

# LASA Forum

## Latin American Studies Association

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### Title VI Accomplishments, Problems, and New Directions\*

by  
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#### The Fragility of the Foreign Area Center

The importance of Title VI of the Higher Education Act can best be appreciated if the nation's foreign area studies programs are considered delicate garden flowers that require watering, weeding, and fertilization to survive in a hostile environment, namely the U.S. university. Richard Lambert's<sup>1</sup> insightful review of the legislative history of Title VI and both Davydd Greenwood's<sup>2</sup> and Hunt Davis's<sup>3</sup> analyses of the current status of Title VI provide timely reminders of the marginality of Title VI with respect to the power politics of the Higher Education Act (HEA). HEA Title VI funding of \$34 million (including Fulbright Hays 102) for fiscal year 1990 represents precisely .003 (one third of one per cent) of the \$9.9 billion HEA Title IV budget. The relationship of the Title VI International Education budget to the giant Pell Grants and Stafford Student Loans of Title IV is thus analogous to the relationship between the gardener and the agribusiness corporation.

The very marginality of Title VI in the federal context leads uninformed observers to the conclusion that it is not very important to the nation and therefore could be dropped partially or entirely without harm to the national interest, a view reflected in some, if not all, of the recommendations of

\*Revised version of a discussion paper presented at the March 2-3, 1990 Conference of the International Affairs Division of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (NASULGC) on Formulating Recommendations to Congress on Reauthorization of Title VI the Higher Education Act, University of Pittsburgh.

*continued page 18*

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

The Program Committee for the LASA XVI International Congress met at the University of Texas at Austin from May 19 to May 23. All members of the committee were present: Arturo Arias, Elizabeth Jelín, Francesca Miller, Jennifer Schirmer, Mitchell Seligson, and the program committee chair, Michael Conroy. Rich Ann Roche and Katerina Taiganides, University of Texas graduate students who are working as the LASA '91 program coordinators, were also present *ex officio*.

More than 230 complete panel and workshop proposals and 200 individual paper proposals had been received by May 17, and all were reviewed and discussed at the committee meeting. As the congress site, the Hyatt-Regency Hotel, Crystal City, Virginia, will accommodate approximately 250 panels and workshops, it was inevitable that a number of papers and panels were not accepted.

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- More on Panama** .....p. 13  
Eldon Kenworthy, Cornell University; Reid Reading, LASA

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Program Report, continued. . .

**Panel Notification**

Notification of the results of the Program Committee's deliberations should have reached, by mid-July, all who submitted proposals. Revised proposals for newly-combined panels and for panels or workshops that were accepted only conditionally must be submitted by to the Program Chair by *September 1, 1990*.

**Congress Highlights**

Panels accepted to date have been organized into "tracks" or themes. Individually-submitted papers are still being assembled into new panels.

There will be more than 30 panels in the "Arts, Culture, and Literature" track. Committee member Arturo Arias has created a series of sessions on *valoración crítica* of the works of major contemporary writers, many of whom will be attending the congress. These include: Eduardo Galeano, Giaconda Belli, Nérida Piñón, Alfredo Bryce Echenique, Luis Britto García, Claribel Alegría, José Emilio Pacheco, and Luisa Valenzuela. LASA President Jean Franco has also created, at the invitation of the Program Committee, a series of five "Presidential Panels" within this track.

More than 20 panels were accepted in the "Economics, Development, and Debt" track, even after 25 percent of the proposals submitted for that category were rejected. There will be more than 20 panels on "Democratization and Political Processes"; 15 panels on "Women's Issues"; 15 panels and workshops on "U.S.-Latin American Relations," reflecting the theme that the Program Committee has given to the entire congress; and 10-12 each on the environment, Central America, and Mexico.

**New Congress Procedures**

The Program Committee adopted the following procedures in response to commentaries received in the pre-LASA '91 survey conducted before and during the 1989 meeting in Miami.

- The "tracking" system will be used to minimize overlap among sessions with similar themes; approximately 15 different "tracks" received enough proposals to warrant separate treatment in the final program.
- There will be no formal break for lunch in the schedule, reflecting both the need to use the time for panels and workshops and sensitivity to different "lunchtime" schedules.

- Panels during the late afternoon hours, 5:00-7:00 pm, will be "quasi-plenary" sessions, with only three or four offerings, rather than the 25 or 26 different offerings as at most other hours.
- The schedule will run through the full day on Saturday, recognizing that many participants will stay over in Washington that night to take advantage of less expensive airfares.

**Travel Funding**

The Finance Committee for LASA '91 (Mitchell Seligson, chair; John Booth, and Clarence Zuvekas, with Lars Schoultz and Michael Conroy, *ex officio*) is still raising funds for participation by Latin Americans. It appears that there will be enough funding for supporting the participation of approximately one panelist from each session proposed by scholars outside the region and up to two panelists for those proposed by LASA members in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Watch for the Preliminary Program in the next issue of the *LASA Forum*.

**XV Congress Papers Still Available**

Papers presented at the XV Congress in Miami, December 1989, are still available for purchase from the secretariat. Over 1,000 papers have been sold since January. Please refer to page 23 of the Winter 1990 *LASA Forum* for the complete list of papers, with the exception of the following:

**Bresser Pereira, Luiz Carlos.** A Pragmatic Approach to State Intervention: The Brazilian Case.  
**Ciria, Alberto.** Life Histories: An Argentine Case.

To order papers, or a copy of the complete list if you have misplaced your Winter 1990 *Forum*, contact the secretariat. Papers are available at a cost of \$3 including postage.

## New 1990 LASA Members (as of June 19, 1990)

*LASA continues to grow! Over 200 new memberships were received in 1990. We welcome the following colleagues:*

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## The Study of New Social Movements in Latin America and the Question of Autonomy

by

Judith Adler Hellman  
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The study of social movements in Latin America has come of age, with the program of the XV meetings of the Latin American Studies Association in 1989 featuring no fewer than 15 panels on the subject. The fact that women's, peace, ecological, neighborhood self-help and similar social movements have emerged in Latin America, Western Europe, as well as in North America has tempted some theorists to draw broad cross-national generalizations about the phenomenon. Stimulating as it is to compare movements on three continents, it is important to identify both the differences as well as the similarities between the movements that have developed in advanced industrialized countries and those that have grown in Latin America.

### Important Distinctions and a Key Similarity

Some who come to their interest in these movements through experience in Latin America have been quick to assert that social movements arise where the Left has been suppressed, precisely because it has been suppressed.<sup>1</sup> The development of grassroots movements in places like Chile, Brazil, or Mexico is often taken as evidence that such movements result from the stifling effect of authoritarian rule. From these cases it would seem that movements spring up in settings marked by very imperfect democratic institutionalization or limited opportunities for open political expression. New movements are thought to appear in order to fill the vacuum created by the repression of other legitimate forms of popular organization and representation.

While this assertion may hold for most Latin American cases, a quick look at the development of new social movements in Western Europe indicates that movements there expanded most rapidly during a period (in Italy, France, Germany) when the formal organized parties and unions of the Left were growing in strength, electoral support, and political influence. The new movements represented a development that paralleled, but did not substitute for, traditional political participation. What the movements did was extend the "political space" available to citizens, bringing into the public realm the concerns of "everyday life" and of "the personal."

Apart from the analytical problem of accounting for the emergence of social movements in starkly contrasting political systems, yet another key distinction makes it difficult to draw generalizations that cover new social movements

around the world. While in all cases new movements may be distinguished from traditional political parties and unions in that they focus on the realm of consumption rather than production, in Europe new social movements mainly represent a response to post-industrial contradictions, whereas in Latin America, the movements arise in response to clearly material demands. In advanced industrial societies, movement participants struggle to overcome feelings of personal powerlessness generated by the satisfaction of material needs without a corresponding sense of full self-realization. In contrast, Latin American participants struggle for the satisfaction of basic needs.

To these fundamental differences we might add those identified by David Slater in his comparative treatment of European and Latin American social movements. Slater's analysis focuses on contrasting roles of the state in Latin America and Western Europe. In particular he cites the degree of state penetration of civil society, differences in the welfare functions of the state, the degree of centralization of state power, and the erosion of state legitimacy as the critical differences between the contexts in which social movements grow in Latin America and in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding all the contextual distinctions we may draw, it is clear that new social movements in both Latin America and Western Europe do share at least one defining characteristic. This is their fundamental distrust of the traditional parties and formations of the Left. Movement participants often see parties and unions as interested in the success of the new social movements only insofar as they can manipulate the movements for their own partisan ends. Movement activists accuse the parties and unions of feeding off their popular support, sapping the movements' strength in an effort to reinforce the traditional leftist forces' faltering positions.

For example, in his study of the *coordinadora* movement in Mexico, Barry Carr quotes an angry outburst to the press by a leader of the National "Plan de Ayala" Coordinating Committee who said, in reference to the Unified Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM), the Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRT), and the Mexican Workers' Party (PMT): "What we reject are attempts by parties to manipulate the CNPA. They see us as 'booty' and want to take advantage of our strength, something we will never allow ... the vanguard of

the left is among the masses, not in the parties or in the Chamber of Deputies."<sup>3</sup>

What is noteworthy about this statement is that the language of hostility toward the parties of what is, after all, a tiny, fragmented, and desperately weak Mexican Left could have been that of any new social movement activist in Italy speaking about the Italian Communist Party at the peak of its strength in the mid-1970s when it enjoyed the support of almost two million members and received the votes of 34.4 percent of the Italian electorate. That Italian feminists, environmentalists, or peace movement activists should have feared loss of identity through absorption by a highly organized, mass party of the Left like the PCI with deep historical roots and broad based support is easy enough to understand.<sup>4</sup> But that the terms of angry complaint should be so similar for Mexican social movements with respect to the PSUM, PMT and PRT is indeed striking, and indicates that the question of autonomy is fundamental to new social movements *wherever* they arise.

#### Social Scientists and the Fetishism of Autonomy

The development of new social movements in Western Europe in the late 1960s has been carefully analyzed and documented,<sup>5</sup> often by former participants in those same movements.<sup>6</sup> The literature on new social movements in Latin America, however, has been more the product of observation (much of it participatory and highly sympathetic) by analysts external to the movements and, indeed, often foreign to the setting in which they unfold.<sup>7</sup> In their writings, Frank and Fuentes distinguish between what they refer to as movements of the North and South in terms of their class base: middle class in North American and European movements, lower class in Latin America. If Frank and Fuentes are correct, it is not surprising that participants in northern movements have written about themselves, while third world activists and their activities more often have been described, analyzed, and interpreted by others.<sup>8</sup>

Various features of the new movements account for their great appeal to European and North American social scientists as a research subject. For some analysts it is the excitement of witnessing the emergence of new identities and novel practices. What others find compelling is the activists' effort to conduct themselves in a genuinely democratic fashion within a broader context marked by authoritarian social customs. For some researchers the study of Latin American movements is a page out of their own political autobiography; it permits them to relive a satisfying or rework an unsatisfying experience of their own youthful days of militance in anti-authoritarian movements in Europe. In addition, the search for autonomy, "the defence and affirmation of solidarity, the struggle against hierarchy and alien-

ation"<sup>9</sup> are all characteristics of new social movements that have deeply moved those who study them.

Perhaps the most compelling attraction that new social movements hold for researchers is the heavy representation of women in both the ranks and the leadership of these groups. It is difficult to establish whether the new movements are more democratic because they include more women, or if they attract more women because they are less hierarchical. In either case the participation of that half of the population that is conspicuously absent from traditional political organizations is a common characteristic of the new movements and a large part of what marks them as "new."

A more questionable basis for scholars' attraction to new social movements as a subject of study is the belief that these groups are non-political and have nothing to do with the development of class consciousness or class conflict. The presence of participants of various social class origins linked by issues cutting across class lines is sometimes cited as evidence of the fundamentally non-political nature of the movement, as if only the distribution of potable water or public transport rather than power and influence were at stake.<sup>10</sup> In the parlance of some analysts, peoples' "energies" get "channeled"; their "potential" gets "harnessed"; they *feel* "empowered," but none of this is posed as political in the commonly held sense of the word. The emphasis is on the "social" in new social movements. Such analyses are characterized by what appears to be either a willful innocence or a disingenuous desire to portray as "nice" (folks in a community getting together to work out their common problems) what the researcher may privately consider rather "nasty" (political actors engaged in a struggle for power, if only over their own lives and immediate environment).

Whichever the particular characteristic that first attracts scholars to the study of new social movements in Latin America, it may be the researchers' externality that accounts for the intensely protective attitude toward the movements manifested by non-actors engaged in documentation and analysis of this phenomenon in Latin America. As any student of methodology knows, close identification of researchers with their subjects carries both positive and negative consequences. But, beyond the emotional price paid by those who come to identify with the actors in the movements they study, many analysts of new social movements in Latin America compound the pitfalls of overidentification with yet another problem. Even when movements they study are not repressed outright, these scholars nonetheless find the assessment of the results of struggle a difficult and depressing exercise. This occurs because in their evaluations of success they fail to distinguish among three possible outcomes:



The first outcome is the partial or total fulfillment of the demands of the movement by some agency of the state. Such a result often has the effect of demobilizing the movement, and is generally labeled by analysts as a clear example of co-optation and understood as the death of the movement as such.

A second possibility is the incorporation of an urban or rural movement into the personal following of a populist figure (such as Jânio Quadros or Leonel Brizola in Brazil) who, in the event of his election, promises to deliver the sewers, potable water, busline, land, agricultural credit or other specific goods or services sought by the group.<sup>11</sup>

A third outcome is the incorporation of a geographically or thematically isolated movement which is highly specific in its demands into a broader based political struggle led by a party or coalition of parties (such as the Workers' Party [PT] in the Brazilian elections of 1986 or the PSUM in Mexico) which formulates a program that goes well beyond the narrow, specific demands of the new social movement.

Unfortunately, in the writings of some scholars no meaningful distinction is made among these three outcomes. Given their preference for wholly autonomous movements, these analysts see the incorporation of an independent neighborhood group into a broad socialist workers' movement a result as disappointing as co-optation by the state or absorption into a personal network. In either case, something pure and wonderful (a popularly based grassroots movement) disappears and is replaced by something less desirable. These writers do not recognize any fundamental difference between demobilization through co-optation, adherence to a charismatic, populist figure based on personal loyalty, and the kind of political learning, the growth of consciousness that may occur when a neighborhood group articulating narrow limited goals is drawn into a broader struggle.<sup>12</sup>

Without entering the shadowy area of speculation about the psychological predispositions of scholars, we may find it difficult to understand the manifest preference of some analysts for the small, weak, isolated, and powerless community movement over the very same group of people once their demands have been satisfied. What is clear, however, is the anti-organizational bias of the work of those who are pleased and excited by the spontaneity of isolated grassroots movements and dismayed when these autonomous movements link up with others in a stronger, far better organized and coordinated political coalition. This bias may simply reflect deep suspicions about the inevitability of bureaucratization in centralized organizations -- even those that do not correspond to a Leninist model. Certainly concern about bureaucratization has been a common theme for the European Left since the beginning of the century when Michels

first formalized the problem as the "iron law of oligarchy."<sup>13</sup> Thus it is not surprising to find analysts preoccupied with the fate of autonomous movements "swallowed up" by parties.

Alternatively, the concern that grassroots groups may be absorbed by parties like the PSUM or the Brazilian PT may reflect the anti-socialist, anti-workerist slant of scholars who have "skipped a stage," moving directly from premarxist to postmarxist positions without having actually passed through a period in which either workers' struggle, worker-peasant coalitions or socialist revolution at least *seemed* a good idea. Stimulated by Mouffe and Laclau's unabashed postmarxism,<sup>14</sup> writers like Evers similarly assert that there are now new and multiple forms of subordination that are not reducible to class antagonisms and that class and class struggle are no longer central to the transformation of contemporary capitalist society. If this is the case, as Evers clearly believes, then traditional workers' or socialist parties are not suitable instruments to bring about the kind of transformations required to overcome the forms of alienation that oppress Latin Americans today. Since Evers sees social movements as designed not to challenge structures of power but to bypass them altogether through the creation of "countercultures," he views the incorporation of such movements into broader struggles led by parties of the Left as an entirely negative outcome.<sup>15</sup>

In contrast to the postmarxist view, the marxist position on new social movements is relatively straightforward. Scholars like Lucio Kowarick posit a direct and logical link between the struggles of workers in the realm of production and those of neighborhood groups around consumption issues. Kowarick argues that the Brazilian "miracle" rested on a strategy of exploitation of labor in the factories *and* the limitation of collective consumption goods and services available to the urban poor. Thus when Brazilian unions mobilize to fight the superexploitation of workers, and the *bairro* associations struggle to protest the underprovision of social services, their activities "fuse" in a way that is more than conjunctural. Collective action that brings together both forms of protest becomes, by definition, a common struggle on two fronts of the same battle against capitalist exploitation and the "pauperization" it requires.<sup>16</sup>

### The Question of Grassroots Autonomy

The examination of the 1988 candidacy of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas highlights a number of the analytical problems and the debates outlined above. In the case of Mexico, there is no doubt that the previous development of local neighborhood associations, student movements, *coordinadoras*, and democratic tendencies within the unions provided crucial support and impetus to the break of Cárdenas and other reformist *priistas* with the Institutional Revolutionary Party

(PRI). The grassroots organizational activity of the last decade created a context of popular mobilization in which a progressive/reformist breakaway from the official party became a thinkable and, ultimately, workable alternative. That the Cardenista Front, the Frente Democrático Nacional (FDN), could only stand on the foundation of these earlier organizational efforts is clear. But what was the meaning of *cardenismo* for the new social movements themselves? Did their support for the Cárdenas ticket represent a loss of autonomy by formerly independent grassroots movements? Did the entry of so many groups into an electoral coalition spell the end for these movements as authentic popular expressions from the base?

The first analytical problem in responding to these questions is to determine how to categorize the link between Mexican social movements and the Cardenista Front. Is it best described as an example of the way in which urban and rural movements may be drawn into the clientelistic following of a populist leader? Or should it be seen as an instance of the incorporation of geographically or thematically isolated movements into a broader political mobilization around a program for comprehensive and even radical change?

Had the FDN come to power, not only would tens of millions of Mexicans be delighted, but much of our analytical dilemma would be resolved. As it is, we are stuck with approaching these questions in a speculative way. If the Cardenista Front had been merely a populist movement, a personalistic following of a charismatic leader, its nature would have been revealed once Cárdenas assumed the presidency and acted to meet his supporters' most superficial demands with piecemeal handouts. If, on the other hand, Cárdenas had taken office and moved forward with radical structural changes, in retrospect we would be able to say that the new social movements that had given him their support had been incorporated into a broad political movement with goals more comprehensive and radical than the positions originally held by each group.<sup>17</sup>

It would seem that the platform on which Cárdenas ran was not a comprehensive program for change, but at best a formula for reform within the Mexican tradition of economic nationalism and development with social justice. Yet, the very dynamic of the incorporation of new social movements into electoral coalitions is a radicalizing one. Often social movement activists who cast their lot with a progressive electoral coalition may influence their new allies by stimulating new concepts, providing different ways of understanding social problems, and posing novel solutions to those problems. Some analysts, as we have noted, insist that the incorporation of autonomous social movements into broader political movements represents the loss of an authentic popular voice. But those who hold this view fail to grasp

that the encounter between movement and party is a dialectical one in which the movement is altered, but so, too, is the party -- whether the party in question is a small, precariously situated Leftist coalition, or the Italian Communist Party with 1.8 million members.<sup>18</sup>

We need to bear in mind the dialectical character of the relationship between movements and parties when we ask if neocardenism put an end to the creative identities of the new social movements it incorporated. Here the example of Brazilian social movements in the 1986 election is instructive. Ilse Scherer-Warren has described the grassroots movements of São Paulo as a "transition" to expanded forms of popular expression or the "conquest of political space."<sup>19</sup> For Scherer-Warren the autonomy of new social movements from parties is a temporary situation. In the long run, she argues, grassroots movements in Brazil prepare their activists for political participation in direct elections. But if the new parties of the Left that have emerged in Brazil since the *abertura* are to retain the support of the grassroots groups they have won as electoral allies, they have to incorporate the movements' demands into a radical program for transformation. Scherer-Warren sees this process as the creation of a new political culture, a process through which the old pattern of authoritarianism can be broken.<sup>20</sup>

Likewise Sonia Alvarez raises the possibility that grassroots movements may "foster a political culture that is supportive of democracy" pushing or extending "the parameters of democratic politics," and opening the way to the development of effective non-clientelistic links between movement activists and political parties. Alvarez's work on women's movements in Brazil suggests that parties and policy-makers can adapt their political practices to become more responsive to popular interests as articulated by social movements.<sup>21</sup>

What is most significant about the Mexican popular mobilization of 1988 is not simply that the *cardenista* FDN was able to mount a serious challenge to one party rule, or that it won probably a plurality of votes in the country and unquestionably a majority in key areas of the republic. Rather, it is the fact that the FDN did all this by building on the foundation of new social movements that remain active and distinct at the local level.<sup>22</sup> Observers of *abertura* in Brazil see the critical support given by new social movements to leftist parties as a crucial step in the development of a new political culture. So too, in the Mexican case, do the links between grassroots movements and a broad progressive/populist electoral front provide the opportunity for new social actors to contribute fresh and radical perspectives on the program for transformation required in Mexican society.

## Conclusions

As we have seen, distrust of traditional parties is a characteristic shared by grassroots movements in both Latin America and Western Europe. The presumption that the goals of movements and those of political parties are fundamentally *contradictory* (rather than merely tension-ridden), is a view expressed not only by social movement activists, but also by their scholarly observers.

The concern of analysts of social movements for the survival and continued independence of the movements they study is an understandable outgrowth of their observation that grassroots movements may, and often have, disappeared from the scene as autonomous actors once they give their support to, formally ally with, or in some other fashion cast their lot with political parties. But this position overlooks the possibility that movements can influence parties or contribute to the rise of new political formations, radicalizing and transforming political programs and dictating an agenda of new issues -- a phenomenon that has actually occurred in Mexico and Brazil as in France, Italy, and West Germany.

In this sense the experience of the Italian social movement sector provides some important clues for Latin Americanists. The responsiveness of the Italian Communist Party to pressures exerted by women's, green, peace, and gay rights activists illustrates the way in which a party may be altered by contact with social movements. To be sure, the changes presently underway in Italian communism also reflect the political isolation the PCI suffered in the 1980s and the recent collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. But the refoundation of the Italian Communist Party is also a clear indicator of the impact of the social movements active in Italy since the late 1960s. A process of transformation that began with the imposition of a 50 percent female quota in the party's leadership, opposition to nuclear energy, and the selection of gay activists to head some of the party's electoral lists, has now called into question the party's very symbol, name, and identity.

Thus what we witness today is a PCI attempting to remake itself in a form that will appeal to the "new social subjects" whose support it desperately needs. In this respect the Italian case may point to possible realignments in the relationship between movements and parties in other parts of the world. The capacity of new social movements to mobilize sectors of the population that had either been ignored by political parties or proved resistant to the parties' traditional modes of organization has contributed to the crisis of party politics in Europe as in Latin America. And it is precisely this crisis that has forced parties to open up to new movements in the hope of reaching those sectors of the population -- the new subjects in Europe, or the new urban

masses in Latin America -- whose political relevance can no longer be ignored.

## Notes

1. See, for example, Tilman Evers, "Identity: the Hidden Side of New Social Movements in Latin America," in David Slater, ed., *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*, (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1985), pp. 43-71.
2. David Slater, "New Social Movements and Old Political Questions: Some Problems of Socialist Theory with Relation to Latin America," paper presented for the International Congress of Americanists, Amsterdam, July 4-8, 1988. pp. 8-9.
3. Guillermo Correa, "La marcha recazo oportunismos," *Proceso* 389 (16 April, 1984), pp. 29-31, quoted in Barry Carr, "The Mexican Left, the Popular Movements, and the Politics of Austerity, 1982-1985," in Barry Carr and Ricardo Anzaldúa Montoya, eds., *The Mexican Left, the Popular Movements, and the Politics of Austerity*, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, No.18, 1986, p. 16.
4. For the "movementist" critique of the Italian Communist Party, see Judith Adler Hellman, *Journeys Among Women: Feminism in Five Italian Cities*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 40-46.
5. For example A. Touraine, "Les nouveaux conflits sociaux," *Sociologie du Travail*, 1, 1975; Alberto Melucci, *Sistema politico, partiti e movimenti sociali*, (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1977); Melucci, "Ten Hypotheses for the Analysis of New Movements," in D. Pinto, ed. *Contemporary Italian Sociology: A Reader*, pp. 173-194; and Sidney Tarrow, "Struggling to Reform: Social Movements and Policy Change During Cycles of Protest," Western Societies Program Occasional Paper No. 15, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1985.
6. For example, Luigi Bobbio, *Lotta Continua: storia di una organizzazione rivoluzionaria*, (Milano: Savelli, 1979); Guido Viale, *Il sessantotto fra rivoluzione e ristorazione*, (Milano: Gabriele Mazzotta, 1978).
7. See Evers, *op. cit.*; Slater, *op. cit.*, 1988; Ernesto Laclau, "New Social Movements and the Plurality of the Social" in Slater, *op. cit.*, 1985, pp. 27-42.
8. Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes, "Nine Theses on Social Movements Internationally," *Newsletter of International Labour Studies*, n. 34, July 1987. However, in a paper prepared for the XV LASA meetings, 1989, "The Role of

Social Movements in the Analysis of Sociopolitical Change," Susan Street notes a growing tendency for the leaders of Mexican movements to study and record the development of their own movements. See Luis Hernández, *Las Luchas Magisteriales, 1979-1981*, Vols. I and II, (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Macehual, 1981); Luis Hernández, "The SNTE and the Teachers' Movement, 1982-1984," in Carr and Anzaldúa Montoya, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-74; and Pedro Moctezuma, "Apuntes sobre la autogestión y el movimiento urbano popular," paper presented to the Foro sobre Movimientos Sociales y Autogestión, Oaxtepec, Morelos, September 1988.

9. Slater, *op. cit.*, 1988, p. 6.

10. The concept of new social movements as non-political is currently very diffuse among Canadian scholars. This, I believe, reflects the influence of Canadian research funding bodies.

11. Castells outlines the process by which the state takes control of neighborhood associations in exchange for delivery and management of urban services. Manuel Castells, "Squatters and Politics in Latin America: A Comparative Analysis of Urban Social Movements in Chile, Peru and Mexico," in Helen I. Safa, ed., *Towards a Political Economy of Urbanization in Third World Countries*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 251.

12. See Evers, *op. cit.* and N. Vink, "Base Communities and Urban Social Movements -- A Case Study of the Metalworkers' Strike of 1980, São Bernardo, Brazil," in Slater, ed., *op. cit.*, 1985.

13. Roberto Michels, *Political Parties*, (New York: Dover, 1959). For example, Karner extends Marx's theory of alienation to participation in political parties. Because parties are centralized, inhibit social creativity and the construction of "concrete utopias," and they are "an impediment to the development of alternative forms of production and new forms of social life," he argues that alienation cannot be overcome and a free human society cannot be built by means of a revolutionary organization that is centralized, authoritarian and hierarchical. Hartmut Karner, "Los movimientos sociales: Revolución de lo cotidiano," *Nueva Sociedad*, n. 64, January-February 1983, pp. 30-31.

14. E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, "Post-Marxism without Apologies," *New Left Review*, No. 166, November/December, 1987, pp. 79-106; and Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*, (London: Verso, 1985).

15. Evers, *op. cit.*

16. Lucio Kowarick, "The Pathways to Encounter: Reflections on the Social Struggle in São Paulo," in Slater *op. cit.*, 1985, pp. 86-89.

17. On the distinction between personalistic and ideologically based movements, see Judith Adler Hellman, "The Role of Ideology in Peasant Politics," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, vol. 25, no. 1. February 1983, pp. 3-29.

18. For a discussion of the way in which the feminist movement altered the Italian Communist Party see Stephen Hellman, "Feminism and the Model of Militancy in an Italian Communist Federation: Challenges to the Old Style Politics," in Mary Fainsod Katzenstein and Carol Mueller, eds. *The Women's Movements of Western Europe and the United States: Changing Theoretical Perspectives*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987), pp. 132-151. On the impact of Brazilian feminists on the PT see Sonia E. Alvarez, "Women's Movements and Gender Politics in the Brazilian Transition," in Jane Jaquette, ed., *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy*, (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 18-71.

19. Ilse Scherer-Warren, "O caráter dos novos movimentos sociais," in Ilse Scherer-Warren and Paulo J. Krischke, eds., *Uma revolução no cotidiano? Os novos movimentos sociais na América do sul*, (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1987), p. 48.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Sonia Alvarez, "Conceptual Problems and Methodological Impasses in the Study of Contemporary Social Movements in Brazil and the Southern Cone," paper presented at the XV meetings of the Latin American Studies Association, Miami, Florida, December 1989, pp. 17-18.

22. Jaime Tamayo, "Los movimientos populares y el proyecto neocardenista: La influencia del nuevo nacionalismo en la política mexicana," and Francisco Perez Arce, "La insurgencia permanece," papers presented at the Research Workshop on "Popular Movements and the Transformation of the Mexican Political System," Center for U.S.- Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, March 1989.

## Panama as Media Event

by

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Noting the silence into which the U.S. invasion of Panama has fallen, Reid Reading calls for "a strong and persuasive" criticism of that intervention going beyond its illegality to the multiple manifestations of its "lack of logic."<sup>1</sup> Accepting Reading's call to find effective ways of countering that silence, I would first of all point out that unmasking the invasion's rationales was well done by the print media soon after the event. In national newspapers which editorially supported the invasion, reporters and columnists made hash of the reasons officially given for it.<sup>2</sup> To understand what drives U.S. intervention and the public's acceptance of it, we need to understand what drives contemporary, domestic politics. Logic is rarely a factor.

Panama is the first post-Cold War U.S. intervention to afflict Latin America. It was supported by both political parties in Congress and by 80 percent of the public despite no alarms being rung about communism or rival superpowers, no "another Cuba" or "another Vietnam." If it didn't trivialize the Panamanians' suffering, one might even call this the first "post-modern" intervention, recognizing the degree to which popular, polyglot images supplant logic and surface displaces substance.

Public and congressional support for such interventions is no mystery; it is achieved by a combination of two methods. One is the quick in-and-out but massive military attack which minimizes the loss of U.S. personnel and leaves Congress, the U.S. public and the world with a *fait accompli*. The second is political advertising, that panoply of techniques now used by the U.S. executive to manipulate public and congressional opinion. The ten-fold increase in dollars spent on congressional campaigns in the past fifteen years is just one indicator of the extent to which polling, public relations and packaging have spread through U.S. politics, like Vonnegut's fabled ice-nine. The greatest talent for marketing policies and personnel gravitates to the institution that continuously commands "free media" for its ads, the White House. These techniques do not end on election day nor stop at the water's edge.

The two methods work in tandem. For example, one drawback of a military strategy designed to minimize loss of U.S. life through a massive surprise attack is that many civilians in the "host" country are hurt. Preventing such "collateral damage" from becoming an issue within the U.S. requires not just news management at the moment of invasion, but that total packaging of events which "political advertising" achieves.

The United States has a history of elites manipulating public fears and fantasies to win assent to interventions abroad. "Yellow journalism," after all, converted an accidental explosion on a U.S. battleship in Havana harbor into the Spanish-American War. New, however, is the continuous interaction of a media-adroit White House with a public grown apathetic from consuming too much fast-paced, entertaining news. Like the television commercials on which they are patterned, political ads influence even those who complain about them.<sup>3</sup> Any issue that can be made entertaining can be sold, and advertising has learned how to make everything entertaining.

The essence of advertising is to move an emotional charge from one object to another, usually from an association already embedded in the culture to one the buyer had not previously considered, all the while disguising the process and ruling out options. Fashion ads may capture our attention with ambiguous scenes which hint of rape, then transfer that charge to a line of clothing that puts excitement into our lives. Ads work with what already is "out there," be it misogyny or Noriega. Seeing the invasion of Panama as a political advertisement does not deny an autonomous role for Panamanians; rather, it underscores the ability of the White House to use the materials given it to sell its image of itself to the American public.

The public's interaction with issues is sporadic, abetted by television's episodic approach to news (crisis today, gone tomorrow) which makes it easy to mobilize those emotions that now pass for public opinion. Unlike what happens with a commercial sale, U.S. consumers rarely live with their foreign policy "purchases" intimately enough or long enough to experience second thoughts when they fail to perform as advertised. Little learning occurs despite the bath of "facts" and images. We know more but reason less.

This is not a place to further explain how political advertising works.<sup>4</sup> But may I suggest that our ineffectiveness politically as Latin Americanists stems from our tendency to think that U.S. policy toward Panama, Nicaragua, or Peru is *about* those countries. It is not; it is about U.S. images and emotions mobilized to promote domestic political careers. Since we inhabit Latin regions, psychically when not physically, we lose touch with the solipsism that characterizes most U.S. citizens' and leaders' experience of foreign policy. Political advertising and public opinion have created a closed

loop of fact-filled ignorance fueled by entertainment values. That's what we must address.

According to the Times-Mirror Center for the People and the Press, 60 percent of the U.S. public followed Panama "very closely." The next highest news story that month, foreign or domestic, attracted only 38 percent. Among males under thirty, Panama was the only story to command more attention than the National Football League playoffs. When those who said they followed the Panama story "very closely" were further questioned, however, their interest proved thin. Attention was riveted on capturing Noriega (52 percent), not on the government to replace him (14 percent).<sup>5</sup> None of the questions these pollsters asked even dealt with civilian casualties or the legality of Washington's act, probably because these issues received so little air time. In watching "two weeks of saturation coverage," media critic Mark Hertsgaard saw "only two pieces on the network evening news broadcasts that focused on the civilian death toll." "For the major media, the story of the Panama invasion could be summed up in two words: *getting Noriega.*"<sup>6</sup>

When Noriega was captured with "only" 23 U.S. soldiers killed, the overwhelming public sentiment was *we won*, a sentiment few members of Congress are prepared to buck. Panama was entertainment, and thus a hard act to follow with analysis. Added to the shoot-em-up was the suspense of tracking down Noriega, the type-cast bad Latino with pock-marked face and drug associations. Spicing the drama were revelations of Noriega's "voodoo" room and pornography collection. International relations were reduced, soap opera-style, to face-to-face confrontations between our guys and Cuban, Nicaraguan and Vatican officials. Topping off this movie made for television were the gratifying images of Panamanians welcoming GIs. From suspense to a happy ending to the next drama--Lithuania, the release of U.S. hostages--as we channel-hop the world. Within a month Panama was forgotten.

Why bother to have an invasion even if you *can* sell it? The answer lies in the same image-driven domestic politics. Journalists who know the Washington scene concur that Panama presented Bush with an opportunity to lay to rest the image of indecisiveness which had dogged him through the campaign and into the White House. After an internal coup within the Panama Defense Forces (PDF) failed in October, the White House was blamed by politicians for lack of timely U.S. support. The Bush administration found itself with the (perceived) option of either appearing weak and indecisive or of intervening militarily.

Other options? Fearing the domestic fallout of striking too favorable a deal with Noriega--given the general's previous collaboration with the CIA and the NSC--the White House

rejected a negotiated solution, although negotiations almost achieved Noriega's removal in May 1988.<sup>7</sup> Downscaling the conflict to its proper proportions and waiting out the dictator was another road not taken, presumably because members of Bush's own party were charging the administration with being weak. "We are being perceived as cowards," complained Senator D'Amato, "lacking the resolve to deal with... a tinhorn drug dealer by the name of Noriega." Thus "getting rid of Noriega" became "a test of U.S. manhood," according to the *Washington Post*, driving the president to what a longtime friend of his termed an obsession.<sup>8</sup>

At a stroke the invasion converted political weakness into political strength. Bush's rating soared and his critics fell silent. "More than 8 out of 10 said the military action was a success," according to one poll; "nearly half characterized it as a big success." Bush's approval rating shot up to 79 percent, eclipsing Reagan's best mark. In Panama, chortled Republican National Committee chair Lee Atwater, Bush hit the "political jackpot."<sup>9</sup>

Less evident in the journalists' reconstruction is a second motive also linked to domestic politics. During the year preceding the invasion, the Pentagon's position shifted from reluctance--Noriega not being worth a single U.S. soldier's life, etc.--to enthusiasm for the invasion if it could be large, swift, and involve all three services. Appointed by Bush to head the Joint Chiefs of Staff in mid-1989, General Colin Powell endorsed an invasion he had opposed months earlier. Among the reasons for this change of heart, Bob Woodward notes the weeks Powell spent "dealing with proposals for sharp reductions in the U.S. defense budget" occasioned by the changes in Eastern Europe.<sup>10</sup> Panama advertised the Pentagon's new role solving problems of drugs and dictatorship in the Third World.

While it is too soon to be certain about what motivated the invasion, this emphasis on domestic politics is consistent with what is known about the Reagan White House, many of whose key figures assumed important roles in the current administration: Bush, obviously, but also Powell, Atwater and Secretary of State James Baker. The timing and packaging of Reagan's attacks on Libya had been shaped by secret polls commissioned for the White House which showed "public opinion favor[ing] military retaliation, as long as the strike was seen to be a quick and 'reluctant' response rather than one resulting from U.S. provocation." As Noriega would later, Qaddafi provided the White House with an opportunity to "reluctantly" attack. Reagan's overall approval rate shot up to 68 percent, higher than it had been in five years.<sup>11</sup>

As with Libya and Grenada, Panama was an easy target. Not only were Panamanians disaffected with Noriega but the U.S. had advance forces on the ground in the form of 10,000

troops stationed there. This military advantage contained a public relations problem, however. To feel good about an intervention, the U.S. public needs the roles reversed. As the poll before the Libyan strike indicated, Uncle Sam must appear "reluctant," a bystander pushed beyond the limits of decency.

Detailed plans for the attack on Panama were approved in early November and preparations begun in earnest.<sup>12</sup> The final go-ahead was given December 17, after Noriega walked into the trap Washington set. When the trap sprang, according to one presidential aide, "[Bush] saw an opportunity this time he didn't want to miss." Said another, "I'm not sure Bush wasn't looking for an excuse at that point."<sup>13</sup> While the *New York Times* altered the headline of its story on the December 17 decision--from "Doing the Inevitable" in an early edition to "A Sense of Inevitability"--the implication remains: Noriega was caught in a "sting."<sup>14</sup>

On December 16, a Marine lieutenant was killed when the car he was in ran a PDF roadblock in a restricted zone. Another U.S. officer and his wife, who witnessed the incident, were harassed and beaten. Escalating provocations by Washington brought Noriega the previous day to assert that a "state of war" existed between the two governments. Less well known is what Council on Hemispheric Affairs (COHA) reported *before* these events occurred: "Canal Zone-based U.S. forces in recent weeks have been regularly trespassing on Panamanian soil, almost inviting an incident with the Panamanian Defense Force (PDF)."<sup>15</sup> Passed through the administration's public relations mill, Noriega's statement was transformed into a declaration of war *on* the United States. Within hours of launching the invasion, Bush told the American public he acted because "the lives of American citizens were in grave danger." Noriega played into the administration's hands in a way the Sandinistas had taken pains to avoid.

So, returning to Reading's article, what is to be done? Refuting the logic of interventions is as useful as debating the merits of believing that brand X whiskey will improve your love life or brand Y car your status. Ads sell through suggestion, not reason. We need to focus on the *process* of selling, not the content of ads.

The United States is locked into the political equivalent of the "tragedy of the commons" where individual behavior, rational in the moment, contributes to long-term ruin for all. The *New York Times* notes how, in contemporary U.S. politics, "practitioners, even as they bemoan the process they foster, are feeding cynicism back to the consumers" in what "has become a closed loop."<sup>16</sup> We need to identify points where that loop can be broken. The public is our ally insofar as it mistrusts ads even while it consumes them.

Politicians are allies insofar as they recognize the threat advertising carries for democracy even while they remain addicted to the short-term electoral success that ads deliver. Breaking into the solipsistic loop of U.S. politics requires strong, clear arguments about ethics and democracy, not corrections of the record.

One task for which Latin Americanists are particularly suited is to expose the ethical underpinnings of advertising in foreign policy, something those who live entirely "inside the loop" miss. To use other people without their consent, and to their harm, so that one U.S. actor can communicate to another U.S. actor is morally comparable to hostage-taking: A using B against B's will to manipulate C. Latin Americanists can speak for the Latin peoples held hostage by this practice. To illustrate, "the real purpose of the Stealth mission in Panama," according to *Newsweek*, "was...to show off Stealth technology" to a Congress engaged in cutting the military budget.<sup>17</sup> Three months after the invasion, the Secretary of Defense acknowledged that two Stealth fighter-bombers missed their targets while dropping one-ton bombs on a densely populated area. For this attempt by the U.S. executive to communicate budget priorities to the U.S. legislature, then, Panamanian civilians paid with their lives. Is that just? Nicaraguans similarly suffered attacks credited to the contras but planned and carried out by CIA personnel so that Bill Casey could answer critics in Congress who claimed the contras were ineffective.<sup>18</sup>

Foreign policy ads are vulnerable because they make ethical claims and because the public still views the world in moralistic terms. As Reagan cast the contras as the moral equivalent of the founding fathers, so Bush inscribed the heroes of Panama on "the roll call of glory" that bears "Yorktown, Gettysburg and Normandy." Trying to coax OAS approval for the invasion, the U.S. ambassador placed it "on the right side of history" by invoking the fall of dictators in Eastern Europe, Nicaragua, Haiti and the Philippines.<sup>19</sup> Such posturing provides us with an opening, for the distinction between a people overthrowing their own dictator and Washington intervening forcibly to do the job for them is something the U.S. public can grasp. As a group with access to national media and institutions, U.S. Latin Americanists need to find ways to drive home the simple truth that Latin Americans are people not to be treated as "extras" in dangerous media events staged for U.S. consumption.

#### Notes

1. "On the Panama Invasion," *LASA Forum* 21:1 (Spring 1990)
2. Even conservative columnist George Will rejected the "protecting lives" and "bringing Noriega to justice" rationales,

while *Newsweek* (January 1, 1990) cited Pentagon officials in pointing out that the canal was never in danger. *Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal* news analysts ascribed the invasion to "policy mistakes" and "conflicting priorities" within the administration, not to the proffered rationales, in "U.S. Policy Errors May Have Forced Nation to Undertake Massive Invasion," *Wall Street Journal*, December 21, 1989, and "Countdown to an Invasion," *Washington Post National Weekly Edition* [hereafter *Washington Post NWE*], January 22, 1990. Will's column is: "Good Neighbor Policy," *Washington Post NWE*, December 25, 1989.

3. "Political Experts Offer 3 Views," *New York Times*, October 29, 1988.

4. See the author's article in *World Policy Journal* 5:1 (Winter 1987-88).

5. "Times Mirror News Interest Index January 1990" covering the previous month (released January 11, 1990).

6. "How the News Media Let Us Down," *Rolling Stone*, March 8, 1990.

7. "Noriega's 20-Month Extension," *Washington Post NWE*, January 15, 1990.

8. "Countdown to an Invasion," *Washington Post NWE*, January 22, 1990; "Bush's Obsession," *New York Times*, December 26, 1989.

9. "Public Says Bully for Bush," *Washington Post NWE*, January 22, 1990. Atwater's comment was quoted by a reporter at the president's press conference of January 5.

10. "Conversion of Gen. Powell," *Washington Post NWE*, December 25, 1989.

11. Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, *Landslide* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), pp. 221-223.

12. "Aftermath of a Quick Strike," *Washington Post NWE*, January 1, 1990.

13. "Countdown to an Invasion," *Washington Post NWE*, January 22, 1990.

14. This Maureen Dowd story appeared December 24, 1989. That day the *Times* also altered the early headline "U.S. Drafted Invasion Plan Weeks Ago" to the more innocuous "U.S. Invasion: Many Weeks of Rehearsals." "A Tale of Two Editions," *Extra!* 3.3 (January-February 1990).

15. "Panamanian Ship-Ban Will Be Counter-Productive," *Washington Report on the Hemisphere*, December 20, 1989.

16. "America's Politics Loses Way," *New York Times*, March 18, 1990.

17. "Stealth Fighter's Costly Flights," *Newsweek*, April 16, 1990.

18. Bob Woodward, *Veil* (New York: Pocket Books, 1988), pp. 293-294, describes the CIA officer in charge of Central America responding to Director Casey's "want[ing] something that makes the news." One event so concocted was the 1983 attack on the Nicaraguan port of Corinto. Additional attempts at event-creation, some brought to fruition, some not, are described by Roy Gutman, *Banana Diplomacy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), pp. 158, 281-282, 306, 324).

19. "U.S. Reports Latin Trend to Restore Panama Ties," *New York Times*, March 9, 1990. "Panama: A Just Cause," *Current Policy* 1240 (U.S. Department of State, 1990).

### Reading Responds

It is not clear that an ethically based appeal is more effective for reversing an erroneous foreign policy than an appeal based on reason and logic, as Professor Kenworthy asserts. But these two lines of argument should not be considered mutually exclusive. Indeed, as argued previously, in our attempt to avoid, in the future, repugnant actions like those taken in Panama, we surely will have to employ several dimensions and perspectives. It is gratifying that yet another LASA colleague has deemed it appropriate to register serious misgivings about the Panama invasion, and keep the exchange of views alive.

Some of Professor Kenworthy's arguments, on his way to his concluding point, are highly controversial. Is what drives "contemporary, domestic U.S. politics" really *that* different from what always has driven them? Have not "popular polyglot images" supplanted logic, and has not "surface displaced substance" for decades, at least? If not, at what critical moment, or in what critical place, did a qualitatively different driving force in U.S. politics lead us into a new foreign policy era? At what critical juncture did the U.S. public become (absolutely) apathetic? Indeed, is it more apathetic about the value of non-U.S. lives than it was in the Spanish-American War, the 1914 invasion of Veracruz, or Vietnam? Can the media be utilized to create new attitudes in the polity, or do they merely reinforce orientations and predispositions already deeply embedded in the culture? Finally, is "political advertising" really more effective now, than in, say, the days of both Roosevelts, or Harry Truman?



Even if it is more effective, is it enough so that we can say there is a *new* advertising ball game?

I am not certain that Professor Kenworthy has answered these questions, most of them "classic," correctly. He is on target, however, as he arrives at his concluding remarks and shows decisively that deadly U.S. foreign policy actions often are the outcome of domestic political struggles -- an apt utilization of the "bureaucratic politics" model. It is not just "corrupt," but ethically outrageous for the executive branch of the U.S. government to even have been willing to risk the lives of innocent Panamanian civilians to make a point about weapons priorities, or for the CIA to have attacked Nicaraguans to establish claims for contra effectiveness. Likewise, the number of bombs dropped in North Vietnam was in part a result of a political war between the Air Force and the Navy. The extent to which exaggerated claims of effectiveness by both organizations<sup>1</sup>--in their attempt to legitimize a post-Vietnam bombing role--contributed to optimism about U.S. chances for success in the war, and hence prolonged the conflict, is also the extent to which many lives were sacrificed needlessly. The use of Third World pawns in U.S. domestic political struggles is not new, by any means.

And, since this is not a new phenomenon, would Latin Americanists enjoy success in their attempt to expose a larger public to contemporary manifestations of these realities, assuming that the influential among them could be interested in the enterprise at all? I, for one, won't hold my breath. Meanwhile, those of us with deep interests in radically changing the attitudinal bases that underlie actions like those taken in Panama should continue the search for effective ways to do so.

#### Note

1. See Morton H. Halperin, "Why Bureaucrats Play Games," *Foreign Policy*, No. 2, Spring 1971, p. 83.

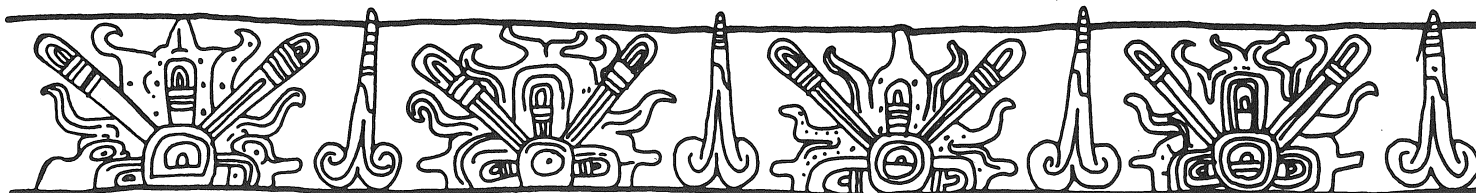
## News of the LASA Task Force on Women

by  
Edna Acosta-Belén, Co-Chair

During the past several months the LASA Task Force on Women has been collecting information for its forthcoming publication *Incorporating Latin American and Caribbean Women into the Curriculum*. The volume is a joint project of the task force, the Institute for Research on Women (IROW) and the Center for Latin America and the Caribbean (CELAC) at the University at Albany, and the Latin American and Caribbean Women's Studies Network (La Red). It will include brief articles on teaching strategies and the status of the various disciplines regarding women's scholarship, course syllabi, and bibliographies.

Those who wish to submit contributions for consideration should do so no later than *September 30, 1990*. Those who have already submitted contributions will be notified of their disposition shortly thereafter. The volume will be available at the next LASA Congress in Washington, DC. Please submit all materials and inquiries to: Dr. Edna Acosta-Belén, Co-Chair, LASA Task Force on Women, CELAC, University at Albany, SUNY, Albany, NY 12222; 518/442-4850.

At the last LASA Congress in Miami, the task force organized a luncheon panel on "Women's Studies in Latin America and the Caribbean: Directions and Priorities" with the participation of members of La Red. A similar activity is being planned for the Washington Congress. The topic of discussion will be "Independent Feminist Research Institutes and Documentation Centers in Latin America." For more information on this activity please contact: Dr. Sonia Alvarez, Co-Chair, LASA Task Force on Women, Department of Political Science, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA 95064; 408/459-2855.



Merck continued . . .

the recent Congressional Research Service (CRS) report on the federal role in international education.<sup>4</sup> If the reauthorization of Title VI is considered from the perspective of the university, however, rather than from the Washington side of the equation, very different conclusions are reached. Foreign area studies programs in the nation's universities are almost as marginal in their own context as Title VI is in Washington. It is precisely the fragility of university-based foreign area studies that gives Title VI a national importance far beyond what is implied by the size of Title VI in the federal budget.

Our colleagues in Washington tend to view the U.S. university with some envy, seeing it as more stable and less internally politicized than the institutions of the federal government. That perception is probably mistaken. Presidents, cabinet secretaries, senators, and representatives (not to mention Supreme Court justices) stay in office a good deal longer than university administrators, whose average survival is less than five years. The allocation of resources inside the university is not less controversial or vicious than the federal budget process, it is simply less public. The budgetary power of the central university administration is subject to intense lobbying by the academic units, a process encouraged by the relative autonomy of the academic departments. These departments, it must be remembered, are defined by the disciplines that they represent. While the budget struggle is local, departmental agendas are defined nationally by the standards of the relevant discipline or profession.

The long-term success of the department depends upon the tenacity with which it defends its disciplinary priorities and its resources in competition with other academic units. The ferocity of the annual in-fighting over university budgets is enhanced by the relatively high intelligence of the adversaries and the symbolic importance attached to outcomes.

The Darwinian character of this environment is especially problematic for foreign area studies programs, which must depend upon the departments for course offerings. The promotion of interdisciplinary objectives by the foreign area center is likely to run counter to the disciplinary priorities of the academic department. Most departments view a concentration of area studies talent in roughly the same way that environmentalists view an oil spill, namely, as requiring dispersion through the speedy application of emulsifiers.<sup>5</sup>

This fundamental problem facing foreign area programs has been noted in the past, but requires continued emphasis if the importance of Title VI funding is to be understood. The 1981 Rand Corporation report on Title VI, for example, referred to these issues in the following words:

Even though centers at major universities often enjoy considerable prestige among area specialists at other institutions, there is difficulty in translating this into influence and status on their home campuses.<sup>6</sup>

We found that for our sample, center influence over recruitment by disciplinary departments has declined. None of the centers in our sample play any formal role except in the few instances where the center will be funding all or part of a departmental position.<sup>7</sup>

Two social science disciplines [economics and sociology] strongly resist area specialists, and others are only variably receptive to them; and some social science disciplines are becoming increasingly resistant to area specialists.<sup>8</sup>

Faced with such challenges, the foreign area center director must sacrifice much of the scholar's role to become a lobbyist whose task is to cajole departments and administrations to invest rather than divest scarce resources in the foreign area program. The resources involved are course offerings, faculty lines, graduate fellowships, library acquisitions, research funding, staff support, and professional travel, all of which are coveted by disciplinary competitors.

Should the foreign area center fail in the internal lobbying process, key program resources such as faculty lines can vanish with considerable speed. To take but one example, in the 1970s the Latin American studies program at Yale was not only a Title VI National Resource Center but probably represented the greatest single concentration of senior talent in this foreign area field. By the mid-1980s all but one of these senior faculty had departed and not been replaced, the once vibrant Faculty Concilium on Latin America had been reduced to the status of a committee, the program had lost Title VI status, and its former consortium partner (the University of Connecticut) had joined a new consortium with other institutions in the area.

The internal lobbying effort depends, of course, on the center's ability to marshal allies and resources. The mobilization of the program's own faculty constituency to pressure the administration and departments is a necessary but insufficient condition for success. Mobilization of community allies may be helpful but is unlikely to sway administrators unless community relations are high on their list of priorities, which is seldom the case. The most effective tactic is success in obtaining outside funding that gives the area program tangible resources with which to reward the departments and the administration for their support of the foreign area program.

Fundraising presents several problems that are well known to foreign area specialists. The number of major founda-

tions supporting U.S. international education projects continues to diminish. Proposal-writing is time-consuming, the competition is fierce, the money frequently comes with strings attached, and the interests of the funding agency or donor may not coincide with the needs of the program or with faculty interests. In short, the opportunity costs are high and the rewards uncertain and shrinking.

### The Importance of Title VI Centers and Fellowships

Given the generally unfavorable context faced by foreign area studies programs, the National Resource Centers (NRCs) and Foreign Language and Areas Studies (FLAS) Fellowships funded by Title VI of HEA play a critically important role, despite the increasingly inadequate level of funding involved. FLAS fellowships allow the area studies program to reward departments for their support by aiding their graduate students. Center funding can be used for course support, for the library, for faculty travel, for student advisement, and for outreach to build a local support base. These uses of funding are especially significant because university support of such activities is usually channeled through other units and not provided to area centers.

Equally important, the competitive nature of the Title VI peer-review award process confers national ranking. Given the invidious nature of universities, this status offers internal prestige to the center that could not possibly be achieved by other means. The achievement of NRC status by an area center is usually viewed as a major accomplishment that validates the administration's investment in foreign area studies and encourages further investments.

Additional evidence for the continuing importance of Title VI is the multiplier effect that it exerts. Title VI awards leverage additional university funding for NRCs with extraordinary success, given the competitive environment within the university. In 1978-79 Schneider estimated that Title VI contributed 9.1 percent of the cost of center budgets,<sup>9</sup> and in 1981 the Rand report estimated the figure at 6 percent, with universities contributing 91 percent of the cost and other sources only 3 percent. There is no reason to think that the multiplier effect has lessened since.

The recent CRS report mentions as one of the rationales for terminating Title VI funding the very fact that it provides less than 10 percent of NRC program support at most campuses, implying that the loss of Title VI funding would be compensated by other funds or at least would not lead to major program cuts.<sup>10</sup> This argument fails to consider the full implication of the multiplier effect, namely that a discontinuation of Title VI funding would have the reverse multiplier effect, leading to major disinvestments in area studies by universities. The range of leverage estimates already mentioned suggests that the loss of Title VI support

would result in an additional disinvestment at least ten times the size of the Title VI loss.

The CRS report presents a total of seven specific rationales for terminating Title VI support. The *cost* of discontinuing support is summed up in one rather weak sentence, as follows: "Without Title VI grants or similar federal aid, there would be less assurance that these centers and instructional programs would exist." The implications of the arguments presented in this essay are far more conclusive: there is every assurance that without Title VI grants or similar federal aid, many foreign area centers would cease to exist and that foreign area instructional programs would decline sharply in quality.

The same CRS report singles out for possible decreases two programs that have played a particularly important role in helping the NRCs to fulfill their mission, namely Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships and the Fulbright-Hays 102 (b) (6) programs. The FLAS Fellowships are among the most valuable rewards that area centers can provide academic departments, and they support the very finest graduate students. With the demise of foundation support, there are now virtually no non-university sources of academic year graduate student fellowships other than the FLAS awards. Elimination of Fulbright Hays 102 would destroy the Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad program, the only remaining program to which students in some foreign area fields can apply. In the field of Latin American studies, for example, the last foundation directly funding dissertation research (Doherty) pulled out several years ago, and this year the Social Science Research Council suspended its Foreign Area Fellowship Program for Latin America due to lack of funding.

Thus, from the standpoint of university-based foreign area centers, it is absolutely vital that both the Title VI National Resource Centers and Fellowships programs continue, and also important that the Fulbright Hays 102 doctoral dissertation support continue.

It must also be recognized that the levels of support for NRCs and FLAS fellowships provided by current appropriations are terribly inadequate, and may be approaching such low levels that the process of university disinvestment will begin. While overall Title VI funding in constant dollars in 1989 was about the same as in 1980, the proportion going to National Resources Centers had declined as new programs were funded.

In response to this shrinkage of funding for the NRCs, a substantial number of NRC center directors made representations to the Congress in favor of increased Title VI funding. These directors were encouraged that about ten

million dollars was added to the 1990 Title VI appropriation, but then were deeply disappointed that little or none of the new funding was added to the program of support for NRCs. As a result, the NRC share has fallen to only 33 percent of Title VI appropriations, as compared with 58 percent in 1970. With the number of NRCs continuing to expand, the average funding per center, expressed in 1990 dollar equivalents, has dropped from 211,000 in 1975 to only \$123,000 in 1990. These figures are reported in Table I. While FLAS fellowship stipends received a much-needed increase from \$5,000 to \$7,000 for 1990, the latter sum is well below stipends of the 1970s in value. Center directors were also disappointed to learn that the number of FLAS fellowships remained more or less constant.

The significance of the National Resource Centers for other Title VI programs and for the U.S. international education effort in general requires constant re-emphasis. Title VI provides support for two related but competing goals: specialist training and research, on the one hand, and the general diffusion of international knowledge. It is generally

acknowledged to have been reasonably successful in supporting the specialist training and less successful in meeting the second goal. The entire Title VI budget would be hopelessly inadequate to meet the rapidly growing demand for federal support of diffusing international knowledge. Therefore, some proponents of establishing a new national foundation for international education prefer to see Title VI focused on its traditional function of supporting specialist training, while the new foundation might generate new funding for the diffusion of international knowledge.

It must be recognized that efforts to diffuse international knowledge depend in the first instance on the creation of knowledge, and that the use of foreign area specialists for training in applied fields such as business depends upon the prior availability of the specialists. The comprehensive National Resource Centers train the foreign language and area specialists upon whom the entire edifice of U.S. international education rests. Should Title VI funding of the NRCs be reduced below viable levels, the nation's international competence in all areas will be affected.

TABLE I: National Resource Center Support (NRC) and Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships from Title VI\*

(Current dollar amounts in parentheses)

	(A) <u>Total</u> <u>Title VI</u> (millions)	(B) <u>\$Total</u> <u>NRCs</u> (millions)	(C) <u>\$NRCs as</u> <u>% Title</u> <u>VI</u>	(D) <u>#</u> <u>NRCs</u>	(E) <u>Av. NRC</u> <u>Grant</u> (thousands)
<u>1970</u>	30.192 (9.00)	17.393 (5.185)	58%	107	152 (48)
<u>1975</u>	27.337 (11.3)	13.971 (5.775)	51%	66	211 (88)
<u>1980</u>	26.841 (17.0)	12.690 (8.037)	47%	87	146 (92)
<u>1985</u>	30.907 (26.55)	14.759 (12.2)	48%	93	159 (131)
<u>1989</u>	27.148 (25.86)	11.796 (11.234)	43%	94	126 (120)
<u>1990</u>	35.110 (35.11)	11.58 (11.58)	33%	94	123 (123)

\*Corrected for inflation, expressed in 1990 dollar equivalents. Inflation for 1990 is estimated at 5 percent. Current dollars adjusted for consumer price index changes 1970-1989 using 1970 as the base year. Excludes funding for Fulbright-Hays 102 (b)(6).

## Problems for the Foreign Area Center

There are several significant differences between the 1980 Title VI and the version reauthorized in 1986. Some of these changes have complicated the already difficult task of the foreign area center, and other provisions not yet funded might create additional problems.

One of most problematic changes from the standpoint of the centers was the new language that more or less doubled the length of Section 602, which authorizes federal support of language and area centers and provides for FLAS fellowships. Beginning with Section 602 (b)(1)(B) new language appeared, beginning with the following: "[FLAS] Stipend recipients shall be individuals who are engaged in a program of competency-based language training, or in a program developing competency-based language training, in combination with area studies, international studies, or the international aspects of a professional studies program."

This seemingly attractive requirement has been the source of major problems for most area centers. It requires that the program either have or be developing competency-based language training. The implications for the area studies program are damaging. Competency-based language training (CBLT) has been a controversial topic in the language community, reflecting in part differences between the Modern Language Association and the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). Moreover, standardized competency testing measures are available only for a handful of commonly taught languages.

The CBLT program requirement sets the foreign area center on a collision course with the modern language department, its only natural ally in the university. Since the language department, not the area center, usually teaches foreign languages, the center is in the position of trying to get the language department to switch to CBLT or to develop CBLT. Since no standardized measures of competency, or "metrics," are available for the less commonly taught languages that are important in the study of most world areas, students studying such languages must be denied FLAS support (certainly a travesty of the original intent of Title VI), unless the language department (or the area center, if it offers the language) develops, or pretends to develop, CBLT techniques for the foreign language involved.

The language department is usually a very large academic unit servicing thousands of students in the common languages and has not the slightest interest in devoting its resources to developing CBLT of uncommonly taught languages. The budget of the language department is likely to exceed the entire Title VI center grant by two or three thousand per cent. The area center cannot intimidate the language department, and its Title VI funds are insufficient for

bribery. To make matters worse, the department is likely to be hostile to CBLT even of the common languages. The reactions from language faculty at several institutions with whom I have spoken with run from interest in CBLT to angry denunciations of ACTFL certification procedures. The merits of CBLT or ACTFL are really not the issue from the standpoint of the foreign area center: the point is that the center can do little to implement such approaches and can only lose by becoming embroiled in the politics and controversies of the language community. It is therefore recommended that the references to competency-based language testing be removed from section 602, returning to the spirit of the 1980 authorization language.

The other new language of Section 602 that follows the material previously quoted provides for graduate fellowships to be awarded through a national competition with the selection of awards made by a panel of scholars chosen primarily on their exceptional performance on a nationally-referenced language proficiency test. Fortunately for all concerned, the level of funding has not allowed this language to be implemented, and this part of Section 102 should be deleted from the law to prevent its ever being implemented. The FLAS program has succeeded with a minimum of red tape in large part because center faculty know their students intimately. A national panel would select students on the basis of second-hand information, an expensive process that would place a new burden of paperwork on hundreds if not thousands of persons. And if there were to be such a national panel, it should be chosen on the basis of overall professional competence in the foreign area, not on the basis of language test scores.

Section 603 of the 1986 law is also new, authorizing the funding of language resource centers (LRCs). This may well be a cost-effective means of encouraging new developments in language pedagogy and their dissemination, and is certainly preferable to the CBLT requirements of Section 602 that have been mentioned. Such LRCs should serve the language programs of the larger community of NRCs rather than compete with them. The number of LRCs needed to serve this function is probably not more than two, as is presently contemplated. The nation's ability to train competent foreign area specialists would be damaged if a proliferation of LRCs were to drain funding from the NRCs and FLAS fellowships.

Section 604 provides for undergraduate programs. These have proven to be useful for curriculum development and as a means for adding to the numbers of colleges and universities with international study programs. Section 606 provides for research studies and seems to have been useful in the past. It should be noted that some of the language of Section 606 virtually duplicates some of the wording in Section 603 about language resource centers. Both sections

allow support of research on language proficiency testing, for example. Section 605 on summer language institutes and Section 606 on foreign periodicals have not been funded, but should be retained. If funded, these provisions would help ease some of the burden on NRC budgets.

### Strategic Problems

Beginning with Part B of Title VI, introduced for the first time in 1986, an expanded set of issues come into play. Like the camel's nose under the tent, Part B did not seem threatening at first since it was not funded and then later received only modest money. Suddenly, in response to the rise of excitement over national competitiveness and astute lobbying by the American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business, Part B was awarded half of the major 1990 increase in Title VI funding, an increase that many foreign area center directors viewed as the result of their own lobbying efforts on behalf of NRC centers and FLAS fellowships.

For centers funded under Part A, the rise of Part B business centers comes more as a curse than as a blessing. To begin with, management schools are already far better funded than foreign area programs. While Part B funding may entice them to add some international components to their curricula, the management schools do so by exploiting the expertise of the foreign area program faculty in their universities. The process is precisely analogous to the use made of foreign area faculty by international consulting and risk analysis firms. There is no need to question that the management school seeking Part B funds or the risk analysis firm seeking profits both benefit from using area specialists. The point, however, is that the game depends upon the area specialist being available in the first place. It is not at all clear that Title VI funding is adequate to fulfill its traditional role of providing the nation with area specialists, let alone to satisfy the desires of the nation's business schools. The National Resource Centers are already stretched thin, and the pressure to staff Part B programs further strains resources.

Another disappointing component of the language added in 1986 to Title VI was the creation, under Part C of the General Provisions, of the Advisory Board. The intentions behind creating this board were good, and many of us thought it would play a useful role in the long run, serving to insulate Title VI from political pressures. We were wrong. Despite a promising start, the Advisory Board seems to be more of a mechanism for political patronage than an effective body that might advance the international education agenda. The costs of maintaining the board do not warrant its continuation. These funds would be better invested in providing additional support to the beleaguered and underfunded staff of the Center for International Education.

### Future Directions

With respect to the future, Title VI should be refocused as much as possible on supporting the training of foreign area specialists and the production of new knowledge, returning as much as possible to the spirit of the original NDEA Title VI mission, or at least to the Title VI language in the 1980 Higher Education Act. The critical vehicles for achieving this mission are the National Resource Centers and the FLAS fellowships, both of which have been extraordinarily cost-effective. From the standpoint of the research universities that have responded to the Title VI incentives of Section 602 by making major investments in their foreign area faculty, staff, libraries, and graduate programs, the university-based international education effort would be better off without most of the new provisions that were inserted in 1986.

That is not to say, however, that Title VI meets the overall international education needs of the nation, which continue to expand. The demand for the dissemination and application of foreign area knowledge is growing rapidly. Comprehensive, research-oriented foreign area programs that provide both undergraduate and graduate education are only one component of those needs. If all the international education and exchanges communities seize upon the Title VI reauthorization as the vehicle for meeting their diverse and expanding needs, the likely outcome is the further dispersal of the limited funds available, making more likely the collapse of the NRC/FLAS effort that is the foundation of the nation's international foreign area competence.

A more comprehensive federal entity and a major increase in federal investment will be required to address the new needs that have been defined. The initiative of the Coalition for the Advancement of Foreign Languages and International Studies (CAFLIS) in proposing the establishment of a new National Endowment for International Education and Competence is therefore important and timely, as it may provide a vehicle for meeting newly defined needs and responding to new constituencies. At the same time, this initiative is not a substitute for the key role played by Title VI in developing and helping to maintain the investments of U.S. universities in their foreign area programs. The challenge facing those who believe that the national interest requires foreign area expertise in the United States, therefore, is to protect the remarkable, but fragile, achievement represented by the Title VI National Resource Centers for Foreign Language and Area Studies.

### Notes

1. Richard D. Lambert, "Title VI: Accomplishments, Problems, and New Directions," paper presented at the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant

Colleges (NASULGC) conference on Reauthorization of Title VI of the Higher Education Act: Formulating Recommendations to Congress, University of Pittsburgh, March 2-3, 1990.

2. Davydd J. Greenwood, "NASULGC Task Force on Federal/State/Private Sector Relations," February 4, 1989.
3. Hunt Davis, Jr., "Viewing Title VI in the Context of the Higher Education Act," (Center for African Studies, University of Florida, n.d.)
4. Wayne Clifton Riddle, "Foreign Language and International Education: The Federal Role," (Library of Congress: Congressional Research Service, November 20, 1989).
5. I am indebted to Richard Morse for this comparison.
6. Lorraine M. McDonnell, et. al., *Federal Support for International Studies: The Role of NDEA Title VI*, (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, 1981), p. 38.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 52
8. *Ibid.*, p. 56
9. Ann I. Schneider, "NDEA Centers: How They Use Their Federal Money," in *President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies: Background Papers and Studies*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, November 1979, pp. 169-174.)
10. Riddle, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

### NCASA Survey Mailed

LASA, in conjunction with the National Council of Area Studies Associations (NCASA), is conducting a study to determine future supply and demand projections for area studies faculty. LASA is also taking this opportunity to enhance the database with age, gender and ethnic data of all members, information which will remain confidential.

Your assistance in compiling the information for this survey is much appreciated. If you have not yet sent in your survey, please send it to the LASA Secretariat as soon as possible.

## CALL FOR NOMINATIONS LASA Media Award

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce its competition for the 1991 LASA award for outstanding media coverage of Latin America. This award is made every eighteen months to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States, as well as for breakthrough investigative journalism. Nominations are invited from LASA members and from journalists. Journalists from both the print and electronic media are eligible. To make a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's portfolio of recent relevant work, by *January 15, 1991*, to:

Richard A. Nuccio  
Chair, LASA Task Force on the Mass Media  
Inter-American Dialogue  
1333 New Hampshire Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
(202) 466-6410  
Fax (202) 467-0790

If the work is in the electronic media and a copy is not readily available, contact Dr. Nuccio to discuss further procedures.

A three-member screening committee from the Task Force on the Mass Media will carefully review each nominee's work and select the top five candidates. The entire task force will then vote to determine the winner, who will be honored at the XVI International Congress, to be held April 4-6, 1991, in Washington, DC. LASA will invite the awardee to speak at a session and to submit materials for possible publication in the *Forum*. The association will also assume the costs of the awardee's travel to the meeting site.

Recent recipients of the award have included Pamela Constable of *The Boston Globe*, Charles Krause of the McNeil-Lehrer Newshour, and Bill Buzenberg of National Public Radio.

## LETTERS

*[The LASA Secretariat received the following letter from the Universidad de El Salvador on Friday, May 25. It is reproduced verbatim.]*

To the International Community:

The University of El Salvador would like to inform you about the Salvadoran government's attempts to restrict or suppress academic freedom and the autonomy of the country's educational institutions. The government's aim is being carried out through the Legislative Assembly: there is the "General Law of Education," which is an obvious threat to cultural development and which works against the rights of the nation's teachers; as well as the "Law of Higher Education," which serves as an instrument to infringe on academic freedom and university autonomy.

The essence of these laws is that they are directed at placing state delegates to intervene in the carrying out of El Salvador's academic, scientific and cultural affairs. This cannot be permitted: course content cannot be conditioned upon the interests of whatever government is in power, especially when the governments do not have a national plan which reflects the social aspirations of the population.

State intervention in academic life is a violation of academic freedom, which is a human right of particular importance to the vast majority, and should not be a privilege for the minority.

Therefore, considering that democracy expresses itself through academic freedom and in the right of the public to education in an atmosphere of liberty, humanism and democracy for the people, we call on the international academic community and international solidarity organizations who monitor human rights to be in solidarity with the academic sector of El Salvador by:

- Rejecting the General Law of Education and the Law of Higher Education through messages addressed to President Alfredo Cristiani, the Minister of Education, Dr. René Hernández Valiente and the President of the Legislative Assembly, Lic. Ricardo Alvarenga Valdivieso; and
- Publishing those messages in the written media in El Salvador. We would appreciate being sent a copy of such publications.

With my high regards,

"Toward Freedom through Culture"  
 José Luis Argueta Antillón, President  
 Universidad de El Salvador  
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*[Michael Fleet, Chair of the LASA Task Force on Academic Freedom and Human Rights, responded to Dr. Argueta with the following letter. The Task Force expects to make a formal recommendation to LASA's Executive Council in late July or early August.]*

10 de junio, 1990

Estimado Sr. Rector:

Le escribo a nombre de LASA, la Latin American Studies Association, cuyo comité para la libertad académica y los derechos humanos presido. Obra en mi poder la carta que recientemente mandó ud. a la presidente de nuestra asociación, la Dra. Jean Franco. Debido a que la Dra. Franco anda en el exterior, la carta fué dirigida a nuestro comité, que tiene como encargo específico el velar por la libertad académica de nuestros miembros y colegas.

Como ud. ha de saber LASA ha seguido la situación en El Salvador durante muchos años. En varias oportunidades hemos hecho declaraciones públicas advirtiendo a las múltiples violaciones de derechos humanos y libertades básicas de que, tristemente, ha sido objeto el pueblo salvadoreño. Su carta denuncia abusos acutales y potenciales de mucha gravedad, los cuales, de concretarse, marcarían un asalto mas a los derechos básicos que todos los pueblos del mundo reclamamos como patrimonio, pero que tan a menudo han sido negados a los salvadoreños.

Con el fin de acumular antecedentes y pormenores de las leyes propuestas en relación con la educación superior y la libertad académica y la autonomía universitaria, hemos designado como encargado nuestro al Profesor John Hammond, de la Universidad de la Ciudad de Nueva York,



quien estará en El Salvador a partir del 11 del presente mes. Abrigamos la esperanza de que ud. pueda recibir al Profesor Hammond y facilitarle acceso a la información y los materiales necesarios para desarrollar un análisis y un juicio fundamentados en esta materia.

Reiterando nuestros mejores sentimientos personales y profesionales para con usted y la universidad que ud. preside, le saluda a nombre del comité,

Michael Fleet

Profesor Asociado y Jefe, Comité de LASA para la Libertad Académica y los Derechos Humanos

*Note: An appeal to government authorities regarding the autonomy of the Universidad de El Salvador is being coordinated by the Faculty for Human Rights in El Salvador and Central America (FACHRES-CA). For more information, contact Chester Wickwire, 8214 Bellona Ave., Towson, MD 21204; 301/825-8949.*

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*[The LASA Secretariat recently received the following letter, accompanied by glowing recommendations from professors at Vermont College of Norwich University, where Mr. Flemming received his Master of Arts in 1990. LASA, as well as the Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, Austin, has responded with materials.]*

Dear Sir,

The enclosed material shows that I am a serious student of Latin American affairs, despite being warehoused in prison. I still have three years to serve and would like to spend them learning more about Latin America. Anyone who would like to donate used material, books, newsletters, articles and so forth should address the items as follows: Mr. Jon Lamoreaux, College Director, 3405 Deer Park Drive, SE, Salem, OR 97310; "Educational Material" (for J.S. Flemming). Maybe you could post this letter on a bulletin board? Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Jerold S. Flemming

## 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.*

El objetivo fundamental de la nueva *Revista del Estudiante Universitario Latinoamericano* será promover la discusión, a nivel estudiantil, de temas de actualidad en América Latina. Asimismo, será propósito central la difusión del pensamiento universitario. La revista tendrá carácter independiente y no estará bajo la tuición de ninguna institución u organización. Es igualmente propósito de los fundadores el que la sede de la revista rote permanentemente. Con este fin, y dependiendo del financiamiento que se obtenga, se pretende que cada número salga publicado en un país diferente. Dentro de lo posible, se intentarán publicar dos números al año, con un tiraje de acuerdo al interés que la revista despierte. Los datos de suscripción aparecerán detallados en el primer número, que será publicado en diciembre de 1990. Les rogamos a ustedes dar a la revista la mayor difusión posible en los institutos, facultades, departamentos y centros de sus respectivas instituciones académicas. Se invita a los estudiantes universitarios latinoamericanos a enviar ensayos inéditos para posible publicación en esta nueva revista. Los autores podrán ser de cualquier nacionalidad latinoamericana (el Caribe incluido) o chicanos. Podrán ser alumnos de cualquier universidad del mundo, o haber egresado a lo más un año antes de enviar el ensayo. Los ensayos deberán ser inéditos, escritos en español o portugués, y con una extensión máxima de 20 páginas mecanografiadas a doble espacio. Pueden tratar sobre cualquier tema del interés del estudiante, aunque se dará preferencia a ensayos relacionados con América Latina. Aquellos interesados en recibir el número o en contactarse con nosotros podrán escribir a alguna de las siguientes direcciones: Orlando San Martín, Apartado 918-3000, Heredia, Costa Rica; Sergio Yañez, Consejo de Indias 1360-C, Providencia, Santiago, Chile; y José Morgado o Ben Olguin, P.O. Box 3846, Stanford University, CA 94309, USA.

Americas Watch released the report "The Laws of War and the Conduct of the Panama Invasion" on May 10, charging both the American forces and the now-defunct Panamanian Defense Forces and their paramilitary Dignity Battalions with responsibility for violations of the Geneva Conventions, the international humanitarian law governing armed conflict. Copies of the report are available for \$6.00 from the Publications Department, Human Rights Watch, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**The John Carter Brown Library**, an independently administered and funded center for advanced research in the humanities at Brown University, has awarded fellowships to 17 scholars from around the world for the 1990-1991 academic year. Nearly all the fellows will be doing research in the library's renowned collection of primary materials relating to the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of the New World. Fellows received funding from a variety of foundations and endowment funds. Scholars receiving fellowships are: DAVID RICHARD ARMITAGE, Princeton University: "The British Empire and the English Republic, 1642-1660"; ELIZABETH BORTOLAIA-SILVA, Universidade de Campinas, Brazil: "International Strategies for Technological Innovation and Labour Management in the Auto Industry"; PETER BOWEN, Rutgers University: "The Transportation of Nationality: Colonial Planning and Penal Practice"; ROGER BUCKLEY, University of Connecticut: "Revolution, Soldiers, Slavery and Disease: War and Society in the Caribbean, 1789/1792-1815"; JUDITH LAIKIN ELKIN, University of Michigan: "Absent from the Creation: Jews and the Encounter between the Old World and the New"; ROLAND GREENE, Harvard University: "Petrarchan Experience and the Colonial Americas"; SUSAN KELLOGG, Bunting Institute, Radcliffe College: "Structure, Anti-Structure, and Social Drama in the *Real Audiencia* of Mexico"; ROBERT LAWSON-PEEBLES, University of Exeter, England: "Transatlantic Cultural Relations, 1745-1780"; WINSTON MCGOWAN, University of Guyana, Guyana: "African Resistance to the Transatlantic Slave Trade"; EILEEN REEVES, University of Pennsylvania: "Cartography and English Metaphysical Poetry"; ALFREDO REHREN, Universidad de Chile: "Executive Leadership and the Redemocratization of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay"; PETER ROBERTS, University of the West Indies, Barbados: "The Early Development of the English Language in the West Indies and the Effects of Literacy on the Development of Language and Thought"; BEATRIZ SCHMUKLER, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina: "Women-as-Mothers in Social Democratization"; UWE SCHNALL, Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, West Germany: "Development of Sailing Directions in the 16th, 17th and the Beginning of the 18th Century"; JUAN E. TAZÓN, Universidad de Oviedo, Spain: "The Different Faces of Caliban on the Other Side of the Mirror"; DALIA VARANKA, University of Wisconsin: "Map/Text Relationships of English World Atlases, 1660-1721"; SUSANNE ZANTOP, Dartmouth College: "Latin America in the Imagination of the German Enlightenment."

**The United States Institute of Peace** has awarded 2 of the 25 grants made in the first quarter of 1990 to projects related to Latin America. The American Enterprise Institute in Washington, DC, received a \$15,000 grant to support

a study of the political settlements and negotiations in contemporary regional conflicts in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique and Nicaragua. The School of Advanced International Study, Johns Hopkins University, was awarded a \$30,000 grant to support a conference of Argentine and British experts on the Falklands/Malvinas dispute who will examine the juridical-historical claims and political realities which pose obstacles to the resolution of the dispute.

El día 8 de febrero del corriente año quedó inaugurada la Cátedra Pedro Henríquez Ureña en la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, bajo el coauspicio de la Universidad y la Embajada de la República Dominicana en México. El Discurso Magistral de inauguración estuvo a cargo del Dr. Alfredo A. Roggiano y versó sobre "El pensamiento de Pedro Henríquez Ureña". Roggiano es profesor de la Universidad de Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Ee.Uu., y autor de varios estudios y dos libros sobre el Maestro Dominicano. El libro *Pedro Henríquez Ureña en México* (UNAM, 1989) fue presentado en el acto de inauguración como primer volumen de la Serie Cátedras de la UNAM. En dicha oportunidad tuvo lugar una Mesa Redonda sobre el libro de Roggiano, en la que tomaron parte Noé Jitrik, Margarita Peña y José Luis González. El Director de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM entregó al Dr. Roggiano el Diploma de Profesor Distinguido otorgado por el Consejo Técnico de la UNAM.

**The Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh** announces the results of the 1990 competition for Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues, cosponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies and The Howard Heinz Endowment. The program provides funding of up to \$25,000 each to support research projects on current issues in Latin American politics, economics, foreign policy, sociology, and development. The following seven projects were awarded grants in 1990, selected from 136 proposals from 19 countries: STEPHEN BUNKER, BRADFORD BARHAM and DENIS O'HEARN, University of Wisconsin-Madison: "The Political Ecology-Economy of the International Aluminum Industry: Developmental and Environmental Consequences in the Americas Since 1973"; RODERIC A. CAMP, Central University of Iowa: "Clerics, Religion and Political Modernization in Mexico"; MARCELO CAVAROZZI, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina: "The Consolidation of Democracy and Civil-Military Relations in Argentina"; JONATHAN FOX, Massachusetts Institute of Technology: "Accountability and Citizen Participation in Mexico's Political Transition"; GUSTAVO H.B. FRANCO, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: "High and Hyper-Inflations: Cross Country Patterns and the Design of

Stabilization"; MARGARET E. KECK, Yale University: "Environmental Politics in Brazil"; CARMELO MESA-LAGO, University of Pittsburgh: "Alternative Models of Development and Their Performance in Latin America: Social Market (Chile), Central Plan (Cuba), and Mixed Economy (Costa Rica)."

The Council of National Resource Center Directors was created on April 9, 1990, by a unanimous voice vote of a meeting of directors and representatives of Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) National Resource Center (NRC) and Fellowship Programs. NRC/FLAS program personnel elected members representing each of the foreign areas to an Executive Committee. Co-chairpersons of the new organization are Gilbert W. Merlx (University of New Mexico) and David Wiley (Michigan State University). CNRC is open to all directors of Title VI-funded FLAS Center and/or Fellowship Programs, including consortium partners, at U.S. institutions of higher education. The purpose of CNRC is to inform the public about the role of FLAS Centers and Fellowship Programs; to advise the U.S. executive and legislative branches on the Title VI programs of the Higher Education Act; to speak on behalf of these foreign language, area, and international studies programs; and to share information among the members of mutual interest. For more information about the CNRC, contact Gilbert W. Merlx, Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; 505/277-2961, or David Wiley, African Studies Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI 48824; 517/353-1700.

*The Historian*, a history quarterly with over 12,000 subscribers, is now soliciting manuscripts in Latin American history. For a copy of the manuscript policy or for more information, contact Professor Roger Adelson, Editor, *The Historian*, Department of History, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2501.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California-San Diego has announced the winners of its eleventh annual residential fellowship competition. The fellowship selection committee consisted of 12 leading Mexican and U.S. scholars representing all of the social science disciplines and history. The 19 scholars awarded fellowships for 1990-91 include: MARJORIE BECKER, University of Southern California: "Lázaro Cárdenas and the Mexican Counter-Revolution: The Struggle over Culture in Michoacán, 1934-1940"; MAXWELL CAMERON, Carleton University: "Micro and Macro Logics of Political Action: Informal Sector Politics in Peru and Mexico"; VIKRAM K. CHAND, Harvard University: "The Reawakening of Civil Society in Contemporary Mexico: The Politics of the State of Chihuahua in National Perspective"; HUGO CICERI, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: "Transnationalization

of Mexican Businesses and its Implication for the U.S.: The Case of Vitro, S.A."; DENISE DRESSER, Princeton University: "Economic Liberalization and Political Coalitions in Mexico"; MANUEL GARCÍA Y GRIEGO, El Colegio de México and University of California at Irvine: "Mexican Migration and U.S. Immigration Policy, 1942-present"; LEOPOLDO GÓMEZ, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México: "Electoral Processes, Political Legitimacy, and Regime Change in Mexico, 1977-1988"; PETER GUARDINO, University of Chicago: "Peasants, Politics, and State Formation in 19th Century Mexico: Guerrero, 1800-1857"; BLANCA HEREDIA, El Colegio de México and Columbia University: "The Sources and Limits of State Power in Mexico: The Crusade Against Inflation, 1982-1988"; THOMAS KELLY, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy: "Legal and Institutional Approaches to Transboundary Environment Management: A Case Study of the San Diego-Tijuana Border Region"; ROBIN KING, University of Texas at Austin: "The Political Economy of International Debt Renegotiations"; KATHRYN KOPINAK, University of Western Ontario: "Effects of Continental Economic Integration on Women Workers in Canada, Mexico and the U.S."; KEVIN MIDDLEBROOK, Indiana University: "Organized Labor and the State in Post-revolutionary Mexico"; JUAN MOLINAR HORCASITAS, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México and University of California at San Diego: "Mexican Electoral Behavior in Comparative Perspective"; CRISTINA PADILLA, Universidad de Guadalajara: "Marketplace Wholesalers and Social Organization"; CLEMENTE RUIZ DURÁN, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: "Comparative Analysis of the Economic Growth-Social Welfare Relationship in Pacific Basin Countries"; JOHN SHEAHAN, Williams College: "Mexican Economic Strategy under Carlos Salinas: Gains and Costs of Mexico's Response to External Debt Crises"; JEFFREY WELDON, University of California at San Diego: "Impacts of the 1986 U.S. Immigration Law on Mexican Sending Communities"; VAN WHITING, Brown University and Swarthmore College: "Policymaking on Protection of Intellectual Property: A Comparison of Mexico, Brazil, and India."

### Report on Nicaraguan Elections

*Electoral Democracy Under International Pressure*, The Report of the LASA International Commission to Observe the Nicaraguan Elections, mailed to LASA members with the Spring 1990 issue of the *LASA Forum*, was also mailed to over 1,000 government officials, media and nonprofit organization representatives. Copies of the report are available for personal or classroom use at a cost of \$5 including postage. To order copies of the report, contact the LASA Secretariat.

## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Fulbright Program is now accepting applications for its lecturing and research awards in Latin America and the Caribbean. Lecturing awards include round-trip travel for the grantee and, in some countries, for one accompanying dependent; maintenance allowance to cover basic living costs while abroad; in some instances, reimbursement of tuition for accompanying children in elementary and secondary schools. Applicants should be U.S. citizens at the time of application. Grant duration is usually six months for research awards; lecturing awards range from one to twelve months. Grant periods are sometimes negotiable. The deadline for lecturing awards in Central America and South America (except Caribbean, Venezuela, and Mexico) and the American Republics and Central American Republics Regional Research Programs was *June 15, 1990*, but may be extended for specific awards. The deadline for lecturing awards in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Venezuela is *August 1, 1990*. For information on available awards and application forms, contact: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3400 International Drive, NW, Suite M-500, Box LLA, Washington, DC 20008-3097; 202/686-6235.

The general programs of the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) support postdoctoral research in the humanities; research in the social sciences with a predominantly humanistic emphasis will also be considered. The Ph.D. or its equivalent is required. Younger scholars and independent scholars who do not hold academic appointments are strongly encouraged to apply. All programs administered by the ACLS require U.S. citizenship or permanent legal residence. The ACLS offers the following programs of postdoctoral fellowships and grants: (1) ACLS Fellowships for research in the humanities, for six months to one year between July 1, 1991 and December 31, 1992. The maximum award is \$15,000. Deadline: *October 1, 1990*. (2) ACLS Research Fellowships for Recent Recipients of the Ph.D. are available for research in the humanities for applicants whose Ph.D. degree will have been conferred between January 1, 1988 and December 31, 1990. Tenure: six months to one year between July 1, 1991 and December 31, 1992. Maximum award: \$10,000. Deadline: *October 1, 1990*. (3) ACLS Grants-in-Aid, to support expenses of humanistic research in progress. Tenure: grants to be expended between May 1, 1991 and May 1, 1992. Maximum award: \$3,000. Deadline: *December 14, 1990*. Requests for application forms must contain the following information: citizenship or permanent residence, highest academic degree held and date received, academic or other position, field of specialization, proposed subject of research or study, period of time for which support is requested, and the specific program under which application is contemplated. For programs with October 1 deadlines, requests for application

forms must be received by ACLS no later than *September 27, 1990*. Additional information or an application form may be secured by writing to the address: Office of Fellowships and Grants, American Council of Learned Societies, 228 East 45th Street, New York, NY 10017-3398. Communication by fax cannot be accepted.

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 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. Fellows are for the academic year--September through May--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. Fellowships at the National Humanities Center are supported by grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Research Triangle Foundation, Delta Delta Delta, and the Rockefeller Foundation. The application deadline for the academic year 1991-92 is *October 15, 1990*. For application material write to: Fellowship Program, National Humanities Center, P.O. Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, NC 27709-2256.

The United States Institute of Peace invites qualified candidates to compete for three types of fellowships offered by the Institute's Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. These fellowships enable outstanding professionals and scholars to undertake research and education projects that will increase knowledge and spread awareness among the public and policymakers regarding the nature of violent international conflict and the full range of ways to deal with it peacefully. Individuals from a broad spectrum

of backgrounds--higher education, government, diplomacy, international affairs, military service, law, the media, business, labor, religion, humanitarian affairs, and others--are encouraged to propose innovative, carefully conceived fellowship projects reflecting diverse interests, project approaches, and communication media. Stipends and other support are normally provided for a one-year period beginning in September 1991. There are three types of awards.

*Distinguished Fellows* are statesmen, scholars, or other professionals with national or international stature by virtue of widely recognized scholarly or practical accomplishments in international peace and conflict management or other relevant fields. They must be nominated on an official form by a person well acquainted with the nominee's career and achievements. *Peace Fellows* are professionals or scholars who demonstrate substantial accomplishment or promise of exceptional leadership in various career fields. Peace Fellow candidates must submit an official application form, which includes a project proposal and requires three letters of reference. *Peace Scholars* are outstanding students in recognized doctoral programs in U.S. universities who have demonstrated a clear interest in issues of international peace and conflict management and have completed all required work toward their doctoral degrees except their dissertations. Candidates must have a letter of support sent to the institute from the chairman of the department or professional school in which they will conduct their dissertation research (each department or school may endorse two students in each competition cycle). The candidate must submit an official application form, which includes a research plan and requires graduate transcripts and three letters of reference. Completed nomination and application forms, including the required letters and other materials, must be received by the U.S. Institute of Peace no later than *October 15, 1990* for Distinguished Fellows and Peace Fellows, and by *November 15, 1990* for Peace Scholars. For application forms, contact: Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, United States Institute of Peace, 1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005-1708; 202/457-1706; Fax: 202/429-6063.

Applications are now being accepted for **Fulbright Grants for Graduate Study in the American Republics Area**. Approximately 55 grants will be provided under the Fulbright program during the 1991-92 academic year for study in 28 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Applications will be accepted from well-qualified students in most fields of study. Candidates must be U.S. citizens who will hold a bachelor's degree or the equivalent by the beginning date of the grant but who do not hold the Ph.D. at the time of application. A good command of Spanish or Portuguese is required. Candidates may apply to only one country. Grants provide round-trip international travel, tuition, maintenance for one academic year, and health and

accident insurance. For more information, contact campus Fulbright Program Advisers or the U.S. Student Programs Division, Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. The deadline for students not enrolled in a college or university at the time of application is *October 31, 1990*, deadlines for others are established by campus advisers.

The Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the **Social Science Research Council** is accepting applications for its 1990-91 doctoral fellowship competition. Awards are contingent on funding. Fellowships are offered for dissertation research in the social sciences and humanities to be carried out in Latin America or the Caribbean. There are no citizenship requirements. However, applicants must be enrolled in full-time graduate study at a university in the United States, and have completed all Ph.D. requirements, except the dissertation, before January 1, 1992. The deadline for the receipt of applications is *November 1, 1990*. Individuals requesting application forms should state their university affiliation, and enclose a brief statement of the proposed research topic. For further information and application materials, contact: Latin American and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

The **Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Year Fellowships** are designed to encourage original and significant study of ethical or religious values in all fields. Applicants must be candidates for Ph.D., Th.D. or Ed.D. degrees in doctoral programs at graduate schools in the United States. Candidates must fulfill all pre-dissertation requirements by November 30, 1990, and expect to complete their dissertations by August, 1992. These awards are not intended to finance field work or research but rather the last full year of dissertation writing. Winners will receive \$11,500 for 12 months of full-time dissertation research and writing. Forty non-renewable fellowships will be awarded from approximately 500 applications. For more information or to request application forms, contact: Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, P.O. Box 642, Princeton, NJ 08542. Applications must be requested by *November 30, 1990*, and postmarked by *December 14, 1990*.

The Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the **Social Science Research Council** is accepting applications for its 1990-91 advanced grant competition. Individual grants are offered for research on all aspects of the societies and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean, for a period of 2 to 12 months. Collaborative grants for two applicants of approximately equal scholarly attainment are also available. Applicants must have a Ph.D. (or another degree acceptable for a university career, or completed work equivalent to a

doctoral dissertation). Scholars who have previously accepted an SSRC advanced grant are not eligible to apply. There are no citizenship requirements, although in the case of collaborative grants one of the applicants must be a Latin American citizen. The deadline for the receipt of applications is *December 1, 1990*. Individuals requesting application materials for the advanced grants competition should state degrees earned, and submit a short description of the proposed research project. For further information and application materials, contact: Latin American and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

**The John Carter Brown Library** will award approximately 15 short- and long-term research fellowships for the year June 1, 1991 - May 30, 1992. Short-term fellowships are available for periods of two to four months and carry a stipend of \$900 per month. These fellowships are open to foreign nationals as well as to U.S. citizens who are engaged in pre- and postdoctoral, or independent, research. Long-term fellowships, funded by the NEH, are usually for six months and carry a stipend of approximately \$2,300 per month. Applicants for NEH fellowships may not be engaged in graduate work and must be U.S. citizens or have resided in the U.S. for the three years immediately preceding the term of the fellowship. The library's holdings are concentrated on the history of the Western Hemisphere during the colonial period (ca. 1492 to ca. 1825), emphasizing the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of the Americas and all aspects of European relations with the New World, including the impact of the New World on the Old. Research proposed by fellowship applicants must be suited to the holdings of the library. All fellows are expected to be in regular residence at the library for the entire term of the fellowship. Three of the short-term fellowships have thematic restrictions, in the history of cartography, early maritime history, and the Jewish experience in the New World before 1860. For scholars wishing to work at the library for a period of two to seven weeks, the library offers travel reimbursement grants of up to \$500. The application deadline for fellowships during the 1991-92 year is *January 15, 1991*. Travel grants may be applied for year round, allowing four months lead time. For further information, write to: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

**The Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh and The Howard Heinz Endowment** announce the 1991 competition for grants supporting research on current issues in Latin American politics, economics, foreign policy, sociology, and development. Grants will be considered for research projects dealing with policy issues in the Latin American/Caribbean region significant for the U.S. Research should fall within the context of any of the follow-

ing three thematic areas: (1) current political or socioeconomic relations between the region and the United States, within the region itself, or between the region and other world areas; (2) political and social change -- especially as it concerns democratization, political stability/instability, environmental politics, or the status of minorities; and (3) the success/failure either of models of development and their performance, or specific policies (e.g., inflation control, export promotion, debt reduction, coverage and quality of social services, equity, and poverty). The applicant (principal investigator) must have a Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution. Grant applications for dissertation research will not be considered. The maximum awarded will be \$25,000. Grant funds may be used for release time/salary replacement, travel, maintenance, and data collection/analysis. Grants will not include payment for overhead/indirect costs. Grants will be paid only to the institution of the principal researcher (not directly to the individual). All proposals must be submitted in English on 8 1/2" x 11" paper and must include: (1) a cover sheet with project title, amount requested, approximate dates for proposed research, name/address/telephone number, and institutional affiliation of primary investigator as well as signature of authorizing institutional official; (2) an abstract (maximum of 250 words) describing the project and its significance; (3) a description of the proposed project (not to exceed five single-spaced typewritten pages) including the research methodology and specific objectives appropriate to the proposed schedule and the amount of funding requested; (4) a detailed budget of research expenditures that delineates expenses for each of the four categories (if applicable) specified above; and (5) curriculum vitae of applicant(s). Applications must be *received by February 1, 1991*. Applications sent via fax are not acceptable. For information and application instructions, contact: John Frechione, Program Coordinator, Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues, Center for Latin American Studies, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA; 412/648-7395; Fax: 412/648-2199; E-mail (bitnet): SELIGSON@PITTVMS.

## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Nicaragua Network Education Fund announces an opening for program coordinator. The fund is a non-profit, national organization committed to defending Nicaragua's right to self-determination and the gains of the Sandinista Revolution through grassroots education and people-to-people exchanges. The fund works to build ties of friendship between the peoples of the U.S. and Nicaragua in collective efforts to achieve a just and lasting peace. Responsibilities of the position include the development, integration, coordination and implementation of Nicaragua Network Education Fund programs (tours, material aid, delegations, brigades) together with the program staff; guidance and supervision of program staff as well as active participation as member of program team; member of the National Coordinating Committee and the National Executive Committee; implementation and follow-up of National Coordinating Committee policies and decisions; organizational relations work and promotion of the fund's programs; and coordination and communication with Nicaragua Network Education Fund, Managua office. Criteria for selection include agreement with political goals of the Nicaragua Network Education Fund; national and/or regional organizing experience with peace and justice work (minimum two years); Nicaragua and Central American experience required; leadership experience in a national and/or regional capacity; strong interpersonal skills and commitment and ability to work well in a team; minimum two years experience in planning and supervision; outstanding writing and communication skills; bilingual (English and Spanish) and multicultural, able to work well with diversity of people. Salary: \$17,000 - \$20,000 per year. Benefits include one month vacation per year, and excellent health and dental plans. Priority will be given to people of color and women. For more information, contact the Nicaragua Network Education Fund, 2025 "I" Street, NW, Suite 205, Washington, DC 20006; 202/223-2328.

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Barnard College announces an opening in the Department of Women's Studies for an assistant professor with a Ph.D. in Sociology or Anthropology. Expertise in Asian-American, African-American, or Latina women preferred; interest in feminist theory essential. Tenure is possible. Send resume, two current letters of reference and one current writing sample by *November 1, 1990* to: Chair, Search Committee, Department of Women's Studies, Barnard College, 3009 Broadway, New York, NY 10027. Applications from women of color are especially welcome.

Northern Arizona University seeks a humanities instructor to teach a foundation course in comparative arts and humanities as well as in the area of specialization. This full-time, one- or two-year nontenured appointment will begin August 1990. Rank and salary are commensurate with background. Special consideration will be given for Asian, Latin American, or Medieval/Renaissance humanities. Qualifications include: doctorate (A.B.D. considered), strong teaching ability, promising scholarship, and commitment to culturally diverse students. Applications will be reviewed beginning *July 15, 1990*, and will be accepted until a suitable candidate is found. For more information, contact the Humanities Search Committee, Northern Arizona University, P.O. Box 6031, Flagstaff, AZ 86011-6031.

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doctoral dissertation). Scholars who have previously accepted an SSRC advanced grant are not eligible to apply. There are no citizenship requirements, although in the case of collaborative grants one of the applicants must be a Latin American citizen. The deadline for the receipt of applications is *December 1, 1990*. Individuals requesting application materials for the advanced grants competition should state degrees earned, and submit a short description of the proposed research project. For further information and application materials, contact: Latin American and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

**The John Carter Brown Library** will award approximately 15 short- and long-term research fellowships for the year June 1, 1991 - May 30, 1992. Short-term fellowships are available for periods of two to four months and carry a stipend of \$900 per month. These fellowships are open to foreign nationals as well as to U.S. citizens who are engaged in pre- and postdoctoral, or independent, research. Long-term fellowships, funded by the NEH, are usually for six months and carry a stipend of approximately \$2,300 per month. Applicants for NEH fellowships may not be engaged in graduate work and must be U.S. citizens or have resided in the U.S. for the three years immediately preceding the term of the fellowship. The library's holdings are concentrated on the history of the Western Hemisphere during the colonial period (ca. 1492 to ca. 1825), emphasizing the discovery, exploration, settlement, and development of the Americas and all aspects of European relations with the New World, including the impact of the New World on the Old. Research proposed by fellowship applicants must be suited to the holdings of the library. All fellows are expected to be in regular residence at the library for the entire term of the fellowship. Three of the short-term fellowships have thematic restrictions, in the history of cartography, early maritime history, and the Jewish experience in the New World before 1860. For scholars wishing to work at the library for a period of two to seven weeks, the library offers travel reimbursement grants of up to \$500. The application deadline for fellowships during the 1991-92 year is *January 15, 1991*. Travel grants may be applied for year round, allowing four months lead time. For further information, write to: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

**The Center for Latin American Studies of the University of Pittsburgh and The Howard Heinz Endowment** announce the 1991 competition for grants supporting research on current issues in Latin American politics, economics, foreign policy, sociology, and development. Grants will be considered for research projects dealing with policy issues in the Latin American/Caribbean region significant for the U.S. Research should fall within the context of any of the follow-

ing three thematic areas: (1) current political or socioeconomic relations between the region and the United States, within the region itself, or between the region and other world areas; (2) political and social change -- especially as it concerns democratization, political stability/instability, environmental politics, or the status of minorities; and (3) the success/failure either of models of development and their performance, or specific policies (e.g., inflation control, export promotion, debt reduction, coverage and quality of social services, equity, and poverty). The applicant (principal investigator) must have a Ph.D. or equivalent degree and be affiliated with a scholarly institution. Grant applications for dissertation research will not be considered. The maximum awarded will be \$25,000. Grant funds may be used for release time/salary replacement, travel, maintenance, and data collection/analysis. Grants will not include payment for overhead/indirect costs. Grants will be paid only to the institution of the principal researcher (not directly to the individual). All proposals must be submitted in English on 8 1/2" x 11" paper and must include: (1) a cover sheet with project title, amount requested, approximate dates for proposed research, name/address/telephone number, and institutional affiliation of primary investigator as well as signature of authorizing institutional official; (2) an abstract (maximum of 250 words) describing the project and its significance; (3) a description of the proposed project (not to exceed five single-spaced typewritten pages) including the research methodology and specific objectives appropriate to the proposed schedule and the amount of funding requested; (4) a detailed budget of research expenditures that delineates expenses for each of the four categories (if applicable) specified above; and (5) curriculum vitae of applicant(s). Applications must be *received by February 1, 1991*. Applications sent via fax are not acceptable. For information and application instructions, contact: John Frechione, Program Coordinator, Research Grants on Current Latin American Issues, Center for Latin American Studies, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, USA; 412/648-7395; Fax: 412/648-2199; E-mail (bitnet): SELIGSON@PITTVMS.



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## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

O Centro Regional de Pesquisa Antropológica de Urgência, Amazônia, Brasil, convida os professores e especialistas a participarem do Simpósio sobre o tema: "Pesquisa Antropológica de Urgência e Direitos dos Povos Indígenas face aos Estados" no 47º Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, a realizar-se de 7 a 11 de julho de 1991, em New Orleans, Louisiana, EUA. Face à urgência solicitada pelo Comitê de Programação do Congresso, o centro sugira aos colegas que aderirem a este evento, que encaminhem as informações pedidas (nome, endereço, títulos e resumos dos trabalhos a serem apresentados) diretamente àquele Comitê, para o endereço do Congresso, com cópia para o Centro Regional. Endereços: 47º Congresso Internacional de Americanistas, Comitê de Programação, Roger Thayer Stone Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118-5698, USA; Centro Regional de Pesquisa Antropológica de Urgência, Rua José de Freitas Guimarães, 328, Pacaembu, 01237 São Paulo, SP, Brasil.

"Latin America from a Jewish Perspective" is the theme of a symposium to take place at the 47º Congreso Internacional de Americanistas to be held at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, July 7-11, 1991. Papers on any aspect of this topic and representing any academic discipline are invited. Those wishing to propose a paper to be presented during this specially-arranged symposium should send a brief resume and a one-page abstract to: Judith Elkin, Latin American Jewish Studies Association, 2104 Georgetown Blvd., Ann Arbor, MI 48105; 313/996-2880.

The Midwest Association for Latin American Studies (MALAS) will hold its annual meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, October 12 and 13, 1990. The association is now accepting proposals for papers and panels. Please respond to: Haynes C. Goddard, Director, Latin American Studies, University of Cincinnati, ML 371, Cincinnati, Ohio 45221.

The Latin American Jewish Studies Association (LAJSA) is now accepting paper and panel proposals for its VI International Research Conference, to be held October 6-8, 1991 at the University of Maryland at College Park. Papers may be submitted on any topic related to Latin American Jewish Studies. Papers that address the Quincentenary of the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the encounter with the Americas are particularly welcome. Conference participants must be members of LAJSA. Those wishing to propose a paper or panel should send a one-page abstract of each paper and an abbreviated curriculum vitae for each participant to each member of the program committee at the following addresses: Dr. Judith Elkin, 2104 Georgetown Blvd., Ann Arbor, MI 48105; Dr. Stanley Hordes, 1375 Santa Rosa Drive, Santa Fe, NM 87501; and Dr. Saul Sosnowski,

Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. The deadline for proposals is *September 1, 1990*.

"Humanistic Dilemmas: Translation in the Humanities and the Social Sciences," a conference on scholarly translation, will take place September 26-28, 1991, co-sponsored by the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations, and the Center for Research in Translation of the State University of New York at Binghamton. Compared to the attention paid to the problems of literary translation and of machine translation which coincide with the two ends of the translation spectrum, the specificities of scholarly translation such as the centrality of key concepts and/or canonical texts have gone relatively unanalyzed. This conference has been organized in order to rectify this imbalance and to address some of the major problems and specificities of scholarly translation. The opening panel will feature presentations by Eugene Nida, Sian Reynolds, Lawrence Venuti, and Immanuel Wallerstein. Papers are invited for panels on the subthemes of (1) the Sigmund Freud translation controversy; (2) translation of canonical texts in the humanities and the social sciences, including but not restricted to the works of Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Simone de Beauvoir; and (3) official equivalencies as formulated by international agencies such as the United Nations and the European Economic Community. Send inquiries and abstracts by *September 1, 1990* to: Marilyn Gaddis Rose, Director, Center for Research in Translation, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000; or Immanuel Wallerstein, Director, Fernand Braudel Center, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000.

The Second International Social Studies Conference will take place June 20-23, 1991 at the Miami Inter-Continental Hotel, Miami, Florida. The conference theme is "The Caribbean: Cradle, Crossroads, and Crucible of the Americas." The major purpose of the conference is to bring together social studies professionals from the Caribbean, the Americas, and other areas of the world to exchange views about important regional and global issues, to share professional ideas, and to establish educational networks. The conference will address themes related to the Caribbean region's contributions to world history and culture, and current economic, political, and environmental issues facing the Caribbean today. Proposal forms are available from: Jan L. Tucker, Global Awareness Program, College of Education, Florida International University, University Park, Miami, FL 33199; 305/348-2664; fax 305/559-7251 or 348-3205; E-mail (bitnet) tucker@servax. Proposals must be postmarked by *September 6, 1990*.

The 38th annual meeting of the **South Eastern Council of Latin American Studies (SECOLAS)** will be held February 28 - March 2, 1991 in Jacksonville, FL, under the sponsorship of the University of North Florida. The theme of the conference will be "Latin America and the World." SECOLAS members and others are invited to submit proposals for papers or complete panels to the program co-chairs by *October 1, 1990*. Proposals in literature and the humanities should be submitted to Julie Greer Johnson, Dept. of Romance Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602. Proposals in history and the social sciences should be submitted to Kathleen Logan, Dept. of Sociology, Florida International University, University Park Campus, Miami, FL 33199.

The **Fourth Latin American Book Fair** will be held *October 11-14, 1990* at New York University's Loeb Student Center in New York, New York. The focus of this fair will be Mexican publishing; it will be part of "Mexico: A Work of Art," a series of cultural activities and art exhibits taking place in October and November throughout New York City. Octavio Paz, one of many Mexican writers who will be present at the Book Fair, will give a reading on opening night. The goals of the fair are to encourage contact among publishers, writers, translators and distributors, throughout Latin America, Spain and the United States; to promote the distribution of books in Spanish and Portuguese in the United States; to offer the Latin American community in the United States the opportunity to familiarize itself with books published in Latin America and Spain; and to hold a cultural festival featuring readings, conferences, music, art, theater, and activities for children. For more information about the fair, contact Isaac Goldemberg or David Unger, Fourth Latin American Book Fair, Division of Humanities NAC 6293, The City College of New York, New York, NY 10031; 212/650-7382 or 212/650-7383.

The 36th annual meeting of the **Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies** will be held in San Francisco, California 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's theme. Special sessions will be held on environmental, educational, and women's issues, bilingualism, migration, and Chicano and Latino issues in the U.S., and many others. For more information about the meeting, contact Dr. Carlos B. Cordova, Associate Professor, La Raza Studies Department, San Francisco State University, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, CA 94132; 415/338-2419.

The **Association of Borderlands Scholars** and the **Western Social Science Association** will jointly hold their annual meeting April 24-27, 1991, in Reno, Nevada. Papers and

panels from any discipline that relates to the U.S.-Mexican border, the Canadian border or any other border regions, including comparative border studies, are welcome. Scholars are encouraged to form whole panels around a single topic. Panel proposals should contain a brief description of the panel and paper titles and the names, addresses, and phone numbers of all presenters and discussants. Paper proposals should include the paper title, a one-paragraph description of the paper, and the name, address, phone number and fax number of the presenter. The deadline for proposals is *November 15, 1990*. For more information, contact: Dr. C. Richard Bath, Vice President/Program Chairman, Association of Borderlands Scholars, Center for Inter-American and Border Studies, University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968-0002.

The **Comparative and International Education Society (CIES)** will hold its annual conference March 14-17, 1991, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, hosted by the University of Pittsburgh's Institute for International Studies in Education. CIES is a North American-based organization with membership from around the world. Conference participants, who represent a wide variety of experiences and perspectives, share an interest in the organization, content, and processes of formal and nonformal education in the context of cultural, economic, and political dynamics at the local, national and global levels. The conference features plenary sessions, symposia, and concurrent panel presentations focusing on comparative studies of educational policy and practice in different countries, analyses of developments in a single society, and discussions of programs designed to foster international understanding and global awareness. The theme for the 1991 Conference, "Education and Changing Social Realities," is meant to be enabling and not restrictive, and focuses on how past, present, and future changes in the world may influence formal and nonformal education; how curriculum and other aspects of education may need to be changed given changing social realities; and how education (including international and global education programs) may help to bring about local, national, and global changes. Proposal deadline: *November 16, 1990*. For more information, contact: Dr. Mark B. Ginsburg, CIES President-Elect, Director, Institute for International Studies in Education, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, 5R01 Forbes Quadrangle, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; 412/648-1783; fax 412/648-5911.

The 23rd National Convention of the **American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS)** will be held November 22-25, 1991 in Miami, Florida. The meeting will have two related themes: Soviet and East European Studies in Latin America; and Soviet and East European Relations with Latin America. Proposals are being accepted for complete panels (not individual papers) and should normally

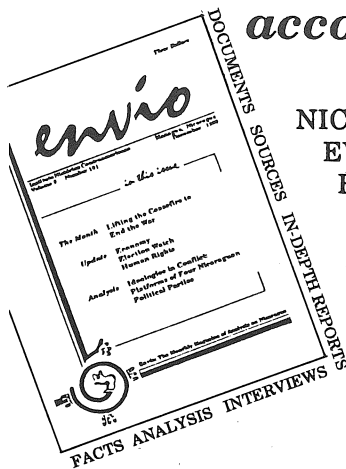
involve the presentation of prepared papers. Proposals for roundtables should be submitted only when the topic clearly justifies this format. Special consideration will be given to those proposals which include presentations by advanced graduate students and/or untenured faculty. The AAASS normally accepts proposals only from members, but has made a special provision in this case and will accept proposals from LASA members who identify themselves as such. For proposal forms and a list of Program Committee members, contact the AAASS, 128 Encina Commons, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6029; 415/723-9668; Fax: 415/725-7737. The deadline for proposals is *January 1, 1991*.

The Second Conference on **Hispanic Culture on the Pacific Coast of the Americas** will be held May 2-4, 1991 at the University of Oregon. "Hemispheric Challenges for the 1990s" is the broad theme designed to stimulate interdisciplinary scholarly debate on issues such as the new political reality in contemporary societies in the region, cultural confrontation with nationalism and racism, inter-

American environmental challenges, evaluating mass media, new cultural and literary trends, and others. Abstracts should be submitted no later than *January 31, 1991* to: Prof. Juan Armando Eppe, Department of Romance Languages, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97303; 503/346-4042; fax 503/346-3127.

The Ford Foundation Program in Comparative Scientific Traditions will sponsor a conference on "Understanding the Natural World: Science Cross-Culturally Considered," June 20-22, 1991 at Hampshire College, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts. The conference will examine science broadly as ways of observing, explaining, predicting and controlling events in the natural world. Comparative papers and papers focusing on non-Western sciences are solicited. Some supplementary funding may be available to support travel from the Third World. Send abstracts to Kathleen Dugan, School of Natural Science, Hampshire College, Amherst, MA 01002; 413/549-4600 x667; E-mail KDUGAN@hampvms.bitnet.

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**Latin American Studies Association  
XVI International Congress  
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Mail four copies to:  
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1991 LASA Film Festival  
Bucknell University  
Lewisburg, PA 17837  
(717) 524-3760

Film Council:  
LaVonne C. Poteet  
Julianne Burton  
Dennis West  
Randal Johnson

**PROPOSAL FOR FILM FESTIVAL SUBMISSIONS**

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

Films and videos chosen for the FESTIVAL are designated as recipients of the 1991 LASA Award of Merit in Film for "excellence in the visual presentation of educational and artistic materials on Latin America." Approximately 15 such awards will be made. Selection criteria are: artistic, technical, and cinematographic excellence; uniqueness of contribution to the visual presentation of materials on Latin America; and relevance to disciplinary, geographic, and thematic interests of LASA members, as evidenced by topics proposed for panels, workshops, and roundtables at recent congresses. Films and videos released after June 1989 and those that will premiere at the congress will be given special consideration if they also meet the above criteria. Please submit applications for films or videos for the juried LASA Film Festival by *January 15, 1991*, to the above address.

The noncompetitive FILM EXHIBIT of Latin American films, videos, and descriptive materials (brochures, catalogues, etc.) is organized in conjunction with the book exhibit. For information, contact Harve C. Horowitz & Associates, LASA Film Exhibit, 11620 Vixens Path, Ellicott City, MD 21043; 301/997-0763.

Title of work: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Distributor (name and address): \_\_\_\_\_

Director: \_\_\_\_\_ Producer: \_\_\_\_\_

Year of release: \_\_\_\_\_ Screening time: \_\_\_\_\_ Language: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Your name: \_\_\_\_\_ Affiliation: \_\_\_\_\_

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

**LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**  
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**INDIVIDUAL Membership for Calendar Year 1990: \_\_\_\_\_ Renewal; \_\_\_\_\_ New Application**  
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We encourage you to contribute to the LASA Endowment Fund. .... \$ \_\_\_\_\_

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**LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION**  
 William Pitt Union, 9th Floor  
 University of Pittsburgh  
 Pittsburgh, PA 15260  
 FAX: (412) 624-7145 BITNET: LASA@PITTVMS

**INSTITUTIONAL Membership for Calendar Year 1990: \_\_\_\_\_ Renewal; \_\_\_\_\_ New Application**  
**(Dues are for the 1990 calendar year: January 1 - December 31.)**

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Requirements are: significant experience as a Latin American bibliographer (including acquiring Latin American research materials from a wide variety of sources) *or comparable academic experience*; excellent language skills in Spanish and a reading knowledge of Portuguese; intimate knowledge of the history, politics, economics and cultures of Latin America; ability to communicate effectively verbally and in writing; and ability to work effectively and creatively in a complex environment.

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Box 35 Butler Library  
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**Deadline for applications is August 15, 1990.**

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## DISPLAY YOUR BOOKS AT LASA'91

LASA members interested in displaying titles at LASA'91 should advise Harve Horowitz, LASA's advertising/exhibits representative, of their latest publications for promotion at the XVI International Congress in Washington, DC. Not only is this a valuable opportunity to bring titles of interest to the attention of your colleagues, but publishers can benefit from the marketing potential of congress exhibits and program advertising. Use one of the forms below to alert your publisher to this opportunity or to notify our representative directly.

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Please contact Harve C. Horowitz, LASA Advertising/Exhibits Representative, 11620 Vixens Path, Ellicott City, MD 21043 (301-997-0763) concerning promotion of my title(s) listed below at the XVI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, April 4-6, 1991, Hyatt-Regency Hotel, Crystal City, Virginia.

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Title _____	Year _____
-------------	------------

Title _____	Year _____
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Author/LASAMember \_\_\_\_\_

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## **LASA 1991 Membership Campaign Begins Soon**

Advance registration forms for XVI International Congress and 1991 membership renewal forms will be sent to LASA members in September 1990. Although this may seem early, we will actually be on track for 1991. Hurricane Hugo and the cancellation of the San Juan congress delayed the 1990 membership drive. Take advantage of the advance registration discount by renewing in the Fall, and insure your prompt receipt of LASA publications and LASA'91 congress materials. Please look for the information packet in September's mail. LASA appreciates your help in registering and renewing as soon as possible.

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William Pitt Union, Room 946  
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Pittsburgh, PA 15260

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