



LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

Vol. XXI, No. 1

Spring 1990

President's Report by Jean Franco Columbia University

The next year will be critical for Latin American studies in this country. Severe economic distress is already affecting institutions in many countries, making it difficult to conduct research and to train scholars. There is once again a serious "brain drain". The situation has not been helped by the curtailment of funding by agencies in the U.S. and the competing claims of other parts of the world, especially Eastern Europe. For this reason, I shall be especially interested in establishing connections with other associations similar to LASA. The Executive Council has already met with Roberto Espindola, head of the British Society for Latin American Studies, in order to explore cooperation between our respective organizations.

One of LASA's major tasks over the coming year must be to address the question of how best to support Latin American scholars working in Latin America. This might include initiatives such as that of Marysa Navarro who has applied for grants to support the translation into English of works by Latin American women scholars and key works in English to be translated into Spanish. Paul Drake's effort to increase the participation of Latin American scholars in the congress and on task forces must be continued. I shall be consulting both the Executive Council and Mike Conroy, chair of the Program Committee for the XVI International Congress in Washington, regarding these issues.

The task forces have been very successful and their number is increasing. The call for volunteers to serve on the task forces received a strong response particularly for the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba and the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua and Central America. The size of task forces varies greatly. Those of you who could not be included on certain task forces because they were already too big should not be discouraged. New members will be added with the next

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Georgetown Meeting Advances Planning For LASA'91

Planning for LASA's XVI International Congress is well underway. Arturo Valenzuela, Chair of the Local Arrangements Committee, organized a luncheon at Georgetown University on March 5, initiating a fruitful dialogue with 21 scholars and representatives of Washington-based universities, multilateral and non-profit organizations involved in Latin American affairs. Michael Conroy, Program Committee Chair, discussed the theme of the congress, outlined the process for selecting panels and papers, and entertained questions and suggestions. In recognition of the critical importance of the nation's capital to the concerns of Latin Americanists, the discussion revolved around ways to maximize the participation of the Washington community in LASA'91. Reid Reading, Executive Director of LASA, and Lisa Duckworth, Assistant to the Executive Director, also participated in the meeting.

Reports on Central America

Dramatic events in Central America have once again called attention briefly to that region. In this issue several authors strongly emphasize the importance of a continued focus on Central America as the U.S. government and most media are drawn to other world areas.

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LASA International Commission to Observe
the Nicaraguan Elections

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The *LASA Forum* is published quarterly. Deadlines for receipt of copy are December 1, March 1, June 1, and September 1; articles should be submitted one month earlier. All contributions should be directed to Reid Reading, Editor, *LASA Forum*, at the address below. 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*. For membership information, please see page 23. Direct subscriptions to the *Forum* only, without LASA membership, are \$25.00 per year.

ISSN 0890-7218

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Franco continued...

change of presidency. We also encourage suggestions for task force activities.

The Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba has now received funding from the Ford Foundation thanks to its former chair and new Vice President of LASA, Lars Schoultz, who divided the task force into sub-committees. Under its new chair, Robert Bach, the sub-committees, each of which includes U.S. and Cuban scholars, are dealing with the Cuban-American Community, Security Issues in the Caribbean Region, U.S.-Cuban Relations in Historical Perspective, Interstate Relations in the Caribbean, U.S.-Cuban Relations in Central America, and Inter-American Economic Relations. It now appears that the task force will also initiate a sub-committee on relations with scholars working in the cultural field. (See p. 9 for a complete list of task force members.)

Under its new chair, Rose Spalding, the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua and Central America organized a commission to observe the Nicaraguan elections. The commission visited Nicaragua three times--to observe the preparations for the election campaign, to observe the campaign itself and finally to observe the voting on February 25. LASA's International Commission to Observe the February 25, 1990 Nicaraguan Election covered most of the electoral regions, and in its final report will give attention to regions, municipalities and to an analysis of the election results. (See attached report).

The Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union has now been reconstituted by Peter Winn who recently returned from a visit to that country. In addition, Federico Gil has agreed to serve another term as chair of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Spain. The Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom will now be led by Michael Fleet. It has an especially important function during this period of transition, as human rights are being redefined.

The Task Force on Women in Latin American Studies is now chaired by Edna Acosta Belén. It held a successful lunch at the Miami Congress, which brought together women scholars from Latin America and U.S. scholars. The Task Force on the Media under the direction of Richard A. Nuccio will once again be overseeing the competition for the Award for Outstanding Media Coverage of Latin America, the results of which will be announced at the Washington congress.

After some discussion by the Executive Council, it was agreed to create the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Sciences, in addition to the Working Group on Natural Resources and the Environment. John O. Browder will chair both groups. (See p. 9 for a complete list of the task forces members.) John D. French will continue to chair the Working Group on Labor Issues. LASA now has a new task force which reflects the growing role of Japan in Latin America. The Task Force on

Scholarly Relations with Japan will be chaired by Barbara Stallings. (See p. 9 for membership list).

The Miami congress was the first at which the Bryce Wood Book Award was presented. For the next congress, a new Book Award Committee has been selected, with Georgette Dorn of the Library of Congress as chair. The deadline for nominations is August 1, 1990. The candidate for the Kalman Silvert Award for lifetime contributions to Latin American studies will be chosen by a committee chaired by past LASA president Paul Drake. The Nominations Committee chaired by Thomas Skidmore, will select a slate of candidates for LASA's top offices.

The Program Committee for the XVI International Congress in Washington is chaired by Mike Conroy and preparations are already well underway. A call for papers has been disseminated and guidelines have been issued for session organizers. The theme for the 1991 meeting is "Hemispheric Dialogue for the 1990s". We look forward to an exciting conference.

I am honored to have been given the challenge of guiding LASA into the 1990s, and look forward to a productive and exciting term as LASA president. Past president Paul Drake's accomplishments will be a difficult example to follow, but I intend, with the help of the Executive Council and the Secretariat, to continue his good work. I thank you in advance for your help, and invite your suggestions for future LASA directions and activities.

LASA Contract with Pittsburgh Renewed

Following informal discussions among Executive Council members over the last several months, the Council in its December 3, 1989 meeting voted to request that the University of Pittsburgh extend its contract to host the LASA Secretariat until June 30, 1996. The University concurred and on March 6, 1990, Burkart Holzner, Director of the University Center for International Studies, wrote to Reid Reading, LASA Executive Director, confirming the extension. In the letter Holzner characterized LASA as a "distinguished scholarly society" with which the University, the University Center for International Studies, and the Center for Latin American Studies are proud to have a continuing relationship.

On The Panama Invasion*

by

Reid Reading

LASA Executive Director

A common theme of discussion among those of us who were outraged by the United States invasion of Panama is bewilderment that the incident produced so little dissent, let alone the strong resentment some of us feel. It is also bewildering that dissenters have built their arguments around only one or two points--points that have not resonated to any significant degree in the body politic.

Now that the invasion is over, does it do any good at all to complain about it? The energies of most analysts are directed to the here-and-now of the occupation and several of them are forecasting long-term negatives both for the United States and Panama. But a strong justification for keeping attention focused on the invasion *itself* is to let this and successive U.S. administrations know that as far as some of us are concerned this kind of foreign policy move is unacceptable; the signals sent by the willingness of the U.S. to invade Panama cannot be allowed to translate to similar future actions.

Most of those who have taken the Bush administration to task on Panama have done so because they consider U.S. actions in Panama to be illegal. Unfortunately, the argument is largely ineffective, especially as the sole objection. First, it scarcely needs to be mentioned that no international body can enforce international law against the will of a powerful international player that refused to recognize its jurisdiction. Secondly, some U.S. courts either have issued a blanket refusal to involve themselves in deciding on cases where international politics are involved; the remainder have found nothing "constitutionally infirm" in the judgment of U. S. foreign policymakers that a particular policy, even one involving aggressive acts, is in the national interest (see *Committee of United States Citizens Living in Nicaragua et al., v. Reagan*). Finally, neither the congress at large nor the public is generally interested in applying criteria derived from the body of international law to measure U.S. foreign policy actions.

*This article was first conceived as an editorial. Since it is not usual for the FORUM to run editorials, I sought the guidance of the LASA Executive Council and the LASA FORUM editorial board, especially for an opinion about whether LASA interests would be served by such an editorial. I was gratified both by the extent of the response and the approval of the content. Alexander Wilde, a member of the FORUM editorial board, suggested that the paper be converted to a lead article, with a response of his and Bonnie Tennerello's to follow. This format was finally adopted. Apart from suggesting that I engage in the enterprise, the following people took time to offer specific comments, for which I am most grateful: Lars Schoultz, Susan Bourque, Cynthia McClintock, John Coatsworth, Enrique Mayer and Alexander Wilde. I alone am responsible for what was included in the final version. The view offered here is not necessarily that of the Latin American Studies Association, since the LASA membership has not had an opportunity to express itself on this issue.

How can those of us who are outraged by the invasion get a sympathetic hearing from at least a few potential kindred, but so far silent, spirits in the body politic? We need first of all to realize that in the case of Panama, we are up against something that is extremely persuasive: for Americans, and we presume, others as well, nothing succeeds like (perceived) success. The mirror statement also holds.

When the first U.S. troops landed in Vietnam in 1965 the policy was not considered to be misguided. It was considered so after we began to lose. The decision to invade Grenada in 1983, had it been known beforehand, would have been much more controversial. The controversy virtually ended, though, when we prevailed and the U.S. attained its goal of installing a new government.

Perhaps the "end of history" argument, in spite of its flaws, is also in the picture. Just as "success" seems to neutralize arguments against incidents like the Panama invasion, so the "end of history" assertion, in its obvious praise for democracy, may cause us (and even foreigners) to hold democracies less accountable for their actions now than at other points in time. The unexpectedly muted criticism of Latin Americans may be explained in part by a kind of subconscious honeymoon with Western-styled democracy, profound preoccupations with their own domestic crises, and a realization of the economic role the United States must necessarily play in the alleviation of those crises. Add to this the generally distracting excitement of what is happening in the formerly "anti-democratic camp," the timing of the invasion to coincide with the holidays, and general disgust with the Noriega regime, and it would seem like the Bush Administration found a magic formula for preempting a challenge to its policy. The prime ingredient, still, was, "success."

Also, it would appear that most Panamanians favor the invasion (although taking the pulse of public opinion during an occupation may not be the best time to do so). Finally, critics of Bush's inaction in the attempted coup of last October helped push the administration in the direction of strong measures and are now in a weak position if they oppose the intervention.

Given all this, whoever ventures to offer an anti-invasion argument must prepare an especially strong one, set firmly on a multi-pronged approach. First, a few cold, hard calculations.

Panama: The Aftermath

by
Alexander Wilde and Bonnie Tenneriello
Washington Office on Latin America

Reid Reading is right to assert that the members of LASA have particular reason to be concerned about the unilateral imposition of force in this hemisphere. But we also bear a special responsibility for what happens *after* such intervention--especially when it is done in the name of democracy.

During the last decade, the U.S. government has proclaimed democracy a major goal of hemispheric policy. Discarding the rhetoric of *realpolitik* ("friendly authoritarians," "our SOB," etc.) it has initiated new programs of political assistance through agencies ranging from AID, the DEA, and the Justice Department through the National Endowment for Democracy. These initiatives have been combined, of course, with policies driven by other concerns, and they have focused principally on Central America and, increasingly, on the Andean countries.

As specialists on Latin America, LASA members have been keenly aware of the realities of "democracy" in the different societies of the region and have resisted simplistic triumphalism about its progress. We are also very conscious of how often the consequences of U.S. policy have been not to dismantle but rather to reinforce the barriers that hinder genuine democratization. And we stay with Latin America after a story has dropped out of the evening news or is no longer an item in the public opinion polls that exert such influence over U.S. policymakers.

Panama needs our attention now. It is a key test of U.S. policy in its proclaimed commitment to democracy. Indeed, it is the extreme case--even beyond the interventions in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras--given the semi-colonial control produced by armed occupation. In light of the whole long history of the U.S.-Panama relationship, it is not difficult to be cynical about the likely outcome, but that does not relieve us of an obligation for serious analysis. In fact, LASA members have a larger opportunity than usual to make a difference: U.S. post-invasion policies are still fluid, being formed in the piecemeal fashion observable in so many areas of Bush administration foreign policy.

The obstacles to "building democracy" in Panama were not taken into account in the military planning aimed at ousting Noriega, but they are now plain enough to see. The economic crisis is too large for the U.S. to solve, the government is weak, and there is no functioning opposition. The new Panamanian Force (PPF)--made up of 13,000 former members of the former Panamanian Defense Force (PDF)--has the clear potential to become the most coherent political force in the country.

President Bush has requested \$500 million in aid for Panama, in addition to a package of \$500 million in credits

and loan guarantees and \$42 million in aid already approved. This may or may not be approved, but even the full amount will not cure Panama's economic ills. Unemployment is close to 30 percent in Panama City, and the country is \$6 billion in debt. Until Panama pays \$540 million in arrears to the multilateral development banks (and keeps current on another \$265 million coming due this year), it will be ineligible for credit from them. If and when it does become eligible, it can only expect about \$350-\$400 million a year in new credits. Prospects for reviving the service sector that has traditionally carried the economy are uncertain at best; capital that fled Panama's banks has already moved on to other havens. The government talks of building up a new productive base, but even if that does work, there will be no payoffs anytime soon.

President Endara's weakness after his recent fast is unfortunately emblematic of his government's weakness in Panamanian society. The majority vote he and his coalition received in the aborted elections of May 1989 was a vote against Noriega much more than a mandate for any program. His government has a shallow base of support, in the wealthier and whiter strata of society. Relying on the private sector to stimulate the economy will not produce results in the short run, especially among the 25 percent of the work force employed by the public sector. In the aftermath of the invasion, no real political opposition has yet appeared to channel dissent. Moreover, the charges Endara has brought against hundreds of former government supporters do not appear to augur well for institutionalizing political pluralism. Endara has torn down the name of former leader Omar Torrijos from street signs, the national airport, and elsewhere, but the populist and nationalist legacy of *torrijismo* must be faced if Panama is to consolidate genuinely popularly-based democracy.

One product of the economic and political crisis has been a crime wave, with assaults and bank robberies common occurrences. The reply of the Panamanian and U.S. governments has been the rapid reconstruction of the PPF, which is politically expedient for both governments. Repackaging the PDF allows the U.S. to retire from police duties as quickly as possible, quieting domestic criticism in this country, and it keeps the former PDF members off the streets, where they would have access to guns and could cause trouble.

The cost of this strategy, however, is the missed opportunity to cut the security apparatus down to size. No effort has been made to train civilians in police functions, which would take more time. It is very dubious that 13,000 men

U.S. Government Officials Respond to LASA Statement on Murder of Jesuit Priests

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Congressman Gerry Sikorski, and Peter Romero of the State Department have written the following letters to LASA, in response to LASA's statement condemning the murders of the Jesuit priests in El Salvador (see box p. 8). The letters appear in their entirety, and are reprinted with permission.

Dear Mr. Drake:

Thank you for your letter about the situation in El Salvador.

I am deeply troubled by the ongoing crisis in that country. Over the past decade, 70,000 people have died as a result of the civil war. Salvadoran society has been deeply polarized and the war has wreaked havoc on the nation's economy. The Salvadoran people have suffered for too long and the United States has a responsibility to do more to help bring about a negotiated settlement.

Our aid levels reflect the importance of El Salvador to the United States, but I question the effectiveness of our assistance. Over the past decade, we have provided \$1.5 billion in economic aid to El Salvador, but the standard of living in that nation continues to decline. We have provided \$1.1 billion in military aid and supported an increase in the size of the Salvadoran armed forces from 12,000 to 56,000, but the war continues with no end in sight.

The Salvadoran government is now in the hands of a party deeply divided between those identified with extreme violations of human rights and moderates seeking an end to the war. The State Department's Human Rights Report for 1988 details ongoing abuses by the security forces--including severe beatings, rapes and torture. Despite the clear involvement of the Salvadoran security forces in human rights violations, no military officer has ever been convicted of such a crime--not in Archbishop Romero's case, not in the four American nuns' case, not the Sheraton murders of the AFL-CIO labor workers and not in the San Sebastian case in which ten peasants were murdered.

In November, in an extreme atrocity reminiscent of the brutal assassination of Archbishop Romero a decade ago, six Jesuit priests were taken from the Roman Catholic University in San Salvador and brutally tortured and murdered. These courageous individuals had dedicated their lives to promoting peace in El Salvador. They now join the ranks of the many martyrs of that troubled country.

The dramatic increase in violence and terrorism from the guerrillas is no less troubling. We have all watched in horror as the Marxist guerrillas launched their offensive on the city of San Salvador. Hiding behind innocent civilians, the guerrillas hoped to stage a dramatic attack on the

heart of the country and force concessions from the government. Their actions were unconscionable.

The time has come for all sides to reassess their policies, including the United States. If we have learned anything from the past decade, it is that there is no military solution to the conflict in El Salvador. Our best hope for peace, perhaps the only hope, is a negotiated settlement to the crisis.

Last August, in Tela, Honduras, the five Central American presidents signed an historic accord calling for an end to the hostilities and a dialogue for peace. The representatives of the guerrillas have offered proposals and President Cristiani has demonstrated a willingness to negotiate. The United States must encourage these negotiations. Strong U.S. pressure can be a vital element in the success of the search for a peaceful settlement.

In the Senate debate on El Salvador last September, I supported efforts to condition further military aid on progress on human rights. Unfortunately, these efforts were defeated.

I also supported efforts in November to withhold thirty percent of our military assistance for El Salvador until the authorities bring to trial those responsible for the murders of the Jesuit priests. Again, these efforts were defeated.

Unless we keep the pressure on the military to respect human rights and support the negotiations, a peaceful settlement is unlikely to be achieved. I will continue to work in the Senate for an end to the tragic war in El Salvador. A just and lasting solution can only come about through negotiations.

Again, thank you for expressing your concern.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Kennedy
U.S. Senate
January 10, 1990

Dear Mr Reading:

Thank you for contacting me to express your opinion on El Salvador. I share your concerns.

Despite a tremendous infusion of United States dollars, there has been no evidence of advances in human rights in El Salvador and we are no closer to the end of the war than we were eight years ago. Four billion dollars in American tax money has been poured into El Salvador, as innocent civilians, church workers, children, and laborers--those who want nothing more than peace--are felled by this senseless violence. Death squads are roaming free, violence is spiraling and we're further from peace than ever before.

On the eve of President Bush's meeting with the newly elected president of El Salvador, Alfredo Cristiani, I initiated a letter, co-signed by 23 of my colleagues, urging the president to emphasize the importance of implementing human rights reforms and the pursuit of a negotiated peace in El Salvador. Because of my concern that U.S. foreign aid policy could be contributing to increasing human rights abuses in El Salvador, I authored a letter signed by 32 of my colleagues, urging Congressman David Obey, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriations, to strongly support the House version of the Foreign Operations Appropriation Bill during the Foreign Appropriations Conference Committee. These provisions are not unreasonable or excessive. They are the most basic expectations of a civilized people. We express our commitment to seeking peace and justice and we require the president to periodically review the actions of the recipients of our money. It is difficult to understand why anyone would oppose them.

Human rights violations in El Salvador have escalated in proportion to the assurance that unconditional American financial assistance would be forthcoming. It is imperative that we use our influence to end the continued abuses such as the recent heinous murder of six Jesuit priests and the indiscriminate shelling and killing of innocent civilians.

America has to be, must be, a beacon of justice and freedom, not a financier of death squads and priest killers. For these reasons, I have cosponsored legislation that prohibits military assistance for El Salvador and orders the withdrawal of all U.S. military advisors from that nation. One bill which I have cosponsored would prohibit military aid to El Salvador until all those responsible for the murder of the Jesuit priests have been prosecuted. I also cosponsored legislation that expresses the sense of Congress that the U.S. should adopt a new policy of pursuing a negotiated political solution to the civil war. The Foreign Aid Authorization bill which just passed renewed aid to El Salvador. I voted for an amendment which would have placed tighter restrictions on the disbursement of this aid. However, this amendment lost, and to underscore my opposition to unrestricted aid, I voted against final passage of this important legislation.

Most recently, Senator Kennedy (D-MA) has requested the General Accounting Office to investigate U.S. military assistance to El Salvador in order to obtain a full accounting of our aid and to determine to what extent it is possible to stop the flow of the \$85 million in approved aid that is already in the pipeline.

We must stand together to preserve the American values of compassion and humanity that we all cherish. Rest assured, I will continue my efforts to end the senseless killing and pursuing a negotiated settlement to the war. Thank you again for contacting me on this important matter. I always appreciate knowing where you stand. I hope you will continue to keep me informed of your opinion, and, as always, if I can be of assistance on any matter, please don't hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Gerry Sikorski
U.S. House of Representatives
February 28, 1990

Dear Mr. Drake:

I am writing in response to your November 17 letter to the President regarding the murders of Father Ellacuria, his fellow priests, and the two women in El Salvador.

The murders were a shocking affront to humanity. Along with the Latin American Studies Association, we condemned these brutal acts. Our Ambassador to El Salvador, William G. Walker, expressed the outrage felt by men and women of conscience when he said, "This is a crime of such repugnance that to say I condemn or deplore it seems inadequate... It is a barbaric act."

We agree with your organization that it is absolutely essential that these heinous crimes be fully and promptly investigated. President Cristiani immediately assigned the Special Investigative Unit (SIU) to the investigation. Trained and equipped with on-going U.S. assistance, the SIU has proven a professional and effective forensic unit. The investigation began soon after the killings and has proceeded on a number of fronts with the technical help of our own FBI. President Cristiani also asked for assistance from Spain, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

President Cristiani pledged that those responsible for the murders would be prosecuted, even if Armed Forces members were involved. On January 13 President Cristiani announced that nine officers (including a colonel) and enlisted men had been placed under detention. (The ninth soldier deserted in December and is being sought). On January 19 the civilian judge in charge of the case ruled that there was sufficient evidence to proceed to the next stage in the judicial process. We have made it clear that we expect the Salvadoran Government to follow through on the investigation and press forward with prosecutions.

We share your membership's concern for the effects of the insurgency on civilians. The FMLN offensive in November not only raised the general level of violence. In many cases the guerrillas used innocent civilians as cover for their campaign of terror. The military, under strict orders from President Cristiani to protect civilians to the extent possible, proceeded with great caution to dislodge the FMLN from the neighborhoods they had taken hostage. Our careful review of the matter indicates that bombing was kept to an absolute minimum and confined to non-residential areas or areas from which residents had fled. Regrettably the military's response to the guerrilla attacks did result in civilian lives lost, although the exact figure has not been determined.

We consider the work of relief organizations in such conflicts to be vital and we support their having maximum freedom to provide timely humanitarian aid to the victims of armed conflict. The conditions of on-going combat, however, often impose limits on relief operation. The Salvadoran Government was in contact with relief organizations during the offensive to work out arrangements which permitted those organizations to reach those in need.

You also called for an immediate cease-fire in El Salvador. In his inauguration speech, and consistently over his presidency, President Cristiani has asked the FMLN to agree to a global cessation of hostilities. The guerrillas have refused to discuss the issue. In the last round of peace talks before the FMLN unleashed its bloody offensive, the Salvadoran Government negotiating team made a detailed cease-fire proposal designed to create the conditions to allow the FMLN to enter the democratic political process, as its allies in the Democratic Revolutionary Front have done. The FMLN rejected the cease-fire out of hand.

The Salvadoran Government continues to seek a global, permanent end to the war. In December the five Central American presidents, meeting in Costa Rica, asked the United Nations to accept a role in reactivating peace talks. President Cristiani met with UN Secretary General Pérez de Cuellar in New York on January 31, to discuss UN efforts in this regard. We have consistently supported the Salvadoran Government's pursuit of a negotiated resolution to the war and we support the UN's involvement, in the hope it will lead to a permanent, political solution to the conflict in El Salvador.

Sincerely,

Peter F. Romero
 Director, Office of Central American Affairs
 United States Department of State

Statement of the Latin American Studies Association

The Latin American Studies Association condemns the brutal murders at the Central American University (UCA) in San Salvador, November 16, 1989. The rector, vice rector, the head of the human rights center, and three faculty members--all Jesuit priests--as well as two staff members in the Jesuit residence, were killed during the hours of the curfew. Two of those killed were members of our association. Eyewitness accounts of the attack implicate the Salvadoran military.

These scholars and their university have long been a center of academic excellence in Central America. Shortly before their murders, the priests along with the archbishop and his auxiliary were threatened on the armed forces-controlled radio station. The murderers tried to extinguish rational scholarly discourse and the cause of peace and reconciliation. As an international body of scholars specializing in Latin America, we mourn the murders of our colleagues and friends.

The Latin American Studies Association, with its more than three thousand members internationally, urges the government of the United States to:

1. immediately investigate these murders;
2. condemn the bombing of civilian neighborhoods;
3. demand that the Salvadoran military permit relief agencies unconditional access to areas where casualties occur;
4. press both sides to initiate a cease fire;
5. offer unequivocal support for good faith negotiations to reach a permanent solution.

Task Force Update

The following task forces have been named to serve through March 1991. Membership of the remaining task forces was listed in the Fall 1989 issue of the *Forum*, p. 10.

Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Japan

Barbara Stallings, Chair (Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI 53706)

Peter Evans (University of New Mexico)
Xabier Gorostiaga (CRIES, Nicaragua)
Richard Newfarmer (World Bank)
Neantro Saavedra-Rivano (Universidade de Brasília, Brazil)
Gabriel Szekely (University of California-San Diego)

Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Sciences

John O. Browder, Chair (Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA 24061)

Janis Alcorn, Chair-elect (Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science)

Gerardo Budowski (Universidad para la Paz, Costa Rica)
Robert Buschbacher (World Wildlife Fund and Conservation Foundation)

William Denevan (University of Wisconsin)
Christine Padoch (New York Botanical Garden)
Marianne Schmink (University of Florida)

LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba

Robert Bach, Chair (Department of Sociology, SUNY at Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901)

Workshop on Cuban-American Community

U.S. Delegation:

Marifeli Pérez-Stable (SUNY at Old Westbury)
Guillermo Grenier (Florida International University)
Maria Cristina Garcia (University of Texas at Austin)
Nenita Torres (DePaul University)

Cuban Delegation:

Mercedes Arce (Universidad de Habana)
Redi Gómez (CEA)
Rosa María Lobayna (Universidad de Habana)

Security Issues in the Caribbean Region

U.S. Delegation:

William Leogrande, (American University)
Lars Schoultz, (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)
Wayne Smith, (Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies)
John Zindar (International Center for Development Policy)

Cuban Delegation:

Rafael Hernández (CEA)
Carlos Alzugalay (Instituto de Relaciones Exteriores)
Isabel Jaramillo (CEA)

Rosa López (Centro de Estudios sobre los Estados Unidos)

U.S. Cuban Relations in Historical Perspective

U.S. Delegation:

Lou Pérez (University of South Florida)
Rebecca Scott (University of Michigan)
Lynn Stoner (Arizona State University)
Jerry Poyo (University of Texas)

Cuban Delegation:

Ramón de Armas (Instituto de Estudios Históricos--IEH)
Oscar Zanetti (IEH)
Eduardo Torres (IEH)
Jorge Ibarra (IEH)

Interstate Relations in the Caribbean

U.S. Delegation:

Robert Bach (SUNY-Binghamton)
Helen Safa (University of Florida)
Jean Claude Gerlus (SUNY-Binghamton)

Cuban Delegation:

Ilya Villar Martínez (CEA)
Aurelio Alonso Tejada (CEA)
Gerardo González Nuñez (CEA)
Eduardo Klinger Pevida (CEA)

U.S.-Cuban Relations in Central America

U.S. Delegation:

Martin Diskin (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Timothy Harding (California State University-Los Angeles)
Nora Hamilton (University of Southern California)
Phillip Brenner (American University)

Cuban Delegation:

Julio Carranza Valdez (CEA)
Gerardo Timossi Dolinsky (CRIES, Nicaragua/CEA)
Roberto González (Universidad de Habana)
Jorge Hernández (Centro de Estudios sobre los Estados Unidos)

Inter-American Economic Relations

U.S. Delegation:

Carmelo Mesa-Lago (University of Pittsburgh)
Cole Blasier (Library of Congress)
Sergio Roca (Adelphi University)
Archibald Ritter (Carleton University)

Cuban Delegation:

Pedro Pablo Cuscó (Centro de Investigación de Economía Mundial--CIEM)
Hector Heras (CIEM)
Jorge Carriazo (CIEM)
Pedro Monreal (CEA)

The Environment: Latin America's Last "Trump Card"?¹

by

**John O. Browder, Chair
Task Force on Scholarly Relations
with the Natural Sciences
and the Working Group on Natural Resources
and the Environment**

The 1980s were tough times for Latin Americans. Region-wide, external long-term public debt grew from \$66.7 billion in 1977 (20.9 percent of GNP) to \$330.9 billion in 1987 (54.7 percent of GNP). (World Bank; IDB 1986) By 1987, all but three Latin American countries spent more than 20 percent of their export earnings on foreign debt service. As growth rates in gross domestic product tumbled from their apogee in the 1970s to a sluggish less than one percent by the late 1980s, so too fell private foreign investment. In 1970 private foreign investors pumped nearly \$1 billion in fresh capital (net flows) into nearly \$2 billion from the region. Meanwhile, inflation wreaked havoc throughout. Last year about 180 million Latin Americans (45 percent of the region's entire population) somehow endured annual consumer price rises exceeding 1,000 percent. By mid-decade, open unemployment rates stood at around ten percent. As Latin America enters the 1990s, between one-third and one-half of the region's labor force has retreated into the informal economy.

Stated differently, Latin America has effectively "dropped out" of the global economy. Its traditional functions as a source of cheap wage labor and as a vent for surplus global capital have all but vanished. After some 35 years of experimentation in neoclassical prescriptions for Third World economic development, today, an estimated "one-third of Latin America's population, about 130 million people, are now living in extreme poverty." (Cockburn 1989, p. A25)

What is left for Latin America to trade or negotiate to remain viable in the world economy? The environment may have become Latin America's last "trump card" in the final years of the twentieth century. Even so,

The degradation of Latin America's natural resource base is threatening Latin welfare and hemispheric political security. In the name of development, and all too often to line the pockets of a few, forests and fertile soils are destroyed and the seas and fresh water supplies contaminated--on a scale that will make it impossible to support Latin America's growing number. (Maguire and Grown 1985)

Symptoms of Latin America's environmental troubles abound in the public chronicles of the decade: the massive and costly destruction of tropical forests; the despoliation

of human settlements with toxic industrial wastes; the depletion of renewable resources from commercial fisheries in Central America to exotic hardwoods in the Amazon; devastating landslides of denuded slopes onto rural villages and peri-urban shantytowns; the puncture of the atmosphere's protective ozone shield over Antarctica.

"The crisis" in Latin America is like a double helix: each economic episode weaves into it a series of socio-environmental impacts. Two complex structures, the economic crisis and the environmental crisis, unfold hand-in-hand; each, to some extent, synergistically feeding the other.

We have debated various social, economic, and political theories over the last 20 years in an attempt to understand the vagaries of development and underdevelopment in Latin America. Most have proven to be ideological trap-doors leading to partial explanations and limited opportunities. In this frustrated quest for a lasting conceptual refuge enters the last tangible refuge, the physical habitat. It is time now to situate environmental change at the center of our concerns.

In 1988, at my request, the LASA Executive Council commissioned a Working Group on Natural Resources and the Environment to promote interdisciplinary research and exchange on the above issues. In 1989, at the XV Congress in Miami, the Executive Council, then under the leadership of LASA President Paul Drake, announced the formation of a new Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Sciences, to advance interdisciplinary approaches to Latin American environmental issues by inviting natural scientists to participate in the activities of LASA. These are favorable initiatives.

The relationships between human society, sensibility and the natural environment are themes that run deep through the life veins of Latin America's greatest poets, painters, and musical composers. They are themes that have intrigued a diversity of Latin Americanist scholars, social and natural scientists alike. And, they are themes that increasingly enter into the deliberations of politicians, economists and multinational financiers. We invite all LASA members interested in environmental issues from various perspectives to participate in the activities of the LASA Working Group on Natural Resources and the Environment.²

Notes

1. The author is grateful for the lively exchange of ideas, many of which are incorporated in this annual statement, during plenary discussions of the Working Group on Natural Resources and the Environment in its first two meetings at the XV Congress in Miami. The author alone is responsible for this statement.
2. Individuals interested in participating in the activities of the LASA Working Group on Natural Resources and the Environment are invited to contact John O. Browder, Urban Affairs and Planning, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA 24061.

Works Cited

- Cockburn, Alexander. 1989. "Brazil's Poor Get Hungrier on Bare-Bones IMF Menu," *Wall Street Journal*, Thursday, March 23, p. A25.
- Inter-American Development Bank. 1986. *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America*.
- Maguire, Andrew and Janet Welsh Grown (eds.). 1985. *Bordering on Trouble: Resources and Politics in Latin America*. Bethesda, MD: Adler and Adler.
- World Bank. Various years. *World Development Report*.

Congress Site Update

Both the Executive Council, at its meeting, and LASA members at the business meeting at the Miami congress, expressed strong sentiments for holding a congress in Puerto Rico at the earliest possible date.

Immediately after the congress, secretariat staff began investigating the possibilities of holding a LASA congress in San Juan in the spring of 1994, the next open date. After an exhaustive probe, the regrettable conclusion is that Puerto Rico is not possible for LASA in the foreseeable future for the following reasons:

1. If the 1989 Puerto Rico bookings are any indication, we would need about 900 guest rooms in San Juan. We would necessarily rely on the larger hotels for many of those rooms. Among those hotels, the best quote a key facility could manage for the March to April 15 period in 1994 is 400 percent higher than the 1989 rate (itself a 50 percent increase over the 1988 New Orleans rate). Another important property nearby quoted prices that are 200 percent higher. Between the two hotels we could have only 400 rooms blocked, forcing us to pick up the majority of our rooms from places scattered about, during a period of strong demand for accommodations in San Juan. One of those places would charge from \$120 to \$140 more than the 1989 San Juan rate for March, and for April, from \$50 to \$70 more.

2. Even worse, there are not enough meeting rooms in any one hotel (or group of adjoining hotels) for a LASA congress--we would have to plan on at least 22. The largest facility would not concede us their entire inventory of 16 on a complimentary basis, since we would be occupying only 250 rooms there. We would pay a premium price for the non-complimentary rooms, even assuming the hotel would concede all of them to us on any terms, in addition to a charge of \$2,000 per day for the exhibit space. The San Juan convention center locale is about to be sold and most probably renovated, so the San Juan Puerto Rico Convention Bureau in Washington is not booking any meetings there for the near future.

The bottom line is that for now we are too big to hold a reasonable meeting in San Juan, and they have priced themselves out of our market anyway. Belinda Klein of the convention bureau indicated that several firms have plans to create more accommodations in future years, but for now the market is extremely favorable to the existing hotels. She suggested LASA look at the situation again in two or three years.

FORUM Invites Article Submissions

One of LASA's primary goals is to encourage dialogue on matters of common interest to Latin Americanists. To this end, the *LASA Forum* invites short article submissions on timely issues. Reprints or excerpts of previously published material may be considered, with appropriate permissions. Deadlines for the submission of articles are as follows:

- May 1: Summer 1990 issue (mailed mid-July)
- August 1: Fall 1990 issue (mailed mid-October)
- November 1: Winter 1991 issue (mailed mid-January)
- February 1: Spring 1991 issue (mailed mid-April)

For more information, contact Reid Reading, Editor, *LASA Forum*, William Pitt Union, Room 946, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; 412/648-7929.

Nominations Invited for 1991 Slate Deadline July 1, 1990

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 nominations 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, 1990 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.

Research Seminar in Nicaragua: Date Change

The 1990 LASA Research Seminar in Nicaragua will go forward as planned, but the dates have been changed to June 16 through June 30. (It was originally announced for the first two weeks of June.) Also, Harvey Williams, who has co-coordinated the seminar for the last three years, has taken on heavy commitments and is unable to help out this year. Tom Walker, who has co-coordinated or coordinated the seminar since its inception, will run the 1990 seminar with the help of a co-coordinator based in Nicaragua. For information about the nature of the seminar, please see the description on page 5 of the *Winter 1990 Forum* and the account of the 1989 seminar published in the preceding issue (Fall 1989 *Forum*, pp. 6-9). Diversity of political points of view is heartily encouraged. For an application form and further information please contact: Thomas W. Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701; 614/593-1339.

LASA Membership Ratifies El Salvador Resolution

A resolution on the continued hostilities and human rights violations in El Salvador approved in the LASA Business Meeting of December 5, 1989 was submitted by mail ballot to the LASA membership in early February (for text of resolution, see *Winter 1990 LASA Forum*, p. 11). The secretariat received 643 ballots by the March 15 deadline. The resolution was ratified by a vote of 582 for, 49 against, and 12 written abstentions. The document now will be forwarded to appropriate officials of the United States and El Salvadoran governments.

Additional Congress Papers Available

The following papers were not listed in the *Winter Forum*. Please see page 23 of the *Winter* issue for the complete list of papers. All papers are still \$3.00 which includes postage.

Bresser Pereira, Luiz Carlos. A Pragmatic Approach to State Intervention: The Brazilian Case.

Ciria, Alberto. Life Histories: An Argentine Case.

FORUM Advertising

The *LASA Forum* reserves a limited number of pages for advertising each issue. Advertising rates are \$225 for full-page ads (7 1/4 x 9 1/2 inches); \$125 for half-page ads (7 1/4 x 4 3/4 inches); and \$75 for quarter-page ads (3 1/2 x 4 3/4 inches). Camera-ready copy must be submitted to the *Forum* by the following deadlines:

June 1:	Summer 1990 issue (mailed mid-July)
September 1:	Fall 1990 issue (mailed mid-October)
December 1:	Winter 1991 issue (mailed mid-January)
March 1:	Spring 1991 issue (mailed mid-April)

For more information, contact Anna M. DeNicolo, Publications Director, LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, Room 946, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; 412/648-7909.

LETTERS

[This letter was addressed to the Latin American Research Review, University of North Carolina, the last address Mr. Villalba had for that journal.]

2 de febrero de 1990

Estimados amigos:

Luego de siete años nos volvemos a poner en contacto. Hasta mayo de 1983 el Banco Paraguayo de Datos mantenía correspondencia con ustedes y también estaban suscriptos a nuestras publicaciones. Esta carta va dirigida a ustedes gracias a que hemos recuperado, en diciembre de 1989, documentos, archivos y el directorio con el cual se hacían los envíos mensuales.

El BPD fue clausurado por la represión policial del gobierno dictatorial el 11 de mayo de 1983; todos los que trabajábamos en la institución fuimos llevados presos acusados de transgredir la Ley 209 de "Defensa de la Paz Pública". Sin embargo, en el mes de diciembre último, después que el derrocamiento de la dictadura permitió un funcionamiento independiente del poder judicial, se nos ha declarado inocentes y al mismo tiempo se nos ha devuelto gran parte de los bienes.

Bajo el nombre de Centro de Documentación y Estudios (CDE), reiniciamos nuestras actividades en el año 1985 y en este momento la institución cuenta con las siguientes áreas de trabajo: Sociogremial, Historia Sindical, Estadísticas y Costo de Vida, Análisis Político, Asesoramiento y Capacitación, y Area Mujer.

En el área sociogremial se producen Informativo Laboral e Informativo Campesino, ambos de publicación mensual. El área mujer produce Informativo Mujer y "La Micrófona," también mensuales. Estos trabajos dan cuenta de los acontecimientos de los sectores de los cuales llevan el nombre.

Se cuentan además con documentos de trabajo, documentos de discusión sobre las áreas señaladas más arriba.

Hemos considerado importante volver a retomar contacto, por lo cual les enviamos algunos materiales que publicamos, si desean suscribirse o realizar canjes.

Esperando una respuesta positiva, nos despedimos atentamente,

Roberto Villalba, Director
Centro de Documentación y Estudios
Brasil 986 - C.C.: 2558, Asunción, Paraguay
Teléfono: 22 598
Fax: (595 21) 213 246

ANNOUNCEMENTS

A part of an informal research project, Thomas Holloway, Cornell University, seeks information on Panamanian civilian casualties resulting from the recent U.S. military action in that country. Death tolls have been reported at anywhere from 200 to 12,000. Any information can be forwarded to Thomas Holloway, Department of History, McGraw Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853.

The Brazil Network is a nonprofit information clearing-house based in Washington, DC since December 1987. Its 200 members include NGO professionals, academics, religious and journalists in the U.S. and Canada. It is also in touch with over 85 organizations and individuals in Brazil. The network publishes a newsletter, *Contato*, every six weeks, with news about Brazilian social, political and economic issues gleaned from Brazilian and North American sources. One of the network's functions is to assist individuals and organizations by receiving diverse information queries and passing them along to the appropriate people for responses. The network also sponsors or cosponsors talks and other events. Speakers have included Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva (presidential candidate), Ailton Krenak (União das Nações Indígenas), Carmen Barroso (Fundação Carlos Chagas) and Mary Allegretti (Instituto dos Estudos Amazônicos). General meetings are held every six months that cover current issues in depth. The theme of the June 1990 meeting will be Brazilian women in all their aspects. Invited participants include Moema Viezzer of Rede Mulher and a delegation of black women activists from various organizations throughout Brazil. The meeting is likely to take place in the Boston area. Membership in the network is \$25 per year, \$15 for students and those with limited incomes. Non-members may subscribe to the newsletter for \$15. For more information about membership and the upcoming general meeting, contact Linda Rabben at (202) 234-9382, or write to P.O. Box 2738, Washington, DC 20013.

The National Endowment for the Humanities Reference Materials Program supports projects that organize essential resources for scholarship and improve access to information and collections. Awards are made in two categories: Tools and Access. Dictionaries, historical or linguistic atlases, encyclopedias, concordances, catalogues raisonnés, linguistic grammars, descriptive catalogues and data bases are eligible in the Tools category. Archival arrangement and description projects, bibliographies, bibliographical data bases, records surveys, cataloguing projects, indexes and guides to documentation are eligible in the Access category. The deadline for both categories is *September 1, 1990* for projects beginning after July 1, 1991. For more information, write: Reference Materials, Room 318, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20506.

RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Latin American Studies Program of Cornell University invites applications from university and college faculty in the humanities and the social sciences for a seven-week Columbian Quincentennial NEH Summer Institute entitled "The Andean World: A Millenium of Achievements and Transformations." Guest faculty from the breadth of the humanities will provide participants with the latest discoveries in Andean studies beginning with explorations of the Inka Empire followed by new interpretations of the conquest and the colonial period. The Summer Institute concludes with discussion of present-day Andean realities. The purpose of the institute is to provide university and college teachers with new views of the Andean world. Program highlights: the Andean environment and the roots of agricultural success; Inka art; and the role of gender in the Inka state. The institute will take place June 18 - August 3, 1990. For more information, please contact Billie Jean Isbell, Director, Latin American Studies Program, 190 Uris Hall, College of Arts and Sciences, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853; 607/255-3345.

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 deadline is *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 University of New Mexico (UNM) School of Law and the Facultad de Derecho of the Universidad de Guanajuato, in cooperation with UNM's Latin American Institute, are offering the Summer Institute in International Law at Guanajuato. The June 11 - August 3 program includes: 1) Civil and Criminal Law and Practice in Mexico, with a combination of classroom teaching and placement with a Mexican federal or state judge; 2) International Business Law, emphasizing Mexican business law; and 3) Latin American Comparative Law, emphasizing Mexican legal history, legal doctrine and substantive law. Each program is supplemented by courses in Spanish legal terminology; the history, cultural, and social developments of Mexico, and the role of lawyers in Mexico. The summer institute is the result of a four-year partnership between UNM and Guanajuato, which is one of the leading centers in Mexico for the study of law. For more information, contact Theo R. Crevenna, Co-Director, Summer Law Institute, University of New Mexico, School of Law, 1117 Stanford NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131; 505/277-2961.

La Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), Sede Ecuador, iniciará la Maestría en Economía con especialización en Política Económica y Desarrollo

(énfasis: economías andinas) en septiembre de 1990. El postgrado enfocará comparativamente la problemática y las políticas de los países andinos, con una fuerte componente multidisciplinaria. Para alcanzar ese objetivo hemos contratado a docentes expertos--de la región y de fuera de ella--en el conocimiento de las diversas experiencias de los países del Ande. Asimismo el alumnado provendrá de cada uno de los seis países andinos, lo que les permitirá compartir experiencias e inquietudes. Si bien el mencionado postgrado está dirigido fundamentalmente a ciudadanos de los países andinos, tenemos asimismo gran interés que participen en él norteamericanos (con licenciatura en economía) interesados en las economías de la subregión (e incluso canadienses y europeos). Para obtener más información, comunicarse con Dra. Amparo Menéndez-Carrión, Directora, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Ecuador, Av. América 4000, Casilla 6362 CCI, Quito, Ecuador.

The University of Maryland School of Public Affairs is accepting applications for its January-July 1991 Advanced Seminar on the Foreign Policy Process. The program seeks mid-career government officials, scholars and journalists from other nations. The seminar enables participants to engage in direct, intensive analysis of the United States foreign policy process through academic courses, discussions with the Washington policy community, and research. Direct contact with foreign policymakers and institutions is an integral part of the program. Some of the weekly meetings to date have included visits to the State Department, the National Security Council, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the Brookings Institution. The academic portion includes a core seminar that provides a comprehensive overview of the U.S. foreign policymaking process, short courses in topics such as congressional budget politics and global environmental policy, and an audited course to be chosen by individual participants. Participants also conduct research projects on aspects of recent U.S. government policymaking of particular interest to them. Directed by I.M. Destler, a leading specialist in U.S. foreign policymaking, the program combines the resources of a major university with access to policymakers and institutions in nearby Washington, DC. Professors at Maryland's School of Public Affairs are recognized authorities on U.S. foreign strategic and economic policy as well as the operations of U.S. government agencies. Full and partial fellowships offering tuition and stipend support are available. The application deadline is *September 3, 1990*. For further information and applications, contact Jane L. Barber Thery, Executive Director, Seminar on the Foreign Policy Process, School of Public Affairs, Morrill Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; 301/454-1965; telex: 887294; fax: 301/454-1492.

The Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies are pleased to announce a major new International Predissertation Fellowship Program designed to encourage new linkages between the social sciences and area studies and to increase the flow of

talented graduate students into internationally oriented research and teaching careers. The new three-year \$6.4 million program will be administered by the Social Science Research Council and is being funded by the Ford Foundation. Over the initial three-year period, the program expects to provide approximately 170 full-year fellowships to graduate students in the social sciences at 19 selected universities. The program is aimed primarily at graduate students in economics, political science, and sociology but will be open to students in the other social science disciplines as well. Applications will be sought from first- or second-year graduate students interested in combining their disciplinary training with area and language studies, and overseas study. In all cases, the intent of the fellowships will be to prepare students to conduct dissertation research in or on Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Near and Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. In addition to individual fellowships, the program will invite fellows to participate in a series of council-organized methodological workshops focused on the development of original data sets and research materials. The council will also seek ways to incorporate the fellows into its other ongoing internationally oriented research workshops and conferences. Application materials will be available in the fall of 1990. Applicants will be expected to work with their disciplinary advisor and an area specialist, in the design of a year-long training program at some combination of their home institution and others overseas which will enable them to develop an internationally-oriented dissertation research project. Awards will not be tenable for dissertation research itself. Applications from students will be submitted directly by the participating universities. They will be reviewed and selected for funding by a specially constituted program committee to be established by the two councils. The 19 universities selected by the Ford Foundation to initiate the new program are: the University of California, Berkeley; The University of California, San Diego; the University of California, Los Angeles; the University of Chicago; Columbia University; Cornell University; Duke University; Harvard University; Indiana University; the University of Michigan; the University of Minnesota; Northwestern University; the University of Pennsylvania; Princeton University; Stanford University; the University of Texas; the University of Washington; the University of Wisconsin; and Yale University.

The National Humanities Center offers 35-40 fellowships for advanced study in history, philosophy, languages and literature, classics, religion, history of the arts, and other fields in the liberal arts. Scholars from any nation may apply. Social scientists, natural scientists, or professionals whose work has a humanistic dimension are also welcome to apply. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional accomplishments. The center awards fellowships to senior scholars of recognized accomplishment and to promising young scholars. Young scholars should be no more than ten years beyond the completion of graduate study and should be engaged in research beyond the revision of their dissertations. Fellows are required to work at the center, where they have private studies, library and manuscript typing services, and other administrative

support. The center locates housing for fellows in the neighboring communities. Fellowships are for the academic year, though a few may be available for a single semester. Fellowship stipends are individually determined in accordance with the needs of each fellow and the center's ability to meet them. As the center cannot in most instances replace full salaries, applicants are urged to seek partial funding in the form of sabbatical salaries or grants from other sources. The center does not cover fringe benefits. In addition to stipends, the center provides round-trip travel expenses for fellows and their immediate families to and from North Carolina. The application deadline for the academic year 1991-92 is *October 15, 1990*. For application materials, write to: *Fellowship Program, National Humanities Center, P.O. Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709-2256*.

The National Endowment for the Humanities announces deadlines for its Fellowships, Summer Stipends and Travel to Collections programs. NEH Fellowships provide support for six to twelve months of full-time study and research that will make significant contributions to the humanities. These fellowships are awarded through two programs: Fellowships for University Teachers; and Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars. Maximum support is \$30,000. Application deadline is *June 1, 1990* for 1991-92 awards. Summer Stipends support two months of full-time study and research. In most cases, faculty members of colleges and universities must be nominated by their institutions for the Summer Stipends competition; each institution may nominate three applicants. Stipend is \$3,750. Application deadline is *October 1, 1990* for 1991 awards. Travel to Collections grants assist individuals in traveling to use the research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories. Awards help defray such research expenses as transportation, subsistence, lodging, photoduplication, and other reproduction costs. Stipend is \$750. Application deadlines: *July 15, 1990*, for travel after December 1, 1990; *January 15, 1991*, for travel after June 1, 1991. For further information and application materials for all these programs write to: Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506.

The Institute for Advanced Study, School of Historical Studies announces two programs awarding fellowships for 1991-92 and 1991-93. The School of Historical Studies is concerned principally with the history of western and near eastern civilization, with particular emphasis on Greek and Roman civilization, medieval and modern European history, Islamic culture, and in the history of art. Qualified candidates of any nationality specializing in these fields are invited to apply for research fellowships for one or two terms (September to December, January to April). A limited number of fellowships funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation will be available for scholars who participate in a program of seminars on the theme of "Culture and the State." The Ph.D. (or equivalent) and substantial publications are required of all candidates. Approximately thirty members are appointed each year.

Applications for 1991-92 are due before *October 15, 1990*. Also available are two *two-year* memberships to assistant professors whose research deals with the history of Europe and the near East from antiquity to the present. At the time of their arrival, members must have served at least two and not more than four years in institutions of higher learning in the United States or Canada and must submit a written assurance form their dean or department chair that they may return to their positions after holding their membership at the Institute. Appointments will be for two successive academic years (September through April) and for the intervening summer. The stipend will match the combination of salary and benefits at the member's home institution. Applications are due by *November 1, 1990*. For further information and/or application forms for either of these two programs, write the Administrative Officer, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ 08540.

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) has opened its 1991-92 competition for **Fulbright Scholar Awards** for research and university lecturing abroad for periods ranging from three months to a full academic year. There are openings in over 100 countries, and the opportunity for multicountry research exists in many regions. Awards are granted in virtually all disciplines, and scholars in all academic ranks are eligible. The basic eligibility requirements are U.S. citizenship, Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications, university or college teaching experience and, for some assignments, proficiency in a foreign language. Application deadlines are *June 15, 1990*, for Latin America except for lecturing awards to Mexico, Venezuela and the Caribbean islands for which the deadline is *August 1, 1990*. Application information is available from the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3400 International Drive, N.W., Suite M-500, Washington, D.C. 20008-3097; 202/686-7877.

Have you moved recently?

Please keep LASA up to date on your new address and phone number each time you move. This will ensure that you receive the *Forum* and *LARR* in a timely fashion. We don't want to lose touch with you! Contact the secretariat with any address changes.

Nicaragua Election Report

The Report of the LASA Commission to Observe the 1990 Nicaraguan Election has been mailed to each member along with this issue of the *Forum*. Additional copies may be ordered from the secretariat at a cost of \$5, including postage. To order, send your check or money order to: LASA, William Pitt Union, Room 946, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

1990 Memberships

If you have colleagues who have not yet renewed their memberships for 1990, please urge them to do so immediately. Likewise, if you are reading someone else's copy of the *Forum*, please send in your own membership now. A membership form appears on page 23 of this issue. Late applications for membership create considerable delays in mailing the *Latin American Research Review* and the *LASA Forum*.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Center for Latin America, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, will host "Bridging the Atlantic: Iberian and Latin American Thought," March 14-16, 1991. This special meeting of the Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought (SILAT) will gather specialists from a variety of fields who will explore the historical, cultural and philosophical links uniting Latin America, Spain and Portugal. SILAT is a national organization open to all scholars interested in interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Iberian and Latin American ideas. Papers are invited on the following themes among others: history and historiography of Iberian and Latin American ideas; intellectuals in exile in Latin America, Spain and Portugal; Latin American/Iberian thought and democratic transitions. To participate in the conference, please submit a one-page panel proposal or paper abstract by *May 1, 1990* to: Professor Ivan Jaksic, Director, Center for Latin America, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201; 414/229-4401.

The Social Science History Association (SSHA) will hold its 15th annual conference in Minneapolis, Minnesota on October 18-21, 1990. The SSHA is the leading interdisciplinary association in the social sciences and its annual conference attracts historians, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, demographers and political scientists, among others. Persons interested in participating in the program should contact Steve Rappaport, History Department, New York University, 19 University Place, New York, NY 10003; or Laurel Cornell, Department of Sociology, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405.

The North Central Council of Latin Americanists is soliciting papers for its annual meeting, to be held in St. Cloud, Minnesota, October 11-13, 1990. The conference will be hosted by St. Cloud State University. This year, the NCCLA conference theme will be "Continuing Encounters II: From the Conquest to the 1990s." NCCLA members belong primarily to colleges and universities in the Upper Midwest, but the council would like to encourage greater conference participation by Latin Americanists from outside the region. Papers are invited from any academic field, and interdisciplinary topics are encouraged. Proposals for complete panels are especially welcome. Anyone interested in presenting a paper should send an outline or abstract by *May 1, 1990*. Completed papers should be submitted by *September 10, 1990*. For submissions, or more information, contact: Professor Virginia Gibbs, 1990 NCCLA Program Chair, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, La Crosse, WI 54601; 608/785-8324.

The Association of Caribbean Studies announces its Twelfth Annual Conference on the Caribbean, to take place July 29-31, 1990 in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. The theme of this year's conference is "The Caribbean Environment: Limitations and Possibilities." For information on registration, contact Yvonne Alleyne, Conference Coordinator, Association of Caribbean Studies, P.O. Box 22202, Lexington, KY 40522-2202.

The Oral History Association will hold its 1990 Annual Meeting November 8-11, 1990 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. For program information, contact Richard C. Smith, OHA Executive Secretary, 1093 Broxton Avenue, #720, Los Angeles, CA 90024. Proposals for papers, panels, and speakers are now being accepted for the Oral History Association's 1991 Annual Meeting at Snowbird, Utah, October 10-13, 1991. Conference themes include: women, ethnic topics, and the region of the American West. Proposals should be sent by *December 1, 1990* to either of the Program Co-Chairs: Jay M. Haymond, Utah State Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, UT 84101; or Rebecca Sharpless, c/o Institute for Oral History, B.U. Box 7271, Baylor University, Waco, TX 76798-7271.

The Southwest Historical Association will meet in conjunction with the Southwestern Social Science Association in San Antonio, Texas March 27-30, 1991. Proposals for papers or sessions in U.S. history, European/Asian history, and Latin American/African history should be sent to Professor Ward Albro, Department of History, Texas A&I University, Kingsville, TX 78363. Proposals for complete sessions are especially encouraged, as are suggestions for interdisciplinary session, panels, and roundtables. The deadline for proposals is *October 1, 1990*. Paper prizes of \$100.00 will be awarded in each of the three categories.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies will be held in San Francisco, from October 25-28, 1990. The theme of the conference is "Latin America: New Alternatives Toward Democracy." The conference is open to presentations on any subject in Latin American Studies and not restricted to the conference theme. Special sessions will be held on environmental change and the external debt, as well as on political change in Latin America. Attention also will be given to sessions on women in Latin America, and on education, art and culture. Finally, bilingualism, Chicano and Latino issues and migration patterns in the context of U.S. society will be focused on. The conference is co-sponsored by the La Raza Studies Department and the Latin American Studies Minor Program at San Francisco State University. Please send titles for papers or panels, with brief abstracts and names, addresses, and phone numbers of the presenters to Professor Carlos B. Cordova, La Raza Studies Department, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132; 415/338-2419. Deadline for the submission of papers and panel proposals is *May 15, 1990*. Presenters will be required to register in advance for the conference.

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.

Ancient Mesoamerica is a new scholarly journal to be published semi-annually by Cambridge University Press. Editors William R. Fowler and Stephen D. Houston will be aided by a distinguished international editorial board in providing an international forum for the method, theory, substance and interpretation of Mesoamerican archaeology, art history and ethnohistory. The journal will be chiefly concerned with Pre-Columbian archaeology, but will also publish articles related to the colonial and modern periods in the areas of ethnohistory, historical archaeology, and ethnoarchaeology. The journal will promote rigorous scholarly standards while at the same time emphasizing jargon-free and readable prose. The publications will be predominantly in English but will also have Spanish contributions. Spanish (or English) summaries will also be included as a regular feature to help increase scholarly communication. *Ancient Mesoamerica* encourages authors to submit original research papers, theoretical articles, and substantive reports of field research. The journal will also publish reports on important finds, news of excavations, and general interpretations. Authors should make inquiries and submit five copies of manuscripts to: *Ancient Mesoamerica*, Editorial Office, Vanderbilt University, P.O. Box 6307-B, Nashville, TN 37235; 615/343-6123.

The State University of New York Press is pleased to initiate a new series of books on *Latin American Society and Culture*. The series seeks manuscripts that discuss a range of contemporary issues and that draw on new critical modes of analysis. Manuscripts that examine the historical roots of contemporary problems will also be welcomed. Topics that would be of interest include: the impacts of the debt crisis and "structural readjustment" on local populations, politics and environment in Latin America, new social movements, the social organization of the informal economy, and the reorganization of agriculture by corporate capital. Analytical approaches that are attentive to power relations and to gender, class, and race are especially encouraged. Manuscripts from the fields of sociology, anthropology, history, and political economy, as well as those that seek to work across disciplinary boundaries will be considered. Selection of manuscripts will be based on the significance of issues addressed, quality of scholarship, clarity and style of presentation, and marketability. Most books in the series will be published in both hardcover and paperback to provide for course adoptions and to attract a wide audience. Inquiries about the series, completed manuscripts, or book proposals can be sent to: Rosalie M. Robertson, Editor, State University of New York Press, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246.

Linking Levels of Analysis, a new book series published by the University of Michigan Press, will concentrate on the study of relations between local-level systems and larger,

more inclusive systems. *Linking* is designed to publish this work in all its variety--economic, social, ecological, religious, cultural, and historical. Manuscripts are sought for this series that combine theory, substantive analysis, and methodology to further the understanding of the relations between local level systems and larger, more inclusive systems. Send inquiries to: Colin Day, Director, University of Michigan Press, 839 Greene Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; or Professor Emilio Moran, Institute for Advanced Study, Indiana University, The Poplars 335, Bloomington, IN 47405.

Fragile Lands of Latin America: Strategies for Sustainable Development. Based on the proceedings of the symposium sponsored by Tulane University and held during the XIV International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association in New Orleans, this volume of papers edited by John O. Browder presents a variety of alternative approaches to land use and development in Latin America's tropical rain forests, Andean highlands, and Mexico's desert lands. The book examines sustainable indigenous farming systems and traditional natural resource management practices that would be adapted to fragile land use planning in Latin America. Chapters are based on the original field research of a distinguished mix of geographers, anthropologists, tropical ecologists, and archaeologists. *Fragile Lands* may be purchased for \$45.00 plus \$2.50 postage and handling. To order, write: Westview Press, Customer Service Department, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO 80301.

Columbia University's Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies (ILAIS) now has available the latest contributions to its *Papers on Latin America*, a new series of works-in-progress of the university's faculty, visiting scholars and others from North, South and Central America. They are: "Democracy and the New Electoral Right in Argentina," by Edward Gibson; "The Many Deaths of the Colombian Revolution: Region, Class and Agrarian Rebellion in Central Colombia," by Michael F. Jimenez; "The Debate Over Agrarian Reform in Brazil," by Biorn Maybury-Lewis; and "Textile Entrepreneurs and Workers in Pinochet's Chile, 1973-79," by Peter Winn. Each paper runs 20-40 pages and is \$3. There is a flat yearly cost of \$24. For more information, contact the Institute of Latin American and Iberian Studies, Columbia University, 420 West 118th Street, New York, NY 10027; 212/854-4643.

The Ad Hoc Coalition of United States Sister Cities for Election Observation in Nicaragua has published "*Mi Voto es Secreto: The Nicaraguan Elections of February 25, 1990*." The report is available for \$5 from the Ad Hoc Coalition, Box 8198, Ann Arbor, MI 48107.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The American University announces a tenure-track position available for the 1990-91 academic year as assistant professor of Spanish in the Department of Language and Foreign Studies, beginning August 1990. Responsibilities include teaching undergraduate and master's students in Spanish language and Latin American studies; program development in Latin American literature and culture; student advising; scholarship, and department and university service. Qualifications: Ph.D. by September 1990; fluency in Spanish and English; specialization in contemporary Latin American literature and culture; and commitment to language teaching at elementary and intermediate levels. Previous college-level teaching preferred. Must show evidence of scholarly interest and potential. Competitive salary, depending on qualifications and experience. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae and dossier of three letters of recommendation to: Dr. Jack Child, Chair, Spanish Search Committee, Department of Language and Foreign Studies, The American University, Washington, DC 20016. The committee began reviewing applications on *January 15, 1990*. Position subject to final budgetary approval. The American University is an EEO/AA university.

The Nuevo Instituto de CentroAmérica (NICA) is a language school and center for political/cultural study located in Estelí, Nicaragua. NICA is seeking to fill two positions in Nicaragua: Director and Program Assistant, to begin Summer 1990. For the Director's position, the candidate should have experience in program design and administration in Latin America, preferably Nicaragua. The Program Assistant will have administrative responsibilities and will serve as the school's translator. A minimum one-year commitment and Spanish fluency are required. Minority candidates are strongly encouraged to apply. Application letters and curriculum vitae may be sent to NICA, P.O. Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238; 617/497-7142.

The University Press of Iowa seeks a librarian for Latin American collection development and cataloging. The incumbent will be responsible for selection of materials relating to Latin American studies; providing reference support and user education instruction; and cataloging Latin American studies and other materials. Qualifications: M.L.S. or equivalent from an ALA-accredited library school, demonstrated working knowledge of Spanish; substantial knowledge of or experience with LC classification, LCSH, AACR2, and MARC formats, demonstrated ability to work effectively with faculty and library colleagues; working knowledge of Portuguese or other Romance language; library experience in Latin American studies; and experience with major bibliographic utilities. Salary will be based on educational background and experience, either at Librarian I (minimum salary \$21,565) or Librarian II (minimum salary \$27,310) level, in addition to a generous benefits package. Applications received by *May 1, 1990* will receive first consideration. Minorities and women are particularly encouraged to apply. Qualified

individuals should submit a letter of application, resume, and the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of three references to: Barbara I. Dewey, Personnel Administrator, The University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, IA 52242; 312/335-5867.

The Department of Foreign Languages of SUNY-The College at New Paltz invites nominations and applications for the position of assistant professor of Spanish-American linguistics to be available August 1990. Teaching responsibilities will include general and applied linguistics, Spanish language courses, and the sociolinguistics of Latin America. The new faculty person will be expected to participate in an energetic Latin American Studies program. Candidates must possess the Ph.D. by fall 1990 and be committed to active research as well as innovative undergraduate teaching. Native or near-native fluency in Spanish and previous teaching experience is required. Applicants should send a letter describing qualifications, a professional resume, and the names, addresses and telephone numbers of three persons familiar with current work to: Professor Elisa Davila, Spanish-America Linguistic Search, Box 10, SUNY The College at New Platz, New Paltz, NY 12561. The college is an affirmative action/equal opportunity employer. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply.

The Directorate for International Programs of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) seeks a Director for its Western Hemisphere Cooperation Program (WHC). The WHC Director will be responsible for managing cooperative programs with counterpart organizations in the Western Hemisphere, serving as primary AAAS representative among scientific and engineering communities of Latin America; organizing and convening symposia on scientific topics of relevance to the Western Hemisphere; coordinating external support for WHC activities, providing expert advice and counsel to AAAS officers regarding cooperation with Latin American counterparts; monitoring special issues and trends in Latin American science, incorporating these considerations into overall program management. The director will also serve as the official liaison to the Interciencia Association, a federation of 14 national scientific organizations in the Americas. The successful candidate will have at least a Master's degree in a field of science or in Latin American studies; 3-5 years of experience in scientific or academic cooperative activities and in managing international programs, excellent writing skills; experience in working with grant-making organizations; and "in-country" experience in one or more countries of the Western Hemisphere. Candidate must be fluent in English and be able to communicate effectively in Spanish. A knowledge of Portuguese is desirable. Please send letter expressing interest together with current resume to: Debra Wright, Suite 854, Office of Human Resources, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1333 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 2005. AAAS is an equal opportunity employer.

The Center for Latin American Studies at **Stanford University** is seeking an Assistant Director to oversee the administrative operations of the center; manage all activities related to research, fund-raising, and grant administration, including Stanford's participation in the joint Berkeley-Stanford Title VI Center; oversee academic administration of the master's program, fellowship and honors programs; and coordinate programs for visitors and center-sponsored events. Qualifications for the position include a Ph.D. or equivalent experience in social sciences or history with field work in Latin America. Focus on development issues strongly preferred, with cross- or multi-disciplinary experience. Candidates should be fluent in English and Spanish; have demonstrated administrative and financial management experience, capacity to produce and evaluate research, as evidenced by professional publications or equivalent achievements; and experience in fund-raising. Preferred start-date: June 1, 1990. Candidates with advanced experience in research and academic management may be considered for classification at CO7 range. Salary range CO6 \$2,572-3,267/ CO7 \$2,933-3,382. Applications should be sent to: Nancy Okimoto, Associate Director, Institute for International Studies, 200 Encina Hall, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6055. An equal opportunity employer through affirmative action.

Ohio State University invites applications for the position of Latin American Studies Librarian. Responsible for collection development in Latin American studies and Spanish language and literature; operation of reading room, reference service, research consultation and bibliographic instruction; supervision of staff and students. The incumbent will report to the head of the Language and Area Studies Department. Librarians have faculty rank and are expected to meet university requirements for promotion and tenure, including research, publication and service. Required: M.L.S. from ALA-accredited program; fluent knowledge of Spanish; relevant experience in an academic or research library; knowledge of bibliographic and research methodologies in Latin American and Spanish studies; ability to communicate effectively, orally and in writing, in English. Highly desirable: knowledge of Portuguese, of Luso-Brazilian literature, and of other Western European languages; advanced degree in Latin American studies; familiarity with book trade in Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula; experience with on-line systems. Salary: \$25,080-\$35,040. Open until filled; applications received by *May 1, 1990* will receive first consideration. Apply to Sharon A. Sullivan, Personnel Librarian, Ohio State University Libraries, 1858 Neil Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210. Include names, addresses, and telephone numbers of three references. Qualified women, minorities and handicapped persons are encouraged to apply.

The Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies of the **University of Illinois** announces the availability of a position to teach Quechua beginning August 21, 1990, pending budgetary approval. The position is for a lecturer with a nine-month, 50 percent appointment for three years. The Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies will

provide the cost of a single round-trip airfare. Responsibilities include: regular teaching of the Quechua language classes at the beginning, intermediate and advanced levels during the academic year; preparation of teaching materials for use in the center; conduct of research relating to the Quechua language. Qualifications include: native speaker of one or more Quechua dialects, advanced knowledge and training in the Quechua language; demonstrated experience in the teaching of Quechua; university degree; knowledge of the English language. To apply, send an application letter, detailed curriculum vitae, evidence of Quechua language qualifications, university transcript, and three recommendation letters to: Enrique Mayer, Director, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana, 1208 W. California Street, Urbana, IL 61801; 217/333-3182. The center began reviewing applications on April 15, 1990.

The Ford Foundation announces an opening for a representative in its Andean Region and Southern Cone office. Responsibilities include: planning and coordinating foundation activities in the Andean Region and Southern Cone of South America; assessing the implications of political, social and economic developments in those regions for foundation programs; working closely with foundation staff in developing programs in such fields as governance and public policy, human rights, international affairs, urban and rural poverty, and women's issues. Maintain effective ties with local leaders and with official and non-governmental agencies working in those fields, manage an office in the region. Appropriate leadership, management and analytical skills and substantial professional experience at senior levels, including experience acquired in the region are required, as well as fluency in Spanish. The foundation is currently considering a limited number of locations as the site for its regional field office. Salary range: \$61,000 - \$98,000, plus furnished housing for staff members and their families assigned to locations outside the U.S. We also provide an automobile to staff members, educational benefits for children through high school, and home leave benefits. Resumes may be submitted, with a brief writing sample, to Joan C. Carroll, Employment Manager, The Ford Foundation, 320 E. 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017.

Reading continued...

The Bush administration should be confronted not just by the lawlessness of its actions, but also held accountable for its lack of logic--a lack so severe that it borders on pure deception. Repeatedly we heard that we invaded Panama to protect American lives. The incidents involving the death of a U.S. military man and the inexcusable treatment of another U.S. couple were repulsive and lamentable, but George Bush and his military advisers knew that invading Panama was going to result in many more lives lost than had been lost already. As it turns out, even accepting the Administration's low-end figures, 23 times as many U.S. military personnel were killed in the invasion than before it, and 221 times as many Panamanian non-combatants, aside from anyone else. The loss of life before the invasion would have had to be much more than 20,000 percent higher than it was to have matched the loss of life produced by going in with guns blazing.

Add the terror experienced by the hostages, the fears of many innocent Panamanians and the loss of property (the homes of 12,000 people in one sector alone were destroyed), as well as the harassment of U.S. citizens that was bound to occur as their country attacked Panama, and the calculus is clear: the U.S. opted for an action that was *guaranteed* to produce more violence than was already the case--and by a very large factor.

The argument that even more American lives would have been lost had the United States not invaded rings hollow. There may be places in the world where it might be legitimate to ask a question like "what if the government begins killing Americans at a rapid pace?" but even in those places the United States would replace speculation with the certainty of significant casualties once it actually invaded. In Panama, with thousands of U.S. military personnel on the scene it is inconceivable that they could not have arrested a violent course of action against Americans in a timely fashion. Now that we know how easily the Panamanian Defense Force could be discouraged from fighting, the argument holds even more force.

Significant loss of life may at times be justified if critical strategic national interests genuinely are at stake. The national security argument in this case is vacuous, however. It was obvious that Noriega was very careful not to interfere with Panama Canal operations. Any attempt on the part of Panama either to shut down the canal (it is ironic that the canal was closed for one of the only times in its history because of the invasion) or encroach on areas militarily protected by the United States would have been crushed immediately. To bring bloodshed to Panama on strategic national interest grounds thus is as unfounded theoretically as it was unconscionable in its application.

As for fighting a "nationally interested" war on drugs, the Bush Administration at least was reasonable enough not to try to justify the invasion of a foreign country on those grounds: respected opinion ranges from considering Noriega a "miniscule cog in the international drug trade"

whose capture will not make a dent in the international drug traffic (Coatsworth 1990) to a person who at the time of his capture was out of the business and perhaps more an enforcer than a trafficker (Dinges 1990). Agreement is widespread that U.S. actions in Panama will make it more difficult for Latin American political leaders to genuinely cooperate with us in future efforts to control the drug traffic.

Successive United States administrations have been highly successful in creating an aura, and a set of severe perceptual distortions, about the rectitude of U.S. actions generally and more specifically, the threat or use of force by the U.S. military. The distortions produce generalized agreement that we are fully within our rights to invade a country to bring to justice a corrupt dictator/drug-lord--an agreement facilitated by an absence of a significant number of U.S. citizens who might challenge the fit of punishment to crime. The distortions are seen when most Americans can be convinced that the intention of the Soviet Union to furnish Cuba with fighter aircraft is more unacceptable than our application of deadly military force to a small Central American nation.

Distortions are further manifest in a near absence of mothers who lost children in Panama crying out in rage, or demonstrating in front of the White House. The distortions come to light in our acceptance of the rhetoric about a "kinder, gentler nation" and nonrecognition of the contradiction between rhetoric and deed.

So once again the United States, a nation that given its values and abundant information base should be among the very most enlightened in terms of discovering courses of action that will at once safeguard its national interests and maximize the protection of human life, has resorted to the most primitive, brutal means of problem resolution. It has allowed its behavior to be drawn close to the level of the dictator it went after. It may not even be important that a majority of Panamanians approves of the invasion, were that genuinely to be the case. A U.S. citizen can justifiably claim the right to be less concerned about what Panamanians think about the invasion than what he or she thinks the invasion has done to the United States itself, and to Panama, and the implications of the invasion for our image and our future foreign policy.

Those of use who dissent need to assume a strong and persuasive multidimensional stance that reflects our country's best traditions. To the legal and national interest arguments can be added our duty to hold the United States responsible for the crucial logic of its actions as well for as acting in accordance with its professed peace-loving nature. Along with an attempt to expose the perceptual distortions which permit U.S. policymakers the latitude to engage in actions like those in Panama, this set of arguments might be of use as we proceed toward the goal of weaving a more sensible and responsible set of perceptions into the national fabric.

Works Cited

- Coatsworth, John H. 1990. "Panama and Nicaragua: Victories for the Wrong Policy." Remarks to the Chicago Committee of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.
- Dinges, John. 1990. *Our Man in Panama*. New York: Random House.

**CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK
AWARD NOMINATIONS**
Deadline August 1, 1990

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. Those nominating books are 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 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. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award.

The members of the Bryce Book Award Committee for 1990 are Georgette Dorn (Library of Congress, Hispanic Division, Washington, DC 20540); Cynthia Steele (University of Washington, Department of Romance Languages, GN-60, Seattle, WA 98195); and George Priestly (Latin American Studies, Queens College, Flushing, NY 11367).

Wilde and Tenneriello, continued...

are needed for the new force, especially after it has been relieved of various duties (such as customs) once within the purview of the PDF. Nobody argues that the new force could ever protect the Canal, which is vulnerable to sabotage and ultimately guaranteed by the U.S. Some high-level officers of the PDF have been purged, and changes made in administrative and budgetary controls, but the prospects for future accountability from the security forces are not encouraging. As one example, the new investigative unit, called the Judicial Technical Police, will be administered by the Attorney General--but it is made up of former members of the National Department of Investigations (DENI), which was notorious for abuse under Noriega.

In his article, Reid Reading speculates that one reason for the muted response to the Panama invasion may be the global zeitgeist of democracy. President Bush has presented his new "Fund for Democracy" for Panama and Nicaragua as part of a response to this broad challenge, "how best to support newborn democracies." If passed, the money involved will be helpful in repairing some of the damage caused by U.S. policy during the last decade. But both countries need more than money if they are to have any real chance to consolidate democratic institutions.

As Latin Americanists, we have a keener sense than most of the hard problems to be faced after the euphoria of democratic transition wears off. The elation is long gone in most of the Latin American countries that elected civilian governments in the 1980s. It is fading in Panama.

The real test of the U.S. commitment to democracy in Latin America is what we leave behind--and nowhere is that more true than in Panama. The present direction of developments there, under U.S. occupation, gives no particular reason for optimism that Panama will be able to avoid the fate of so much of Latin America under "democracy:" economic decline, social polarization, and ineffective, often violent politics--all accompanied by armed forces that remain beyond civilian control. As LASA members, we should be concerned, as Reid Reading argues, about the implications of the armed invasion of Panama--and also about what is happening there now in the name of democracy, the legitimating banner flying these days over U.S. policy toward the hemisphere.

[Institutional Form on Reverse Side]

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
 William Pitt Union, 9th Floor
 University of Pittsburgh
 Pittsburgh, PA 15260
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Individual Membership for Calendar Year 1990: _____ Renewal; _____ New Application
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PLEASE SUPPLY ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED BELOW.

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City, State, Zip Country	Home Telephone
Business Telephone	Home Telephone
Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number	
Institutional Affiliation	
Country Interest/Specialization	
If student, professor's signature certifying student status	

Membership Categories and Rates: 1990 (choose only one category)	Amount
Introductory (for new members only)	\$25 \$
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Under \$20,000 annual income	\$30 \$
Between \$20,000 and \$29,999 annual income	\$36 \$
Between \$30,000 and \$39,999 annual income	\$43 \$
\$40,000 and over annual income	\$52 \$
Student Associate (five year limit)	\$19 \$
Latin Americanists permanently residing in Latin America or the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico)	\$18 \$
Emeritus Member (for retired members)	\$19 \$
Joint Membership (for second member at same mailing address as first member; one copy of publications sent.) Choose this plus one other category. Add to rate for highest income of the two:	\$15 \$

Members receive three issues of the **Latin American Research Review** and four issues of the **LASA Forum** per year.

If you live outside the U.S., Canada or Mexico, and wish to receive the **Forum** by air mail, please add **\$13 per year** for postage. (If you desire air mail delivery of **LARR**, please contact the **LARR** office at the Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; (505) 277-7043) \$

We encourage you to contribute to the **LASA Endowment Fund**. \$

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED \$

Please make checks payable to the **Latin American Studies Association** and mail along with this form to: **LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260**. Members residing outside the U.S. must send either a money order, a check in U.S. dollars drawn on a U.S. bank, or a UNESCO coupon for the U.S. dollar amount payable. There will be a \$10 charge for all returned checks.

[Institutional Form on Reverse Side]

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PLEASE SUPPLY ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED BELOW.

Name _____

Mailing Address _____

City, State, Zip Country _____
 Business Telephone _____

Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number _____

Name of Contact Person _____

<u>Membership Categories and Rates: 1990 (choose only one category)</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP)	___\$65 \$ ___
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Institutional Sponsor, Profit	___\$500 \$ ___

If you live outside the U.S., Canada or Mexico, and wish to receive the Forum by air mail, please add \$13 per year for postage. (If you desire air mail delivery of LARR, please contact the LARR office at the Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; (505) 277-7043) \$ ___

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