

# LASA Forum

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### The Prospects for Economic Transformation In Latin America: Opportunities and Resistances

by  
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1991 LASA Silvert Award Winner

*(Editor's note: The following is an edited version of a paper presented by Professor Urquidi at the Silvert Award panel, LASA XVI International Congress, April 4, 1991)*

The choice of the word "transformation" over the term "development," in the title of this paper, is deliberate. The connotation of the latter term, at least in Latin America, derives from early and simple formulations. Until "development" set in, the Latin American economies were dependent economies and societies of the nineteenth-century type, expected to be the source of important raw materials and basic products to feed the manufacturing plants and the consumer households of the growing industrial countries of the Northern Hemisphere. Foreign capital in the form of direct investment, and subscription to bond issues were supposed to be the main sources of external financing directed at increasing productive capacity for export to world markets. The depression of the 1930s—preceded in many Latin American countries by a succession of trade, financial and foreign exchange crises and by abrupt political changes and revolutions—put an end to those means of raising growth capital.

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### U.S.-Latin American Relations Contrasting Views of the Future

Individuals who organize sessions for LASA's International Congresses perform an invaluable service for the Association. The academics and practitioners they bring together have the opportunity to air their ideas and their findings in the court of scholarly opinion. Publications that ensue often have the benefit of advice and criticism from colleagues who attend panel and workshop sessions or acquire papers presented at the meeting.

Professor William Crotty of Northwestern University organized one of LASA's 25th Anniversary Plenary Sessions, entitled "U.S. Policy Towards Latin America: A New Era?" The participants were Bernard Aronson, Assistant Secretary of States for Inter-American Affairs and Professors Abraham F. Lowenthal and Howard J. Wiarda.

Professor Crotty noted two main objectives of the plenary. The first of these was to bring together top government policymakers and LASA scholars of U.S.-Latin American relations. In a communication to the *Forum* Crotty noted that the "level of commitment, the academic reservoir of available knowledge and the intellectual and cultural diversity" of individuals who could be assembled at a LASA International Congress is unsurpassed.

Uniting in some form these people with those who make policy in the area is an important exercise. LASA represents a constituency that should be addressed in policymaking and has much to offer in terms of a more informed, variegated and hands-on perspective than that of policymakers who deal with the region. . . . LASA members and their concerns should have direct contact, to the extent possible, with those in power to make decisions.

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Economic Transformation in Latin America, continued

TOWARD A TWENTIETH-CENTURY ECONOMY

Early industrializing efforts derived further stimulus, first, from the impact of the international recession and the effect of the decline in prices of basic products on foreign exchange receipts (Maddison 1985); second, from the massive devaluations of the Latin American currencies; and third, and most important, from a change in policies—inspired partly by the protectionist trends of the European industrial countries and the United States. Many countries in the region entered a new stage—one that a U.S. economist of the time was to designate as "deliberate industrialization." In most parts of Latin America the urge to speed up industrialization was strong, and with the help of the World War II boom and the scarcities of industrial goods that it generated, a new path of development was launched: inwardly-oriented industrialization under protective devices.

On the external front, in the mid-1940s, at the Chapultepec Conference, unmistakable signals for the postwar period were given by the United States to the Latin American governments: wartime agreements on markets for basic products were to be abandoned, with commodity prices left to the free play of market forces; trade was to be liberalized (especially by Latin America); and foreign direct investment was to be promoted as the main source of long-term capital (Urquidí 1945, 1964). Adherence in 1946 to the IMF and IBRD Articles of Agreement also foreshadowed an international policy of return to free-exchange markets and to limited and conditioned external loans. In 1948, the UN Trade Conference at Havana was strongly slanted in the direction of multilateral free trade, but failed to produce anything more than the GATT, to which adherence was voluntary.

Also in 1948, under the auspices of the newly-created UN Economic Commission for Latin America, some of the Latin American dissatisfaction on international economic policies and issues found its expression in the famous Prebisch document calling for a new development policy (CEPAL 1948, 1950). Implicit in this new policy was the notion that the state should assume the principal responsibility for promoting development, including industrialization, and to expand economic and social infrastructure beyond market signals. In fact, many countries in the region had already embarked on such policies, and such notions were not particularly objected to by economists and policy-makers in the North. The U.S., in fact, already had experienced significant success in its recovery policies in the 1930s, and European countries—France, Great Britain, and Sweden, for instance—were examples of *dirigisme* in other places.

The Prebisch-CEPAL manifesto (Hirschman 1971, 1987) also was based on the assumption that commodity markets in the 1950s would be weak and that the terms of trade for Latin America had shown a strong tendency to decline—at least the 1947-48 recession was not showing a better prospect. That was all the more reason to follow an import-substitution policy, since, with few exceptions, reliance on exports of a few basic products afflicted with price instability would not bring in the needed foreign exchange to finance imports of capital goods, motor vehicles and a host of new products—especially household durables—to meet the rising consumer demand of the middle classes. Thus the key question for Latin American policymakers was, as always, one of accessing suitable external finance.

At the Bogotá conference in April 1948, which gave birth to the Organization of American States, the U.S., through its Secretary of State, General George Marshall, made it abundantly clear that official development funds would not be forthcoming in large amounts, much less would a "Marshall Plan for Latin America" be enacted; the newly-industrializing countries in the region should attract foreign direct investment. No assurance was given, of course, that private investment would actually fulfill such expectations, nor was the investment climate—in light of European developments—particularly favorable.

Latin Americans had hoped for a large development bank for the region. An Inter-American Bank had been proposed as far back as 1939 (Villaseñor 1948), and other, broader and less responsible proposals arose in Argentina. Some new direct investment actually had started to move into the industrial manufacturing field in a number of Latin American countries as soon as World War II ended, partly seduced by protectionist policies, but the Latin American attitude was still ambivalent in view of the dominance of foreign investments in petroleum and mining and the weakness of the domestic business groups. Past external debt defaults by a number of countries were still on the books as well.

However, events turned out to be more promising for Latin America's external sector than had been foreseen. Expansion in the 1950s, with European recovery on track, increased the demand for many basic goods produced in Latin America. Some of the capital allocated to European countries via the Marshall Fund, which was allowed to be spent off-shore, found its way to Latin America. Also, the IMF in its first years became reluctantly flexible in allowing serious lapses from Articles VIII and XIV of the Fund Agreement; thus differential exchange rates, various forms of exchange and import controls and licensing, etc., were maintained, mainly in South America. These measures, justified by acute foreign exchange scarcities, were used also as protective devices to favor industrialization. The World Bank had begun a modest flow of project loans, for electrici-

ty and other utilities, and for road building and agriculture (not, by the way, for industrial expansion). The Eximbank and other agencies were instrumental in bolstering payment for needed imports of various kinds, including capital goods. Later, suppliers' credits from Europe appeared on the scene.

In 1954, at an Inter-American conference of Ministers of Finance held in Brazil, one of the few specific recommendations adopted—with the U.S. and Peru abstaining—was that a special committee of experts be convened to draft a proposal for an Inter-American Bank. This took some time to materialize, but the IDB finally came into being six years later and started its lending operations after a few months (Herrera 1962; Upton 1988).

The trends in the 1950s were on the whole favorable: exports began to increase moderately, as did necessary imports of capital and intermediate goods; old foreign debts had been mostly settled; a modest net inflow of capital funds, from multilateral and official sources as well as new investments by transnational corporations, began to contribute with what ECLA was later to term "external savings." GDP growth, however shaky the figures from those early attempts at calculating the national accounts, was above five percent on average, which left a per capita margin of slightly over two percent.

#### FROM THE 1950s TO THE 1980s

It had been clear to many observers, nevertheless—and especially to the CEPAL Secretariat—that most countries in the region faced serious structural problems, connected with education, land tenure, lack of transport infrastructure, rural poverty and the like. Rapid population expansion, deriving mainly from high birth rates coupled with a steep decline in mortality, was beginning to cause some concern, mainly for its effect on the high rate of urbanization. The ECLA reports had brought many of these issues to the fore, at the regional level and, in greater detail, through many country studies. Development efforts had not been sufficient to break the rigidities, to enlarge the market economy and to ensure industrial efficiency. Some countries began to export quite small amounts of manufactures, but economic and trade policies looked mostly inward, and ultraprotectionism became popular; it created employment for the rising labor force without much attention having to be paid to the ultimate cost. It is noteworthy that many warnings were given in due time by Prebisch (1963), Hirschman (1971) and Macario (1964), among others, but not exactly heeded.

The question of substantial external financial aid and international cooperation from the industrialized countries remained latent. The issue had been discussed at the meeting of Ministers of Finance in Brazil in 1954, on the

basis of a comprehensive document submitted by CEPAL (1954). International financing needs at first found their regional political expression in 1958 in President Juscelino Kubitchek's proposal for an Operation Pan America. However, it led only to the adoption, under the Act of Bogotá in 1960, of President Dwight Eisenhower's offer to create a special \$500 million Fund for Social Development, to be administered by the IDB (Urquidí 1964).

A new international recession and the Cuban Revolution in 1959 had important implications. These and other events, including the influence of the CEPAL Secretariat and of certain policy-makers in Puerto Rico and the U.S. mainland, made it possible to design the Alliance for Progress as a framework for enhanced capital transfer to Latin America. Financial cooperation was to be offered in exchange for, and as a means to induce, what were then called structural changes: mainly land reform, education and health programs, rural development and urban improvement, and progressive tax reform. All this occurred in the context of the then commendable and accepted notions on development planning or programming, partly CEPAL-style, which, after all, had prevailed in Puerto Rico with considerable success. Appropriate inter-American mechanisms were created to supervise the carrying out of the Alliance programs.

It had been variously estimated that the Alliance would require some \$20 billion over a decade, from several sources, mostly public (there was no particular emphasis on the need for increased private direct investment) (Urquidí 1964). Although the Alliance effort declined soon after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, some of the momentum was maintained. One calculation shows that official external funding approximated the average annual target of \$2,000 million (gross) between 1961 and 1965, and again in the 1966-1970 period. The ten-year annual average, at least in terms of authorizations, was \$2,229 million in current U.S. dollars, of which international financial institutions accounted for almost one-half and U.S. bilateral aid for almost another half (Scheman 1988). The Latin American countries did not, however, live up fully, or even sufficiently, to their own commitments for structural changes and reforms. Domestic political resistance and vested interests were strong.

On the whole, the 1960s showed GDP advance on the order of five and one-half percent annually and significant gains were achieved in per capita income, as well as education, health, rural conditions, and urban infrastructure. However, income distribution—today subsumed under the term "equity"—remained as skewed as ever, with the usual exception of Costa Rica and the non-comparable case of Cuba. The prosperity of the 1960s resulted in a papering over of many still unresolved fundamental problems (Urquidí 1983). The 1970s, with acute instability in the world economy, intensified by the oil shocks and the resulting recycling of



financial resources, served only to highlight those problems. Among the most critical areas to attend to were the following: agricultural modernization and strengthening of the rural market; effective tax reform; industrial efficiency and productivity; long-term energy policies; environmental issues and the cost of environmental protection; human resource development, including education and health services; better formulation and implementation of population policies; scientific and technological development; and a reevaluation of development programming techniques. Little of this had been achieved by 1980, and new problems had arisen, mainly the high levels of external indebtedness and debt service. The 1970s still showed an average GDP growth of six percent, but rather unevenly distributed as some countries, notably the net oil importers, suffered serious setbacks.

The external debt crisis exploded in 1982, revealing, among other things, the basic structural problems of Latin American development which had been covered up by easy access to external financing. As countries engaged in short-term adjustments and financial restructuring to try to meet external debt obligations and control inflation, the economies began to decline in real terms.

Data compiled over the last nine years (CEPAL 1990a, 1990b) show that Latin America has become, through negative external transfer of some four percent of GDP, a contributor to the growth and well-being of the industrialized economies without receiving much or anything in return. Most of the economies in the region were put in a position in which, even with Herculean short- and medium-term adjustments, they would be unable easily to resume growth, much less what until then was called "development." Zero GDP growth over a period of almost a decade, implying a decline of nearly ten percent in per capita GDP, is an experience that few groups of countries in the world have had in the absence of a serious military defeat. To what extent this damage has been self-inflicted or the blame should be shared with the creditor countries should best be left to future historians.

In economic terms, Latin America's own war on poverty, waged during the preceding thirty years, was lost during the 1980s. Declining GDP per capita, increasing internal inequality, higher unemployment and underemployment rates, stagnant total exports, excessive external debt service, and a large outtransfer of real resources equivalent to more than one-third of domestic savings, constitute, taken as a whole, a complex set of steps backward. CEPAL has designated the 1980s as the "lost decade" (CEPAL 1990a).

#### THE "LOST DECADE" AND ITS ORIGINS

This is where we stand today, with only some incipient signs

of economic recovery—and hardly any renewal of social development—in less than half a dozen countries. It is significant that the nations experiencing at least some recovery are either those in which external indebtedness did not get out of hand, as in Chile and Colombia, or where there were effective renegotiations of debt involving sizeable cancellation, as in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela. Reduction of public sector deficits, involving budget cuts and privatization, has also been a major factor in adjustment and in holding down inflation, although it has not been able of itself to set the economies in full motion.

All things considered, however, perhaps the expression "lost decade" should be shed, for even in economic and social adversity there is much to be learnt and new energies became available for release. Not all was lost, nor was the loss the same in every country. It is true that judging by today's standards, Latin America on the whole has not made a great success of its development policies. But current standards of judgment are influenced by many new elements, among them the success of some of the Southeast Asian and Pacific Rim economies in rapidly and aggressively entering the world market for manufactures, the turning away from economic interventionism in most of the industrialized countries and the widespread advocacy of private enterprise and "free" markets, or at least of fully developed market economies as the new paradigm.

The Latin American countries, for the most part, are depicted as having followed erroneous inward-looking industrialization policies in the past, thus creating inefficient, non-competitive manufacturing industry; as having allowed the public sector to grow excessively beyond its true function and thus imposing an undue economic burden on society through subsidies, inefficiency and corruption; and as having indulged, for a number of both internal and external reasons, in vastly increased external borrowing under onerous terms, without adequate evaluation of programs and projects, nor of capacity to earn foreign exchange from which to service the loans. All this has been accompanied by inconsistent development programs, poor short-term economic and financial management, and, above all, exchange rate policies that created incentives for capital flight.

As far back as the 1970s, however, it should have been clear that the world economy as a whole was entering into a period of instability and change, accompanied by economic slowdown, that would affect negatively the development prospects of Latin American and other developing regions dependent on exports of basic products. Some Latin American countries, notably Brazil, and in less measure Argentina and Mexico, had begun to offset this dependency by means of exports of manufactures. But the oil shocks, and the consequent large-scale recycling of petrodollars through the world commercial banking system, which

followed upon the Eurodollars of the early 1970s, placed a new veil over the true, the real, development issues. Either foreign exchange resources came in too fast—for the net oil exporters in Latin America—or the availability of easy external credit enabled the net oil importers to maintain their imports and their growth rates without making any serious adjustments.

The extent and rapidity of external indebtedness, which rose tenfold from 1970 to 1980, from US\$ 23 billion to 223 billion, was beyond absorption capacity and contributed to inflationary pressures and to balance of payments disequilibria of unprecedented magnitude. The oil shocks were detrimental to the formation of a consistent basis for steady growth. But governments and private sectors were impatient: tax policies and prudent financial policies gave way to enlargement of public sector deficits and to heavy borrowing, on ever shorter and more expensive terms (World Bank 1985).

By the early 1980s, the damage was done and it was difficult if not almost impossible for most of the Latin American economies to maintain their rates of domestic investment and economic growth. As soon as the lenders became fully aware of the possibility of default, they actually induced it, whether unwittingly or not, by suspending rollovers and new lending in mid-1982. From there on, the Latin American countries, for the most part, failed to meet their obligations, or sought renegotiations which did little or nothing to alleviate the burden of external interest payments, or at best enabled them to borrow to pay interest—to "borrow from Peter to pay Paul" (Urquidí 1986). At the same time they entered into an extremely difficult process of adjustment, generally under pressure from the IMF, that had heavy political and social implications.

This long process initiated in 1983-84 and still current today in most Latin American countries, has been well documented (CEPAL 1990a), and many lessons have been drawn from it, not all of them entirely positive. Stabilization efforts in Argentina, Brazil and Peru have failed completely and they have not been well defined in Colombia and Venezuela. They have finally succeeded to a considerable extent only in Bolivia, Mexico and Costa Rica (Williamson 1990).

As CEPAL has clearly shown, the 1983-1990 period has been one of virtual GDP stagnation, with persistence of a high external debt burden involving allocation of 25 to 30 percent of foreign exchange proceeds merely to interest payments. These orders of magnitude have prevailed even after the Baker and Brady initiatives and their limited application, plus the efforts of certain countries to reduce their debt through swaps and various other alternatives, taking advantage of the lower debt-asset values in the secondary markets.

If an economy suddenly reduces its rate of investment by a large percentage and engages in real budget curtailments on current expenditures, e.g. on education and health, and compresses real purchasing power through restrictive wage policies or by allowing inflation to remain largely uncontrolled, the basic infrastructure will rapidly deteriorate. This is what has happened in Latin America (as if a war had destroyed it). Industrial plant, although partly idle and, according to some, "available" to be utilized as soon as demand picks up, has become largely obsolete. This is particularly true where technological innovation has been curtailed, either because of immediate diminished demand or because local supporting R&D is very weak or totally absent.

Moreover, in Latin America, the still high population growth rates produced a high rate of increase in the labor force. In many countries in the region, labor force growth is of the order of three and one-half percent annually. As expenditures on education and health and other services have declined and as infrastructure has deteriorated, the reduced real expenditures of the last ten years have had to be spread among 25 percent more inhabitants i.e., 87 million more people, equal to the present population of Mexico. As real demand plunged and the labor force increase could not be absorbed, open unemployment, now disguised as the "underground economy," has risen to unprecedented levels. Such marginal activities produce no social security, and cannot be part of a long-term strategy.

## PRESCRIPTIONS, DILEMMAS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The danger is that many can be led to think that with some external debt alleviation, some adjustment, some stabilization efforts—essentially some muddling through and some reorientation of manufacturing industry to highly competitive international markets, the economies can be started up and can resume growth and even "development," especially in new directions.

These efforts are destined to be only marginally effective. Industrial modernization, with technological innovation, and accompanied by lower import tariffs and liberalization of other import restrictions, helps to produce manufactures for export, reduces cost to the domestic consumer and brings about some new employment. It also lays the basis for longer-term participation in world markets, not merely with the alleged advantage of low wages (aided by real rates of exchange) but also with technological advances.

However, new or renewed manufacturing branches do not materialize over the whole economy: older branches remain stagnant or decline, or delay modernization—particularly the

adoption of high-tech labor-saving and labor-displacing technology—because of lack of financial resources and the high real cost of borrowing. They may also have to close down, thus launching vast numbers of the virtual unemployed on to the already weak labor markets. Thus the broader participation in world markets benefits only certain sectors or regions in the national economies, and is accompanied by decline, unemployment and rising poverty in the traditional branches.

One can easily agree with the general diagnosis and prescription that has been recently made by CEPAL, and with the exhortation to "transform productive structures in the region in a framework of increasing social equity" (CEPAL 1990a). The question is: how? And, what is meant by "equity"?

It seems that "productive transformation" is taken by CEPAL to stand for several processes of change. One is the adoption of policies comprising reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers, short-term adjustments to reduce inflation, reallocation of public sector resources, and rapid incorporation of technological innovations, all within a context of less government intervention and stringent limitations on the scope of the public sector. The result is supposed to be the achievement of enhanced competitiveness, presumably within the Latin American economies as well as between the Latin American countries and the outside world.

But "transformation" also appears to mean the deliberate expansion, aided by the redirection of domestic and international financial resources and by foreign direct investment, of manufacturing and other industries for the supply of international markets. Competitiveness is assumed to automatically enlarge the share of world markets that Latin American industries should be able to supply, with little said about the domestic market or the intra-sector or inter-sector adjustment problems.

And "transformation with equity" seems to mean that all this difficult process of turning around from inward looking ultra-protectionism to outward, export-led industrial expansion, must take place at the same time that serious attention is given to programs to redress long-standing inequality and the ten-year backlog in the satisfaction of basic needs; in other words, to make significant dents in the prevalence and increase in poverty.

If the transformation that actually occurs creates a shift toward internationally-competitive manufacturing and other activities, and also toward raising productivity and efficiency in traditional industry serving the domestic market, as well in the accompanying services, well and good. Otherwise, indiscriminate trade openings will lead, as in some countries already, to imports of every conceivable everyday commodity,

not always of good quality. Such imports, contrary to the arguments of some, appear not to have induced lower domestic prices but merely to have produced higher profits for distributors and other intermediaries, especially in economies where imports are less than ten percent of aggregate demand and inflation is rampant or still high. Such imports also may have contributed to a higher rate of secular unemployment, though they may generate income in the underground economy. But if imports are to be allowed to increase under low tariffs, elimination of licensing and slightly overvalued currencies, then they need to be offset by a much higher volume of exports, consistent with the urge to gain larger shares in external markets.

The need to break away from inward-looking import substitution and to engage in export substitution, or simply in efforts to export manufactures on a larger scale, has long ago been advocated (Prebisch 1986; Hirschman 1971; Balassa et al. 1986). The opportunity now exists to organize structured export-oriented programs involving not only the maintenance of real rates of exchange but the development of fiscal incentives, special financing facilities and a series of domestic programs relating to quality control, design for export markets, aggressive marketing, precise delivery schedules, specially-oriented technological research, training in management and marketing, and so forth. Fundamentally, Latin American manufacturers, coddled by past ultraprotectionism, must readapt to the idea of international competitiveness and regard exports not as an occasional line of business but as part of a broader economic horizon on a permanent basis. This may take time, and meanwhile it is the transnational corporations, under long-term strategies of their own adopted some years ago, and with much more foresight, that largely take advantage of the export opportunities and markets. The Latin American economies, to paraphrase Hirschman, are unquestionably "late late exporters."

## REGIONAL APPROACHES AND THE MATTER OF THE DEBT

The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative announced by President George Bush in June, 1990 is essentially a political plea for "free government and free markets." It recognizes that the challenge for the U.S. is to respond "in ways that support the positive changes now taking place in the hemisphere . . . [as a means to] forge a genuine partnership for free market reform." The Initiative proposes a Hemisphere-wide free trade zone, a new flow of investment capital and a new approach to ease the debt burden. The idea that U.S. trade with Latin America has declined because of "over-restrictive" trade barriers in Latin America may be a considerable overstatement, since the excessive debt burden

has been the most responsible for the general economic slowdown and the reduction in imports (not only from the U.S. but from other areas). Nevertheless, if the U.S., through the Uruguay Round and through bilateral agreements, succeeds in ensuring that tariff and non-tariff barriers will be greatly reduced on Latin American products, this will benefit the export-led transformation strategy of the Latin American region. But the basic asymmetry must be recognized: the U.S. should be prepared to open its markets to Latin American products more freely than the reverse, at least in the initial stages, which may last a long time. Whether or not this process will eventually lead to the "ultimate aim [of] a free trade system that links all of the Americas"—à la European Community—can best be left, for the time being, to the rhetoricians. The Initiative recognizes, in any event, that "bilateral framework agreements" are likely to be a first step.

However, the trade policy approach begs the question of, precisely, the economic recovery and transformation of the Latin American economies, and this brings one back to the question of how to mobilize savings and investment for renewed development. On this matter, the Bush Initiative has little to say except to argue for liberalization of policies in Latin America to encourage foreign direct investment, for which purpose the IDB will administer a modest initial contribution of US\$ 100 million, and possibly US\$400 million more over four additional years, for a new "investment fund for the Americas."

This fund, to which contributions are also expected from other countries, is to make "grants in response to market-oriented reforms in progress in privatization." In addition, it proposes that the IDB join the World Bank and the IMF in supporting commercial bank debt reduction and that the U.S. Government should cancel, under certain conditions, part of the U.S. official debt due from Latin America, estimated to be US\$ 12 billion. This is encouraging, but unfortunately fails to meet the gross external debt burden problems of the Latin American region. The Brady scheme seems to have exhausted its momentum, perhaps because of the reluctance of the international commercial banks (especially the U.S. banks) to further engage in that type of operation and also because Latin America in the meantime continues to transfer \$25 to \$30 billion annually to the world commercial banks on interest payments alone.

It must be recognized beyond doubt that this transfer remains the basic constraint on a renewal of Latin American development and on part of the transformation process. This has been made unmistakably clear by CEPAL over the years, and again in its latest diagnostic and prescriptive reports (CEPAL 1990a, 1990c). To put it succinctly, CEPAL argues that to raise the investment ratio from 16 percent to 22 percent of GDP — a not unreasonable calculation for

reaching a higher rate of growth and transformation in the future—the region would require the allocation of about US\$ 70 billion to aggregate gross savings. Even if the net outtransfer of resources were reduced to zero from its present level of about \$30 billion, it would cover less than one-half of the gross investment needs, though, in my view, it would be essential. For even with fiscal reforms, budget improvements and increases in personal and business savings, it would be extremely difficult, for some years to come, to meet such a target (CEPAL 1990a, 1990c), and this outcome involves heroic assumptions.

Thus, it is my contention that unless the external debt burden of interest payments in foreign exchange is very substantially reduced, the hopes placed on transformation, trade treaties and other reforms, will not come to much. This is the real challenge facing both Latin America and the international community. No international body or grouping has yet come to grips with this major challenge, nor does the world seem ready yet, in view of other immediate concerns, for a radical and permanent solution to the external indebtedness which the developing countries incurred during the 1970s and 1980s.

#### IN CONCLUSION

Latin America must rely essentially on its own efforts. Where some external debt alleviation and reasonable inflation control have been achieved, the transformation path will be less difficult. Besides intense export promotion, rational import substitution with moderate tariff protection will be needed. A new phase of regional integration will also be helpful—not mere tinkering with tariff preferences under the present limited schemes, but new joint ventures in countries with substantial markets. As Latin American manufactures become competitive in world markets they should likewise become competitive in regional markets, provided discriminatory measures are eliminated and some semblance of free and stable foreign exchange transactions can be assured. A new strategy must be found.

There is no simple model for Latin American countries to follow, and they should beware of accepting uncritically what I call the "political economy of elsewhere," frequently recommended by experts from outside. Hirschman has warned of the new penchant for "ideological preachings" from the North. We should also recall Kalman Silvert's earlier rejection of "lineal and single-cause explanations" in political thought and action, in favor of the "universal and the unique, the generalizable and the particular, the variable and the invariable" (Silvert 1970). These wise words apply fully to economic thought and action today.

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**The Charles G. Gillespie Fund** has been created to honor the memory of our late colleague, Charlie Gillespie. Charlie was an outstanding young scholar and friend to many in the Latin American Studies community. In keeping with Charlie's scholarly interests, the fund will undertake travel expenses of Uruguayan participants to upcoming International Congresses. Contributors should make checks payable to LASA (earmarked for the Gillespie Fund). Address: LASA Secretariat, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

—CHARLES G. GILLESPIE FUND COMMITTEE

U.S.-Latin American Relations, continued

But Crotty also felt that LASA should provide an audience for the views of policymakers, so that a genuine exchange could take place:

This has not always been the case in the past and, in fact, the interactions between the representatives of government and LASA often have been strained and even hostile, suggesting an adversarial relationship with limited potential for communication. The intention was to open lines of argument and information and, although this is uncertain, provide a basis for future such exchanges at LASA International Congresses. This was considered a worthy objective for one of LASA's two 25th Anniversary Plenary Sessions.

LASA President Jean Franco, in extending an invitation to Secretary Aronson, wrote that "we feel that this [plenary session] is an unrivalled opportunity both for the policies of the Bush Administration to be presented and also for our members to gain some insight into policymaking in this

area." Incoming President Lars Schoultz noted that the encounter would provide for a "frank but civil" exchange of views among government, policymakers and the membership of LASA. Congress attendees filled the Regency Ballroom for the session, attesting to the importance of this kind of activity for the Association.

Professor Crotty's second major objective for the plenary was to provide an assessment of the role of the United States in Latin America in the years to come. What follows are extended and more formalized presentations of the remarks made in the session by Professors Lowenthal and Wiarda that speak to this theme. That there is a sharp difference between these two specialists about the future importance of Latin America in overall United States foreign policy is clear.

The *Forum* invites responses from its readers to these papers, published as they were received. A fruitful exchange might involve not just "choosing sides" in the debate or adding new perspectives to the effort to look into the future, but perhaps even examining the premises underlying the overall conceptual frameworks of each of the papers.

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## United States Policy Toward Latin America A New Era of Benign Neglect?

by

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Latin America's standing in Washington, DC, among the U.S. foreign policy community, and in terms of the rank ordering of foreign policy areas of priority, is precarious at best. Latin America has always been rather low on our priorities but now it runs the risk of slipping further still—almost out of sight. Ignored and viewed as unimportant, Latin America is in danger of falling to the level of sub-Saharan Africa as a region that some poor assistant secretary must be responsible for but that is seen as hopeless and not worth paying serious attention to. Many in the general foreign policy community (as distinct from Latin Americanists) see Latin America as a "black hole" into which are sucked immense amounts of U.S. aid and effort, as well as hopes and dreams, but out of which comes nothing in return except despair and grief. It is not a great time in Washington, DC, to be a Latin America specialist or one with high hopes for U.S. policy for the area.

Paradoxically, while the U.S. is devoting little serious attention to Latin America, U.S. relations with the area are good—better than they have been in at least fifteen years. Moreover, it is precisely at this time of "benign neglect" on the part of the United States that the area is undergoing some of the most far-reaching cultural and structural changes ever in its history. These paradoxes need to be explored in further detail.

### Latin America's Isolation

The reasons for Latin America's poor standing in Washington and among the policy community are various, relating both to changes in the U.S. and in global power relations. One main reason is the winding down of the Cold War. As citizens we may applaud the ending of the Cold War and as



professional Latin Americanists we may lament the reasoning involved, but the undeniable fact is the Cold War was the main reason for U.S. interest in the region over the last forty years. Without the Cold War the U.S. will be less interested in Latin America, less inclined to assist it (witness the difficulty of generating aid to Nicaragua now that the Sandinistas are out of power), and less interested in "bailing it out", with Marines or dollars, when Latin America gets in trouble. Nor, in the absence of any credible Soviet or Cuban threat, will clever Latin American politicians be able to play off the superpowers against each other or run to Washington or the local U.S. embassy with stories of potential "Communist" takeovers unless we come to their assistance. The ending of the Cold War has changed all the "givens" of the last four decades.

There will therefore be no Marshall Plan for Latin America, no Alliance for Progress, little foreign aid. In addition, as the world organizes into regional trading blocs (Europe, East Asia, North America), Latin America runs the risk of being completely left out of the possibilities for prosperity that will accrue to the countries within these blocs. When that prospect is added to Latin America's other economic problems of capital flight, lack of investment from virtually any source, debt, and actual disinvestment by foreign firms, the prospects look dismal indeed.

Not only is the United States not very concerned with Latin America—except sporadically and as U.S. interests are directly affected—but other possible sources of support are drying up as well. There will, given their own economic problems, clearly be no or meager assistance from the Soviet Union, China, or Eastern Europe. Japan has been very selective in terms of its investments in Latin America, limiting most of its activities to parts of Brazil and Mexico along the border area. Europe is also preoccupied with its further integration in 1992; and its attention and assistance to, and investments in, Latin America have been declining in recent years. These trends imply that one of the more ambitious of the panaceas for Latin America in recent years, that of diversifying its dependence, will simply not work out because no one else is really interested.

That means that Latin America has de facto been thrown back into the arms of the United States, whether we or the Latin Americans wish it or not. But not only in the wake of the Cold War is the United States not very committed at the policy level, but at the popular level Latin America has never had a worse reputation in the U.S.. Latin America is broadly assumed to be, the opinion surveys tell us, an area of drugs and dictators. It is perceived as a region where U.S. tourists are preyed upon, where parents are reluctant to allow their children to go on exchange programs, of brutality, violence, and inefficiency. In addition, uncontrolled immigration from the area is widely seen as adding to U.S. crime

problems and of putting inordinate burdens on school systems, social welfare programs, and law enforcement. Many of these characterizations are of course false and based on inaccurate stereotypes, but unfortunately that is how the public tends to view Latin America, a perception that is inevitably reflected also in congressional votes and administration policy.

### Bush Administration Policy

The Bush Administration coming into office in January, 1989, recognized full well the bad reputation and domestic political traps of dealing with Latin America. James Baker, Mr. Bush's campaign manager and then his secretary of state, was known to feel that Central America was a "can of worms." Mr. Baker determined that moving to the left on Central America would anger conservatives, President Reagan's constituency which Bush could ill afford to lose, while moving to the right would mean the Administration would "get it" from the religious and human rights lobbies. Far better, he reasoned, to get Latin America off the front burner, off the nation's front pages and television screens, indeed off the agenda of foreign policy issues altogether so that it could do no political harm. These were of course all domestic political considerations, enabling the new Administration to finesse Latin America and concentrate on higher priority issues. In 1990 I published a book on U.S. foreign policy-making in which I estimated that 80 percent of U.S. policy considerations on Latin America derive from domestic political considerations rather than having much to do with Latin America per se; under Secretary Baker, who wants above all else to see his president be reelected in 1992, that figure should be closer to 90 percent.<sup>1</sup>

Virtually everything the Administration has done with regard to Latin America has had these domestic considerations as preeminent: get it off the agenda and defuse its potential to do political damage. The assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs was chosen not for his expertise on Latin America but because he was a Democrat who would thus be acceptable to the congressional leadership and because he had once written part of a speech favoring aid to the Contras, which made him acceptable to conservatives. A political compromise was then worked out with the congressional Democrats under which the Administration went along with some aspects of the Arias Plan, but in return got room for Mr. Bush to concentrate on the European summit and his meetings with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, which Secretary Baker considered far more

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1. Wiarda, Howard J. *Foreign Policy Without Illusion: How Foreign Policy Works and Fails to Work in the United States*. New York: Scott Foresman/Harper Collins, 1990.

important politically than anything that could possibly come out of Central America.<sup>2</sup>

The Brady Plan, which was really an extension of the Baker Plan devised when the secretary of state was secretary of treasury in the previous administration, helped defuse the Latin American debt issue and get it off the front pages without the expenditure of very many U.S. government dollars and without the taxpayers becoming aware that it was they who would eventually have to carry much of the burden. Strengthening the Organization of American States (OAS) was seen as a way of letting that agency handle (and thus receive the focus of attention for) inter-American disputes, rather than the blame for the area's problems always falling on the United States. The ouster of General Manuel Noriega by U.S. forces, which would most likely eventually have been carried out in the domestic Panamanian political process, was ordered only after Noriega had frustrated all earlier efforts and when he had become a political embarrassment to President Bush domestically. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative is similarly a wonderful rhetorical gesture and it may even produce some results, but it carries almost no U.S. financial commitment and there is as yet precious little flesh on the bare bones of the policy.

Quite a number of these programs merit our applause—particularly given the fact that the political climate in Washington is not ripe for any vast new assistance programs and that the public attitudes are so poisonous. The debt issue has not gone away or been resolved but its dimensions have been reduced and it is less troublesome; the OAS needed to be strengthened; Noriega needed to go. In Central America diplomatic negotiations led to the holding of democratic and free elections in Nicaragua and serious peace talks are underway between the government and the rebels in El Salvador. Some economic assistance is flowing to the area and the democratic openings, while incomplete in many cases, are encouraging. The policy has been successful even while the motives—domestic politics—remain suspect.

In addition, the skill of the persons executing the policy has been impressive. As assistant secretary, Bernard Aronson has been indefatigable, careful, prudent, balanced, and patient. He has managed to eke out "some benefits for Latin America" even though the Washington climate is decidedly not propitious. And surely Secretary Baker's grand strategy of removing Central America from the headlines and reducing its potential for domestic damage and foreign policy divisiveness—whatever one thinks of the results and implications of the policy—was very cleverly and skillfully carried out

from a political and technical point of view. Latin America's standing in Washington and in the country at large may be terrible but the strategies carried out in the crevices have been quite skillful. It may be a policy of benign neglect but it is handled deftly.

### The New Issue

Given the new, often disparaging, climate in Washington regarding Latin America, as well as the Bush Administration strategy of benign neglect, what can we expect in the way of policy regarding the major issues in the area?

1. *Foreign aid.* There will be no major assistance programs for Latin America. The money is unavailable and Congress is reluctant to spend the funds. If there is a modest "peace dividend" from the winding down of the Cold War and the reduction of the Defense Department budget, it will go chiefly to fund domestic social and economic programs, not foreign aid. Yet, Latin America will continue to receive some assistance.

2. *Trade.* Protectionist sentiment in the Congress is strong and rising. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative is useful but it carries little financial commitment. Latin America will have to reform its economies from within and stop blaming its problems on "dependence" because in the wake of the Cold War the United States will not come to its rescue anymore.

3. *Immigration* from Latin America will be a source of friction further souring relations; the U.S. will launch new but ineffective efforts to solve the problem at the sending country level.

4. *Drugs.* As the U.S. designs a more effective program to deal with drugs and as drug consumption in the U.S. is increasingly viewed as an inner-city problem, less attention will be paid to the issue—and to Latin America.

5. *Debt.* The debt issue has been politically "solved": the banks are now out from under and the U.S. government has figured out how to hide from taxpayers the fact that they will be paying most of the burden. So this issue will also command less attention.

6. *The environment* will receive some sporadic attention but since the sources of the problems are far away (the Brazilian Amazon) and responsibility murky, it will not receive sustained policy priority.

7. *Democracy and human rights.* The U.S. government will continue to support democracy and human rights on pragmatic (democracies do not muck around in their neighbors' internal affairs), political (democracies cause less grief in U.S. domestic politics), as well as moral grounds; but some of the steam has gone out of the earlier Reagan Administration campaign for democracy and we should not be surprised to see a reversion to authoritarianism in 3-4 countries.

2. Wiarda, Howard J. *From Reagan to Bush: Issues and Controversy in U.S. Latin America Policy.* New York University Press, forthcoming.

8. *Security.* There are still problem areas (Peru, Cuba, Central America, the Caribbean); but with the Soviet presence diminishing and Cuba's revolution increasingly seen as a failure, U.S. security interests and involvement in the area will be occasional rather than constant.

This is a too-brief discussion, but even in abbreviated form such a rundown of the main policy issues in U.S.-Latin American relations is revealing. It suggests that U.S. policy interests in the area are likely to be sporadic and episodic rather than sustained; that U.S. interests in trade and other areas will be heavily driven by domestic political considerations; that such issues as immigration and drugs lead to more poisonous rather than better relations; and that Latin America is likely to be on its own more than at any time in the last thirty years. Overall what is striking is that there is no one issue, or combination of issues, that seems likely to achieve the sustained attention and funding from the U.S. Congress or the Administration that the Cold War did for the last forty years.

### Conclusion

There is not only less U.S. official interest in Latin America now that the Cold War is fading but, the polls tell us, less public patience and empathy as well. Latin America may have reached its nadir in terms of overall U.S. interest and inclination to assist the area.

At high policy levels the main issues and policy debates are viewed as decided; what Latin America requires, the consensus says, is democracy, open markets, privatization, export promotion, a cleaning up of its own "act" (corruption, over-bureaucratization, and the like). Since we now "know" the

answers and there are no other viable alternatives, it is up to Latin American to solve its own problems.

The end of the Cold War gives Latin America less room to maneuver between the superpowers, and Europe's declining interest means Latin America has less opportunity to reduce or diversify its dependency. Hence Latin America is on its own as it has not been for the last thirty years; it can sink or swim, but Latin America must solve its own internal problems since, with the Cold War waning, no one else will do it for the area.

Neither singularly nor collectively do any of the new issues—ecology, drugs, debt, etc.—promise to deliver as much for Latin America in terms of interest or Congressional budgetary support as did the Cold War for nearly half a century. The Brady Plan and the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative are useful, but there is little substance as yet to these proposals. Hence the policy can be characterized as "benign neglect" with some occasional, more dramatic involvement (as in Panama)—although from the point of view of U.S. policy makers, given the budgetary and other domestic constraints, they are doing about as much for Latin America in terms of attention and aid as it is possible to do in the present circumstances.

The most interesting aspect is that Latin America's adept leaders understand all this and are already operating on the assumption that U.S. Latin America policy largely stops at the Mexican, or maybe El Salvadoran, border. From their point of view the absence of moralizing as under Carter or of sometimes heavy-handedness as under Reagan is to be welcomed. In their view, "benign neglect" is comparable to the policy of the "Good Neighbor" because while it means little or no assistance, it also means little or no U.S. interference.

## The United States and Latin America In the 1990s: A New Era?

by  
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Yogi Berra, the great baseball player and pundit, is supposed to have observed that "it is always difficult to make predictions, especially about the future." This sage observation is more relevant than ever today, in a world that is changing with such breath-taking speed. When LASA met in plenary session in New Orleans just three years ago, no one of us, I daresay, foresaw the Soviet Union's turn toward market

economics (or the pressures to retreat from these reforms), the break-up of the Soviet bloc, Germany's rush to unification, China's crack-down at Tienanmen Square, South Africa's important steps toward ending apartheid, or Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the stunning collective international response.

Nor was it then imaginable that the return to democracy in Chile would be so relatively smooth; that the Peronist Party would take power in Argentina and quickly abandon its historic policies; that the United States would deploy 24,000 troops to topple the government of Panama and that this action would be accepted with apparent enthusiasm both in Panama and the United States; that a Marxist labor leader would come close to being elected president of Brazil or that the son of a Japanese immigrant would actually be elected in Peru; that the Sandinistas would hold free elections in Nicaragua and accept defeat; or that the Mexican government would open negotiations with the United States and Canada on a Free Trade Agreement. Surprise has been virtually the only constant recently. It would be foolhardy, in this period of change, to predict the shape of inter-American relations in the 1990s in any detail.

And yet we know that the sweeping transformations which have been occurring in the global context, the major shifts in Latin America, and the substantial changes taking place within the United States itself will surely usher in a new era in U.S.-Latin American relations. So much has altered—in the nature and distribution of military and economic power, in the workings of the world economy, in the demography of the hemisphere, and in world and regional ideological currents—that surely the 1990s will be different in the Americas.

But how?

With more than the usual diffidence, in recognition of the pace of change, I offer five general and tentative propositions about inter-American relations in the 1990s.

1) First, I disagree flatly with those who argue that Latin America in the 1990s will, in effect, "fall off the map" of U.S. concerns; I believe the region will become more important in the United States in the 1990s.

Those who argue that Latin America will be of diminished interest to the United States assert, with varying emphases, that as the Soviet Union becomes less involved in Latin America, the United States will reduce its attention as well. The logic of disengagement is reinforced, in this view, by the U.S. budget crisis, doubts that the U.S. private sector will expand its presence in Latin America, negative public attitudes in the United States about the region, and skepticism in Washington about Latin American economic prospects. It is contended that Latin America will be ever more marginal in world affairs, that it will suffer Africa's fate of benign neglect. This perspective on the future of inter-American relations is frequently articulated by those U.S. specialists who had most strenuously emphasized the importance of Latin and Central America to U.S. security in the 1980s, but it is echoed by many Latin Americans and

Latin Americanists who fear that the region will be abandoned.

My thesis, to the contrary, is that trends in Latin America are ever more significantly affecting the United States, and that Washington will be forced to pay attention to the Western Hemisphere—indeed, greater attention than in the past. Latin America is important for the United States, in my view, because of its economic impact and potential, the effects of migration, the region's role in affecting shared problems such as the narcotics trade and environmental deterioration, and its relevance for the core value of U.S. society, particularly respect for human rights.

Latin America's main economic importance to the United States today derives not from imports and investment but from exports, energy and finance. Even after nearly a decade of economic downturn and sluggish imports, Latin America still accounts annually for nearly \$50 billion of U.S. exports, greater than those to Japan or Germany. If Latin America can emerge from the depression of the 1980s, it could once again become a growing market for U.S. exports, as it was in the 1970s, and now at a time when an increasing share of the U.S. economy depends on trade and when regaining export competitiveness is a primary challenge facing the United States. A strong expansion of U.S. exports to Latin America could be especially significant in the 1990s, as some U.S. firms may become disadvantaged in a prospectively more integrated European Community. Current U.S. exports to eastern and central Europe are less than two percent of U.S. exports to Latin America, and even a major expansion of exports to the former Warsaw Pact nations would mean much less to the U.S. economy than simply regaining half the rate of growth of exports to Latin America that was experienced during the 1970s.

Another economic importance of Latin America to the United States—all the more obvious after the Persian Gulf crisis—is as a source of energy; 27 percent of the imported petroleum entering the United States in 1990 came from Latin American and Caribbean nations. Latin America could likewise be salient in the 1990s for U.S. commercial banking operations, not at the artificially high levels that were produced by petrodollar recycling in the 1970s, but at a level substantial enough to make a major difference to the performance of the few money-center banks that have stayed the course in Latin America.

The second major impact of Latin America and the Caribbean upon the United States comes from massive and sustained migration to this country from Mexico, the Caribbean islands, and Central America. Nearly 23 million persons of Hispanic descent now live in the United States, and Latinos are among this country's fastest growing groups. The influx from the Caribbean has also been relentless, amounting to

more than 10 percent of that region's population since World War II. These massive migrations are reshaping the United States in many ways—affecting education, employment, public health, business, politics, culture, and mores. They create new links between the United States and the sending countries and a greater U.S. stake in the nature of conditions in these nations.

Latin America's third impact upon the United States derives from major problems facing this country which cannot be resolved without sustained cooperation from Western Hemisphere nations. The most dramatic example is narcotics, for Latin American nations produce and transship almost all the cocaine and most of the marijuana entering the United States. Even if the drug curse cannot be removed except by curbing the demand for narcotics within the United States, an effective anti-narcotics effort will require detailed and enduring cooperation by Latin American producing and trafficking nations. And Latin America is also potentially important for other issues that will be high on the U.S. agenda in the 1990s: protecting the environment, countering terrorism, combatting the spread of AIDS and other diseases, and curbing the spread of nuclear weapons and other arms.

A fourth significance of Latin America to the United States has to do with values at the core of U.S. society, especially respect for human rights. As a nation committed to the integrity of the individual, the United States cannot condone repression in a region so historically and culturally tied to our own society, where U.S. influence has been and remains important. Whenever Latin American governments have engaged in substantial violations of human rights, the domestic political process of the United States has pushed the region higher on Washington's foreign policy agenda. The growing Latin American and Caribbean diaspora in the United States will reinforce this historic tendency in the 1990s.

These four aspects of Latin America's importance for the United States have implications for U.S. policies in the hemisphere in the coming years. They suggest not only why the United States may well rediscover Latin America, but also that it should concern itself more than heretofore with the region's internal economic, social, and political conditions.

In an earlier era, when what mattered most to Washington was obtaining military bases, preserving access to raw materials, protecting investments in extractive industries, and gaining diplomatic support from client states, the U.S. government could perhaps afford to turn a blind eye to internal conditions within Latin America, overlook poverty and inequity, and make its peace with unattractive dictators.

But if what will concern the United States about Latin America in the 1990s is the capacity for the region to buy U.S. products and continue servicing debt obligations to U.S. banks, assured access to secure energy sources, the rate and volume of migration and its relation to U.S. labor requirements, the prospects for effective cooperation on tough shared problems like drugs or the environment, as well as the protection of human rights—then Washington should come to recognize an important stake in the region's fundamental well-being.

Far from becoming irrelevant, Latin America's problems and opportunities may become understood as virtually "domestic" concerns of the United States. More precisely, many of the issues at the heart of U.S.-Latin American relations in the 1990s will be "intermestic"—based on the international spill over of domestic trends and involving both international aspects and actors. The line between domestic policy and Latin American policy will be hard to define in the 1990s.

2) Until and unless a new framework for U.S. foreign policy takes hold, U.S. policy toward Latin America will change only slowly, in uncertain and perhaps contradictory ways.

The habits of thought and patterns of action that long dominated U.S. foreign policy generally, and policy towards Latin America in particular, will not change overnight, even after widespread recognition that the Cold War era has ended. The foreign policy elite and the broader American public still lack an agreed new vision of this country's place in the world, and of the nature and priority of various threats to U.S. interests. Policy will consequently often be shaped by inertial tendencies—unexamined axioms, bureaucratic and personal rivalries, institutions and budgets in search of new missions, and the competitive claims of different constituencies. Until new concepts and criteria for ordering U.S. priorities are widely accepted, established policies will have the advantages of familiarity and of well-placed and experienced advocates, and they will often prevail long after their initial rationales have been eroded.

More specifically, it is likely that the United States will continue to counter revolutionary nationalist movements in the Caribbean Basin border region (eg. in El Salvador), even though the reasons for U.S. involvement in such civil strife have become ever more tenuous; it will seem easier, at least for some time, to extend such programs, at a reduced budgetary level, than fundamentally to re-examine their premises. It is likewise probable that U.S. policy toward Cuba will not change much until and unless major changes occur on the island, even though it is obvious by now that the strategic assumptions underlying the old policy are on longer valid; the constituency for reshaping policy toward Cuba may simply be too weak to prevail against entrenched interests and familiar arguments in a context of general

uncertainty. And although Washington is increasingly concerned with economic issues, the United States will probably continue to focus on specific questions, raised by particular interest groups, rather than on a national economic strategy for the hemisphere.

3) It will make even less sense than before to think about a general Latin America policy of the United States, for the countries of the Americas are changing their relations with the United States in diverse and contradictory ways.

To some extent, the pattern of the inter-war years has been reasserting itself. As in the 1920s and 30s, the United States is becoming far more closely engaged with Mexico and the Caribbean Basin than with South America, and other world powers compete with the United States for influence on the South American continent.

Mexico is embarked on a course which, if sustained, will make that country increasingly a North American nation, ever more different in structure, approach, and international outlook from the countries of South America. More than 70 percent of Mexico's trade is already with the United States compared with 18 percent of Argentina's, 23 percent of Brazil's, and 18 percent of Chile's. More than half of all U.S. exports to Latin America and the Caribbean in 1989 went to Mexico (compared with 39 percent in 1980), even before Mexico further reduced its tariffs and committed itself to free trade negotiations with the United States. More than 6 percent of Mexico's work-force is now employed in the United States, and they remit at least \$2-3 billion annually back to Mexico. Mexico and the United States are linked in myriad ways, and the trend toward specially-designed bilateral policies and instruments is accelerating.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative, and especially the much more important underlying human initiative of sustained mass migration, have linked the United States, particularly southern Florida and the eastern seaboard, with the Caribbean islands. It is instructive that U.S. airlines and telephone companies regard the Caribbean as "domestic", not foreign; it is even more difficult to define the border between the mainland and the Caribbean in economic, social, demographic, and political terms. Again, special regional policies are gaining ground, reinforcing the *de facto* integration of the Caribbean islands into the U.S. community.

It is much less clear how the Central American nations and Panama will relate to the United States in the 1990s. It may be that the intense U.S. involvement of the 1980s (and the 1920s before them) will continue, albeit in modulated tones. But it is equally as likely that the United States will eventually disengage, finding cosmetic devices to cover a substantial

reduction of U.S. military and economic programs, as was the case during the late 1920s, the 1930s, and the 1970s. The rapidity with which Washington has in practice diminished its announced commitments to economic reconstruction in Nicaragua and Panama is instructive. Ambivalence and contradiction, not a clear-cut policy, are probable in the U.S. relationship with Central America.

The Andean countries—especially Colombia and Peru—will be more salient for the United States as a problem region, with particular reference to drug trafficking and guerrilla insurgencies. The U.S. military, narcotics control, and law enforcement establishments will be major shapers of the U.S. approach, which will also be greatly determined, in turn, by the success or failure of local efforts to regain control of the national territory. Tensions are likely to increase over U.S. efforts to pressure local authorities to accept U.S. priorities and tactics for dealing with the drug issue.

The Southern Cone nations—Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile—have been reverting to the kind of diverse international ties they had before World War II, with the United States receding to a secondary role corresponding with its lack of large specific interests. Chile may defy this trend, at least for a time, because of its ability and willingness to act as a model interlocutor for U.S.-preferred regional economic policies and to take considerable advantage of the U.S. market, but Washington is unlikely to give sustained attention to distant Chile.

A big question mark in U.S.-Latin American relations is the future of Brazil, a megacountry of some 155 million inhabitants, the tenth largest economy in the world, with vast resources and a modern industrial infrastructure. It is difficult in the early 1990s to foresee whether Brazil will by the end of the century have regained the dynamism of the 1940s or else have sunk deeper into economic and social difficulties. Nor is it yet clear how Brazil will organize its economy and politics to confront its major challenges. No approach yet adopted has succeeded in fully mobilizing Brazil's resources so that the country can achieve its long-touted potential. Competing visions are still being tried out; whatever general tack Brazil eventually chooses will shape its relationship with the United States.

4) United States-Latin American relations in the 1990s will be broadly influenced by whether Latin American nations can mobilize domestic resources in a period when external capital will, in most cases, be scant.

It is not at all clear as the 1990s begin whether the overall net impact of major global and regional shifts will be to spur Latin American nations to further diversify their markets and sources of capital and technology, to spawn renewed and more effective efforts at intra-regional integration, to push



Latin America and the United States toward enhanced hemispheric partnerships, or to leave some or many Latin American countries without partners, marginal in a world of blocs built fundamentally around the dynamic northern economies. Each of these possibilities is real as the decade opens, and much will depend on Latin American decisions and strategies. Different countries may well move in contrary directions.

As the 1990s open, most Latin American countries are embarked on programs of economic stabilization and liberalization, attempting to integrate themselves more effectively into the world economy. But the domestic political base for these neoliberal and internationalist approaches is precarious in many cases, and the current policies may not be long sustained. If neoliberal recipes are not soon perceived as successful, it is uncertain what will follow. Inward-oriented national populist movements may regain strength in some countries, but there will also be efforts to develop new approaches—to strengthen the state's role in building infrastructure, providing education and services, promoting equity and justice, and guiding economic development while perhaps restricting its role in production, employment, and regulation. Some Latin American countries doubtless will seek new paths in the 1990s, but it is not yet obvious what those will be or where they will lead.

5) By the same token, the single biggest factor shaping U.S.-Latin American relations in the 1990s is likely to be whether and how the United States confronts its own economic, social, and political agenda.

President George Bush's Enterprise for the Americas Initiative of 1990—promising a reduction of Latin America's official debt owed to U.S. government agencies, offering some aid to facilitate investment in Latin America's economic recovery, and holding out the prospect of hemisphere-wide or subregional free trade agreements—offers a positive vision of how inter-American relations could evolve in the 1990s. Although the Initiative is still short on specifics and has been very slow in implementation, it reflects the Bush Administration's inchoate recognition that revitalized Western Hemisphere partnerships could be immensely helpful to the United States in a period when Cold War blocs are breaking up, economic power and military prowess are diffusing, new international economic and political rivalries are intensifying, and the global challenges to health, the environment, and governance are taking center stage.

But a viable Western Hemisphere policy for the United States will depend most of all on a program for this country's economic reconversion and recovery. No proposals for relieving Latin America's debt burden or for opening U.S. markets to Latin America's exports will be implemented and sustained unless they are part of an overall strategy for

restoring dynamism to the U.S. economy. No significant special policy of trade preferences for Latin America can be put into effect if broad domestic U.S. interests—including small business and organized labor—will be badly hurt. Nor would any such program affect Latin America's development prospects as much as expanded growth that would bring higher prices and enlarged markets for Latin America's exports. Probably no U.S. measure to support Latin America's development directly would be as effective in helping the region as reducing the fiscal deficit of the United States and thereby relieving pressure on world interest rates—provided that this can be done without curbing Latin American exports to the United States.

The United States will not be able to adopt and sustain policies that facilitate Latin American progress and build strong Western Hemisphere cooperation unless it undertakes effective programs to ease the transition from marginal sectors in its own economy, integrate immigrants more humanely, reduce domestic demand for narcotics, and curtail environmentally damaging practices.

But the United States has not been able or willing in recent years to adopt and implement such policies on a consistent basis. While preaching discipline abroad, the United States has run up unprecedented domestic budget deficits. While pressing for global free trade, the United States has put into effect ever more protectionist policies, sector by sector, and pressures have mounted to adopt more restrictive immigration policies as well. Washington has often succumbed to the temptation of blaming Latin American nations for drug trafficking and environmental deterioration, rather than enlist international cooperation on the basis of domestic efforts and achievements.

More than forty years ago, as the Cold War was just beginning to take shape, George Kennan (in his classic "X" article in *Foreign Affairs*) argued that the main way the United States could influence the Soviet Union was by its own domestic actions—by creating "among the peoples of the world generally the impression of a country which knows what it wants, which is coping successfully with the problems of its internal life." Kennan closed his eloquent statement of the containment doctrine by asserting that "the issue of Soviet-American relations [was] in essence a test of the overall worth of the United States as a nation among nations."

U.S. relations with Latin America in the 1990s and beyond will also test this country's mettle, but in a new way. The challenge of the next generation will be in some ways even more difficult than in the last, for it will involve mobilizing national will and resources to combat a number of different but linked problems, some of them undramatic and subtle,

rather than to face one clear adversary against whom it was relatively easy to keep score.

The future of relations with Latin America and the Caribbean will depend, more than anything, on what this country does to rejuvenate its economy and deal with such issues as drugs, education, and the environment. If the United States muddles through in coping with these issues incrementally, relations with Latin America will continue more or less as they have in recent years. If the United States increasingly turns to these issues with a short-sighted and rearguard approach—becoming more protectionist, restrictionist, punitive, and interventionist—inter-American relations could instead enter a much more conflict-ridden phase, with far greater hostility than we have seen in recent years. But if the United States finally turns forcefully to its domestic agenda, Washington will have strong reasons to forge important Western Hemisphere partnerships. The best future for Latin America and for the United States is one and the same—a vigorous U.S. commitment to confront its own accumulated problems. Nearly five hundred years after the visit of Christopher Columbus, the countries of the New World find their destinies intertwined.

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Anyone interested in participating in a workshop on the use of technology (video, computers, etc.) in teaching Latin American Studies at the next *LASA* International Congress should contact: Professor Jack Child, Language and Foreign Studies, The American University, Washington, DC 20016. Telephone: (202) 885-2385, or (202) 363-1111.

## **Access to Latin American Collections Enhanced By Funding for Five-Library Consortium**

by

**Deborah Jakubs  
Duke University**

A consortium of five research libraries has received \$337,155 from the U.S. Department of Education's Title II-C program for the retrospective conversion of important segments of their Latin American collections. The project coordinated by the University of Illinois, also includes Cornell, Duke, Indiana and Yale Universities. The five libraries will add to the national bibliographic databases, OCLC and RLIN, new records for Latin American materials that have been accessible only through local manual card catalogs, as well as adding their holding symbols to records already in those databases, therefore greatly enhancing the availability of research materials. Conversion will be completed in 1992.

For scholars and students of Latin America, the recent Title II-C grant and the completion of the ARL project is very good news; they will now have easier electronic access through OCLC and RLIN to the holdings of the many libraries that participated in the retrospective conversion project. Researchers in a wide variety of disciplines will now be more aware of the particular strengths of the nation's Latin American collections, and will be able to locate and obtain individual books easily through inter-library loan or travel to collections. National-level coordinated collection development of Latin Americana is greatly enhanced by this project.

The grant represents second-year funding for three of the institutions, which were brought together initially in a five-institution cooperative proposal by the University of Illinois in 1990/91. The first group was the University of Illinois, Duke, Cornell, Columbia and the University of New Mexico. This is intended to be the third and final phase of a project begun in 1988 and coordinated by the Association of Research Libraries (ARL); its completion will realize a priority set by ARL: to convert the nation's strongest collections for the study of Latin America. Other participants in the ARL project since its inception have been the University of California at Berkeley, University of Florida, Hoover Institution, University of Texas at Austin, University of New Mexico, Land Tenure Center Library of the University of Wisconsin at Madison, Columbia University and Stanford University.

For more information, contact Carl Deal, Director of Collections, University of Illinois Libraries. Telephone: (217) 333-0791; or contact, Deborah Jakubs, Head, International and Area Studies Department, Perkins Library, Duke University. Telephone: (919) 684-3675.

## On Associations, Conventions, Airlines and Agencies: A Travel Note

by  
Reid Reading, Executive Director

LASA, like other professional associations that purchase travel for their officers and also organize large meetings which many hundreds of association members and the association's grantees travel considerable distances to attend, has been approached several times by airlines and several travel agencies that wish to be ours "officially." Many associations our size choose agencies rather than carriers, since agencies often are able to negotiate more than one "official carrier" for meetings the scale of LASA's congresses. Also, since competition among agencies presently is strong, they can throw in additional incentives like discounts over and above those of the airlines.

The airlines make agreements with associations or agencies to authorize complimentary travel for future use. Just how many free tickets the association earns depends on the number of bookings the agency makes on the official carriers for that particular meeting. Tickets issued under this agreement help the association economize, since, in LASA's case for example, some officers traveling to the next council meeting and the next congress could travel without cost to the association.

Organizations that contract agencies are understandably anxious that their members book through those agencies. LASA was approached after the Miami meeting in December 1989 by Classic World Travel, Inc., and we signed an agreement for LASA'91 some weeks later. Like many other agencies, Classic committed to the lowest fares available, but Classic also promised a small rebate, to be remitted to each congress attendee, after travel was completed. We sent information on Classic Travel along with pre-registration materials to LASA members shortly after signing the contract.

In early March 1991 the LASA secretariat began to book travel for its Latin American grantees. With desperately few days to make arrangements for nearly 90 prospective grantees, we put great pressure on Classic to immediately deliver tickets, which we had to send to grantees by courier, along with registration badges and vouchers for partial per diem expenses.

Classic's service was caring, competent, and courteous. The agency assigned one of its top administrative people, who had been in the travel business for several years, to service the secretariat's requests. Unlike what happens in some other agencies, the person who sold us the contract did not disappear, but was available as a problem solver. We were, in a word, highly pleased.

We were disappointed, however, at the small number of LASA'91 attendees who booked through Classic, in comparison with greater numbers who have booked with our official agencies for past meetings. There were a few complaints that in spite of promises in the promotional materials, prospective travelers were quoted higher fares from Classic than from their own agencies, even with the post-flight partial refund. We also heard a complaint or two about consistency, i.e., one agent quoting a price to a congress attendee and hours later the price of travel from the same point of origin changing significantly. When we contacted our representatives at Classic about these kinds of problems, they did not claim infallibility, but at the same time reminded us that for every flight there are only a certain number of discounted seats, and that these can disappear between phone calls.

We are beginning a new round with the people at Classic because of the secretariat's very successful experience with them and the small number of complaints in comparison with numerous positive comments. What we are asking is that LASA members who *travel anywhere* try Classic first for prices. At times Classic has special coupons that are good for discounts on USAIR, TWA and Continental—ask about them. If they do not quote higher than the airlines, or your own agency, we would appreciate your booking with Classic. For non-congress travel, mention code 8033; for congress travel later, use code C4033. Discounts also are available on cruises and tour packages.

LASA will have no dues increase in 1992. The extent to which dues may have to be increased in 1993 depends in part on producing economies. The amount of business LASA members do with Classic will be a part of the picture. Thanks for considering this option.

### CALL FOR PAPERS

The call for papers for LASA's XVII International Congress in Los Angeles, September 24-26, 1992 **has been sent** to all 1990 and 1991 members. Please notify the Secretariat if you need a copy. Deadline for submission is *November 29, 1992*.

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## LASA MEMBERS DIRECTORY

The Latin American Studies Association announces publication of the new LASA Membership Directory. The plastic-comb, GBC-bound edition of over 3,600 members' names and addresses for professional and private (non-mailing list) use is available *now* through the Secretariat. Prices are \$5.00 to mail in the United States (non-priority) and for international surface mail. The price for first class within the U.S. and air mail to Canada and Mexico is \$6.90; contact the Secretariat for information about multiple copy orders or air mail to other countries. Order must be pre-paid; only checks drawn on U.S. banks or UNESCO coupons are accepted for payment. For information regarding our mailing label list rentals, contact the LASA Secretariat. Telephone: (412) 648-7929; or fax: (412) 624-7145.



## PROGRAM OFFICER

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## Research Seminar In Nicaragua

June 15-June 28, 1991

by

**Thomas W. Walker**  
Ohio University

LASA sponsored its seventh annual research seminar in Nicaragua from June 15 through June 28, 1991. As in the past, one purpose of the seminar, which was open to all Spanish-speaking LASA members, was to provide participating scholars with extensive exposure to the current, rapidly changing situation in Nicaragua. Another purpose was to introduce prospective Nicaraguanists to colleagues, think tanks, research facilities, and universities in that country. The fourteen individuals who took part in all or part of the seminar included six professors, three Ph.D. candidates, one M.A. candidate, two undergraduates, and two non-academics. The academic disciplines represented were art, foreign languages, international studies, history, and political science.

The seminar was designed and coordinated by Thomas W. Walker (Political Science, Ohio University). The planning and logistical facilitator was Alice McGrath of Ventura, California. Many arrangements in Nicaragua were provided

by Nicaragua Tours, particularly by Sandra Mejía and Zoraida Blandón. Although the group spent a number of days in other areas, its central base of operations was Managua. The participant fee of \$1,200 (\$1,000 for bona fide students) covered all in-country costs. Appropriately lower prices were available for those purchasing only part of the seminar. The itinerary was designed to reflect the interests of the group, which this year clustered around international relations, the search for peace, internal politics within UNO and the FSLN, and the state of the rural poor and a and the agrarian reform. The two-week itinerary was comprised of the following:

**Saturday, June 15.** Arrival in Managua.

**Sunday, June 16.** Trip to León, the second largest city in the country and one of the few where the FSLN scored an electoral victory in 1990. Interview with Octavio Martínez,

Rector, the National Autonomous University (UNAN) of León. Topic: The state of the universities under the Chamorro government. Luncheon interview with Luis Felipe Pérez Caldera, Mayor of León. Topic: Being an FSLN mayor in a country governed by the Organized National Union (UNO). Interview with regional officials of the National Union of Farmers and Cattlemen (UNAG): Ricardo Valenzuela, President; Víctor Salazar, Director of the local UNAG Training School; and Lucía Urbina Pérez, local head of the UNAG Women's Section. Topics: Agrarian reform, the peasantry and the neoliberal regime; and the role and problems of UNAG women.

**Monday, June 17.** Interview with members of the United Nations Development Program (PNUD): Mario Flores, PNUD Principal Assessor and Nadine Cardenal and Alan Stevenson, PNUD Program Officers for Pacification and Concertation. Topic: PNUD's role in peacemaking, concertation and development. Interview with Tomás Argüello, Support Officer to the Subdirector of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Nicaragua. Topic: The role of the OAS in Nicaragua. Afternoon interview with Rodolfo Delgado, Sub-Director of the Institute of Nicaraguan Studies (IEN). Topics: The work of IEN and the current political situation in Nicaragua. Dinner interviews with Luis Serra, Member of the Directorate of the CENZONTLE research center, and Martha Juárez, Member of the Women's Section of the Rural Workers' Association (ATC). Topics: The rise and fall of grass-roots organizations in Nicaragua and the problematic of female farm workers.

**Tuesday, June 18.** Visit to the National Assembly to hear the UNO debate over the abrogation of laws 85 and 86 (the FSLN was boycotting this session). Luncheon interview with Alejandro Bendaña, former General Secretary of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry and current President of the Center for International Studies (CEI). Topics: The role and activities of the CEI and a conjunctural analysis of Nicaraguan politics. Briefing on the current political and economic situation in Nicaragua by Edward McWilliams, political officer in the U.S. Embassy. Interview with Sofia Montenegro, former Editorial Page Editor of *Barricada* and current Director of *Gente*, a new human interest newspaper supplement. Subject: Politics and culture under the Sandinistas and the UNO. Dinner interview with Milu Vargas, Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights and Alternate Deputy (FSLN) in the National Assembly. Topic: The roles and activities of her center and a conjunctural analysis of Nicaraguan politics.

**Wednesday, June 19.** Interview with Trish O'Kane, journalist and researcher at the Regional Coordinating Body for Economic and Social Research (CRIES). Topics: The functions of CRIES and a conjunctural analysis of Nicaragua

politics. Interview with scholars in the School of Sociology at the Central American University (UCA): Marcos Membreno, Director; Nelly Miranda, Undergraduate Coordinator; Luisa Guerrero, Director of Documentation; and Rosario Saravia, Professor. Topics: The role, activities and current state of the School under the new government. Interview with Mariano Fiallos (FSLN), President of the Supreme Electoral Council. Topics: His role in the elections and afterwards and a conjunctural political analysis. Trip to Matagalpa. Night spent in the Selva Negra mountain resort in the highlands above Matagalpa.

**Thursday, June 20.** Interview with Matagalpa Mayor Frank Lanzas (UNO) in his home. Topic: The search for peace (his was among several mayor's offices then occupied by FSLN activists angry about UNO's apparent intent to violate the Transition Protocol by overturning Laws 85 and 86) and a conjunctural political analysis. Interview with Círculos Robinson, Assistant in International Relations and Projects for UNAG, Matagalpa. Topic: the problems faced by peasants in the Matagalpa area. Trip to Estelí where the group would spend the next three nights.

**Friday, June 21.** Trip to Yali, an area which voted heavily for UNO and in which the contras have a strong social base. Visit to a demobilized contra housing project being constructed with U.S. funds administered by the Organization of American States' International Commission for Support and Verification (CIAV-OEA). Interview with contra Comandante "Alvaro" and other ex-members of the "resistance." Topics: Their situation and the search for peace. Interview with Francisco "Chico" Pérez (UNO), Delegate of the Ministry of Government in Yali and former Coordinator of UNO during the election campaign. Topic: The search for peace in that very conflictual municipality (Over 1,000 people had died there during the war). Interview with Noel Rugama (FSLN), former Mayor and current minority Councilman and Leonides Centeno, former Political Secretary of the FSLN in Yali and current member of the party's Municipal Committee. Topic: Their position as minority politicians and the search for peace. Interview with parish priest Miguel Angel Vásquez. Topic: The role of the Church in the search for peace.

**Saturday, June 22.** Trip in four-wheel drive vehicles to Miraflor, a region of Sandinista agricultural cooperatives in the backlands north of Estelí which was heavily impacted by the contra war. Visit to Puertas Azules to talk with Noel Bucardo, President of the Union Cooperative and Fiscal of the UNAG Union of Cooperatives. Topic: The current fate of pro-Sandinista cooperatives under the UNO government. Return to Estelí. Interview with Ulises González (FSLN), the Mayor of Estelí. Topic: His role as mayor under a national government run by UNO. Interview with Juan Bautista Castagnino, CIAV-OAS head of Human Rights and



Guarantees. Topic: The role of the CIAV-OAS in the peacemaking process. Evening interview with two FSLN base activists, Blanca Sevilla and María Elena Suárez. Topics: The democratization process in the FSLN and education under the UNO. (Suárez is a local teacher.)

**Sunday, June 23.** Travel to La Trinidad where the group interviewed parish priest José Ernesto Bravo. Topics: The political and social role of the church in the last couple of decades. Return for lunch in Managua. Afternoon trip to the beach at Pochomil to swim, eat lobster and red snapper, drink rum and coke, and watch the sun set over the Pacific.

**Monday, June 24.** Interview in National Assembly with UNO Deputy Hernaldo Zúñiga, member of the Conservative National Action party and formerly of the Supreme Court during the Sandinista period. Topic: A conjunctural political analysis and the future of UNO. Visit to the Azul and Centro Antonio Valdivieso bookstores. Luncheon interview with FSLN Deputy Rafael Solís, former Majority Leader of the Assembly. Topics: The democratization process in the FSLN and a conjunctural political analysis. Interview with Mario Flores, Economic Advisor to The President of the Central Bank. Topic: UNO macroeconomic policy.

**Tuesday, June 25.** Visit to two art galleries: Galería Praxis and Galería Josefina. Interview with Juan Alamo, Advisor to the Minister of Education. Topic: Changes in education from the Sandinista period to the UNO administration. Luncheon interview with Melvin Wallace, Director of the Center for the Investigation of Latin American Reality (CIRA). Topic: The role and achievements of CIRA. Interview with Farmer Workers Association (ATC) members Mercedes Dias, Head of the Section for Unemployed Women, and Perla Noguera, of the 500th Anniversary Campaign. Topics: Women in the ATC and the 500th Anniversary Campaign. Evening visit to the contra squatter settlement, Barrio Enrique Bermúdez-Comandante 3-80. Interview with ex-contra Commander "William" (Augustín Roque Solís), president, and other members of that barrio's directorate. Topic: The organization and problems faced by that recently-formed illegal squatters' settlement.

**Wednesday, June 26.** Interview with Virgilio Godoy (UNO), Vice President of the Republic of Nicaragua. Topic: The Search for peace and a political conjunctural analysis. Interview with National Assembly Deputy Daniel Núñez (FSLN), President of UNAG. Topic: the search for peace and a political conjunctural analysis. At noon the group divided to conduct interviews 1.) with Father Uriel Molina, liberation theology priest (Topic: the Church in contemporary Nicaragua) and 2.) with former advisor to the Ministry of Education Juan Bautista Arrien (Topic: Changes in education under the UNO government.) Interview with Donna Vukelich, Research Analyst at the Central American

Historical Institute (IHCA). Topics: The activities of IHCA and a political and economic conjunctural analysis. Interview with members of the research institute ITZTANI: Iván García Marengo, Director; Adajulia Brenes, Coordinator of the Women and Change Team; Flor de María Zúñiga, Researcher for the Women and Change Team; and Sylvia Saakes, Assessor of the Women and Change Team. Topics: The activities and achievements of ITZTANI and miscellaneous conjunctural discussion.

**Thursday, June 27.** Trip through the Carrazo highlands to see the "Witch Villages" and Niquinohomo, the birthplace of Sandino. Lunch at "El Mondongazo" in Masatepe, a little town justly known for the best tripe soup (mondongo) in the country. (Other dishes were available for the faint of heart.) Dinner at the Solentiname art center, Managua.

**Friday, June 28.** Return to the United States.

As in the past, we were generally successful in getting interviews with almost all individuals with whom we requested ones. Due to the intense party activities of the FSLN and the crisis which arose over the proposed abrogation of Laws 85 and 86, some interviews were canceled at the last moment. However, in such cases, the group simply filled the time with trips to art galleries, bookstores, etc. In general, the group had exposure to a wide variety of opinion, inside and outside the government, on the right and the left.

Given the success of the first seven seminars, it is likely that LASA will sponsor an eighth study-trip next summer. Open to all LASA members, *diversity of political opinion* is welcomed. For further information contact: Thomas W. Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701. Telephone: (614) 593-1339; fax: (614) 593-1837.



LASA Seminar meeting with demobilized contras.  
Photo by seminar participant Cliff McCarthy.

## AAASS MEETING

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) will hold its annual convention November 22-25, 1991, in Miami, Florida. Panels and workshops will be held both in the Inter-Continental Hotel and the Hyatt Regency Miami. Sections of the meeting will deal with Soviet and East European Relations with Latin America and with Soviet and East European Studies in Latin America.

Members of the Latin American Studies Association are cordially invited to attend the conference. As a courtesy, on-site registration fees for LASA members will be the same as those for AAASS members. The registration desk will be in the Inter-Continental.

## PUBLICATIONS

The new and revised, mid-year edition of the *NEH Overview of Endowment Programs* is available. It describes more than 30 funding opportunities at NEH, and it is free to readers interested in applying for NEH grants. As a bonus, if readers mention they saw the *Overview* announced here in the *LASA Forum*, we will send them a complimentary copy of our award-winning magazine, *Humanities*. Write or call: NEH *Overview*, Room 406, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20506. Telephone: (202) 786-0438.

## LASA'91 PAPERS

More than 300 panel and workshop papers from LASA'91 are still available from the Secretariat. See the Summer 1991 issue of the *LASA Forum* for the listing and for order information.

### ADDITION

The following is an addition to the list of XVI Congress Papers Available:

**Miller, Hubert J.** *The Unraveling of La Reforma: Church & State Relations in Guatemala, 1954-1965.*

### CORRECTION

Please note the following title correction in the list of XVI Congress Papers Available:

**Elton, Charlotte.** *The New Japanese Presence in Central America: Challenges and Opportunities.*

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

Six individuals with research interests in Latin America received awards for 1991 from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's "Program on Peace and International Cooperation," Round X. Thirty-four researchers received awards in that round; the six Latin Americanists are: MERCEDES ARCE and MARIA DE LOS ANGELES TORRES, Universidad de la Habana, Cuba and DePaul University: "The Cold War and the Politics of Refugee Children: The Peter Pan Operation"; ALEJANDRO BENDAÑA, Central American University, Nicaragua: "Conflict Resolution in Nicaragua and Its Relevance to Political Transition in Southern Africa"; MARCELO CAVAROZZI and MANUEL ANTONIO GARRETON, Santiago, Chile: "Beyond Democratic Transitions: The Restructuring of Contemporary Latin American Societies"; FRIEDRICH KATZ, University of Chicago: "The Great Powers and Revolutionary Mexico"; JAIME MALAMUD-GOTI, Buenos Aires, Argentina: "Transition to Democracy: A Comparative Study on Human Rights, Justice and the Military in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay"; and, JENNIFER SCHIRMER, Wellesley College: "Female Relatives of the 'Disappeared': Resistance to National Security States in Latin America."

PEN American Center is pleased to announce the establishment of The Gregory Kolovakos Award, to be given for the first time in May 1992. Gregory Kolovakos, a translator and the director of the Literature Program at the New York State Council on the Arts, was long active on PEN's Translation Committee and served as Chair of the PEN Fund for Writers and Editors with AIDS until his death in 1990. The \$2,000 prize will be awarded to an American literary translator, editor, or critic whose work, in meeting the challenge of cultural difference, extends Gregory Kolovakos's commitment to the richness of Hispanic literature and to expanding its English-language audience. (The award's primary purpose is to recognize work originating in Spanish, but distinguished contributions from the other languages of the Hispanic world will also be considered.) Writers, critics, or translators who may be nominated for the Gregory Kolovakos Award are those whose work has aided the cause of Latin American literatures, as well as their Iberian counterparts, in English. Candidates will be considered not only for individual works but for collections of criticism or distinguished careers as translators or editors; candidates may not nominate themselves. A letter of nomination must be received from the candidate's editor or colleague, accompanied by a copy of the candidate's vita. Deadline: *December 1, 1991*. Letters of nomination should be sent to: The Gregory Kolovakos Award, PEN American Center, 568 Broadway, New York, NY 10012. For more information, telephone: John Morrone, or Joan Dalin, at (212) 334-1660.

## TASK FORCES AND WORKING GROUPS 1991-92

The following committees and task forces have been named to serve through October 1992. The composition of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union has not yet been finalized beyond its chair. This will be reported in the next issue of the *LASA Forum*.

### **Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom**

Robert Trudeau, Chair (Providence College, Department of Political Science, Providence, RI 02918)

Charles Brockett (University of the South)

Carlos Chipoco (Lima, Peru)

M. Brinton Lykes (Rhode Island College)

Luis Alberto Padilla (IRIPAZ, Guatemala)

Jack Tobin (Harvard University)

José Miguel Vivanco (Center for Justice and International Law, Washington D.C.)

### **Task Force on Higher Education in Latin America**

Daniel Levy, Chair (11 Maple Ave., SUNY at Albany, Delmar, NY 12054)

Jorge Balan (CEDES, Buenos Aires)

José Joaquín Brunner (FLACSO, Chile)

Simon Schwartzman (Universidade de São Paulo)

Joseph Tulchin (Woodrow Wilson International Center, Washington D.C.)

Hebe Vessuri (Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas, Caracas)

### **Task Force on Women in Latin American Studies**

Sonia E. Alvarez, Co-Chair (Board of Studies in Politics, Merrill College, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA 95064)

Elena Urrutia, Co-Chair (Programa Interdisciplinario de Estudios de la Mujer, El Colegio de México, Camino al Ajusco 20, México DF 01000, México)

Yamila Azize (Colegio Universitario de Cayey, UPR)

Elsa Chaney (University of Iowa)

Nora Erro-Orthomann (Florida Atlantic University)

Gwen Kirkpatrick (University of California at Berkeley)

Mercedes Blanco (El Colegio de México)

Herlinda Hernández (Indiana University of Pennsylvania)

Helga Jiménez (Consejo Superior Universitario Centroamericano)

### **Task Force on Scholarly Resources**

Deborah Jakubs, Chair (1631 Marion Ave., Duke University, Durham, NC 27705)

Russell Davidson (University of New Mexico)

Carl Deal (University of Illinois)

Daniel Hazen (Harvard University)

Dolores Martin (Library of Congress)

Gilbert Merx (University of New Mexico)

Lynne Rienner (Lynne Rienner Publishers)

Sanford Thatcher (Pennsylvania State University Press)

Barbara Falk (University of California at Los Angeles)

### **Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba**

Robert Bach, Co-Chair (1141 Ford Rd., SUNY at Binghamton, Vestal, NY 13850)

Rafael Hernández, Co-Chair (Centro de Estudios sobre América, CEA, Habana, Cuba)

Ivan Schulman (University of Illinois)

Luis Toledo Sands (Centro de Estudios Martianos)

Roberto Fernández Retamar (Casa de las Américas)

Martin Diskin (MIT)

Juan Valdés Paz (CEA)

Louis Pérez (University of South Florida)

Ramón de Armas (Instituto de Estudios Históricos)

Wayne Smith (Johns Hopkins, SAIS)

Carmelo Mesa Lago (University of Pittsburgh)

Pedro Pablo Cuscó (Centro de Investigaciones de la Economía Mundial, CIEM)

Ilya Vilar Martínez (CEA)

Marifeli Pérez-Stable (SUNY at Old Westbury)

Mercedes Arce (University of Havana)

Andrew Zimbalist (Smith College)

José Luis Rodríguez (CIEM)

Lavonne Poteet (Bucknell University)

Ambrosio Fornet (ICAIC)

### **Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Latin Americanists in Japan**

Barbara Stallings, Chair (University of Wisconsin, Department of Political Science, 110 North Hall, Madison, WI 53706)

Peter Evans (University of California at Berkeley)

Richard Newfarmer (The World Bank)

Blake Friscia (New York University)

Xabier Gorostiaga (CRIES, Managua)

Charlotte Elton (CEASPA, Panama City)

Neanthro Saavdera-Rivano (Getúlio Vargas Foundation, Rio de Janeiro, and Tsukuba University, Spain)

### **Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Science Community**

Steven Sanderson, Chair (University of Florida, Latin American Studies, 319 Grinter, Gainesville, FL 32611)

Lourdes Arizpe (Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias Cuernavaca)

Enrique Bucher (Centro de Zoología Aplicada, Universidad de Córdoba)

Jan Collins (SUNY at Binghamton)  
 María Lourdes Davies de Freitas (Programa Nacional do Meio Ambiente, Brasília)  
 Pablo Gutman (Centro de Estudios Urbanos y Regionales, Buenos Aires)  
 Enrique Leff (Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)  
 Diana Liverman (Pennsylvania State University)  
 José Rente Nascimento (Inter-American Development Bank)  
 Jorge Orejuela (Fundación para la Educación Superior, Cali)  
 Mario Ramos (World Wildlife Federation)  
 Kent Redford (University of Florida)  
 Laura Snook (Yale University)

**Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America**

Jack Spence, Chair (University of Massachusetts, Department of Political Science, Harbor Campus, Boston, MA 02125)

Rose Spalding (DePaul University)  
 Laura Enriquez (University of California at Berkeley)  
 Roberto Godas (PRIES, San Salvador)  
 Mark Rosenberg (Florida International University)  
 Deborah Levinson (Columbia University)  
 Mark Edelman (Yale University)

**Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union**

Peter Winn, Chair (315 W. 106th St., Tufts University, New York, NY 10025)

Philip Brenner (American University)  
 Margaret Crahan (Occidental College)  
 Richard Feinberg (Overseas Development Council)

**Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Spain**

Manuel Alcántara, Co-Chair (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Ciencias Políticas/Sociología, Camp. de Somosaguas D.3414, Madrid 28023, Spain)

Federico Gil, Co-Chair (University of North Carolina, 313 Hamilton Hall CB 3205, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3200)

Guadalupe Ruiz Jiménez (AIETI, Madrid)  
 Carlos Malamud (Fundación José Ortega y Gasset, Madrid)  
 Ludolfo Paramio (Fundación Pablo Iglesias, Madrid)  
 José Luis Gómez-Martínez (University of Georgia)  
 Fernando López-Alves (University of California at Santa Barbara)

Enrique Pupo-Walker (Vanderbilt University)  
 Felipe Aguero (Ohio State University)  
 Eric Hershberg (Social Science Research Council)

**Working Group on Labor Studies**

Russell E. Smith, Chair (P.O. Box 6910, Washburn University of Topeka, Charlottesville, VA 22906-6550)

Mary García Castro (Universidade Federal da Bahia, Brazil)

Roberto Luis Céspedes (Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos)

José Paulo Z. Chahad (Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil)

Sonia de Avelar (Getúlio Vargas Foundation, São Paulo)

Edward Epstein (University of Utah)

John French (Florida International University)

Stanley Gacek (United Food and Commercial Workers Union, Washington D.C.)

Leslie Gill (New Brunswick, NJ)

Roberto Korzeniewicz (Albion College)

Héctor Lucena (Universidad de Carabobo)

Ian Roxborough (SUNY at Stony Brook)

Salvador Sandoval (São Paulo, Brazil)

Hobart Spalding (CCNY)

Cliff Welch (Grand Valley State College)

Ann Zulawski (Smith College)

***Frutas de América  
 Tropical y Subtropical,  
 Historia y Usos***

Recently published to commemorate the Quincennial, *Frutas de América Tropical y Subtropical, Historia y Usos* is the history of 26 fruits native to the Americas and prominent in the diet of the people in the area between Mexico and Bolivia from the period before the conquest of America to today. This history includes selection of narratives from the conquerors, soldiers, missionaries, doctors and botanists who first encountered these fruits when the Spanish arrived in the New World. The avocado, tomato, cashew, papaya, pineapple and cocoa bean are some of the fruits discussed by the author. The book, illustrated with more than 200 color photographs, drawings and wood cuts also includes recipes and medicinal and household uses for each fruit.

Clara Inés Olaya, *Frutas de América Tropical y Subtropical, Historia y Usos*. Editorial Norma, Bogotá. 1991. 180 pp. 200 ill. Bibliography. 10"x13", \$35.00. For more information write to:

Alex Correa  
 Carvajal Internacional  
 717 Ponce de León Blvd. Suite 304  
 Coral Gables, FL 33134

## LASA'91 BUSINESS MEETING MOTIONS

As noted in the Spring 1991 issue of the *Forum*, it was determined that a quorum was not present at LASA's last business meeting; hence, even though the texts of three proposed resolutions that had been submitted properly were approved unanimously by those attending the meeting, LASA by-laws rule that they could not be submitted to the general membership for ratification by mail ballot. They became, then, sense-of-the-meeting motions.

The authors of the motions, and a number of other interested members, have requested that they be published. The action called for in each of these resolutions appear below.

### U.S. Relations with Cuba

Be it resolved that the Latin American Studies Association calls for the resumption of full diplomatic relations and unrestricted travel between the United States and Cuba, the end of the trade embargo and investment restrictions imposed by the United States, and the hookup of the new cable communications connection.

### U.S.-Panamanian Relations

Be it resolved that the Latin American Studies Association calls for the United States quickly to restore sovereignty to Panama, to make prompt, adequate and effective compensation, and to open an investigation into the invasion, particularly in relation to civilian deaths and the conduct of the attack on poor civilian neighborhoods, and to comply with the provisions of relevant international treaty obligations.

### El Salvador

Be it resolved that the Latin American Studies Association calls upon the Bush administration and the United States Congress to:

- 1) give full support to the current negotiations under UN mediation and especially to efforts toward demilitarization of Salvadoran society;
- 2) immediately halt all military aid to the Salvadoran armed forces, withdraw all U.S. military personnel from the country, and halt any covert operations in El Salvador;
- 3) suspend economic aid to the Salvadoran government and military, pending full cooperation by the Salvadoran government and armed forces in the investigation of the Central American University murders;
- 4) condition any future economic aid to progress in negotiations.

## UPDATE TO CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *February 1, 1992*

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

Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Those nominating books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. For the September 1992 LASA International Congress in Los Angeles, CA, books published from July 1, 1990 to December 31, 1991 will be eligible. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by *February 1, 1992*.

The author or authors of the winning book will have expenses paid by LASA to attend the congress, where the award will be presented during the business meeting. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award. The committee is: James Malloy, Chair, University of Pittsburgh, Department of Political Science, Forbes Quad. 4J32, Pittsburgh, PA 15260; Marysa Navarro, Dartmouth College, Department of History, 213 Reed Hall, Hanover, NH 03755; and, Rolena Adorno, Princeton University, Department of Literature, 27 McCosh Circle, Princeton, NJ 08540.

### SPECIAL JOURNAL OFFER

Two outstanding British journals dedicated to topics of interest to Latin Americanists are being made available by their publishers to LASA individual members at special rates. The *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (Pergamon Press) is available at \$26.00, the *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Cambridge University Press) at \$45.00. Both journals are itemized on LASA's 1992 membership form for easy ordering.



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Applications are invited for a tenure-track position at rank of assistant professor in Latin American History at **Queen's University** to begin July 1992. Applicants with a Ph.D. are preferred. Queen's University has an employment-equity program and encourages applications from women and minorities. The University is willing to help appointee's spouse seek suitable employment. Send applications and at least three letters of recommendation with curriculum vitae by *December 2, 1991* to: Professor Robert W. Malcolmson, Chairman, Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, ON K7L 3N6 Canada.

**Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago**, seeks assistant professor, tenure-track, or one-year visiting lectureship with possibility of renewal. Both positions pending administrative approval and availability of funds. Ph.D. required, teaching experience preferred. Responsibilities include introductory Latin American course, upper division and graduate courses in specialty. Minor field in U.S. History desirable. Send c.v. and references to: Professor Gregory Singleton, Department of History, Northeastern Illinois University, 5500 N. St. Louis Ave., Chicago, IL 60625. Deadline: *December 20, 1991*. Interview at the AHA meeting. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply. AA/EOE.

**Northwestern University** seeks candidates for a tenure-track assistant professorship in Women's/Gender History—any country, any continent, any era. We urge historians in science and women's/gender history in Latin America to apply. The department particularly welcomes applications from women and minority groups. Send c.v., placement dossier, and a sample of written work by *December 15, 1991* to: John Bushnell, Department of History, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208.

Experienced writer is wanted by the **Resource Center**, a nonprofit organization located in Albuquerque, New Mexico, which researches and writes about U.S. intervention in the third world. This person should be knowledgeable about Central America and/or Mexico, must be English/Spanish bilingual and have a commitment to social change. A willingness to travel to represent us through public speaking is helpful. The Resource Center has published the *Country Guides on Central America* under its own internationally-distributed imprint, and it also produces books published by Grove and South End Press. The salary is approximately \$16,000 annually. Health insurance, vacation and pension are provided. We encourage women and people of color to apply. Send résumé and writing samples to: Debra Preusch, Resource Center, Box 4506, Albuquerque, NM 87196.

The Department of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Caribbean Studies of **Rutgers University** at New Brunswick is soliciting applications from individuals with a Ph.D. in sociology, anthropology, political science, economics or other cognate fields for a tenure-track, assistant professor appointment for Fall 1992. Preference will be given to candidates who are engaged in research on the urban Latino community and family in the United States and who situate this analysis in the context of recent transformations at the domestic and international levels. Demonstrated commitment to undergraduate teaching is essential; candidates will also be expected to have established an active research profile that would lead to scholarly publications. Joint appointments with other academic departments is possible. Send letter of application, summary of dissertation, curriculum vitae and three letters of recommendation by *November 15, 1991* to: Pedro A. Cabán, Department of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Caribbean Studies, Tillet Hall 237, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903. Women and minority candidates are strongly encouraged to apply; Rutgers University is an AA/EOE.

## ASSISTANT PROFESSOR COMPARATIVE POLITICS

**T**enure-track position at the Assistant Professor level in Comparative Politics with specialization in Latin America, beginning January 1992. Preference given to candidates with Ph.D. in hand at time of appointment, with at least two years teaching at college level. Experience in Quantitative Methods strongly desirable. Teaching responsibilities include courses in comparative politics, Latin America, and methodologies of political science.

Women and minority applicants particularly encouraged. Candidates should send letter of application and vitae (including V number) to: Dr. Harry Balfe, Chairperson of the Search Committee, Department of Political Science, **Montclair State College**, Box C316, V-38, Upper Montclair, NJ 07043.

An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

## MONTCLAIR STATE



The Department of Sociology at **Tulane University** anticipates two openings for Fall 1992, pending budgetary approval. Both positions are tenure-track appointments at the rank of assistant professor. Areas of specialization are open, but preference will be given to candidates with research and teaching interests in Latin America, quantitative methods or theory. Deadline for applications is *October 25, 1991*, or until the position is filled. Applicants should submit vitae and three letters of recommendation to: M. Dwayne Smith, Chair, Department of Sociology, Box R, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118-5698. Telephone: (504) 865-5820. Tulane is an AA/EOE and encourages applications from members of minority groups and women.

**University of California at Berkeley** anticipates the possibility of an opening for an assistant or associate professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese with specialty in Brazilian literature beginning 1992-93. Deadline for applications is *November 18, 1991*. Inquiries should be directed to: Jerry R. Craddock, Acting Chair, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

**University of Florida** invites applications for tenure-track assistant/associate professor of modern Latin American History, with preference for specialist on Bolivian republics. Applicants must have Ph.D. by time of appointment. Deadline for applications is *December 15, 1991*. Send curriculum vitae and at least three letters of recommendation to: Professor Murdo MacCleod, Department of History, TUR 4131, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. AA/EOE.

**University of Maryland/Baltimore County** campus seeks assistant professor of Spanish starting September 1992. Latin Americanist ABD or with Ph.D. in literature (with a historical and/or social focus) or history. Native or near-native proficiency in Spanish and English required. Preference will be given to candidates whose work includes a strong focus on issues related to Latin American women. Teaching responsibilities involve: courses on Latin American society; Spanish language courses; interdisciplinary courses at graduate and undergraduate levels dealing with issues of language, communication, and social organization in multi- and cross-cultural contexts. Apply by *December 1, 1991* to: John H. Sinnigen, Modern Languages and Linguistics, University of Maryland, Baltimore, MD 21228. Minorities, women, and disabled persons are encouraged to apply. UMBC is an AA/EOE employer.

The Department of Political Science of the **University of New Mexico** invites applications for a tenure-track position in Comparative Politics with a specialization in Latin America. Teaching responsibilities will include advance undergraduate and graduate courses in comparative and

Latin American politics. Rank is assistant professor and will be effective August 1992. Minimum qualifications: Ph.D. in Political Science in hand by August 1992, broad training in comparative politics and an active research agenda in Latin American politics. Send curriculum vitae, sample publications/written work, teaching materials, and letters from three referees by *November 15, 1991* to: Chair, Comparative Politics Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1121. AA/EOE.

The Department of Latin American History of the **University of North Carolina** invites applications for a tenure-track, assistant or associate professor in the Colonial Period. Appointment effective as early as July 1, 1992. Preference given to candidates who hold Ph.D.; send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and four letters of reference by *December 1, 1991* to: John M. Headley, Department of History, Hamilton Hall-CB#3195, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3195. AA/EOE.

### The Evergreen State College

A public liberal arts college emphasizing interdisciplinary study and collaborative team teaching throughout the curriculum, Evergreen recognizes that diversity is a defining characteristic of the emerging world of the twenty-first century. The college has intensified its efforts to become a multicultural institution. This is being achieved through recruitment strategies to enhance the diversity of faculty, staff and students. Substantial experience and expertise working across differences of either culture or gender is highly desirable to teach in a developing Spanish Language/Latin American studies curriculum. Experience and methodological expertise in teaching the Spanish language is required, with native proficiency preferred. Substantial experience in a Spanish-speaking culture, either in the U.S. or Latin America, is required. Capacity to teach the literature, history or culture of Latin America at the undergraduate level is required. Knowledge of U.S. Latino/Chicano culture also preferred. To apply send résumé and one- or two-page statement describing your qualifications for the position; review will begin *November 1, 1991*. Finalists will be asked to submit additional materials. For further information telephone: (206) 866-6000 x6861. Address applications to:

**Faculty Hiring Coordinator  
The Evergreen State College  
Olympia, WA 98505**

## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Center for Labor Studies (Centro de Estudios y Analisis Laboral-CEAL) in Nicaragua is the first research center in that country devoted solely to labor issues. CEAL has established two areas of work. One is the development of specific research projects, presently including a study of social consciousness of workers in the sugar sector, an evaluation of the first two phases of the *concertacion* negotiations between the nation's principal social sectors, and an opinion poll about privatization of state enterprises and other economic policies of the current government. The other area is the construction of an exhaustive data base on the participation of workers and the popular sectors in the main forums of economic and social policy. Finally, CEAL promotes debates and panels on relevant themes that concern the Popular Movement. Scholars or others wishing to assist in badly-needed financial support or to make scholarly interchange with CEAL should contact either Mark Everingham, Political Science, George Washington University, Washington, DC 20052. Telephone: (202) 994-6290 or (202) 546-4287 after October 15; or, Roland Membreno, CEAL, Apartado Postal 2957, Managua, Nicaragua. Telephone: 011-505-2-26484.

Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California at San Diego is accepting applications for Visiting Research Fellowships to be held during the year beginning September 1, 1992. Since 1980, the Center has hosted more than 215 scholars and nonacademic experts from 15 different countries. Fellowships are offered at both the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels, for research and writing on any aspect of contemporary Mexico (excluding literature and the arts), Mexican history, U.S.-Mexican relations (including immigration studies), Mexico's international economic and political relations in general, and broader comparative or international political economy topics that have a substantial Mexico component (including regional economic integration and comparative immigration studies). Especially encouraged are proposals from Mexico-based researchers to study the social consequences of economic restructuring in Mexico, border issues, and aspects of the U.S. economy, political system, or foreign policy; and proposals from U.S.-born Latino scholars. Students seeking admission to the Ph.D. program in any of the social sciences or history at UC-San Diego for fall 1992 may also apply for a fellowship from the Center. Each Fellow is expected to spend from 3-12 months in continuous residence at the Center. Summer fellowships are not offered. Applications must be received by *January 1, 1992*. Application materials should be requested from: Graciela Platero, Fellowships Coordinator, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UC-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093-0510. Fax: (619) 534-6447.

The John Carter Brown Library will award approximately 15 short- and long-term Research Fellowships for the year June 1, 1992-May 31, 1993. Short-term fellowships are available for periods of two to four months and carry a stipend of \$900 per month. Long-term fellowships, funded by the NEH, are usually for six months and carry a stipend of approximately \$2,400 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. Several short-term fellowships have thematic restrictions: the Jeannette D. Black Memorial Fellowship in the history of cartography; the Alexander O. Viator Memorial Fellowship in early maritime history; and the Touro National Heritage Trust Fellowship for research on some aspect of the Jewish experience in the New World before 1860. The application deadline for fellowships during the 1992-93 year is *January 15, 1992*. For further information, write to: Director, The John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

The Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, announces Rockefeller Foundation Fellowships in the Humanities: Historical Foundations of Ethnic Relations in Latin America and the Caribbean. Nine-month fellowships of \$30,000 or one-semester applications will be considered by deadline of *January 15, 1992*. Research topics in 1992-93 will focus on black populations in Middle America, the Caribbean, and Brazil. Candidacy will be open to mature scholars with demonstrated accomplishments and to junior scholars with evidence of scholarly potential. For information contact: Ms. Pat Boone, Rockefeller Program in the Humanities, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712. Telephone: (512) 471-5551.

The NEH Summer Institute for College and University Faculty and the Curators of Historic Maritime Collections recognize a national need for support of maritime history and the maritime humanities in general. Sponsored by the John Carter Brown Library, the August 1992 session will focus on European exploration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Institute will be limited to 20 participants, who will receive funds for round-trip travel to the Institute and a stipend of \$1,000 in addition to room and board for the four weeks. Application deadline is *February 1, 1992*. For further information and application forms, write to: Maritime Institute, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

The NEH Travel to Collections Program provides grants of \$750 to assist American scholars to meet the costs on long-distance travel to the research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories throughout the U.S.

and the world. Awards are made to help defray such research expenses as transportation, lodging, food and photoduplication or other reproduction costs. The application deadline is *January 15, 1992*. For further information and application forms, write to: Travel to Collections Program, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20506. Telephone: (202) 786-0463.

The Latin America and the Caribbean Program of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies welcomes applicants for its international doctoral dissertation fellowship competition. Fellowships are offered for doctoral dissertation research in the social sciences and the humanities. Proposals on any topic are eligible for support, including projects comparing Latin American or Caribbean countries to others located outside this region. Recipients of fellowships are expected to devote a minimum of nine and a maximum of 18 months to field research in the country or countries relevant to their proposals. While abroad, fellows are required to affiliate with a university, research institute, or another appropriate institution in the country where they will be conducting research. Support for dissertation write-up is available in addition to the fellowship for up to six months after return from the field. 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 going to the field. The deadline for receipt is *November 1, 1991*. For further information and application forms, please contact: Latin America and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Ave. 17th Fl., New York, NY 10158. Telephone: (212) 661-0280; or fax: (212) 370-7896.

The Latin America and the Caribbean Program of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies welcomes applicants for its advanced grant competition. Individual grants of up to \$15,000 are offered for research in the social sciences and the humanities on all aspects of the societies and cultures of Latin America or the Caribbean. Research proposals on any topic are eligible for support, including those involving more than one area or country. Comparative projects dealing with a Latin American and non-Latin American country are also accepted. Collaborative advanced grants are also awarded to two scholars of approximately equal scholarly attainment who wish to collaborate on a research project. Advanced grants support individual scholars for a minimum of two and a maximum of 12 months of research. Regardless of the length of the grant period, grantees are expected to devote all or a major part of the time to research. There are no

citizenship requirements; however, applicants must have received a Ph.D. (or another degree suitable for a university career, or completed work equivalent to a doctoral dissertation). No repeat postdoctoral awards are granted. The deadline for receipt is *December 1, 1991*. For further information (particularly regarding collaborative awards) and application forms, please contact: Latin America and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Ave. 17th Fl., New York, NY 10158. Telephone: (212) 661-0280; or fax: (212) 370-7896.

University of Wisconsin at Madison will offer a summer intensive Quechua course June 15-August 7, 1992 through the Latin American and Iberian Studies Program. Carmen Chuquín Amaguaña, a native speaker and bilingual educator with U.S. graduate education, will teach Ecuadorian Quechua (also called Quichua) together with Frank Salomon, Professor and Chairman of the University of Wisconsin at Madison's anthropology department. The course emphasizes study of the language in its Andean and interethnic cultural context and uses original teaching material. Explanatory material will be in English. A limited number of Department of Education Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships will be available. Course application and fellowship application materials will be available in late November from: LAISP, 1470 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Dr., University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706. Telephone: (608) 262-2811.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Latin American Program and the Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho Foundation announce 1992-93 dissertation fellowships for the study of Venezuela. This joint endeavor is a three-year project to increase interest in and knowledge of Venezuela in the United States. One of the goals is to encourage promising young scholars in any academic discipline to study Venezuela, whether as a central subject of a dissertation or as an element within a comparative or theoretical framework. Three fellowships of \$10,000 each will be awarded. Applicants must be willing to spend the 1992-93 academic year engaged in dissertation research on Venezuela, at least six months of which must be fieldwork in the country. The dissertation itself must be related to Venezuela, although Venezuela may be a case study in a comparative analysis or it may be studied as an example of a particular theoretical or public policy issue. All outstanding students who are enrolled in a recognized U.S. university doctoral program in any academic discipline and who, by the time they take up the award, have completed all required work toward their doctoral degrees, except their dissertations, are eligible. Applications from women and minorities are encouraged. Completed applications, including all supporting material, must arrive at the Latin American Program by *February 1, 1992*. Faxed applications will not be

accepted. All awards will be announced and the winners notified by April 1, 1992. To apply, send a personal résumé, including complete address and telephone number, three letters of recommendation, an abstract of your dissertation, and a proposal of no more than 2000 words to the address below. The primary selection criteria will be the quality of the dissertation proposal and the significance for Venezuela. To obtain further information about the fellowship competition, contact: Venezuela Fellowship Competition, Latin American Program, The Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Drive SW, Washington, DC 20560. Telephone: (202) 357-1446; or fax: (202) 357-4439.

### CALL FOR PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

The LASA Executive Council has approved the creation of the *Premio Iberoamericano*, an award for books published in Spanish and Portuguese. The procedures for naming the recipient are similar to those for the English language Bryce Wood Book Award. The *Premio* will be presented at each of LASA's international congresses for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in Spanish or Portuguese in any country. Eligible books will be those published in an eighteen-month period prior to the congress. No book may compete more than once. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Those nominating books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to *each member* of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. For the September 1992 LASA International Congress in Los Angeles, CA, books published from July 1, 1990 to December 31, 1991 will be eligible. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by *February 1, 1992*. One month before the International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The author or authors of the winning book will have their expenses paid by LASA to attend the congress, where the award will be presented during the business meeting. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award. The members and mailing addresses of the Premio Book Award Committee for 1992 are: Saul Sosnowski, Latin American Studies Center, 2215 Jimenez Hall, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742; Joan Dassin, The Ford Foundation Brazil Office, 320 E. 43rd St., New York, NY 10017; and, Enrique Semo, Department of History, 1104 Mesa Vista Hall, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131.

### Latin American History Southwestern University

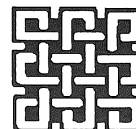
The Department of History invites applications for a tenure-track position to begin fall 1992. Responsibilities include teaching Latin American History, with World Civilizations and U.S. Southwestern Borderlands as desirable second fields. Applicants must have a record of undergraduate teaching excellence appropriate for a selective liberal arts and sciences institution. Rank and salary are open.

Southwestern University is a selective undergraduate institution committed to broad-based liberal arts and sciences education. Affiliated with the United Methodist Church, it has over 1200 students and a history of stable enrollment. Southwestern's endowment of over \$136 million ranks among the highest per student of undergraduate institutions in the country. The University has a strong commitment to faculty support, with faculty salaries at the 92nd percentile for IIB development. The University is located in Georgetown, Texas, 28 miles north of Austin, the state capital, and site of The University of Texas and the Benson Latin American Collection. Review of applications will begin *November 15, 1991*. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply. Southwestern University is an AA/EOE. Please send a letter of application, curriculum vitae, and three current letters of reference to:

Search Committee  
Department of History  
Southwestern University  
P.O. Box 770  
Georgetown, TX 78627-0770

### Attention LASA Members:

For questions regarding delivery of the *Latin American Research Review*, including missed or delayed issues, please contact *LARR* directly. Questions should be directed to Nita Daly, Subscription Manager, *LARR*, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone: (505) 277-7043. Please direct all other inquiries, including questions about the *LASA Forum*, to the Secretariat.



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Paper proposals that address non-Western perspectives on science and technology are solicited for the 1992 4S in Sweden. Paper proposals must be received by *October 31, 1991*. The panel will be co-organized by David Hess and Linda Layne. Contact them at: STS Department, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, NY 12180-3590. E-mail: *USERFZRS@RPITSMTS.BITNET* (Hess) or *USERGEFV@RPITSMTS.BITNET* (Layne). Those who wish to be on the mailing list to receive future information should send their address and research interests to Kathryn Addelson, Department of Philosophy and Program in the History of the Sciences, Smith College, Northampton, MA 01063. Electronic mail: *KADDELSON@SMITH.BITNET*.

The XVIIIth Annual Conference of the Caribbean Studies Association will be held in St. George's, Grenada, May 26-29, 1992. The annual conference provides a unique opportunity for scholars and those interested in Caribbean affairs to present papers and discuss research findings and other theoretical issues relating to the Caribbean. The theme of the 1992 conference is "Globalization and the Caribbean." Persons interested in organizing panels or presenting papers are asked to submit their proposals by *November 30, 1991* to: Edward Cox, Program Chair, Department of History, Rice University, P.O. Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251. Telephone: (713) 527-4947.

International Development Ethics Association (IDEA) in cooperation with the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras seeks paper proposals for the Third International Conference on Ethics and Development. Deadline: *November 30, 1991*. To be held in Tegucigalpa Honduras, June 21-27, 1992, the theme will be "The Ethics of Ecodevelopment: Culture, the Environment, and Dependency." Address correspondence to: David A. Crocker, IDEA, Department of Philosophy, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, CO 80523. Telephone: (303) 484-5764; or *fax*: (303) 491-0528.

"The Social Construction of Democracy," a conference sponsored by the Pittsburgh Center for Social History and the University of Pittsburgh Center for International Studies, will be held May 2-3, 1992. The theme incorporates the social origins of the success and failure of democratic regimes in Europe, Latin America, Japan and the United States during the twentieth century. Contact: Reid Andrews, Department of History, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

"Andean Worlds: The Incas, Colonial Cultures, Contemporary Legacies" is the theme of a joint symposium to be held at Princeton University and New York University on March 6-8, 1992. The plenary session will take place on Friday evening, March 6 at the Americas Society in New York, in conjunction with the exhibit "Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author." Dr. John V. Murra will deliver the keynote address. For further information concerning the program and local arrangements, contact: Rolena Adorno, Co-Organizer, Princeton University. Telephone: (609) 258-4148; or, Sylvia Molloy, Co-Organizer, New York University. Telephone: (212) 998-3833.

The ninth Conference on the History of Women, "Transformations: Women, Gender, Power," will be held on June 11-13, 1993, at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. The Program Committee welcomes proposals addressing the relations between feminist history and social and political practice and papers taking an interdisciplinary or comparative approach crossing national, cultural, racial, or ethnic lines. The Conference encourages international participation and perspectives. We prefer submission of proposals for complete panels (to include a maximum of two papers, one commentator, and a moderator) or roundtables. Individual papers will also be considered. The Program Committee may rearrange panels; submission of a proposal will be taken as agreement with this proviso. Please submit proposals in triplicate by *February 1, 1992*, and include: panel title; title and one-page abstract of each paper (or roundtable theme); and one-page vita for each participant, including current address and telephone number. Enclose a stamped, self-addressed postcard for return on receipt of packet. Send proposals on U.S. topics to: Elaine Abelson, New School for Social Research, Eugene Lang College, 65 West 11th St., New York, NY 10011; on other than U.S. topics to: Margaret Hunt, Amherst College, 2254, P.O. Box 5000, Amherst, MA 01002-5000; comparative U.S./non-U.S. topics may be sent to either Program Committee Co-Chair. Please direct all correspondence to "ATTN: Berkshire Conference."

University of Miami North-South Center announces its program of Music and Black Ethnicity in the Caribbean and South America on January 17-19, 1992. Program coordinator is Dr. Gerald Béhague. Local arrangements should be made through Dr. Robert Parker. For additional information or answers to questions, contact: Dr. Robert L. Parker, School of Music, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124. Telephone: (305) 284-2446; or *fax*: (305) 284-6475.

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