbook of Latin American Studies*, Volume 49, will be available from the University of Texas Press, Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819, for \$10.95. The offprint is a test case to determine whether Latin Americanists want sections on their own disciplines on their desks. It provides comprehensive surveys of what has been published in the field, together with authoritative annotations on each entry. The entire *Handbook* may be ordered directly from the Press for \$65.00.

The International Academy at Santa Barbara announces a new directory listing 173 independent countries and their government and political party leaders. Officials in key cabinet posts and government departments are identified for students, business travelers, and others who need current, accurate information. Called the *Annual Directory of World Leaders 1988/89*, the volume also provides addresses of embassies in the United States, and names, addresses, and officials of major international organizations and alliances. Facts for the new *Directory* are compiled from the database of the Academy's reference serial, *Current World Leaders*, which has been published for 32 consecutive years. The directory is priced at \$39.95. Orders should be addressed to ADWL, International Academy at Santa Barbara, 800 Garden Street, Suite D, Santa Barbara, CA 93101-1552.

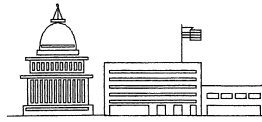
Devoted to topics that address important social, economic, political, and environmental concerns, The Pierian Press announces the publication of *Resources on Contemporary Issues*, a new bibliographic series that guides the reader to the most significant literature available on these subjects. Every book in this series is designed for use in academic, public, and high school libraries, by public policy makers, and by professionals and specialists. The series provides analytical introductions which explain the significance of the topic and provide a context in which to understand the citations assigned to each chapter. Each volume contains 800-1000 annotated citations, a glossary, a chronology of events, and author and title indexes. The newest volume in the series is *Sandinista Nicaragua Part 1: Revolution, Religion, and Social Policy* by Neil Snarr and Associates. For more information, contact: The Pierian Press, P.O. Box 1808, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; 800/678-2435.

The Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, is now publishing *Exú*, a bi-monthly publication in Portuguese principally devoted to the literature, culture, and arts of the state of Bahia. In addition to articles on literature and culture, the foundation is also seeking brief creative works such as poems and short stories that could be translated from English. For more information write Myriam Fraga, Diretora Executiva, Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado, Largo do Pelourinho s/n, Salvador, Bahia, CEP 40025; 071/321-0720.

The Center for Labor Research and Studies and the Latin American and Caribbean Center at Florida International University announce the publication of the first issue of the *Latin American Labor Studies Newsletter*. Contact John French, Editor, History Department, Florida International University, University Park Campus-DM435A, Miami, FL 33199; 305/554-2328.

Volume 6 of *European Americana: A Chronological Guide to Works Printed in Europe Relating to the Americas, 1493-1750*, has just been released. Published by the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University and by Readex Books, *European Americana* is a multi-volume chronological guide to the printed record of all that Europeans wrote about America, from Columbus's first address to the court of King Ferdinand through the mid-eighteenth century. Volume 6, edited by Dennis C. Landis, covers the years 1726-1750. The series will be completed with Volume 3 (1651-1675) and Volume 4 (1676-1700). These are scheduled for publication in 1992, on the 500th anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. The series has been produced with the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, with the added support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Volume 6 of *European Americana* is priced at \$295 and is available from Readex Books, 58 Pine Street, New Canaan, CT 06840-5408. Volumes 1, 2, and 5 remain in print.

LASA '91



Program Committee Survey

The 1991 LASA International Congress will meet in Washington, DC, on April 4-6, 1991. LASA President-elect, Jean Franco, has appointed the following Program Committee for LASA 91:

Michael Conroy, Chair
Arturo Arias
Elizabeth Jelín

Francesca Miller
Jennifer Schirmer
Mitchell Seligson

Economics, The University of Texas at Austin
Literature, The University of Texas at Austin
Sociology, Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad (CEDES), Buenos Aires.
History, The University of California at Davis
Anthropology, Wellesley College
Political Science, The University of Pittsburgh

The Program Committee would like to take advantage of this opportunity to survey all LASA members about your preferences for the next meetings and about several possibilities that we are considering.

Please fill out this brief questionnaire and return it to: LASA 91 Program Committee, c/o Department of Economics - ECB 2.134, The University of Texas, Austin TX 78712.

Had you planned to attend the San Juan meetings? Yes No
Will you attend the Miami replacement meetings? Yes No Don't Know

1. What single dimension of LASA meetings tends to be most important in determining your decision to attend? (Please check only one.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Location of the meetings | <input type="checkbox"/> Acceptance of your panel or paper |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Availability of financial support for travel | <input type="checkbox"/> Encouragement by the Program Committee |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Opportunity to meet friends and colleagues | <input type="checkbox"/> Receipt of the Program in advance |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing special, almost always attend |

2. What single dimension of past LASA meetings that you have attended (if any) would you encourage the Program Committee to change when it designs the LASA 91 Meetings?

3. If LASA were to obtain funding to cover live broadcast by satellite television of selected sessions from the LASA 91 Meetings, utilizing simultaneous translation as needed:

- A. Would there be interest in your community/institution/organization in receiving the broadcast? Yes No Don't Know
- B. Would you be interested in organizing a panel to be broadcast?
 Yes No Don't Know
- C. Does your community/institution/organization presently have the ability to receive broadcasts directly from communications satellites?
 Yes No Don't Know

4. What is your present country of residence? _____

If your country of residence is the United States or Canada, would you be willing to serve as "local liaison" for one or more panels organized by colleagues from Latin America?
 Yes No Don't Know (OVER)

If your country of residence is other than the United States or Canada, please answer the following two questions:

A. Would it be useful for the LASA 91 Program Committee to name a LASA member in your country as liaison or special representative for your country to encourage organization of panels, to provide information, and to serve as local contact?
 Yes No Don't Know

B. If a liaison or special representative was going to be named in your country, would you be willing to serve in that capacity?
 Yes No Don't Know

5. Recalling that the program consists primarily of panels proposed by LASA members and that the Program Committee has relatively little influence over that process, what topics or themes (if any) that were not covered adequately at recent LASA meetings that you have attended should be included in the LASA 91 Meetings in Washington?

6. Are you interested in organizing a panel or workshop for LASA 91?
 Yes No Don't Know

If yes, on what topic or theme: _____

7. It has been suggested that LASA would do well to emulate our Latin American colleagues by selecting a "central theme" for each LASA Congress. If the selection of a theme simply encouraged some coherence in organization and if it was not used to exclude panels on other themes, would it be useful for us to select a theme for LASA 91?
 Yes No Don't Know

If you responded "yes" to this question, what theme would you suggest for LASA 91?

We would like to receive this questionnaire whether or not you wish to provide your name. But if you answered "YES" to any of the numbered questions above, we would like to have your name and address so that we can contact you:

NAME: _____

INSTITUTION: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY/STATE: _____

COUNTRY: _____ ZIPCODE _____

Please mail this questionnaire to: LASA 91 Program Committee, c/o Latin American Economic Studies Program, Department of Economics, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin TX 78712. Or FAX it to (512) 471-3090. Copies will also be available in Miami, in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, for LASA 89 participants.

THE MAY 1 1989 ELECTIONS IN PARAGUAY TOWARD A NEW ERA OF DEMOCRACY?

Report by the

International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association
to Observe the Paraguayan Elections¹

Introduction

The course of events triggered by the February 3, 1989 coup d'état in Paraguay and a call for elections on May 1 provided an historic opportunity for the initiation of a democratic transition. It was clear that the presence of international observers could help ensure the integrity of the process, and further, that observers with scholarly expertise also could make a significant contribution to understanding its evolution and outcome. Thus on invitation of a group of eight Paraguayan social science research centers, the Latin American Studies Association established an International Commission to Observe the Paraguayan Elections and to report to the LASA membership and international public opinion. Since time limitations made it impossible to secure financing from external funding sources the travel and expenses of the commission were financed by the members themselves or their home universities. LASA, however, allocated limited funds for the organization of the Commission and the publication of this report.

The members of the Commission appointed by the LASA Executive Council were: Diego Abente, Chair, (Political Science, Miami University), David G. Becker (Government, Dartmouth College), Catherine Conaghan (Political Studies, Queen's University, Canada), Kenneth Cott (History, Washburn University), Jean Danielson (Political Science, Tulane University), Jose Z. Garcia (Political Science, New Mexico State), Charles Gillespie (Political Science, University of Wisconsin at Madison), Philip Kelly (Political Science, Emporia State University), Teresa Mendez-Faith (Modern Languages, Saint Anselm College), Mario Pastore (Economics, Washington University, St. Louis), Fernando Pfannl (Institute on Paraguayan Affairs, New York), Richard Reed (Anthropology, Smith College), and Charles Stansifer (History, University of Kansas).

The Commission arrived in Paraguay on April 27. While a few members departed on May 2, most stayed until May 4 or longer. Upon arrival, the Commission met the U.S. Ambassador who, with his staff, provided a useful overall assessment of the situation. In the course of their stay, Commission members met with representatives of a broad sample of the Paraguayan political spectrum. More than

five dozen politicians, social and religious activists, and academicians generously shared their time with Commission members. Government and ruling party officials, including the Foreign Relations Minister, the President of the Junta Electoral Central, and the Second Vice-President of the Colorado Party, also took time from their busy agenda to give interviews. A list of the officials and scholars who spoke with one or more Commission members appears in the appendix.

Particular appreciation is due the Instituto de Integración de América Latina (IDIAL), and especially to its Chair, Dr. José F. Fernández E. and its Executive Director, Lic. Fernando Masi, for the generous and excellent logistic support provided to the Commission.

Background

Since its independence in 1811, Paraguay has experienced two protracted periods of authoritarianism (1816-1865 and 1940-1989) interspersed with one quasi-democratic interlude (1870-1940). The Stroessner dictatorship (1954-1989) covers much of the recent authoritarian era. Seizing power after a period of great disorder and political instability, General Alfredo Stroessner constructed a dictatorship more absolute than most, crushing opposition to his rule with ruthless determination. Many Paraguayans died under torture or were murdered.² Dissident members of Stroessner's Colorado Party (known as *contestatarios*), members of opposition political movements, labor leaders, and peasants demanding land were the most frequent victims of the gross human rights violations of the regime. The repression was justified in the name of domestic peace, which became the watchword of the regime. Furthermore, to strengthen his powerful machinery, Stroessner resorted to—and encouraged his cronies to engage in—large scale corruption. While in the initial stages of the dictatorship official corruption was largely confined to contraband trafficking, it later grew to include kickbacks on state contracts, illegal use of official dollars rationed by the Central Bank, and a virtually obligatory "toll" that businessmen paid to the government clique to get any business of certain size started.³ Although Stroessner himself lived a

relatively simple and unpretentious life, his relatives and cronies engaged in an ostentatious and luxurious lifestyle that bred great resentment.

Repression and corruption alone, however, cannot explain the resilience of the Stroessner regime. Unlike other dictators in the past and in Latin America, Stroessner was able to consolidate a strong coalition that included the military and the Asociación Nacional Republicana (ANR), a traditional party dating from the nineteenth century. The ANR, more commonly known as the Partido Colorado, evolved as a political machine based on clientelistic networks. It has enjoyed strong electoral support in the countryside. This military-political coalition was a key element in Stroessner's dictatorial longevity. The demise of the coalition was due, in large part, to strategic mistakes made by the aging Stroessner. When the coalition collapsed, even the magical powers of the *líder máximo* could not stave off a political transition.

The disintegration of the coalition that underpinned Stroessner's authoritarian regime began in August 1987 at the Colorado party's national convention. With Stroessner's approval, an extreme right-wing minority known as the *militantes stronistas*, violently seized control of the Colorado Party from the more numerous and somewhat more respectable *tradicionalistas*. The actions of the *militantes* were predicated on their strong personal loyalty to Stroessner, and reflected in their motto, *con Stroessner, por Stroessner, y para Stroessner*. The takeover by the *militantes* alienated the bulk of the traditional party leadership and their violent tactics met widespread condemnation in civilian and military circles. Many colonels in the Armed Forces, who already were frustrated at the regime's failure to promote them to higher ranks, were alarmed at reports that the *militantes* were bringing large quantities of arms into the country. They also resented *militante* attempts to position Stroessner's son, Gustavo, to succeed his father. Gustavo Stroessner was promoted to the rank of Air Force Colonel in January 1989. Subsequent promotions would have required a massive forced retirement of officers with more seniority, some steps toward which already had been taken. Some colonels and junior officers also resented the corruption in government circles and the lack of professionalism in the military.

After the militant 1987 takeover of the party General Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti, Commander of the First Army Corps and the most powerful figure in the Armed Forces, began to be regarded as the one man who stood in the way of complete *militante* control of the Armed Forces because of his alleged sympathies for the traditionalist wing of the Colorados. Discontented officers coalesced around Rodríguez and by late 1988 plans for a coup appear to have been well advanced. The coup finally was triggered on February 2, 1989, when Stroessner ordered General Rodríguez to retire from active service (a move interpreted as the critical step toward a thorough internal purge and

the advance of Gustavo). After several hours of intense fighting on February 2 and 3, Stroessner surrendered. Official reports claimed only 31 deaths in the fighting, but diplomatic observers believe that the death toll may have been in the hundreds. Stroessner was immediately exiled to Brazil and Rodríguez became provisional president. Congress was dissolved and leading *militantes* were arrested. Within days elections were announced for May 1.

The New and the Old

Stroessner's fall was greeted with widespread rejoicing, and almost immediately the political atmosphere in Asunción began to change. On the morning of February 3, large crowds gathered at the scenes of the fighting, fraternizing with soldiers who twenty-four hours earlier would have dispersed them. Rodríguez met openly with the press. A large and boisterous demonstration was held in the city's center. As Paraguayans hastened to take advantage of the unaccustomed freedom, Rodríguez promised to respect human rights and the Roman Catholic church and to begin a process of democratization.

Initial euphoria, however, gave way to a more sober assessment when the new government plan was announced. Rather than negotiating with the opposition on the terms and timing of the transition, the Rodríguez government decided to proceed with the process using the Stroessner-designed constitution and electoral laws.⁴ Thus the mere promise of elections was hardly reassuring, given the thirteen fraudulent elections conducted under those rules. Rodríguez's decision to run for the presidency with Colorado support cast further doubt on the government's commitment to carry out a genuine transition to democracy. In short, the provisional government's decision to "democratize" the country via immediate presidential and congressional elections rather than through an agreed-upon pact and timetable raised the specter of *continuismo*--that the elections might be simply a ruse to legitimize the continuation of the Colorado monopoly over the state.

Political Parties

Paraguay emerged from the Stroessner dictatorship with the skeleton of a competitive party system in place. Although weakened by years of repression, some opposition parties managed to survive. The most important opposition party is the Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico (PLRA). Since 1887, the PLRA has served as the major rival of the Partido Colorado.

A number of smaller parties also managed to last through the dictatorship. The Partido Revolucionario Febrerista (PRF) emerged as a result of a 1936 rebellion of middle class intellectuals and progressive military officers. The

Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC) was founded in 1960 by prominent Catholic lay leaders. The Movimiento Popular Colorado (MOPOCO) and Asociación Nacional Republicana en el Exilio y la Resistencia (ANR-ER), were organized by Colorado dissidents exiled by Stroessner between 1956 and 1959. Many MOPOCO and ANR-ER leaders were allowed to return in 1985.

In 1979, the opposition parties (with the exception of the ANR-ER) joined in the Acuerdo Nacional to coordinate their efforts. After the coup, however, the Acuerdo Nacional began to disintegrate as a result of a complex set of factors that included the provisional government's skillful use of a package of selective incentives to would-be deserters. MOPOCO and ANR-ER rejoined the Colorado Party, as did other dissident factions now known as *ex-contestarios*. Their ranks were swollen by scores of returning exiles. The other members of the Acuerdo found themselves in disagreement over the best way to respond to the political opening and increasingly operated independently.

Opposition party politicians knew they could not defeat Rodríguez unless their parties could unite behind a single candidate. One of the provisions in the electoral law prohibited electoral coalitions, however. In spite of repeated demands, the government refused to change the law to allow the formation of electoral coalitions.

Several other issues were of concern to the opposition as it prepared to enter the electoral process from which it had previously abstained or been excluded. The opposition insisted that it needed a lengthy period to register its supporters, most of whom had not voted under Stroessner. Registration was opened for the month of March, although eventually the government agreed to extend the registration period until April 8. The opposition responded that this was insufficient time to register voters. There were also shortages of registration certificates. Parties were responsible for registering their own members, and opposition parties reported that the demand for certificates far exceeded the number provided by the election board. Many prospective opposition voters were thus not registered.

The third issue was the timing of the elections. Long repressed and poorly organized, the opposition called for a postponement of the elections until the parties could prepare adequately. Once again, the provisional government rejected the opposition demands. Officials argued that article 79 of the Constitution mandated elections within 90 days of a government's dissolution, obliging them to schedule them for May 1. Thus, throughout the process, the electoral timetable and mechanics were completely dictated by the government. This proved to be extremely disadvantageous to opposition parties, particularly the PLRA. For almost forty years, the PLRA had suffered severe repression, making the preparation for an election

within ninety days a Herculean task. Moreover, the PLRA found itself competing with General Rodríguez for the mantle of the opposition to the old regime. The Rodríguez campaign was riding high on the outpouring of support for his role in the overthrow of Stroessner.

A final source of great preoccupation was whether parties were to be assured equal campaign opportunities. This concern transcended the problem of freedoms, strictly defined; it involved the broader question of whether opposition parties could compete on an equal footing with a ruling Colorado party. For three decades the party enjoyed a full monopoly over government patronage and all the financial and physical resources of the state. In such circumstances many Paraguayans argued that the elections would not be truly democratic.

Even so, opposition parties decided to participate in the election rather than abstain. They feared being isolated from the masses of citizens who in large measure were inspired to participate in the electoral process because of the very visible changes the provisional government was producing. The main opposition parties also were concerned that if they abstained, smaller opposition forces would occupy the newly opened space at their expense. They entered the electoral arena almost obliged to do so, then, but reserved the option of withdrawing at a later date if things went badly for them.

Socio-Economic Actors

Socio-economic groups reacted to the coup and the plans of the government with a mixture of joy, skepticism, and relief. Organized peasants and workers generally welcomed the developments but were extremely cautious about the likely direction of events. Most felt that too much of the *stronista* machinery remained in place to allow a great deal of change. Although they looked forward to the future with hope, their enthusiasm was tempered by the extent to which holdovers of the dictatorship remained in place.

Representatives of independent unions organized in 1985 in the Movimiento Intersindical de Trabajadores (MIT) pointed to the need to address concrete social grievances in addition to political ones. They expressed greater concern with the broader process of democratization than with the elections, whose outcome they saw as a foregone conclusion. Badly repressed under Stroessner, labor leaders stressed their concerns for an environment more favorable to working people, better salaries and working conditions, and immediate agrarian reform to give land to thousand of landless peasants. By and large, union leaders believed that their movements should remain cautious while taking advantage of the current opening to continue strengthening their organizations. They pointed out that twenty-three new unions joined the MIT since the February coup and expected many more to desert the Stroessner-

controlled Confederación Paraguaya de Trabajadores (CPT) and join the MIT. Labor representatives insisted that popular movements should remain independent of political parties to enhance their autonomy and better defend the interest of their constituents. They envisioned the formation of a unified confederation of laborers to defend worker's rights.

The organized popular sector in Paraguay is small and remains weak.⁵ As such, it experiences many of the same problems as social movements elsewhere in Latin America, although perhaps in exaggerated form. Lower class organizations lack the ability to influence significantly the political process. At the same time, they have no interest in disturbing the process of political opening. Although the new situation has thus far offered few tangible rewards beyond a freer political climate, such a climate is regarded as an indispensable first step toward fostering organizational and political voice. Consequently, popular sector leaders gave the transition a qualified endorsement.

The business community viewed the political transition more favorably and with great expectation. During the 1980s, frustrations grew within the private sector over the conduct of economic policy. Both substantive and procedural issues were the source of discontent. Industrialists, represented by the Unión Industrial Paraguaya, felt stymied by what they believed to be the "anti-industrial" bias of the Stroessner regime and their lack of input into the policy-making process. Exchange rate policies, on the other hand, were the prime targets of criticism by exporters and importers.

The economic boom of the 1970s, based in large part on the construction of the Itaipú dam between Paraguay and Brazil, kept most of private sector locked inside the Stroessner coalition. The economic recession of the 1980s, however, eroded business support for the government. Businessmen viewed policy-making process as highly insulated and generally impermeable to private sector demands. Industrialists, in particular, felt excluded by the Stroessner regime and disadvantaged by the state-centered development model imposed on them. According to leaders of the industrial sector, the "access" problem disappeared immediately after the coup. They said that a new "open door" policy of consultation with business took hold in the Ministry of Industry. Rodríguez's new economic team announced its commitment to market-oriented reforms and a less statist approach to economic management. Leaders of the Unión Industrial were also delighted by the government's plan to privatize a number of state enterprises.

While Paraguayan businessmen may not have been as aggressive in their opposition to the authoritarian regime as business groups in other recent cases of regime transition (e.g., Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador), the alienation of the private sector was an important element in the break-

down of the Stroessner dictatorship. This eroded support for the government and deprived Stroessner of allies as his hold over other groups (especially the military) dissipated.

For the business sector in general, and industrialists in particular, the political transition brought significant benefits. The transition opened the state to their influence; it gave business lobbying groups more access to state bureaucracies and allowed individual businessmen a crack at public office. Furthermore, the installation of the Rodríguez government did not pose a high risk for the business sector. Leaders of the Unión Industrial Paraguaya expressed confidence in the political opening and they declared that their membership was prepared to accept the heightened influence of popular and trade union organizations that democratization might entail.

The Pre-electoral Climate

The climate just prior to the election differed radically from that of the Stroessner years. Opposition parties were given freedom to campaign and access to fifteen minutes daily of complimentary air time on the state radio. The ruling Colorado party got the lion's share of radio time, however, because of its control over the government-owned station. For instance, while Colorado political gatherings were broadcast on the state radio, opposition parties were forced to purchase air time from commercial radio stations for coverage of their rallies.

The two television channels in Paraguay (Channel 9, Cerro Corá and Channel 13, Red Privada de Televisión) are both privately owned. Until the February action Channel 9 belonged to the ex-Dictator's son, Gustavo, and Channel 13 to an economic group allied with the Stroessner dictatorship. After the coup, both became supporters of the new government.⁶ Paying for advertising put a significant strain on the limited budgets of opposition parties; on several occasions, however, the channels balanced their routine coverage of government events and meetings with live broadcasting of opposition conventions and rallies.

Inequities in campaign financing undercut the ability of opposition parties to compete effectively with the Colorado party. The ruling party had amassed an impressive war chest and monopolized the resources of the state. Every government agency, for example, deducts a mandatory contribution to the Colorado party from its employees' salaries. With slightly over 120,000 public employees and years of forced contributions, the Colorado party was able to outspend its rival by a wide margin. Opposition parties scrambled for support from private contributors. Among opposition parties, the PLRA led the pack in capturing such financial support.

With substantial financial resources at its disposal, the

government ran a well-organized and effective campaign. Rodríguez appropriated the opposition's main theme: democratization. The motto of Rodríguez's campaign was "Let us build a modern and democratic Paraguay." The campaign deftly used the images and symbols of the anti-Stroessner forces. The background music for television commercials was the patriotic march, "Beloved Fatherland." The song was a longstanding trademark of the opposition; it was frequently sung by *anti-stroenista* demonstrators in their clashes with the police over the years. Government television commercials showed opposition demonstrators and their leaders speaking of democratization, and followed up immediately with a portrayal of Rodríguez as the man who brought their efforts to fruition.

In short, the Rodríguez campaign seized the opposition's message, and cleverly presented him as the candidate who could best guarantee genuine democratization in an orderly and peaceful context. The success of the campaign was reflected in a survey by the media group Red Privada de Comunicación. The poll reported that the percentage of people intending to vote for Rodríguez increased from 56 percent in late March to 68 percent by mid-April.⁷

The electoral campaign was characterized by new freedoms for opposition parties. But the structural imbalance between the Colorado and other parties inherited from the Stroessner dictatorship remained a factor of great importance. These weighed much more in the countryside. For example, since there was no public transportation to the polling places the ruling party rented a huge fleet of trucks and buses to take its own supporters to vote and back home again. The imbalance was further aggravated by the government's rapid scheduling of the election--making it impossible for opposition parties to prepare an organized and well financed campaign.

The Elections

The Commission split into eight different teams and was able to observe the elections in a number of electoral districts, from the capital city of Asunción to rural towns in the interior and on the Brazilian and Argentine borders. The coverage of such a wide geographical spectrum was possible thanks to IDIAL. This institution provided transportation for international observers to the most remote areas of the country on election day. In its selection of observation sites, the LASA Commission sought to sample a broad spectrum of electoral districts. Five of the eight observation groups included two LASA members. Three members of the delegation teamed up with other international observers. In two cases LASA observers flew to their destinations the day before the election. In another case travel by car the night before was necessary. Thus several Commission members were able to meet with local Colorado and opposition party leaders prior to the election.

Remaining members traveled to destinations within 200 kilometers of Asunción.

Districts visited included: Asunción, Fernando de la Mora, Luque, Lambaré, Capiatá, Itauguá, Ypacaraí, Caacupé, Guarambaré, Itá, Yaguarón, Acahay, J. Augusto Saldívar, Villeta, Coronel Oviedo, Colonia Simón Bolívar, Caaguazú, Campo Nueve, Mario Mallorquín, Pilar, Mayor Martínez, Isla Ombú, Pedro Juan Caballero, San Bernardino, Eusebio Ayala and Piribebuy.

The Commission observed two types of problems in the conduct of the May 1 elections. In the first category were organizational difficulties, infrastructural shortcomings, and a lack of proper training and experience among officials and party leaders. Secondly, there were abuses motivated by premeditated efforts at influencing the outcome of elections by illegal means. This sort of abuse was more common in rural electoral districts; the elections in Asunción were conducted with a minimum of irregularities.

Organizational and Administrative Problems

Organizational difficulties were in evidence in many electoral districts, especially those outside of metropolitan Asunción. For example, it was difficult for many voters to locate their *mesas* (voting tables) because of poor or insufficient information. Overcrowding at the polling stations in Capiatá and in Caaguazú created such chaos that it was impossible to ascertain whether any of the standard electoral procedures had been followed at all. Commission members rarely found polling stations where the ballots of all the competing parties were available to voters. Because the electoral laws make each party responsible for the distribution of its own ballots, parties without large resources found it virtually impossible to distribute their ballots across the nation. The PLRA was fairly successful in getting its ballots to the polls, but many smaller opposition parties were not.

In addition, *cuartos oscuros* (dark rooms) designed to afford privacy while voting were hopelessly inadequate, or violated, in many locales. In some cases voters found themselves exposed to public view by open windows and doors. In other cases, several people, among them uniformed policemen, were observed inside the voting booth at the same time.⁸

Commission members found no evidence of a nationally coordinated effort to deny the secret ballot to voters, attributing the frequent lack of privacy mostly to inadequate facilities. Nonetheless, given the climate of fear that characterized the Stroessner years, the voting behavior of many citizens who for one reason or another could not cast a private vote may well have been modified significantly.⁹ In Asunción, for example, where *cuartos oscuros* were more frequently available and private, the Colorado party

polled 65 percent of the votes, as opposed to 73 percent for Gen. Rodríguez. In the interior, though, where such facilities were generally lacking, both Rodríguez and the Colorado Party polled 74 percent of the votes.

Problems also developed at the final vote-counting stage of the process. Official results were compiled at the headquarters of the Junta Electoral Central (JEC). The data were processed by INFORMATICA S.A., an independent computing firm of excellent reputation. Two members of the Commission, at their request, were admitted to the computing rooms where a team of technicians thoroughly explained the procedures to enter and process the data. Representatives of opposition parties, however, complained that they were not allowed sufficient time to verify whether both sets of arriving *actas* (documents with the results of the election in each precinct duly signed by the members of each *mesa*), contained identical numbers before one of them was entered into the count by computer operators. Two days after the election, Commission members witnessed the arrival of *actas* from nearby localities such as Fernando de la Mora and Lambare; these towns are situated no more than one half hour away from Asunción. These delays raised doubts about possible tampering.

Other organizational problems were far more serious. The worst was the use of outdated voter lists compiled under the Stroessner regime. The lists contained some 2.2 million names, representing 57 percent of the population of 3.9 million. Yet only 52 percent of Paraguayans were of voting age (18 or older). Six percent of the population who were 60 and older were exempt from the mandatory voting. Even assuming that about half of this older population still would register to vote, a high estimate of eligible voters is 49 percent of the population, and not 57 percent. JEC officials themselves said the lists probably contained about 600,000 more names than it should, but they considered it impossible to purge the lists in time for the election.

In some localities there were almost as many registered voters as inhabitants. In Coronel Oviedo, a city of 66,000 inhabitants, there were 58,000 registered voters, representing 88 percent of its population. Likewise, the voter list for Pedro Juan Caballero, population 52,000, contained 49,000 registered voters, or 94 percent of its inhabitants.

Abuses and Fraud

More important, however, were the deliberate attempts to alter the outcome, or simple electoral fraud. In Yaguarón and Caaguazú, Commission members observed policemen handing the ballots to would-be voters. But the most scandalous efforts to affect the outcome involved the issuing of duplicate voter registration certificates and even original certificates by Colorado party officers.

Article 124 of the electoral law authorizes local electoral boards to issue voting certificates and duplicate certificates to voters who lose their registration papers. It does not set explicit deadlines to prevent the issuing of "duplicates" on election day. The boards are composed of a two-thirds majority of Colorado officials and a one-third minority of members of the small parties that participated in Stroessner's elections as "loyal opposition." Each local board is presided over by a Justice of the Peace, a political appointee. Thus the Colorado party totally controlled the electoral machinery from the Junta Electoral down to local judicial officials and the personnel at every *mesa*. The fact that the major opposition parties were unable to oversee the issuing of duplicates compromised the integrity of the process. In Piribebuy observers witnessed a large number of people obtaining duplicates at a local bar. Ironically enough, the papers were being handed out by several individuals, all of them claiming to be the Justice of the Peace.

Party branches openly issued certificates or duplicates on the day of the election in Itá, Capiatá, Yaguarón, J. Augusto Saldívar, Caaguazú, Coronel Oviedo and Villeta. In Itá, an observer who entered the party branch was offered a certificate and asked "Which *mesa* do you want to vote in?" In Capiatá a party official explained to an observer that such activity was being undertaken as a "service to the community." In some areas local residents directed observers to the "duplicate factories."

These practices constituted a clear and grave violation of the law. At the very least, the issuance of certificates permitted voting by party supporters who had not registered within the legal time limit. And the markedly wide distribution of duplicates suggests that many Colorado party members voted more than once.

Large numbers of voters registered during the extension of the registration period and only their numbers, not their names, were recorded on the voter lists. Voters were supposed to match their certificates against the numbers on the list. The local machine of the ruling party knew which numbers were assigned to newly registered voters and it could give "duplicates" of the registration slip corresponding to those numbers to false voters. In such instances the counterfeit voter would show up early and vote. Commission members heard repeated complaints from people who found that someone had already voted in their place. It also was possible to add numbers to the voter lists, against which false certificates could be issued.

The abuses described above can be blamed on the mismanagement of the registration process and the lack of any concerted effort to control fraud at the local level. Outside of Asunción, voters were not asked to provide any proof of identity apart from registration or duplicate slips.

Voter lists were not made available to the PLRA until

shortly before the election, making it impossible for the party to check and challenge the list. Indelible ink was supplied by the U.S. government to guard against multiple voting by individuals. But Commission members witnessed instances in which the ink was not applied properly by *mesa* officials and saw that it could be removed with certain cleaning agents.

What ameliorated the situation in some locations was the confidence and assertiveness of the opposition poll watchers. In a number of instances witnessed by observers their aggressiveness prevented irregularities. In several other locales, however, opposition poll watchers were young and inexperienced and they hesitated to complain of irregularities. The control of the *mesas* by Colorado party officials appeared to inhibit poll watchers who, after years of repression in Paraguay, were reluctant to challenge Colorado party officials.

The Irregularities and the Outcome

The Commission reached a consensus that the problems, irregularities, and fraud at the local level were systematic and widespread but not massive and that they very likely altered the outcome of the elections, particularly the congressional vote. However, it also agreed that Rodríguez himself would have won even in the absence of abuses. A landslide victory was entirely comprehensible in the wake of the great popularity of Rodríguez's move against Stroessner. Furthermore, despite its role as the institutional support mechanism for Stroessner's dictatorship, the Colorado party continues to enjoy considerable popular support.

The results of the presidential race were fairly consistent with electoral surveys conducted before the election. The polls also showed that in the congressional races the Colorado party trailed Rodríguez by 10 to 15 percentage points in the polls. One of the most complete pre-electoral polls conducted by Greenberg, Lake Inc., of Washington D.C. in mid to late April gave Rodríguez 72 percent of the preferences but only 59 percent to the Colorado Party.¹⁰ Another poll sponsored by Catholic University and the Fundación Naumann covering Asunción and vicinity gave Rodríguez 70 percent of the vote; the Colorado party trailed with only 49 percent approval.¹¹ In general all the polls showed solid support for Rodríguez and a significant gap between him and the Colorado party. That the actual gap registered in the official results was much smaller than anticipated in the polls may be attributed to the pattern of irregularities already described, as well as to ballot stapling. Some electoral analysts believe that the PLRA alone would have obtained between 30 and 35 percent of the total votes had the elections been cleaner.¹²

The PLRA successfully challenged the results in four localities in which irregularities were extreme: Horqueta,

Mayor Martínez, Primero de Marzo, and San José Obrero. The newly installed Congress agreed to conduct new elections in those districts on June 4. Because of the relatively small number of voters in these areas, the new results would only have a marginal effect on the outcome. Nor would the new elections jeopardize the ruling party's position, since the party that wins a plurality nationally is allocated two thirds of the congressional seats. Although the results of the June 4 contest did not alter the existing distribution of seats, the PLRA's electoral performance improved. In the contested districts, the PLRA captured from 27 to 49 percent more votes on June 1 than it did on May 1.

The Results

The official results of the elections, adjusted for the June 4 elections in four districts, were as follows:

Party	Presidential Votes	%	Congressional Votes	%
ANR	882,957	74.2	833,224	72.7
PLRA	241,829	20.3	230,596	20.1
PRF	11,007	0.9	25,151	2.2
PLR	12,547	1.0	12,781	1.1
PDC	8,032	0.6	11,820	1.0
PL	4,423	0.3	4,916	0.4
PLRU	3,545	0.3	3,476	0.3
PH	1,058	0.0	1,094	0.1
Blancos	12,978	1.0	5,420	1.3
Null	11,197	0.9	6,628	0.5
<hr/>				
Total	1,189,573		1,145,106	
Registered Voters ¹³	2,226,061		2,226,061	
Turnout	53.44%		51.44%	

SOURCE: Final figures given by the bulletin of the Junta Electoral Central corrected according to the results of the June 4 special election as published in *El Diario de Noticias*, 5 de Junio de 1989, p. 6.

NOTE: The acronyms for the political parties are as follows: ANR, Asociación Nacional Republicana-Partido Colorado; PLRA, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico; PRF, Partido Revolucionario Febrerista; PLR, Partido Liberal Radical; PDC, Partido Demócrata Cristiano; PL, Partido Liberal; PLRU, Partido Liberal Radical Unido; PH, Partido Humanista.

The distribution of congressional seats was as follows:

Party	Senate	Chamber of Deputies
ANR	24	48
PLRA	11	21
PRF	1	2
PLR	--	1

SOURCE: Same as above.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that Paraguay experienced an important political opening in the three months following the coup. Many Paraguayans themselves seem amazed at the progress. Human rights violations, endemic under the previous regime, almost disappeared; and a limited but significant effort was undertaken to expose past abuses and punish those responsible. A remarkable degree of freedom of the press, speech, and assembly was established.

Political parties were granted considerable freedom as well. With the exception of the Communists, all parties that sought official recognition received it and were allowed to campaign freely.

Following the elections the government reiterated its commitment to democratization. It agreed to reform the electoral law and conduct a completely new registration process. Newly elected President Rodríguez also pledged that he would not run for a second term in 1993. The second vice-presidencies of both chambers were given to opposition leaders, some opposition lawyers were appointed to the judiciary, and a distinguished Christian Democratic leader was named to the Supreme Court.

Remaining Questions

Despite the progress, certain characteristics of the elections raise important questions. At the local level, Colorado party machines functioned almost by inertia in the old Stroessner way. Local bosses may have resorted to fraud to enhance their standing vis à vis the central authorities. That abuses were neither prevented nor punished by the top national leadership of the Colorado Party and their representatives casts doubt on their commitment to democratic procedure.¹⁴ Future progress of the transition in Paraguay hinges on the extent to which the Colorado party changes its behavior and accepts competition from opposition parties. As in Mexico, the transition is complicated by the need to recast the role of a ruling party

accustomed to authoritarian practices.

Paraguay's democratic opening was initiated by power-brokers inside the authoritarian regime. The mechanisms, timing, and future agenda of the transition were completely dictated by the Rodríguez government. This is most certainly a case of "transition from above," in the style of the Brazilian *abertura*. Since some of the brokers are decidedly more democratic than others, the question is whether continued changes will be allowed as the process of liberalization picks up its own momentum and particularly as it spreads to all social spheres --the rural areas, the urban workplace, the university, the neighborhoods. In short, public freedoms have been restored but the level of competition and participation has yet to reach democratic standards.¹⁵ Will the process stagnate and remain some sort of "democradura" or even revert to a "dictablanda,"¹⁶ or will it proceed to a more profound democratization?

The answer depends upon what happens in the next four years on a number of fronts and on whether many needed constitutional and legislative reforms are adopted and carried out. The strict separation of the military from the ruling party is a precondition for the existence of any modern democracy. The existing identification between the Colorado party and the Armed Forces makes the possible transfer of power from one party to another by electoral means a difficult proposition at best. Likewise, a new constitution and a reformulation of party and electoral laws is an absolute requirement for ridding the system of anti-democratic processes. If progress is not made in those areas, then the prospects for democratization will fade. Municipal elections are scheduled for October of 1990 and the constitutional convention election is tentatively set for 1991. What occurs on these two occasions will provide an important measure of progress.

Finally, if the presidential and congressional elections scheduled for 1993 are clean and free of the problems identified in this report and if they are preceded by the meaningful political reforms promised by the government, they could inaugurate a new era of democracy in Paraguay.

APPENDIX

In the course of our stay we had the opportunity to interview at length or talk for briefer periods of time with the following persons:

Elizabeth Achinelli, Colegio de Abogados.

Martin Almada, labor activist.

Benjamín Arditi, Centro de Documentación y Estudio.

Euclides Acevedo, President, Partido Revolucionario
Febrerista.

Luis M. Andrada Nogue, Partido Demócrata Cristiano.

Luis María Argana, Foreign Relations Minister and First

Vice President of the Colorado Party.
 Victor Baez Mosqueira, MIT.
 Ursino Barrios, Movimiento Hospital de Clínicas.
 Juan M. Benítez F., Vice-President, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico.
 Antonio Berges, Catholic lay leader.
 Víctor A. Bobabilla, Colegio de Abogados.
 Marcial Britos, Centro de Promoción Campesina de Cordilleras.
 Angel Burró, Partido Demócrata Cristiano.
 Esteban Caballero, Centro de Estudios Democráticos.
 Guillermo Caballero V., industrialist.
 Juan M. Carrón, Centro Paraguayo de Estudios de Población.
 Luis Campos, Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad.
 Ricardo Canese, BASE.
 Paraguayo Cubas, Partido Colorado.
 Gustavo Díaz de Vivar, Centro de Productores de Caña y Alcohol.
 Fernán Díaz Pérez, Colegio de Abogados.
 Teresa I. Doldán, Colegio de Abogados.
 Manuel Duarte Pallarés, President, Colegio de Abogados.
 Eduardo Escobar, Comisión de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos.
 Mina Feliciangeli, President, Partido de los Trabajadores.
 José F. Fernández E., Chair, IDIAL.
 Victoria Ferreira de Brusquetti, President, Comité de Laicos.
 Ramon Fogel, Centro de Estudio Regionales de Itapúa.
 Juan M. Frutos, Partido Colorado
 Carlos A. González, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico
 Miguel A. González Casabianca, Partido Colorado.
 Pastor Armin Ihle, Iglesia Luterana and Comité de Iglesias para Ayuda de Emergencia.
 Edgar L. Insfrán, Second Vice-President, Partido Colorado.
 Facundo Insfrán, Deputy, Partido Colorado.
 Arturo Jara Avelli, Vice-President, Unión Industrial Paraguaya.
 Domingo Laino, Presidential candidate, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico.
 Gustavo Laterza, Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos.
 Carmen de Lara Castro, President, Comisión de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos.
 Rose Likens, U.S. Embassy.
 Ricardo Lugo Rodríguez, Deputy, Partido Revolucionario Febrerista.
 Hugo Llorens, U.S. Embassy.
 Juan M. Marcos, Campaign Manager, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico.
 Fernando Masi, Executive Director, IDIAL.
 Carlos Pastore, historian.
 Antonio Pecci, Sindicato de Periodistas.
 Delfin Ramírez, Centro de Promoción Campesina de Cordilleras.
 Marcial Riquelme, Fundación Naumann.
 Domingo Rivarola, Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos.

José Rivarola, President, Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios del Paraguay.
 Expedito Rojas Benítez, President, Junta Electoral Central.
 Bernardo Rojas, MIT.
 Carlos Romero Pereira, Senator, Partido Colorado.
 Antonio Salum Flecha, Instituto de Estudios Geopolíticos.
 Miguel Sanmmartí, BASE.
 Miguel A. Saguier, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico.
 H. Rafael Saguier, Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico.
 A. Roberto Seifart, Deputy, Partido Colorado.
 Mauricio Schwartzmann, political analyst.
 Enrique Sosa, Colegio de Abogados.
 Timothy Towell, U.S. Ambassador.
 Artemio Vera, General Secretary, Unión Industrial Paraguaya.
 Fernando Vera, Presidential Candidate, Partido Revolucionario Febrerista.
 Eulogia Villalba, Centro de Promoción Campesina de Cordilleras.
 Perla Yore, MIT.
 Aldo Zuccolillo, businessman, ABC Color.

NOTES

1. This report was written by Diego Abente, with insights from all Commission members. Kenneth Cott helped draft sections two and three. Catherine Conaghan wrote the section on the business sector and provided editorial assistance. David Becker, Charles Gillespie, and Richard Reed provided helpful editorial suggestions.

2. Exact numbers are difficult to obtain, in part because at the height of the repression there was little if any international monitoring of human rights issues. Most of the deaths occurred in the period 1958-1965, when the dictatorship was trying to consolidate its hold on power. Once the regime managed to stabilize itself, the incidence of violence declined although repression took new and more subtle forms. The number of deaths and disappearances in the last decade of the dictatorship is estimated at between 45 and 55. See Andrés Colman Gutiérrez "Rostros ausentes que claman justicia," interview with Regina Viuda de Rodas, President of the Comisión Permanente de Familiares de Desaparecidos y Asesinados, in *Ultima Hora, Correo Semanal*, 4 de Marzo de 1989, pp. 8-9. For an analysis of other aspects of the repressive apparatus, see Virginia M. Bouvier, *Decline of the Dictator: Paraguay at a Crossroads*, Washington: Washington Office on Latin America, 1988, pp. 20-22, and Diego Abente *Post-Stronismo and the Prospects for Democracy in Paraguay*, Working Paper # 109, Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1989, pp. 5-6.

3. For a brief discussion of this see Bouvier, *Decline of the Dictator*, pp. 28-30.

4. Such laws had permitted serious abuses. For example, electoral data shows that in the eighth "re-election" of General Stroessner in February of 1988 there were more votes than inhabitants in 43 of the 224 electoral districts.

5. It is also important to keep in mind that organized popular movements have not been able to elicit the support of large segments of the Paraguayan population that, given the failure of past popular action, remain alienated or attracted to the meager material benefits provided by the Colorado system.

6. Channel 9 is now owned by Gustavo Saba, General Rodríguez's son-in-law.

7. *El Diario de Noticias*, 22 de Abril de 1989, p. 10. It is not clear that this poll gave sufficient coverage to rural areas; thus it should be read with caution.

8. In Caaguazú, for example, Commission members saw several young men distributing ballots in voting booths. Local authorities and a reporter taking photographs were also inside.

9. The lack of privacy also may have reduced split-ticket voting. The Colorado party resorted to stapling together its presidential and congressional ballots, a procedure known as *presillado*. The lack of secrecy may have made it difficult for voters who supported Rodríguez but not the party to rip the presidential and congressional ballots apart.

10. *El Diario de Noticias*, 25 de Abril de 1989, p. 8.

11. *Ultima Hora*, 19 Abril 1989, p. 16.

12. That was, for example, the opinion of Dr. Domingo Rivarola, who headed an electoral analysis team composed of local social scientists and journalists.

13. The turnout figure should be interpreted in light of the earlier discussion in this report.

14. Only two weeks before the election the electoral command of the Colorado party circulated a confidential survey among its party branches with questions aimed at assessing the strength of opposition parties in each locality. The survey also required the name and telephone of the Justice of the Peace. Once the maneuver became known, opposition leaders denounced it as an attempt to control their supporters and discover where it would be easiest to manipulate elections. Whatever the full intent of the survey, it attests to the extent to which the Colorado party attempted to exercise control of every aspect of the electoral process. See *ABC*, 18 de abril, p. 3 and 21 de Abril de 1989, p. 2, and *Ultima Hora*, 20 de Abril de 1989, p. 14.

15. The definition of democracy that informs this analysis

is that of Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy*, Sixth Printing, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

16. Terms used by Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter to refer to different types of political regimes that have initiated a process of liberalization but have yet to reach democratic status. See Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter "Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies," pp. 8-13, Volume 4 of Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

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Courses with Lectures in Spanish:
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