

# LASA Forum

## Latin American Studies Association

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### Eighth Annual LASA Field Seminar in Nicaragua

June 21-July 2, 1992

The LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations With Central America will conduct a field seminar for LASA members in Nicaragua from June 21 to July 2 of this year. As was the case with the previous seven seminars, it is designed to introduce established Latinamericanists and advanced graduate students to a variety of people, institutions, resources, protocols and methods for studying Nicaragua, teaching about it and doing research there. Participants will become acquainted with social science "think tanks," academic institutions and research facilities.

A second objective will be to give LASA scholars a close-up view of the multi-faceted reality of contemporary Nicaragua. The group will have discussions and interviews with important political and social actors from across the political spectrum, including representatives of unions, churches, the media, the business community, women's organizations, the government and opposition leaders.

The seminar can serve as a general introduction to non-Nicaraguanists and as a refresher for the specialist. It should be of particular interest to scholars who have done work in Nicaragua but have not been there since the 1990 elections. Though much of the time will be spent in Managua, there will be trips to visit rural communities. The program will be tailored to the major interests of the participants and efforts will be made to accommodate individual interests through special interviews.

To understand how the seminar works in practice, prospective participants are advised to read the report of the 1991 seminar in the Fall 1991 issue of the *LASA Forum* (pp. 21-23). Unless there are unforeseen price changes, the entire seminar, including accommodations, most meals and in-country transportation will be about \$1050. Bona fide students will be entitled to a \$200 discount. (Flights from home port to Managua and return are not included.)

### LASA 1992 Preliminary Program

Preliminary program materials for LASA's XVII International Congress accompany this mailing of the *Forum*. The schedule is provisional and subject to final adjustments, but every effort will be made to keep changes to a minimum.

Our thanks to Program Chair John Booth, his assistant, Steven Lohse, and other support staff of the University of North Texas for their timely production of this version of the preliminary program. Special thanks also to the members of the program committee who are also section chairs, for their fine efforts to date.

We encourage your attendance at LASA 1992. Preregistration packets have been sent to all institutions and individuals who were LASA members for 1991 and/or 1992. Please inform the secretariat if you have not received a packet by April 30. Preregistration deadline is *July 31*. LASA saves resources if congress attendees purchase tickets from Classic World Travel, so please try Classic first. See the preregistration packet for more details about LASA 1992.

#### IN THIS ISSUE

##### ARTICLES:

- Agriculture and the Politics of the North American Trade Debate* by Jonathan Fox . . . p. 3
- ARENA In the Arena* by Daniel H. Wolf . . . . . p. 10

##### Other Items of Interest:

- Accessing LASA's Electronic Job Bulletin Board* . . . . . p. 18
- The NSEA* . . . . . p. 19
- Warda Response To Timothy Anna* . . . . . p. 21
- LASA Nominating Committee Slate* . . . . . p. 22

*continued page 9*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<p>Eighth Annual LASA Research Seminar . . . . 1</p> <p>LASA 1992 Preliminary Program . . . . . 1</p> <p>Agriculture and the Politics of the North</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">American Trade Debate . . . . . 3</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;"><i>by Jonathan Fox</i></p> <p>ARENA in the Arena . . . . . 10</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><i>by Daniel H. Wolf</i></p> <p>Electronic Job Bulletin Board . . . . . 18</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><i>by Glenn Sheldon</i></p> <p>National Security Education Act (NSEA) . . . 19</p> <p>Letter . . . . . 20</p> <p>Nominating Committee Slate . . . . . 22</p>	<p>Labor Studies Working Group</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;"><i>by Russell E. Smith</i> . . . . . 24</p> <p>Endowment Fund Contributors . . . . . 25</p> <p>In Memoriam: Charles Wagley . . . . . 26</p> <p>Announcements . . . . . 26</p> <p>Employment Opportunities . . . . . 28</p> <p>Databases On Central America . . . . . 30</p> <p>Research and Study Opportunities . . . . . 31</p> <p>Publications . . . . . 32</p> <p>Forthcoming Conferences . . . . . 33</p> <p>Individual Membership Form . . . . . 37</p> <p>Preregistration Form . . . . . 38</p> <p>Institutional Membership Form . . . . . 39</p>
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## Agriculture and the Politics of the North American Trade Debate:

A Report from the Trinational Exchange on  
Agriculture, the Environment and the Free  
Trade Agreement<sup>1</sup>

Mexico City, November 14-17, 1991

by

Jonathan Fox

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Most discussions of the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement leave out agriculture and the rural environment. A major trinational exchange held last November began to fill this gap, bringing together a diverse mix of participants in an effort to share ideas and concerns about the implications of North American integration for the future of family farmers and farmworkers in our three countries.

The Trinational Exchange on Agriculture and the Environment was the first ever political exchange between national and regional family farm leaders of the three countries. Strong participation from environmental groups concerned with sustainable agriculture added political clout and a long-term focus to the gathering. Participants differed, both within and between each national delegation, over what political stance to take vis-a-vis the proposed NAFTA, but all were concerned with finding ways to sustain family farms and rural communities, politically, economically and ecologically, in the course of North American integration.<sup>2</sup>

Pushing for a unified stance towards NAFTA would have been premature, since the politically diverse groups were getting to know one another for the first time, but three general conclusions stand out. First, farmers increasingly came to view their counterparts not as competitors but as people grappling with common issues, laying the groundwork for further exchanges based on greater understanding of the trinational political and economic context in which they work the land.<sup>3</sup> Second, in terms of policy, participants highlighted the need for policies to take into account the survival of family farms and rural communities. Third, participants agreed that "downward harmonization" (i.e., lowering) of environmental and food safety standards would be both unhealthy and undemocratic.<sup>4</sup>

Deere, Denise Dresser, Luis Hernández, Raúl Hinojosa, Mary Kelly, Monica Moore, David Myhre, Reid Reading and Helen Shapiro. I am especially grateful to Karen Lehmann, of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy. The usual disclaimers apply.

2. This essay is a revised version of an introductory address to the conference. The Mexican hosts were: Unión Nacional de Organizaciones Regionales Campesinas Autónomas (UNORCA) and the Coordinadora Nacional de Organizaciones Cafetaleras (CNOC), with U.S. co-sponsorship from the Minneapolis-based Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, the Texas Center for Policy Studies and Mexico-US Diálogos. Canadian co-sponsors were Common Frontiers and the Canadian Center for Alternative Policy. The gathering was kept small to improve the possibilities for frank discussion. U.S. groups included: National Family Farm Coalition, Kansas Farmers Union, Oklahoma Farmers' Union, California Association of Family Farmers, Idaho Sugar Beet Growers, Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Greenpeace, Catholic Center for Rural Life, Pesticide Action Network, Sierra Club, American Friends Service Committee (Cooperativa de Trabajadores Migratorios), Southwest Voter Research Institute and Yakima tribal development enterprise representatives (State of Washington). Mexican participants included the Unión Nacional de Trabajadores Agrícolas (UNTA), Central Campesina Independiente (CCI), Central Independiente de Obreros Agrícolas y Campesinos (CIOAC), Asociación Nacional de Uniones de Crédito del Sector Social, Asociación Nacional de Distribuidores de Fertilizante del Sector Social, Frente Auténtico del Trabajo (FAT), in addition to regional leaders from the two national campesino networks which hosted the event from Sonora, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Oaxaca and Michoacán. Mexican environmentalists included the Grupo de Estudio Ambientales (GEA), Grupo de Estudios Regionales Ambientales, Red de Acción Mexicana contra las Plaguicidas (RAPAM), Greenpeace-Mexico, Centro de Eco-Desarrollo, Comité de Defensa y Preservación Ecológica (Durango), Grupo de Estudios Agrarios (GEA) and the Comisión de Solidaridad y Defensa de los Derechos Humanos - Chihuahua (environmental project). Canadian participants included the National Farmers' Union, the Crop Improvement Association of New Brunswick, Catholic Rural Life Conference and the West Bank Indian Band. Researchers from the Colegio de México, UNAM, CIEASAS, Cornell and MIT also attended.

3. The broader meeting was preceded by precedent-setting sectoral exchanges on dairy and forestry issues, and was quickly followed by exchanges among family grain farmers. The Fair Trade Campaign, a national network doing educational and lobbying work on GATT as well as NAFTA, has played the key role on the U.S. side in most of these exchanges.

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1. Several colleagues provided very helpful feedback on earlier drafts, including David Brooks, John Burstein, Wayne Cornelius, Carmen Diana

4. For more details about the gathering's conclusions, see the press release dated Nov. 17, 1991.

The conference began with an overview of the North American political and economic context, stressing that NAFTA is one more step in a long-term, inexorable process of continental integration. NAFTA gives it a name, the three presidents and their negotiators give it faces, but the process has been happening silently for many years, and it will continue for many years, with or without a free trade agreement. NAFTA would speed it up, presenting both challenges and opportunities. In the U.S., the "fast track" debate acted as a lightning rod to attract and focus national discussion for the first time about this longstanding process. The NAFTA process also forced groups in the U.S. finally to think about the Canadian experience—very late, but better late than never. In Canada, the NAFTA process reopened the question of how the costs and benefits of its agreement with the U.S. were distributed. In Mexico, a unilateral trade opening began several years ago, but the dramatic effects in agriculture went unnoticed in the U.S. and Canada until NAFTA provoked the creation of a trinational political agenda.

In general, the NAFTA process provoked labor unions, environmental groups, family farm organizations, non-governmental development organizations, consumer groups and policy analysts to begin to get to know who's who in the other two countries. This process had already begun quietly three years ago, and one important lesson so far is that the cross-border counterparts for different social organizations are not obvious.<sup>5</sup> The histories of social movements in each country are too different to have produced clear-cut trinational counterparts. Business and government elites, in contrast, have known each other well all along, so social organizations have had to begin to catch-up quickly. With NAFTA, domestic politics became foreign policy and foreign policy became domestic politics.<sup>6</sup>

The trinational political and economic context frames the key issues facing family farmers and farmworkers in the course of NAFTA negotiations, and it can be cast in terms of six general questions.

### 1. Trade inherently redistributes, but how do we determine who the winners and losers might be?

According to conventional economic theory, NAFTA would benefit the three economies overall, but would concentrate losses in a few specific sectors—especially those currently protected by trade barriers. Economic models repeatedly show what they call a "win-win" scenario. But few of the macroeconomic models treat agriculture as more than a single, homogeneous sector that behaves like just another industry. What happens when one starts to take into account agriculture's diversity? What if one acknowledges that agribusiness-dominated sectors behave very differently from

sectors where family farms are most important, for example? According to perhaps the most sophisticated binational economic model, if Mexico opens up the corn sector to U.S. imports in the short run, almost 850,000 heads of households will leave the countryside.<sup>7</sup>

NAFTA would most likely mean more industrial jobs for Mexico, taking into account both gaining and losing sectors, but if the peasant economy is opened to cheap U.S. exports in the foreseeable future, then the net employment effect for Mexico could well be negative.

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5. One of the most important initiatives for introducing social organizations to one another across borders is the annual Trinational Exchange, which began in the U.S. in 1988, meeting successively in Chicago, Austin, Washington, again in Chicago, and next in San Diego. The key convenors in the U.S. are individuals working with Mexico-US Diálogos, American Friends Service Committee, United Auto Workers, University of Chicago, University of California, San Diego and Travelers and Immigrants Aid (Chicago). For more information, see "Summary Report/Informe, Trinational Exchange: Popular Perspectives on Mexico-US-Canada Relations: The Checkerboard Declaration" Chicago, April 26-28, 1991.

6. For the most comprehensive analysis of this process, see Cathryn Thorup, "The Politics of Free Trade and the Dynamics of Cross-Border Coalitions in U.S.-Mexican Relations," *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 26(2), Summer, 1991.

7. This is the "worst case" scenario, representing 12% of the rural labor force. Six hundred thousand of those predicted to leave would go to the U.S. For comparison, according to this model, the U.S. currently absorbs 100,000 new Mexican immigrants each year. See Sherman Robinson, Mary Burfisher, Raul Hinojosa, and Karen Thierfelder, "Agricultural Policies and Migration in a U.S.-Mexican Free Trade Area: A Computable General Equilibrium Analysis, California Agricultural Experiment Station, Giannini Foundation, University of California, Berkeley, *Working Paper*, No. 617, Dec., 1991; also cited in Dianna Solis, "Corn May Be Snag in Trade Talks By Mexico, U.S.," *Wall St. Journal*, Dec. 27, 1991. The research was funded by the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture and the Mexican Foreign Ministry. Another study of agricultural out-migration impact forsees a more modest increase, and further predicts that migration would fall in the longer run as jobs are created in export agriculture (see Wayne Cornelius, "Free Trade Can Reduce Mexican Migration," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 28, 1992 and Wayne Cornelius and Philip Martin, "The North American Free Trade Agreement and Mexican Migration to the United States," June, 1991, presented at the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UC-SD). For an overview of Mexican export prospects, see Ted Bardacke, "Fresh Produce Exporters Look Beyond Barriers for Bountiful Harvest," *El Financiero Internacional* Dec. 23, 1991. In Mexico, one analyst recently published a prediction of a disastrous integration scenario, but it is based largely on a static description of the existing imbalance between U.S. and Mexican agriculture rather than a dynamic analysis of how each sector might react. The book includes a useful round-table discussion with three national peasant leaders. See José Luis Calva, *Probables Efectos de un Tratado de Libre Comercio en el Campo Mexicano*, Mexico: Fontamara/Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1991. Much more research needs to be done on the agricultural trade/migration question. Even less is known about how opening Mexico's corn sector might interact with the government's partial privatization of agrarian reform lands. One top official implied that this measure alone would displace about half of the rural population within one or two decades (cited in Tim Golden, "The Dream of Land Dies Hard in Mexico," *New York Times*, Nov. 27, 1991).

**2. Who were the key actors behind the NAFTA initiative, and how does that affect the current debate?**

The NAFTA proposal was an initiative of Mexico's president, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. After taking many dramatic initiatives to encourage new investment since he took office in 1988, the response from both foreign and Mexican business was disappointing. He needed to send a convincing signal that his dramatic pro-business policy changes were going to be permanently "locked in," regardless of who succeeded him as president. Bush quickly saw the need to bolster his ally, and took up the challenge of convincing the U.S. Congress that it should cede power to the executive to work out the details—the "fast track" process.<sup>8</sup> It was only after a wide range of groups in the U.S. began to question whether the President would really take their concerns into account that broad U.S. business sectors really began to mobilize in support of Bush, Salinas and NAFTA.<sup>9</sup> The result of this congressional debate was a "conditional fast track," according to the Gephardt amendment, which gave Congress the right to amend any proposed treaty. In this first phase of the NAFTA debate, governments set the agenda rather than simply responding to private pressures.

For family farmers, this state-structuring of the debate implies that one needs to be somewhat skeptical about official claims regarding which groups are pressuring for competing policies. For example, certain policy currents might try to pit the different farmer groups against each other when their interests may or may not really conflict, and then blame the foreigners for the positions they are taking. Corn is a good example.<sup>10</sup> The Mexican government claims that it is being pressured by the U.S. government and U.S. producer groups to open up the corn sector—Mexico's last remaining major protected crop, along with beans. This may or may not be true. After all, Mexico actually represents a fairly small share of U.S. corn exports, and if the Mexican economy grows as much as predicted over the next few years, Mexican corn imports would probably increase without having to displace large numbers of peasant producers.<sup>11</sup> It would be more profitable for U.S. farmers to export less at higher prices, while the transnational grain trading companies are the actors most interested in exporting larger amounts at lower prices.<sup>12</sup> So who is really pushing to open up the Mexican corn sector? The question requires further policy research in both countries. For example, how is the U.S. negotiating position formulated? There are clear trade-offs between the economic/ideological arguments in favor of an indiscriminate opening, and the longer run political/"national security" case for a more selective agricultural trade opening.<sup>13</sup>

The social organizations in each country do not know enough about how each other's political and economic systems work to make assumptions about who is doing what

to whom in the trade debate. Those concerned with democratizing the debate over the distribution of the costs and benefits of free trade and adjustment need better "political maps" of the key economic and political actors in each country.

**3. Supporters of NAFTA point to the European experience with integrating richer and poorer countries. Is North American integration like the European community?**

European integration certainly is impressive, but there are five general reasons why NAFTA is not comparable, at least so far.

First, the economic gap between the U.S. and Canada vs. Mexico is much, much greater than between the EEC and Spain, Portugal and Greece. Whether one looks at wages, environmental protection or labor standards, there are very few parallels. Turkey is much more comparable, and the EEC is not rushing to include Turkey.

The second difference is that, even though the gap between richer and poorer countries is not as wide as in North America, the Europeans have created a range of compensatory social and economic policies to take the gap into

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8. The "fast track" legislation was already due for renewal as part of the GATT negotiations, but NAFTA greatly raised its domestic political salience.

9. See, for example, the *Mexico-U.S. Report*, which covers the activities of the Mexican/American Free Trade Association. (i.e., 4(2), March-April, 1991).

10. One issue that remains unclear is the degree of substitution between white and yellow corn. Most U.S. corn exports to Mexico go to low-income urban popular consumption, consisting of the #2 grade yellow variety (used as animal feed here). Most corn grown by Mexican peasants on rainfed land is of the much-preferred white variety, so the two crops compete in slightly different market segments. If Mexico were to drop its current import restrictions, it would not be hard for Midwestern corn producers to shift varieties and produce more white corn for export and compete directly.

11. For a more general discussion of this issue, see Robert Paarlberg, "U.S. Agriculture and the Developing World: Opportunities for Joint Gains," in John Sewell and Stewart Tucker, eds., *Growth, Exports and Jobs in a Changing World Economy*, New Brunswick and Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988.

12. Grain transnationals profit significantly from the marketing, storage and handling charges, thereby benefiting greatly from increased export volume even if prices are low.

13. There are preliminary reports, for example, that the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture is divided along such lines.

account, ranging from massive investment plans to develop poorer regions to raising the lower labor and environmental standards, rather than "harmonizing downwards" the higher standards prevalent elsewhere in Europe.

Third, most of the EEC has been following very different national economic strategies, mainly centered around highly skilled, high wage industrialization (e.g., Germany). This is in sharp contrast to the U.S. and Mexican government's de facto industrial policies. Neither government is thinking strategically about job creation, preferring to leave that to the marketplace. National education budgets indicate that, by default, both governments, and perhaps Canada's as well, are following a lower tech, low-wage strategy, which could tend to pit workers against each other. According to a recent study by the National Planning Association (US), the U.S. and Mexico may have more in common in this regard than the U.S. and Japan or the U.S. and Western Europe.<sup>14</sup> As a result, integration probably will not drive wages down in Europe, but it might for significant sectors of the U.S. labor force, since they are unskilled.<sup>15</sup> This may be one reason why the Europeans are integrating their labor markets, while NAFTA excludes labor mobility and right to organize from the agenda.

Fourth, it is important to recall the highly gradual character of the European integration process, beginning in the 1950s. This has allowed time for democratic processes to work, within and between countries, which made it much more likely that the losing sectors would get some kind of adjustment or reconversion assistance.

The fifth difference is that European economic integration is accompanied by political integration, with a quite pluralistic European parliament. In the EEC, family farmers, labor unions and environmentalists have an institutionalized voice in the process, through their broad representation within both national and region-wide political institutions. The North American governments, in contrast, seem to see unions, family farmers and environmentalists more as obstacles than partners in negotiating the integration process.

To sum up, the EEC has recognized that economic integration holds great promise—as long as its negative effects are counterbalanced by active public policies that take them into account from the beginning.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4. Why has agriculture and the rural environment been largely left out of the broader discussion of North American integration, even among critics?

First, the lack of a national voice for U.S. family farmers on North American integration should not be a surprise, since they are on the defensive politically in general and continue

to lose ground to corporate agribusiness. The single most important indicator of political weakness is the failure to promote a "supply management" alternative that would reduce both over-production and federal subsidies. To the degree that farm organizations focus on trade policy, they are highlighting GATT, which they see as a larger threat than NAFTA.<sup>17</sup>

The key question then is why has alliance-building between the city and the countryside been so difficult—at least in the U.S. and Mexico? Agriculture's relatively low profile in the NAFTA debates reflects the political and cultural distance that separates family farmers from other working people in the U.S. and Mexico. In Canada, family farmers are in much closer contact with trade unions and consumer groups. The gap is also especially deep between farmers and farmworkers in the U.S.—less so in Mexico, since so many millions of people are both part-time farmers and part-time farmworkers.<sup>18</sup>

Second, agricultural policy in general is far from "transparent" for people not directly involved. It is extremely difficult to democratize the policy debate because of the complexity of each government's agricultural policies, and the lack of clarity about who benefits from farm subsidies in each country.

14. See Peter Morici's balanced assessment, *Trade Talks with Mexico: A Time for Realism*, Washington D.C.: National Planning Association, 1991.

15. Most economic predictions indicate quite marginal and sector-specific losses for U.S. workers, but U.S.-Mexican integration already has had a broader, unquantifiable "political multiplier effect," since the threat to move to Mexico, often quite explicit, has a powerful effect on collective bargaining.

16. Some think that the EEC subsidizes its farmers because their elites share some abstract ideal of the "national interest." This might be true for some, but there are also powerful electoral coalitions behind their pro-farm policies (i.e., France, Germany, Japan).

17. The Fair Trade Campaign and the Ralph Nader-linked Citizen Trade Watch have recently begun to link farm, labor and environmental lobbies to influence the GATT debate. See also, for example, "Exploring the Linkages: Trade Policies, Third World Development and U.S. Agriculture," *Issue Brief*, Trade and Development Program, Fall, 1991.

18. Even though U.S. labor groups began to call for more democratic labor rights in Mexico in the course of the NAFTA debate, farmworkers, the most oppressed group of Mexican workers, have been ignored. They are one of the groups most likely to be affected by NAFTA, both in terms of potentially increased pesticide exposure with the growth of exports to the U.S. and in terms of increased displacement of family farmers into the migrant labor stream. Mexican farmworkers number between four and five million people, and like U.S. farmworkers, they lack influential allies. The most notable exception is the important initiative in cross-border farmworker alliance-building led by the midwestern-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee, which has worked with Mexican counterpart employees of Campbell's (with support from the National Council of Churches' Agricultural Missions).

Third, rural environmental issues are not the highest profile concerns among most U.S. environmentalists, many of whom focus more on urban industrial issues or the wilderness, but not on the countryside in between. Agro-chemical abuse is probably the single most important environmental issue that concerns farmers, farmworkers and consumers, but one needs to be aware of the potential to divide producers from consumers—this happened in the U.S. pesticide regulation policy debates several years ago. U.S. pesticide standards currently "favor" consumers over farmers and farmworkers, who face highly toxic pesticides at the point of production, which then break down quickly in time to reduce the exposure to consumers. Continuing this anti-farmworker bias, the official U.S. negotiating position considers the only relevant trade-related pesticide issue to be the amount of residues on imported agricultural products. In other words, when considering the health impact of increased Mexican agricultural exports to the U.S., possible pesticide exposure to U.S. consumers is a "legitimate" issue, but the increased exposure faced by Mexican farmworkers is not. Greenpeace has recently taken an important stand, calling on the U.S. Trade Representative to define the environmental and health impact of agricultural trade in terms that include Mexican farmworkers as well as U.S. consumers.<sup>19</sup>

### 5. Why has the nature of the debate been so different in each country?

The differences between the range of the debate and the types of positions similar groups take in each country is quite remarkable. These contrasts reflect different political histories, systems of government, political styles, and internal cleavages, all of which shape how each group sees its interests and its opportunities to influence policy-making.

In Canada, which has already experienced apparently dramatic job losses from its trade agreement with the U.S., major social and political forces favor abrogation. Their position can be strong because of the breadth and depth of opposition, along with an allied political party, the New Democratic Party, which now governs provinces with 52% of the nation's population. But the prospects for influencing trade policy probably depend on the balance of power at the federal level.<sup>20</sup>

In the U.S., the congressional "fast track" debate provoked the formation of the broadest coalition ever of domestic social and economic groups around an issue of "foreign" economic policy. The coalition actually won some symbolic victories in terms of administration promises, but by the end of 1991 few had been kept.<sup>21</sup> But this was a classic example of U.S. lobbying and coalition politics—it had breadth but not depth, and little is left in the way of organizing and concern that links Washington to the heartland of the country, at

least for now.<sup>22</sup> This could change, but one limiting factor is that most Democratic Party leaders, internally divided on the issue, generally sidestep the complex NAFTA issue.

Some key Democratic Party leaders in the Senate strongly favor NAFTA, both as part of their business alliances and to avoid alienating the Mexican-American political establishment, which tends to favor NAFTA. Bush was remarkably successful at managing the spring 1991 debate to make "fast track" opponents seem "anti-Mexican," and some opponents made this easier by clumsy and insensitive behavior, especially among short-sighted protectionist forces in the labor movement. The next round of the debate will be more complex, since a much broader range of groups in the Mexican-American community are now involved in discussing the implications of NAFTA.<sup>22</sup> In general, U.S. critics are divided between total opposition, many from a traditional protectionist stand, to criticism that calls for full inclusion of labor rights, environmental protection and adjustment assistance. So far, the Bush administration's track record may unite these two tendencies, since it has been unwilling to take the labor, environmental or trade adjustment concerns seriously.

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19. On pesticide abuse in Mexico, see Angus Wright's comprehensive *The Death of Ramón Gonzales*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. On U.S. and international pesticide policy more generally, see also the Pesticide Action Network's *Global Pesticide Campaigner*. U.S. environmental groups could potentially become important allies for farmworkers on both sides of the border, but serious emphasis on the enforcement of pesticide use regulations would inherently require them to become involved in supporting the freedom to bargain collectively over working conditions. This has yet to happen in the U.S., where farmworkers remain excluded from most basic collective bargaining, occupational health, sanitary and "right to know" worker protection laws.

20. For a critique of the U.S.-Canadian Free Trade Agreement's impact in agriculture, see Michael Troughton, "An Ill-Considered Pact: The Canada-US Trade Agreement and the Agricultural Geography of North America," *ARRG Working Papers Series* (Agriculture and Rural Restructuring Group), No. 1, 1991 (Rural Development Institute).

21. The Bush administration tried halfheartedly to co-opt the mainstream environmental groups with promises of inclusion. For one representative reaction, see Mary Kelly, "A Response to the Bush Administration's Environmental Action Plan for Free Trade Negotiations with Mexico," May 10, 1991, Austin: Texas Center for Policy Studies, mimeo.

22. The Fair Trade Campaign and the Nader-linked Citizen Trade Watch are to some degree exceptions to this. The main Washington D.C.-based opposition network is the Mobilization for Development, Trade, Labor and the Environment (MODTLE), which works with Mexican and Canadian non-governmental organization networks. See their "Look Before You Leap. What You Should Know About a North American Free Trade Agreement," Washington, D.C.: Development Group for Alternative Policies, 1991.

23. The Southwest Voter Research Institute, part of one of the most broad-based Chicano political networks, has promoted major public forums which show quite a wide range of views on the NAFTA issue.

In Mexico, there has hardly been a national debate. The first major salvo was at the trilateral meeting in Zacatecas in October, 1991, parallel to the official talks, but that came mainly from national leaders of the political opposition, rather than from representatives of major social organizations. Many Mexicans are concerned about what integration might mean, but there are three key factors which constrain their national debate on NAFTA. First, since NAFTA is a top presidential priority, it is widely assumed to be a "done deal." Mexico already opened up most of its economy unilaterally, so for most sectors free trade is already reality (at least in one direction). Second, most of the Mexican mass media have offered the public a very one-sided view of the implications of full integration. Third, the political cost of outright opposition is very high. The end result is that most major social groups which have concerns about integration express them in ways which do not question the general principle of NAFTA, but rather lobby discreetly for their particular sector. Most of the outright opposition to NAFTA is therefore associated—rightly or wrongly—with broader political and ideological opposition to the government (a much more serious proposition than opposing presidential priorities in the U.S. or Canada).

To sum up the kind of critical actors in each country, in Canada you have both the "head" and the "body" of a movement—a consolidated, national political party that can act strategically plus a wide range of major social organizations deeply rooted in society. In the U.S. you have a wide range of concerned social organizations, something of a "body," though with a very short attention span, but no rooted strategic actor, no "head," no national political leadership engaged in developing practical policy alternatives. In Mexico, you have a "head," in terms of critical nationalist political opposition, worried about what integration might mean (with some critics even inside the ruling party), but no "body," no wide range of social organizations engaged with the issue.<sup>24</sup>

#### 6. How might the broader political situation in each country affect the pace of the NAFTA negotiations?

The time-frame of the negotiations is a very sensitive issue for each respective government. The political context in the U.S. and Canada may affect the pace of the negotiations. The Canadian government is at a dramatic low point in the polls, and two-thirds of Canadians polled support renegotiation or abrogation of their treaty with the U.S.. In the U.S., president Bush's popularity turns out to be both soft and sinking, mainly because of a pervasive sense of economic insecurity among middle class and working people. The prospect of more jobs going to Mexico risks adding to this perception, as shown by the remarkable upset victory of a

liberal Democrat in the special senatorial election in Pennsylvania in November, 1991.<sup>25</sup> This was widely understood to be a signal to Bush, and it would not be surprising if his political strategists concluded that it would be better to let NAFTA wait until after the presidential election. The Mexican government, in contrast, is in a rush to conclude an agreement, mainly for "business confidence" reasons, to encourage productive private investment—which is still lagging behind expectations. As U.S. domestic politics began to intrude by the end of 1991, however, the Mexican government moved to dampen public expectations, in a damage-control effort.

The three governments, then, are deeply committed to economic integration, but without clear signs of a firm commitment to setting a social and environmental "floor" for the process. NAFTA advocates say that they recognize the need for adjustment assistance, reconversion and retraining for the "losers," but the three governments all lack track records that would give credibility to those promises. For those interested in understanding what integration will mean, the "winners" and "losers" in each country are not always obvious, especially for agriculture and the rural environment. Among the critics, the "political map" is very different in each country.

The NAFTA discussion should also be kept in the broader context. Not every trade-related problem can or will be regulated by a trilateral trade agreement.<sup>26</sup> Moreover,

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24. In February, 1991, Mexico's center-left opposition leader Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas presented his "Continental Initiative on Trade and Development" to the America's Society, to be published in John Cavanagh, et al, eds., *Confronting Free Trade in the Americas*, San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy/Institute for Policy Studies, 1992. See also his remarks included as part of pluralistic range of views on U.S.-Mexican integration published in *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 8(1), Winter, 1991.

25. NAFTA was not the main issue there, but it was a high-profile weapon in the political arsenal of a candidate who began 40% behind in the polls and ended up winning with 55% of the votes, with 63% turnout.

26. Trade legislation is a very blunt instrument, in that it is difficult to "fine-tune" positive social consequences. Even if the political will existed, it would be difficult to design specific trade legislation that could safeguard labor rights or environmental protection. Political linkage to other measures could be much more promising, such as a proposed "social charter" in conjunction with a broader continental development strategy. Economic adjustment, job creation and reconversion could be encouraged through the proposed North American development agency (if it were much more publicly accountable than existing multilateral agencies). See, for example, Albert Fishlow, Sherman Robinson and Raúl Hinojosa, "Proposal for a North American Regional Development Bank and Adjustment Fund," *Mexico Policy News*, No. 7, Winter 1992. This proposal has been read with interest by high-level policy-makers in the U.S. and Mexico, and has received growing attention in the California state legislature.



GATT may well overshadow NAFTA, depending on which set of negotiations is concluded first. In principle, GATT will probably set the framework for NAFTA, especially for agricultural and environmental issues.<sup>27</sup>

In conclusion, the Trinational Exchange permitted each group to learn more about the trinational "political map," exploring diplomatically where each participant agreed and disagreed. Some participants found that they shared similar economic interests and political perspectives, while others did not; some focused more on the long-term, while others were more concerned with the immediate challenges. The political principle underlying the discussion was to agree to disagree about some things, in order to begin to find common ground and explore where each could work together in the future to defend sustainable rural development throughout North America. ■

27. So far, the GATT considers high local or national environmental standards to be illegitimate restraints on international trade. This was made clear when GATT recently ruled that U.S. domestic regulations on allowable dolphin kills associated with industrial tuna fishing were not allowed to interfere with tuna imports from Mexico. More generally, see, Mark Ritchie, "Trading Away Our Environment, Global 'Harmonization' of Pesticide Laws and other Environmental Regulations at GATT," Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy/National Toxics Campaign Fund, May, 1990, and Monica Moore, "GATT, Pesticides and Democracy," *Global Pesticide Campaigner*, 1(1), Oct., 1990.



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**ARENA in the Arena:  
Factors in the Accommodation of the Salvadoran Right to  
Pluralism and the Broadening of the Political System**

by

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[Editor's note: This article is based on a report presented to the United Nations Observers Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), January 20, 1992.]

### Introduction

Although the peace accords between the ARENA government and the FMLN are cause for great celebration and optimism, realities "in the trenches" in El Salvador will produce continuing challenges for peacemakers and democrats. As Deputy Chief of Staff Colonel Mauricio Vargas noted, the recent peace accord means "the end of the war, not peace".<sup>1</sup>

The government and the army have acceded to a ceasefire and to the basic lineaments of social reform, but some extreme rightists have responded with numerous death threats and bombings. It is clear that the end of overt civil war does not in general mean the end of the casting of slings and arrows, as may be seen in Nicaragua; potential goads to violence will remain potent. Will hardline rightists ultimately reconcile themselves to abandoning the status quo ante, and acquiesce in a pluralistic expansion of the political system?

In the summer of 1991 I conducted a study of the ARENA party and the political right, in order to identify what factors might impel or impede the right in accepting an expansion of the political system and increased pluralism in the sociopolitical arena. I found that, although there are legitimate reasons for pessimism, structural changes in the character of the right's interests increase the probability of their near-to-medium term acquiescence in the peace process and their reconciliation to the need for social reforms. To draw this conclusion, I looked beyond the psychology of the military conflict now officially ended, and beyond the fact that common interests were found in the negotiations that produced the agreement. Most compelling were social and economic factors that structure the interests and prospective strategies of rightist politicians and businesspeople.

The finding in brief is this: First, in the ten years of the existence of the ARENA party, during which time it has achieved preeminence on the right, it has mobilized, brought into politics, and promoted up the ranks new, more modern types of businesspeople. These new leaders and their backers work predominantly in industry and commerce

rather than in agriculture, are oriented more towards the international market than the domestic, enunciate a neo-conservative philosophy that calls for less state intervention in the economy, and are more agnostic about social reforms than their hardline predecessors. They are, in a word, less bound, ideologically and by economic interest, to the parochial and rigid nationalism of the old Salvadoran right.

Second, now that these leaders, and some of their more "ultra" colleagues, have been elected and served through several terms in a legislature that has included their enemies of the left, they have matriculated in the school of bargaining with their opponents and accrued a stake in institutional politics.

Third, changes in business activity consequent to the war have wrought changes in the perceived costs of continued military conflict, most apparently but not exclusively among coffee-growers in conflicted areas. This has transformed the military option from a benefit into a cost, producing a greater interest in negotiated stability and, in some locales, actual movement towards a realpolitik accommodation with the new social status quo. An unexpected effect of this cost-benefit change is the diminution of the instinct to preserve the army as savior of the *patria*, thereby enhancing the ability of the moderate leadership to compromise on the role of the military and ultimately to impose civilian control.

Though these medium-term factors argue for eventual social accommodation and tolerance between left and right and rich and poor, forces remain that could short-circuit the process in the near term. The most important of these would be a resurgence of death squads, and the possibility of a split in the ARENA party. But if the analysis above proves correct, ARENA leaders and powerful supporters will act to reduce the extent and effects of disruptive extra-political activities on the right, allowing the moderating tendencies in ARENA to eventually dominate the old right. Meanwhile, the ultra-right ARENA leaders will resist party-destroying polarization, because a split would destroy important political assets that are of use only to a united ARENA.

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1. "El Salvador: Another war falls out of fashion", *The Economist*, Jan. 11, 1992. Except for previously printed sources, I have not credited here my own interview sources, primarily because I am not quoting them directly at this time.

Of course, the left and the FMLN are equally implicated in the making of the peace. To the extent the present analysis dwells on the right, it is because that end of the spectrum has been studied less in this context. It received my undivided attention in the summer of 1991.

### 1. Rise of Outward-Looking Business Interests in the ARENA Party

In the decades before the founding of the ARENA Party, the politically weak commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was content to be left alone to do business. In exchange, it supported the PCN-army<sup>2</sup> alliance in government. This support weakened as the anarchy of the 1970s demonstrated the PCN's inability to suppress the left, and broke down completely with the 1979 *golpe de estado* of leftist army officers. The founding of ARENA by Roberto D'Abuisson and others addressed the feeling of businesspeople, newly awakening to politics, to act against "communist subversion", to develop lasting political strength, and to do both in a manner consistent with an emerging self-awareness and neo-conservative ideology.

Roberto D'Abuisson was far more than an inspiration and catalyst for the party. He provided at once the ideological glue, the brains and skill necessary for organizational deepening, and the charisma necessary for vote-getting. But in spite of his early key role, the rise of his followers to important party and government positions now means that their voices are of growing importance; and his voice, though still important, is no longer the dispositive one. With his recent death from throat cancer, the composition of these newer voices will determine the course of the party.

These other voices are no longer the voices of hardline support for military solutions. In my interviews with party leaders, deputies, and backers, most of whom are established businesspeople, I detected changing perceptions. Their stories and points of view are markedly similar. Perhaps the common denominator is that the violence of the 1970s, and the consequent pecuniary and personal losses, produced an awareness that institutional-electoral politics were important to their and their country's well-being—too important to be allowed to drift to the left—and that their voices were not being heard. With D'Abuisson and their own party, they came to believe that they could capture the government from leftists and U.S.-supported Christian Democrats, and then treat subversives with a firm hand.

In the first few years of the 1980s, most of these businesspeople were activists, working hard, organizing within their respective sectors, supporting D'Abuisson's hardline program. With their developing seniority,

self-confidence, and their own political bases, however, the differences between various tendencies began to become apparent. There are now at least four distinct tendencies, though for this analysis, I consider them only as hardliners and moderates. (The finer distinction is often necessary elsewhere, but the adequacy of simplification in this case will become obvious.)

Those who I will call "hardliners" tend to be petit bourgeois, domestic-market-oriented, and landed; the relative moderates are the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie oriented towards the international market. Changes in the economy are mainly responsible for the growth in economic and political strength of the latter: Coffee production fell by half from 1980 through 1990 (basic foodstuffs remained fairly flat), while also falling by a fifth in proportion of GDP from 1980 to 1985.<sup>3</sup>

Meanwhile, industry's share of GDP held steady in the same period,<sup>4</sup> falling 17 percent in aggregate value through 1984,<sup>5</sup> compared with a fall in aggregate value of commerce of 26 percent.<sup>6</sup> And, of course, anecdotal evidence abounds of wealthy landowners who have shifted their investments from land to industry and trade. Though the figures could stand to be more current, the trend is clear: There has been a significant shift in the relative importance of the industrial sector vis-à-vis agriculture and commerce.

The split from ARENA of Hugo Barrera, a party co-founder who advocated greater sensitivity to international opinion, appears to have further differentiated these two groups. Though Barrera's new party never drew significant voter support—in the 1988 elections it entered an unsuccessful alliance with two other small parties—its pro-business program mustered visible support in public demonstrations in 1986 and 1987. This may explain a change in emphasis in the ARENA program: ARENA leaders, attempting to capture an obviously popular sentiment, may thus have been provoked to move towards a more explicit neo-conservatism, expounding a positive vision of economic development, and reducing their previously exclusive orientation towards anti-communism.

2. The PCN, the Partido de Conciliación Nacional, for decades nominated presidential candidates pre-approved by the army, who routinely won.

3. María Eugenia Gallardo and José Roberto López, *Centroamérica: La Crisis en Cifras* (San José, Costa Rica: IICA, FLACSO, 1986), Table 1.2.3.

4. Ibid, Table 1.3.5.

5. Ibid, Table 1.3.1.

6. Ibid, Table 1.4.1.

The competition in 1987 for the presidency of the ARENA party and, implicitly, the presidential nomination for 1988, between now-Vice President Merino and now-President Cristiani—the former perceived to be from the mold of D'Abuisson, the latter then the President of the Legislative Assembly and from an elite family—was accompanied by a shadowy but real conflict between mutually exclusive visions of the future and ARENA's role in achieving them. One vision was associated with D'Abuisson's earlier hardline goal of restoring a mystical status quo ante, the other with moving on to constructing a social climate more amenable to business activity. In the event, D'Abuisson threw his support to Cristiani and the modern, more moderate faction, apparently to the surprise of the Merino faction. This event marks the point at which the ARENA party began to move towards a more "mature" or complex politics, pursuing interests defined in positive terms, recognizing the collective and consensual nature of a modern industrial economy, and becoming acceptable to the United States.

Speculations about D'Abuisson's motives abound. The most parsimonious speculation I have encountered holds that, given that the United States would never permit him or anyone equally extreme becoming President, he realized that the best thing he could do was to choose the most tenable long-term strategy that would permit ARENA's accession to the presidency. All things considered, the course that offered the best prospects for an ultimate rightist predominance in a post-war order was to throw in his (and the party's) lot with the mobilized and growing neo-conservative bourgeoisie. Thus, if he did not close the door on support for military suppression of subversion, he at least chose to open the door to a moderation of the party platform, and to a negotiated co-optation of the left into the political system, which by then had also become U.S. policy.

Probably as a consequence of this strategic intra-party victory by the moderate backers of now-President Cristiani, "modern" business interests predominate on the ARENA legislative list; and most deputies spoke of the anti-subversive campaign not as an end in itself, but as a tactical means to the end of building a free-enterprise, private-initiative economy in El Salvador.

The implicit competition between socio-economically diverse ARENA constituencies has been dramatically visible in the debate over the peace process. Broadly speaking, the more parochial hardliners resist constitutional changes and other significant concessions favorable to the left (and may continue to stonewall in the months ahead), while the international-oriented moderates press for compromise so as to permit the establishment of the political and social stability necessary for profitable long-term investment.

## 2. Changes in Perceived Costs and Benefits of Negotiated Stability

Though the rise of the outward-oriented moderates within ARENA implies their increased strength relative to more hardline sectors, and eventually the intra-party defeat of these hardline sectors, there exist possibilities of softening in the positions of hardliners, which would obviate the need for the moderates to have to defeat them at all. Were hardliners to soften of their own accord, this would suggest a smoother road to peace and pluralism than would be the case were they to have to face the novel idea of living with political defeat.

Such a moderation is possible, and flows from changes in the calculus of relative costs and benefits of war and peace for the economic interests of those traditionally supporting repressive and pro-war policies. The strongest example of such change is in coffee production: By 1984, 46.6 percent of cultivated area had been abandoned;<sup>7</sup> and though exports rose from \$438 million in 1983 to a peak of \$547 million in 1986, they had fallen by 1988 to \$350 million,<sup>8</sup> and to \$258 million in 1990, a decline of 53 percent.<sup>9</sup>

Before coffee went out of production in conflicted areas, the war against the FMLN was conceived of as a benefit, a defense of coffee growers' vulnerable fixed investments in their coffee plants. Now, after as much as eight years of abandonment, the plants have run wild and must be cut down; the fixed investment therefore has been lost. If production is to resume, the coffee must be replanted; or, in the case of those nominal owners who prefer not to reinvest in coffee, a land market must develop. But the requisite capital requirements are heavy, interest rates are high (having been used to discipline a wartime economy), and four to five years of cultivation are required before the first coffee harvest. As a result, continued conflict and unrest make reinvestment, and even the sale of land, too risky or too unattractive. Ownership of coffee land thus has been converted in these cases from a benefit to a burden. Hence, the chronic political and social instability consequent to war may be said to have transformed the military option from a benefit into a cost.

7. "Documento Básico para Privatización" del Instituto Salvadoreño de Investigaciones del Café, Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería, Santa Tecla, September 1990.

8. *Ibid.*

9. United States Embassy, San Salvador, "Foreign Economic Trends Report, June 1991". I am grateful to Arthur Golden for bringing this report to my attention.

It follows that, in this sector traditionally considered the stronghold of reactionary political attitudes, we should see affected farmers slowly becoming reluctant supporters of the peace process, although the less affected coffeegrowers may criticize the particular trade-offs negotiated by the government. Indeed, one such manifestation is the pro-negotiation position taken by the Coffeegrowers Association, which followed the wholesale ousting two years ago of the old reactionary Santa Ana leadership by younger, more moderate, growers—growers who had become dissatisfied with the status-quo rigidity of the elders, and who were more committed to business growth than to maintenance of obsolete, patriarchal, anti-labor business practices. The brief surge in coffee exports in 1990 may have whetted their appetites.<sup>10</sup>

In other areas of the economy, movement of investment from agriculture to commerce and industry has had similar, though less dramatic, effects in moderating the perspectives of business backers of ARENA. This has occurred while total exports in dollar terms were falling by 21 percent,<sup>11</sup> as fixed investments have become more liquid, as the defense of investments has become less directly dependent on military protection and less vulnerable to what is, in the main, a rural war, and while concerns about labor peace and investment climate have grown in relative importance.

### 3. Political Learning in ARENA Leadership

The majority of businesspeople now involved in the ARENA Party had never before been involved in politics. Their goad to involvement was the destabilizing street politics of the left during the 1970s. As a consequence, their early political experiences were exclusively confrontational. Many were inspired by the anti-leftist marches organized by the middle- and upper-class women's group *Cruzada Paz y Trabajo*; and, of course, the war's violence further heightened their personal antipathies. Most never imagined that they would one day be sharing tables with their "subversive" enemies.

But as ARENA succeeded, and many of these political tyros began to learn the give and take of electoral and legislative politics, eventually serving with a number of "subversives", they have learned that they can traffic with their opponents without having to abandon their principles. This signal bit of political learning is important because of its broadening effect on the leadership's views of politics, its expansion of leaders' repertoires of political tactics, and above all because it creates a payoff to playing by institutional rules. All of these have the effect of producing a higher degree of loyalty to institutional-electoral politics, and an equivalent disincentive to support the use of repression if such repression seems likely to destroy the efficacy of legislated "deals"—in which they have developed both political and personal stakes. This may not be a major factor in increas-

ing the commitment of the party as a whole to pluralism, but it must be weighed as a factor contributing to leaders' tolerance, and their reluctance to endanger what they have worked for. To the extent, moreover, that ARENA's backers become more tolerant, because of changes in interest, to such an extent the personal preferences of the leadership will be given more latitude, and will weigh heavier at the margin.

### 4. Realpolitik at the Local Level

While the formal peace talks continued in fits and starts at the national level, there were signs that, at least in some conflicted areas, local *modi vivendi*, if not settlements, were being worked out for the coming transition period. These *modi*, developed in informal *concertaciones*, recognized the realities on the ground, and sought to optimize for everyone in the locale what most had come to recognize as an untenable situation. At the minimum, in areas where the FMLN has been able to present a credible threat to continued production of coffee, it has permitted production to continue in exchange for a "quota" of output, a kind of tax. And in an area under effective FMLN control for some time, the Guazapa region between the volcano and the lake, *re pobladores* had re-populated large tracts, informal arrangements were reached for the rental from the FMLN of unused land, crop transport was arranged with ARENA *transportistas*, and purchase and rental negotiations were conducted between occupiers and previous owners. These arrangements implied recognition on the occupiers' part that pre-existing property law was likely to return (at least in some form), and recognition on the owners' part that a negotiated sale was better than continued confrontation in the face of uncertainty over future market and use values. In the FMLN's area of Morazán (much of which was a free-fire zone for the better part of a decade), *re pobladores* have expressed a willingness to buy occupied land for a fair price as the owners return; and at least until the army offensive this last September, peacetime sorts of trade and transport were very much in evidence. The existence of "micro-concertations" presents both promise and danger for the formal peace process—promise because of the possibility of local islands of stability within a larger sea of uncertainty,

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10. The Interamerican Development Bank 1991 Report on the Salvadoran Economy reports that real GDP grew 3.4% in 1990, primarily due to expansion of agricultural production, which grew at an "unprecedented" rate of 7.4%, mainly reflecting higher coffee production (the US Embassy Report notes that climactic factors were mainly responsible for the coffee surge, which went from \$228 million in 1989 to the already-cited \$258 million in 1990; and that a decline to \$250 million or lower is expected for the 1991 figures, also for climactic reasons).

11. In 1983 total exports were \$758 million, and in 1988 \$601 million. "Documento Básico para Privatización", op.cit.

danger because of the possibility that the formal peace process, with its higher ideological content and greater distance from micro-level realities, might have produced a settlement too provocative, too rigid, or too restrictive for the range of settlements negotiated at the local level. This problem will loom in importance if realpolitik in local ARENA parties turns out not to have been taken sufficiently into account in the more rarified, divided, and ideologically potent atmosphere of the national ARENA Party and the formal negotiations.<sup>12</sup>

Late military actions contesting de facto FMLN control of territory do not, by themselves, threaten local arrangements, and thus the prospects for local social peace. But if rightists use the opportunity of last-minute territorial gains to suspend new tenancy agreements in order to return to old forms of tenancy—and it must be remembered that these areas were among the first to be subject to conflict even before the war started—then social strife will be more likely to recur, and the military stand-down will become more difficult to carry through.

#### 5. Factors Endangering the Peace Process and Social Accommodation

There are two commonly cited reasons for pessimism about eventual peace, even in the event the ceasefire holds. One derives from the grumbling and anger voiced by ARENA's far right popular base about the negotiations: There are fears that it may presage a split in ARENA, and sap the ARENA government's ability to prevent renewed violence by the far right. The other is the related fear that extreme rightists will resort to death squads to undermine an eventual social peace. While I do not discount the possibility of these events occurring, my own analysis leads me to believe that the overall drift is to modulation of both these tendencies.

##### A. The Possibility of a Split in the ARENA Party

It is well-known that moderation at the level of the national party leadership has provoked heated criticism among ARENA's well-to-do urban base, especially among those identified with *Cruzada Paz y Trabajo* and *Movimiento Femenino*. A perhaps-typical Cruzada view was voiced by an upper-middle-class businesswoman and coffee grower, who told me angrily "I voted for ARENA to kill all the Communists, and they're not complying with my vote!" The presence of this sentiment, its widespread expression, and the existence of similar hardline positions among some leaders, has led to speculation about a split in the party after D'Abuisson's death. I believe there is more smoke here than fire. Certainly, tensions and cleavage lines exist; but

there are good reasons to believe that the threat is exaggerated.

The best reason for predicting continued, if strained, unity has to do with ARENA's demonstrated mass appeal and vote-getting ability. In decades past, the ability to compete for votes was often less important to a politician than the ability to work non-electoral levers of power (e.g., in the army). The electoral-constitutional system developed in the 1980s, however, rewards vote-getting per se, as a consequence of the fact that votes in the new system potentially translate into more power (and legitimate power) than is provided by any other single political lever. This helps produce a favorable balance between the benefits and costs of peaceful conflict resolution.<sup>13</sup> It follows, therefore, that competing leaders will perceive a greater payoff to capturing the party—i.e., its name, organization, and voters—than to forming newer, smaller parties, and risking losing these valuable collective assets.

Thus, although there are at least four competing tendencies within the party, of which the two most hardline might be inclined to promote polarization within ARENA's popular base, their leaders are savvy, and appear to be trying not to endanger the party's electoral assets or the strength that the right possesses in unity. Of course, they are also aware of the sad fate of Hugo Barrera's split-off party. So, unless truly compelling conditions occur, and leaders fail absolutely to co-opt the hard right popular base, they are not likely to lead their followers over the brink and their party to suicide.

Should personal animosities (e.g., between Vice President Merino and Party President Calderón Sol) lead anyway to a split, we should be very surprised if the resulting two parties do not forge (however uneasily) an alliance for the 1994 presidential elections. Unlike the legislative races, in which seats are assigned proportionally (which reduces the electoral costs of a split, and may actually increase factionalism), the presidency is won by plurality, and weighs heavily against factionalism.<sup>14</sup>

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12. There were higher levels of consensus on the FMLN's negotiating team, reflecting a lower degree of disagreement between FMLN negotiators and local left leadership, but the lesson applies there as well, especially with respect to non-FMLN loose allies.

13. Cf. Matthew S. Shugart, "Guerrillas and Elections: An Institutional Perspective on the Costs of Conflict and Competition", *International Studies Quarterly* (publication pending).

14. See generally Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences* (New York: Agathon Press, 1986), especially Chapter One.

Should Rubén Zamora lead an alliance of the left, the right would sacrifice much were it to remain divided after a split—and the relevant leaders undoubtedly are aware of this.<sup>15</sup>

### B. Death Squads and Other Reluctant Travelers on the Peace Road

Though ARENA probably will not split, this does not necessarily mean that an unsplit ARENA is the best guarantor of the acquiescence in the peace of ultra-hardliners. If dissatisfied ultra-hardliners were to feel compelled to remain in ARENA, while also feeling powerless there, they would be more inclined to act out their frustrations. But were they to have their own party, albeit probably smaller and with a commensurately smaller political voice, they might be satisfied to remain loyal to electoral politics. At least they would be heard, and would possess some bargaining leverage in alliance and in the legislature, which could result in some government posts and influence.

But here we are speaking mainly of the large, non-violent part of ARENA's popular base, which is likely to confine itself to criticisms and demonstrations. It is encouraging that, in postwar Zimbabwe and Nicaragua, the expected organized violence never materialized in significant degree. The more dangerous problem for the peace process would be numerous small, autonomous, and socially-alienated direct-action groups. In El Salvador, of course, this means death squads. Obviously, there is nothing easier than killing one's opponents to express profound dissatisfaction with negotiated reform and reconciliation. One must therefore ask, what might produce a resurgence of such groups?

Grisly though it may seem to say so, there are death squads and there are death squads, and their political effects vary. For analysis' sake, I will divide death squads into two types: the ad hoc quixotic, and the well-organized and well-backed. Those of the former by nature will be less politically dangerous, for the simple reason that they will more likely lack training, operational intelligence, and political protection; nor will they be able to successfully attack major actors, or pursue a prolonged campaign against the popular base of the left, in the absence of police and army acquiescence. This is not to say that they would be any less socially dangerous, or that they would inflict any less human anguish, inasmuch as they would still be deadly and terribly difficult to suppress (even with the political will). Bullets and bombs, after all, are cheap and plentiful, and these groups may be nearly invisible collections of sociopaths and "lumpen" discontents—the very types that even the industrial democracies have difficulty suppressing. But their destabilizing effect would be felt more in the aggregate than in the particular, and unless they were truly numerous (unlikely), their activities would not lead to a political crisis.

The organized and protected groups, on the other hand, are, by definition, backed by the money and protection of rich, important persons, and therefore act (when they act) with impunity and effectiveness. Should they choose to act in the coming transitional period, their targets will be important, their political effects powerful, and their suppression unlikely if not impossible. There is reason, however, to believe that these death squads will not be resurrected, at least not systematically. Why? Because, if my rise-of-the-modern-bourgeoisie and shift-of-interests analyses are correct—and the powerful, like many others, have seen their underlying business base change—then as rational political actors, the potential backers of these death squads will find it more in their interests to pursue their ends via politically less expensive and strategically more productive institutional routes. Indeed, if "hardliners" become "pragmatists" (and if the FMLN truly accepts a capitalist economy, thereby allowing beneficial and relatively "cheap" deals to be struck between them and capitalists), rightists will find it in their own interest to help suppress threats to emerging social stability. So, even if there are some powerful recalcitrants along the road to peace, their more pragmatic comrades will be likely to attempt, face to face, to discourage excessive recidivism. And if elite support for death squads becomes passé, then certainly the suppression of isolated fanatics will receive a green light.

### 6. Army Predation and the Implementation of Neo-conservative Economic Policies

Two very important questions, often asked in El Salvador, remain. First, might the army remain dangerously powerful relative to civilian governments, in spite of its reduction and the integration of FMLN soldiers into the forces? Second, might army officers continue to participate in shady business activities, beyond the reach of their civilian governors, thus maintaining incentive to threaten anyone in their way? To deduce an answer to these questions—really one question, not two, to my way of thinking—I resort to a blend of observation and logical analysis.

We are seeing already the consequences of the ARENA government's conversion to neo-conservatism as a philosophy of government, in the form of tariff reductions, austerity budgets, and moves to sell money-losing state enterprises and to eliminate unproductive agencies and market restrictions. Although these measures are commonly perceived by

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15. But should the right remain divided in the face of a strong left-center alliance, and were Zamora (or someone similar) to win the presidency, this could provoke a very real threat by the extreme right. Helpful intermediaries would be well-advised to argue to the right the wisdom of an alliance, and to the left the wisdom of toned-down rhetoric and program.

the left as anti-democratic—certainly as anti-socialist—both left and right agree that such neo-conservative policies are pro-capitalist. Certainly, the fact that the policies are pro-capitalist is at the root of the disagreement over whether they should go forward. But in a battle against the foundations of tyrannical power in El Salvador, neo-conservative policies are a weapon that hold the potential of accomplishing the goals of both neo-conservative right and social democratic left.

A central premise of this argument is that economic rents are at the root of corruption and tyrannical power, for they provide the motive force (i.e., the wealth) for the perpetuation of tyrannical political control, which itself is the means of guaranteeing continuing rents, and so on ad infinitum. I use the term "economic rents" in its Ricardian sense: In modern economics, the prices of goods are set by the marginal, i.e., the high-cost, producer, which allows the low-cost producers to reap larger profits, or "rents" (sometimes called "windfall profits"). In the case of a protectionist or over-bureaucratized state, the ability to safely (though illegally) evade high tariffs and bureaucratic strictures is like owning a resource that lowers one's costs of production, thus conferring a rent or "windfall profit," for which one is willing to pay (perhaps handsomely).

Hernando DeSoto in *The Other Path*, though he doesn't notice that it is rents that underlie and make profitable the phenomenon of over-bureaucratization, correctly notes that a whole class of bureaucrats and interest groups ("rent entrepreneurs" would be more accurate) have evolved to exploit the opportunities produced by a powerful, bureaucratized state. Neo-conservative policies, resulting in a genuinely competitive economy, interrupt the corruption cycle by reducing or destroying state-created rents.

There is, then, an invisible conflict here: If won by the neo-conservatives, it will decisively shift the balance of power in Salvadoran institutions, especially within the army. There are two overlapping but analytically distinct battles. One is over tariff barriers and other restrictions on economic activity; the other is over the degree of permissible army officer participation in economic activity. The hardliners appear more disposed to support protective tariffs and business restrictions because, being domestic-market-oriented, tariff and other trade barriers protect and benefit them. Further, they are relatively disposed to support army "business" activities, for two reasons: first, some are ex-army themselves; second, they need the army to enforce the tariffs and business restrictions against their competitors, and the price of enforcement is allowing the army a "take" in the economic rents generated by the barriers.

Ideologically speaking, true neo-conservatives will always be

opposed to army competition in the economy (because it is unfair, being inherently prone to abuse and therefore to "extra-economic" advantage). They will therefore seek to control the army and restrict its non-defense activities. But ultimately, victory over army predation in El Salvador will hinge not on the good intentions of those who have embraced a neo-conservative philosophy, but on the actual reductions in tariff and other restrictive barriers. This will occur because, to the extent that neo-conservative policies reduce barriers (and the current international environment aids them in this), the economic rents on which the army feeds will proportionally diminish, and army predation will weaken for lack of relative economic force, thus allowing the reductions to continue. With such weakening, civil control over army appointments and promotions will be strengthened, and the army thus, in the medium to long term, brought to heel.

#### Concluding: Where does theory point?

Observers of liberalizing transitions of the last decade are almost unanimous in believing that low levels of certain macro-socioeconomic factors, such as low GDP per capita and widespread illiteracy, greatly reduce a nation's ability to build a successful democracy. The scholars are also generally persuaded that higher levels do not by themselves produce democracy—as decades of Latin American modernization, followed by decades of authoritarian rule, demonstrate. Higher levels of development, therefore, are permissive factors, and perhaps necessary to a point, but they are not sufficient to produce democratic success. Because El Salvador ranks low on all the common socioeconomic indices, the quantitative democratic theorists would say that the necessary conditions for democracy probably do not yet exist in El Salvador, nor will they anytime soon.<sup>16</sup>

Yet optimism about the future is justified, and not only for a resolute end to the war. Though ending the war is a simpler social task than the building of the institutions of democracy, pessimism is unnecessary with respect to the medium-term construction of the basic institutions of a pluralistic political system. Why? Because the wide variance among nations in levels of political development, given equal levels of socio-economic development, means that there are variables at work that can overcome to some degree the under-provision of the permissive socio-economic conditions.

The large number of recent (re)democratizing episodes, and their close proximity in time and space, justifies a belief that

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16. Cf. James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds., *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University Press, 1987).



there are varying "recipes" of factors in their successes, drawing from a limited set of political, social, and economic "ingredients". Among the ingredients producing successful episodes, nearly always there have been high levels of tolerance and negotiation (either formal, informal, or implicit) between elites and mass organization leaders. That is to say, statecraft matters: Those responsible for negotiating the transitions have learned from prior authoritarian episodes, and have striven successfully for mechanisms with which to establish wide-spectrum political accommodation.

Writers on such transitions have painted very detailed pictures of the pacting processes involved.<sup>17</sup> The problem for generalizing, however, and for drawing lessons, is that every pacted transition seems to have been dominated by special, idiosyncratic, historically-specific factors that made the successful statecraft possible. For the policy-maker as much as for the scholar, if one cannot generalize as to what caused such a variety of elites and leaders in so many countries to work so hard to find common ground, one cannot say what incentives will most probably operate to convince other leaders to irrevocably invest in pluralistic political institutions. Something is necessary (other than faith) to justify a belief that leaders can overcome their divisions and, through statecraft, construct a peaceful, pluralistic polity. In the following paragraphs, using two powerful theoretical tools, I construct a perspective on actors' interests, one that suggests that there exist incentives for actors to persevere in using statecraft to pursue collective gains.

The first theoretical tool is to make a moderately controversial assumption. If we assume that actors attempt to maximize their long-term income flows, then we should expect that changes in their strategic positions will affect their tactics in pursuit of maximization. For instance, businesspeople dependent on domestic markets may argue for tariff barriers, while those who compete on the international market argue against them; but if the domestic market shrinks, and businesses begin to look outward, then we should not be surprised to see tariff barriers come under attack.

This is obvious, but not trivial: It gives us a logic with which to model and predict behaviors, and then to estimate the likelihood of new bargains being desired and sought. When we see changes in the strategic economic positions of identifiable classes of actors, such a rationality model tells us to expect hypothetically rational actors to change their tactical positions in rational (i.e., logical) ways, according to essentially economic criteria, however dressed up politically, and however subjective the goals sought. Even civil war appears more economically rational when described in terms of "willingness to tolerate short-term losses in pursuit of long-term gains."

The second theoretical tool I bring to bear is the non-controversial theory of the effect of changes in external trade on the economic vitality of various classes of economic actors, called the Stolper-Samuelson Theory. It holds basically that liberalization of trade favors the owners and intense users of abundant factors of production (land, labor, or capital). Trade restriction, however, benefits the owners and intensive users of scarce factors.

This theory has important practical political significance.<sup>18</sup> El Salvador, with its abundant labor and shortages of land and capital, has pursued protectionism several times in the past, to the benefit of the owners of scarce land and capital. Intensive users of labor and capital, i.e., modern industry, were weak relative to these others, permitting labor's political strength to be countered (violently) by alliances between the urban, domestic market-oriented commercial bourgeoisie and landed agriculturalists. Now, with many large landholdings broken up by the late President Duarte's land reform program, coffee production and income down because of the war, cotton land exhausted, many landed families moving their investments to urban enterprise, and with continuing regional political pressure for trade liberalization, modern industrial capital is ever stronger relative to land. Labor, too, is stronger, both because modern capital needs it, and because its abundant numbers give it real potential electoral strength in a fraud-free electoral system.

The overall tendency, thus, is for business to seek accommodation with labor rather than with land, in order to capture a larger share of expanding regional and international trade rather than a subsidiary share of the shrinking benefits of protectionism. It therefore appears, referring explicitly to the two theoretical tools, that capital and labor should not only *be able* to improve their income flows via accommodation, but *will attempt to do so*—irrespective of their contrasting political ideologies. (Outward manifestations of political ideology might not change—after all, the need to justify a change in underlying position always demands protestations of philosophical continuity—but ideology will be massaged to reflect the sensitivities engendered by the change in strategic

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17. See, e.g., Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

18. See Ronald Rogowski, "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade", *American Political Science Review* Vol. 81, No. 4, Dec. 1987.

economic position.<sup>19</sup>

This theoretically-deduced expectation of new forms of political behavior is consistent with the findings from my field research, offered above, namely that 1) a new class of political actors has entered the political arena on the right, and that their industrial and commercial base has encouraged a less parochial outlook and ideology than that produced by the agricultural and merchant base of the old right; 2) political learning has increased *Areneros's* interest in, and ability and willingness to achieve, political bargains with the left; 3) the destruction of half the nation's coffee production has changed the outlook of affected coffee growers, causing them to view continued conflict as a cost rather than as a benefit; 4) changes in economic interests among powerful rightists will discourage the re-creation of death squads on a large scale; 5) elections that genuinely translate votes into power will inhibit any tendency to fragmentation on the right, thus helping maintain "discipline" of unruly ultra-rightists; and 6) neo-conservative fiscal policies will erode the financial base of the army, permitting the ultimate supremacy of civilian rule, and enhancing further the importance of elections. If we imagine these factors as being like vectors, of differing sizes and lengths, then they all point in roughly the same direction—approximately in the direction of social peace.

We are therefore left with only two overarching questions: Do these combined vectors, pointed in the direction of peace, possess greater strength than the single vector of intermittent violence, pointed away? And are they sufficient to provide continuing incentives to leaders to stick to the reformist program they have chosen for themselves? It is now apparent that there are significant collective gains to be found in the successful practice of statecraft in El Salvador, conflicting political ideologies notwithstanding. If neo-conservatives continue to gain weight within ARENA (split or un-split), their preference for stability will work in favor of continued regularization of dealmaking with the left, in institutional venues such as the legislature, and in various ad hoc types of concertation. If the left will cooperate, by enhancing the visible returns to moderation (as appears likely), consequent political and economic achievements will reinforce moderate positions on both right and left, drain off mass support for violent alternatives and, in the middle term, convert or politically disarm the ultra-right and ultra-left. Under these conditions, we may expect the practice of statecraft to persevere, in spite of the inevitable violence of the odd extremist, building on a base of overlapping interests sufficient to preserve, consolidate, and institutionalize the bargains struck in these last few months. ■

19. Although I argue against according too much weight to ideology in transitions, an emergent "ideology of democracy" can play a significant

instrumental role in a transition toward greater political accommodation and pluralism. In addition to its "demonstration effects" (not long-lasting in the face of adversity, unfortunately), an ideology, if widely shared, can temporarily produce widespread confidence that everyone understands the rules of the new, democratic, game. This in turn lowers the cost, in terms of political information and "mutual assurance" guarantees, of striking bargains to resolve collective action problems.

But this assumes that there is sufficient overlapping of interests to allow bargains to be struck or, at least, that bargainers believe that there is. If, however, the underlying positions of the bargainers are too far apart, the incentive to defect from the agreement will eventually overcome the incentives to stick to the bargain. In this case, belief alone will not be sufficient to stop defections. The cumulative impact of individual defections ultimately will vitiate the original cost-reducing effects of the shared democratic ideology, until eventually only lip service would be paid both ideology and bargain.

Classical "prisoners' dilemma" and "chicken" super-games would fit this description.



## Accessing LASA's Electronic Job Bulletin Board

by  
Glenn Sheldon

The Latin American Studies Association is beginning to construct an electronic job bulletin board for use from any modem through PittNet's VAX/VMS system. Listings of interest to Latin Americanists will be updated monthly, and are offered at no cost to individuals with access to a modem.

To access LASA's electronic job bulletin board:

1. Dial (412) 621-5954 (or 621-5864 [VADIC protocol]) from your modem.
2. Type CONNECT VMS or C VMS.
3. Press Ctrl and Z at the same time. You will return to the prompt.
4. Type Username: LASA2.
5. Type Password: JOBLIST.
6. Type TYPE/PAGE JOBLIST.LAS. File will display entries page by page.
7. To exit, press Ctrl and Z.
8. Utilize your normal log-off procedure, or type LO once at each prompt.

LASA depends on institutions to supply information for the bulletin board. Notices should be sent to Publications Director at address below. For LASA members without access to a modem, a free hard copy of the current listing is available. Sorry, but we cannot send hard copy of job listings to non-members. Send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to: Secretariat, Latin American Studies Association, Attn: Glenn Sheldon, Publications Director, 946 William Pitt Union, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. ■

## LASA Response to the NSEA

by  
Reid Reading  
Executive Director

In its meeting of February 8, 1992, the LASA Executive Council approved the text of a letter (see next page) addressed to Senator David Boren, sponsor of the 1991 National Security Education Acts (NSEA). A summary of the Act, quoted from a compilation published in the MESA (Middle East Studies Association) Newsletter of February 1992, precedes the letter.

LASA expresses its appreciation to Barbara Aswad, President of MESA and to Edmund Keller, President of the African Studies Association (ASA) for their very active pursuit of a response to the Boren Act, based on the common concerns of our three area studies associations. We also acknowledge the contribution of Steven Heydemann of the Social Science Research Council, a prime mover of the letter to Senator Boren.

The Latin American Studies Association is interested in the comments and observations of its members regarding the NSEA. Please address them to Reid Reading, LASA, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. ■

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### *The National Security Education Act (NSEA)*

*The National Security Education Act of 1991 constitutes the largest investment of federal funds in international studies since the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The Act is designed "to increase the quantity, diversity and quality of the teaching and learning of subjects in the fields of foreign languages, area studies, and other international fields that are critical to the Nation's interest."*

*The NSEA was proposed in July 1991 and approved in the legislative flurry before Thanksgiving. A total of \$150 million has been appropriated, with up to \$35 million available to be spent on programs in 1992. The balance will be used to create a trust fund to support NSEA programs in future years. Senator Boren of Oklahoma, sponsor of the act, has emphasized the need to develop linguistic and cultural resources and skills to serve the nation's diplomatic and security interests and to enable the United States to compete effectively in the international economic arena.*

*The funding will support three areas in international studies.*

*These are: undergraduate study abroad in critical foreign countries, fellowships for graduate students in critical foreign language and area studies programs in the U.S., and grants to institutions of higher education to establish, operate and improve programs in critical foreign language and area studies. 'Critical' countries, disciplines and areas within the disciplines will be defined by the National Security Education Board.*

*Students who benefit from the programs will in some cases be expected to repay the federal government through appropriate employment after completion of their studies. Undergraduate students who study abroad for a year or more under the act and all graduate students funded under the NSEA must serve as federal employees or educators in foreign language or areas studies for one to three times the period of financial assistance. Senator Boren recently added a provision to the legislation in response to concerns regarding the link between international studies education and Department of Defense funding. According to the new provision, "No person who receives a grant, scholarship or fellowship . . . shall . . . be used by any department, agency, or entity of the United States Government engaged in intelligence activities to undertake any activity on its behalf during the period such person is pursuing a program of education for which funds are provided under the program."*

*NSEA-funded programs will be administered through the Defense Intelligence College, an accredited post-secondary institution. Contracts with private national organizations having international studies expertise may also be arranged for the disbursement of funds.*

*Funds for the act derive from the Department of Defense budget and have become available because of lower spending on intelligence activities. According to federal budgetary regulations, funds cannot be shifted from defense to a domestic sector of the budget. Senator Boren had intended the act to be funded through the Department of Education; this is not possible under current regulations.*

*A National Security Education Board (NSEB) will be set up to oversee implementation of the act. The NSEB will be chaired by the Secretary of Defense. The Secretaries of Commerce, Education, and State, the Directors of the CIA and USIA will be represented on the Board, which will also include four specialists in foreign language and area studies education to be appointed by the President. The Board will develop criteria for awards, determine which areas and disciplines will be supported under the NSEA, and will review administration of the program.*

*Additional information may be obtained from the National Security Education Act Program Office, Defense Intelligence College, Washington, DC 20340-5485. Fax: (202) 373-3294.*

## NSEA LETTER

Senator David L. Boren  
Chair  
Senate Select Committee on Intelligence  
435 Russell Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Boren:

The presidents and members of the Boards of Directors of the African Studies Association, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Middle East Studies Association of North America, wish to express to you our appreciation for your leadership regarding the National Security Education Act of 1991.

Our associations represent a large percentage of the American academic community involved in international studies. Our memberships include a substantial majority of university faculty who teach on our respective areas of interest, areas that have been singled out as deserving of additional research support under the NSEA. Our members are in the forefront of undergraduate and graduate training in area studies and view with alarm the inadequate attention that has been paid to training the next generation of area specialists.

We recognize and support, as well, the role of the U.S. government in sustaining international education, and agree that a well-developed international studies infrastructure is essential to the national security of the United States in every sense of the term. We deeply appreciate, therefore, your recognition of the importance of international studies, and your role in developing and funding the NSEA. Such a program is long overdue, and has the potential to dramatically expand the level of national expertise on foreign areas of vital importance to the United States.

However, we are gravely concerned that the administration of the program as defined in the language of the act will seriously undermine its effectiveness, and detract from its ability to achieve its goals. Our concern centers on the presence of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency in the oversight of the program, and the designation of the Defense Intelligence College as the agency responsible for administering the program.

For scholars of our regions, these provisions represent a significant problem, if not outright risk. Linking university-based research to U.S. national security agencies, even indirectly, will restrict our already narrow research opportunities; it will endanger the physical safety of scholars and our students studying abroad; and it will jeopardize the

cooperation and safety of those we study and collaborate with in these regions. We gratefully acknowledge your efforts to insulate this program from the perception that the NSEA is intended principally to serve intelligence-gathering functions. Unfortunately, our experiences suggest that this perception will remain a significant obstacle to the implementation of the program. The end result will be to restrict the flow of information from the region to the United States; to erode our basic research capacity in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East; and to limit on-site training opportunities in languages, cultures, politics, and economics.

Our associations have all independently expressed their concern that university-based foreign area studies should not be linked to national security agencies. The African Studies Association passed resolutions on these issues in 1982 and again in 1990. The Latin American Studies Association expressed its position in 1980 and in 1983. The Middle East Studies Association approved a resolution in November 1985. These resolutions reflect a common concern to preserve the independence of university-based area studies, and to place responsibility for defining and carrying out international studies research in the hands of universities and their faculties, free of influence from intelligence agencies and agendas. Copies of these resolutions and other materials are attached.

The position of our associations is supported by two studies that were funded by the U.S. government, *Beyond Growth: The Next Stage in Language and Area Studies*, edited by Richard D. Lambert (Washington: Association of American Universities, 1984), and *Points of Leverage: An Agenda for a National Foundation for International Studies*, also by Richard D. Lambert (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1986). These volumes review ways to build appropriate and effective links between the work of scholars and the requirements of the U.S. government. We encourage you to take the conclusions of these studies into account in refining the National Security Education Act to more effectively achieve its aims.

As the NSEA is currently organized, some area studies centers, individuals, and private re-granting agencies will not be able to participate in its programs. This would be a loss to education, and would reduce the effectiveness of the Act to build national expertise on foreign areas. The African Studies Association, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Middle East Studies Association therefore strongly encourage you to revise the administration of the program to ensure that the allocation and administration of funds be managed by a federal education agency, and not by the Defense Intelligence College. We strongly recommend that the advisory panel constituted to oversee the program or

evaluate proposals not include a representative from the Central Intelligence Agency.

We offer these recommendations in the hope that the National Security Education Act succeeds in becoming a leading source of support for international area studies in the United States. We believe that our recommendations are not only consistent with the spirit of the program, but will strengthen it.

We urge you to exercise your leadership to put in place an administrative structure for the NSEA that will guarantee its success in providing a stable base for fellowships and programs related to foreign area and language studies.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Aswad  
President  
MESA

Edmund Keller  
President  
ASA

Lars Schoultz  
President  
LASA ■

### Corrections

■The Fall 1991 *LASA Forum* inadvertently left the name of George Vickers off the list of Task Forces and Working Groups 1991-92 as a member of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America.

■The Fall 1991 *LASA Forum* list of Task Forces and Working Groups 1991-92 included a member's misspelled last name and affiliation. For the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America, it should read: Roberto Cudas (PREIS, San Salvador)

### LETTER

*[The following is a response by Professor Howard Wiarda to Timothy E. Anna's letter published in the Winter 1992 LASA Forum. Professor Wiarda's letter arrived after the Winter Forum was published.]*

Timothy Anna's letter reveals that he knows little about Latin America and even less about the realities of U.S. policy toward that region. The realities include a very low priority for Latin America in U.S. thinking, condescension and disdain on the part of most of the public, and efforts by foreign policy elites to pay as little attention to the area as possible. Those who struggle daily to give Latin America something of a ray of attention in political Washington are always fighting an uphill battle.

Everyone understands that it is often difficult for Latin America to achieve development *with* the United States. But it is impossible to achieve Latin America's goals without the United States and downright suicidal (witness Cuba or Nicaragua) *against* the United States. Faced with such realities, any sensible person would see the need to make some compromises.

That includes almost all Latin American leaders who understand (even if Anna does not) that, whatever the difficulties, the United States is virtually the only source of support for their efforts. Not Russia, not Eastern Europe, nor Cuba, China, Germany, Great Britain, France, Spain, Japan, Scandinavia, Canada or the Socialist International. So, pragmatically, these leaders accommodate; and in the process most of them come to realize that maybe Latin America's agenda and that of the U.S., clearly now settled on democracy, development, human rights, and free, open markets, are not so far apart or at least may be reconcilable. It is on the basis that policy, political dialogue and U.S. Latin American relations move forward. For an extended discussion, see my book, *The Democratic Revolution in Latin America* (Holmes and Meier, A Twentieth Century Fund Book, 1990).

Anna's personal comments are unworthy of response.

Howard J. Wiarda  
National Defense University  
December 18, 1991

## NOMINATING COMMITTEE SLATE

The LASA Nominating Committee presents the following slate of candidates for Vice President and members of the Executive Council. The winning candidate for vice president will serve in that capacity from November 1, 1992, until February 28, 1994, and as president from March 1, 1994, until August 31, 1994. The three winning candidates for members of the Executive Council will serve a three-year term beginning November 1, 1992.

Nominees for Vice President:     James M. Malloy  
  Cynthia McClintock

Nominees for  
Executive Council:                     Rolena Adorno  
  Michael E. Conroy  
  Laura Enríquez  
  Marysa Navarro Aranguren  
  Marianne Schmink  
  Augusto Varas

### BIOGRAPHIC DATA

**James M. Malloy** is professor of political science and research professor of the University Center for International Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. He is author of *Bolivia: The Uncompleted Revolution* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970, and revised edition in Spanish, La Paz, 1989) and *The Politics of Social Security in Brazil* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1979, and Portuguese edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1986). In 1988 he authored *Revolution and Reaction: Bolivia, 1964-1985* (Transaction Press, 1988) with Eduardo Gamarra. He has edited or co-edited and contributed to a number of books, including *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1987). He edited the *Social Science Journal*, *Estudios Andinos*, and has contributed articles to a number of journals. Presently he is working on issues of policymaking, representation, and democracy in Latin America. He served on the Executive Council of LASA, 1983-84; was a member of the LASA Delegation to Observe the Nicaraguan Election of 1984; served on the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua; chaired the LASA Nominating Committee in 1989 and presently is chair of the Bryce Wood Book Award Committee of LASA. Malloy was recently appointed to the editorial board of the *Latin American Research Review* and currently serves as editor of the Latin American Series at the University of Pittsburgh Press.

**Cynthia McClintock** is professor of political science at George Washington University, where she has also served as director of the Latin American Studies Program. She is the author of *Peasant Cooperatives and Political Change in Peru* (Princeton, 1981) and the co-editor of *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered* (Princeton, 1983; Spanish edition, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1985). Currently, she is completing the book *Democracy and Revolution: Peru in Comparative Perspective* (U.S. Institute of Peace, forthcoming), a study based on a 1990-91 research grant from the Institute of Peace that compares and (especially) contrasts the politics of political violence in Peru and El Salvador. Her articles, focusing on the political economy of Andean agriculture, Peru's *Sendero Luminoso*, and issues of re-democratization, number over twenty-five and have appeared in Spanish and English publications, including *World Politics*, *Comparative Politics* and the *Latin American Research Review*. She served on the LASA Executive Council (1988-1991), the *LARR* Editorial Board (1986-1992), on the LASA Nominating Committee (1984-1985), and was chair of the LASA Media Task Force (1985-1988). She is a member of the Board of Directors of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), with which she has organized numerous events about human rights in Peru since the mid-1980s.

**Rolena Adorno** is professor of Latin American literature at Princeton University, and a member of the interdepartmental committee of the Program in Latin American Studies. She is the author of *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* (Texas, 1986; Spanish edition, Siglo XXI, 1991), and *Cronista y príncipe: la obra de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala* (Pontificia, Lima, 1989). She edited *From Oral to Written Expression: Native Andean Chronicles of the Early Colonial Period* (Syracuse, 1982), and co-edited *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* (California, 1991) and *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala* (Siglo XXI, 1980 and 1988; Historia-16, 1987). She has been editor of the *Latin American Monograph Series* (Syracuse University) since 1981, which has published 14 monographs. She currently serves on the LASA Bryce Wood Book Award Committee. She was co-organizer of the symposium "Andean Worlds: The Incas, Colonial Cultures, Contemporary Legacies," at the Americas Society, New York University, and Princeton in March, 1991. She has published a wide variety of articles in leading journals on the literary and historiographic culture of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish America, including Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Bartolomé de las Casas, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, and Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl. She sits on numerous editorial boards (including the newly created *Colonial Latin American Review*) and has organized several LASA panels.

Michael E. Conroy is director of the Latin American Economic Studies Program and associate chairman of the Department of Economics at the University of Texas at Austin. He was associate director of the Institute of Latin American Studies at Texas from 1986 to 1989. His recent LASA activities include chair of the Program Committee for the XVI Congress (Washington, 1991), co-chair of the 1988 LASA Commission on Compliance with the Central America Peace Accords, member of the LASA delegations to observe the Nicaraguan elections in both 1984 and 1990, and chair of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua from 1985 to 1987. He was co-founder and the first executive director of the Central America Resource Center in Austin, Texas (1983-85); and he presently serves as president of its board of directors. He also serves on the national board of directors of PACCA and of the Center for Cuban Studies. His publications include two books in regional and urban economics, *Regional Economic Diversification*, Praeger, 1975, and *The Challenge of Urban Economic Development*, D.C. Heath, 1975, as well as *Conflict, Peace, and Order in the Americas*, University of Texas, 1976; and *Nicaragua: Profiles of the Revolutionary Public Sector*, Westview, 1986. Other work includes some 30 published articles, reports, and chapters of books on Latin American economic demography, regional and urban economics, and, in particular, on the political economy of Nicaragua during the 1980s. His present research focuses on the political, economic and ecological problems associated with nontraditional agricultural export strategies in Central America and on the operationalization of criteria for sustainable development in Latin America.

Laura Enríquez is assistant professor of sociology at the University of California at Berkeley. Prior to accepting her current position, she was a development consultant in the area of agricultural development and agrarian reform in Nicaragua (1982-89). She has been a member of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America (formerly "on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua") since 1985 and in that capacity co-edited *LASA-Nica Scholar's News* (1985-88). She also participated in LASA's observer delegations to Nicaragua's general elections in 1984 and 1990. She has been a member of the executive committee of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of California at Berkeley (1990-91). Her publications include *Harvesting Change: Labor and Agrarian Reform in Nicaragua, 1979-1990* (University of North Carolina, 1991), as well as a number of articles and book chapters on agrarian reform in Nicaragua. She is currently preparing a book-length manuscript on the political impact of agricultural development in Nicaragua and beginning a research project on Cuba's new food program.

Marysa Navarro Aranguren is professor of history at Dartmouth College, where she has been associate dean for the social studies, chair of the history department and chair of the Women's Studies Program. She is the author of *Los nacionalistas* (Buenos Aires: Jorge Alvarez, Editor, 1969) and *Evita* (Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 1982), and numerous articles and chapters in books on the Argentine Right, the Tupamaros, Eva Perón, women and the labor movement in Argentina and Latin American feminism. She has been a member of the LASA Task Force on Women since 1976 and co-chaired it from 1983-88, president and vice president of the New England Council for Latin American Studies (1981-82), member of the LASA Commission on Compliance of Esquipulas II (1985) and the LASA Commission on Constitutional Revisions (1985-85). Professor Navarro also serves currently on the LASA Bryce Wood Book Award Committee and on the Media Prize Committee. She is presently chair of the LASA/Ford Foundation Committee on Women's Studies in the Americas and of the Board of Directors of the Global Fund for Women. She is a trustee of the Union Institute, a member of the Board of the MS Foundation for Women and of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the New England Association of Schools and Colleges.

Marianne Schmink is associate professor of Latin American studies and anthropology at the University of Florida, where she has been director of the Amazon Research and Training Program since 1980. She is co-author of *Contested Frontiers in Amazonia* (Columbia, 1992), co-editor of *Frontier Expansion in Amazonia* (Florida, 1984) and of *Gender Issues in Farming Systems Research and Extension* (Westview, 1988), and author of some two dozen journal articles and book chapters on Amazonia and on gender and development. She has served on the LASA Task Force on Academic Freedom and Human Rights, 1982-83; the Nominations Committee, 1982 and 1989-90; and the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Science Community, 1988 to present. From 1982 and 1989, Professor Schmink served as member and then vice chair of the Directorate for Tropical Ecosystems and Sub-Tropical Forests of the U.S. Man in the Biosphere Program. She served as a member of the Anthropology Screening Committee for the IIE Fulbright Hays Program of University Lecturing and Advanced Research Awards Abroad from 1987 to 1991. She has received grants from the Fulbright-Hays program, from the Social Science Research Council, the Tinker Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Inter-American Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and the Population Council. Professor Schmink is currently spending her sabbatical year in Brazil where she is managing two major cooperative research and training programs financed by USIA and USAID.

Augusto F. Varas is professor and senior researcher of FLACSO, in Santiago, Chile, where he is coordinator of the international and studies research area and coordinator of a regional research network on armed forces and society. Professor Varas received a Ph.D. in sociology with concentration in political sociology from Washington University (St. Louis) in 1972. Before joining FLACSO in 1975, he was director of the Department of Sociology of Development at the Institute of Sociology, Catholic University in Santiago, Chile. He was Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Fulbright Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of California, San Diego; visiting professor at the Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; and during the Fall 1992 he will be Tinker Visiting Professor in Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. His major research interests are international processes and the external influences on sociopolitical developments and central domestic political actors and institutions in Latin America. He is member of the editorial committees of the *Latin American Research Review*; the Latin American Center, Florida International University (since 1987); *Journal of Peace Research* (Oslo); and director and member of the editorial committee of *Cono Sur* (Santiago) since 1982. His publications include eighteen authored, co-authored and edited books and more than forty articles. Two of his most recent books are *Hemispheric Security and U.S. Policy in Latin America* (editor), Westview Press, 1989, and *De la Komintern a la Perestroika. Relaciones URRS-América Latina*, Santiago: FLACSO, 1991.

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LASA members may propose additional candidates for the vice presidency by submitting petitions signed by at least 100 LASA members in good standing for each candidate. They may propose additional candidates for the Executive Council by submitting petitions signed by at least 20 members in good standing for each candidate.

The deadline for receipt of petitions at the LASA Secretariat is *June 30, 1992*.

The nominating committee consisted of Thomas Davies, chair; Paul Drake; Dina Krauskopf; Evelyne Huber Stephens; Glauco Soares; Scott Whiteford; and George Yudice.



## Working Group on Labor Studies

by

Russell E. Smith

Florida International University

The 1992 International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, September 24-27, 1992, in Los Angeles is arriving shortly. The Working Group on Labor Studies has the makings of a fine labor track. I encourage you to consider attending.

On a different, though related, matter, I would like to acknowledge the fine support that we, both as the LASA Labor Studies Working Group and as the Labor Section of the LASA Programs, are receiving from the Center for Labor Research and Studies (CLRS) at Florida International University, from its staff, and from its director, Professor Guillermo Grenier. The CLRS also publishes the *Latin American Labor News*, edited by working-group member John French, which functions as our bulletin. I encourage all of you to support this constellation of labor-related activities with personal and individual subscriptions to the *Latin American Labor News*. Annual subscription for the U.S. is \$15 (\$30 institutional). For more information regarding the publication, write: Latin American Labor Studies Publications, Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University, University Park-W MO TR #2, Miami, FL 33199.

For information regarding the 1992 Congress labor track, contact: Russell E. Smith, Chair, Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University, University Park, Miami, FL 33199. Telephone: (305) 348-2371; fax: (305) 348-2241. ■

### PLAN TO ATTEND

## LASA 1992

Registration and membership forms may have already reached you. Renew your LASA membership for 1992 and get low member preregistration rates.



### 1991-92 LASA Endowment Fund Contributors

(as recorded from June 29, 1991 to February 28, 1992)

LASA thanks these members for their generous contributions to the endowment fund.

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Clarence Zuvekas

#### CORRECTION

In the Winter 1992 *LASA Forum*, it was incorrectly reported that LASA 1992 would be "the first ever in California." In fact, LASA held its Fifth National Meeting in San Francisco, November 14-16, 1974, its only California meeting to date. No attendance records can be located, but the *LASA Newsletter* noted that it was "well attended and innovative." The program had 16 panels and two roundtables. Panels and workshops at the LASA 1992 meeting in Los Angeles could number as many as 350.

#### LASA IN THE ANNALS OF HISTORY

Fifth National Meeting of LASA  
November 14-16, 1974  
PSA Hotel San Francisco

**President LASA:** Paul L. Doughty  
**Vice President:** Richard R. Fagen

#### *Program Planning Committee*

Norman P. Sacks, Chair  
John V. Lombardi  
Evelyn P. Stevens

#### *Committee on Local Arrangement*

Martin Carnoy, Chair

#### *San Francisco Conference Staff*

Fred Dobb  
Jean Meadowcraft  
Kathleen Stipek

## IN MEMORIAM

**CHARLES WAGLEY**  
**SILVERT AWARD WINNER**

Charles Wagley, an eminent anthropologist and Latin Americanist, died November 25, 1991 in Gainesville, FL at the age of 78. In 1988 he received the Kalman Silvert Award from LASA, of which he was one of the founding members. Professor Wagley was long associated with Columbia University before joining the faculty at the University of Florida as Graduate Research Professor of Anthropology and Latin American Studies in 1971. His first field work was in a Mayan Indian community in Guatemala, but he is best remembered for his research on Brazil, especially in the Amazon. Popular books such as *Welcome of Tears* and *Amazon Town* established his reputation as a pioneer in Amazonian studies, while his *Introduction to Brazil* was a widely used text, drawing on years of field research and personal knowledge of Brazilian life. University of Florida president John Lombardi, himself a Latin American historian, commended him as an "exemplar of the scholar-teacher-mentor we all would wish to be. He inspired a generation of Latin American scholars at Columbia University and the University of Florida with his keen insight, his wisdom, and his great empathy for the peoples and cultures of Latin America." In addition to his service for LASA, he served as president of the American Anthropological Association and the American Ethnological Society, and was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Center for Inter-American Relations. Brazil also presented him with several awards, including the prestigious Medal of War and the Medal for Science in the Amazon. Professor Wagley is survived by his wife, Cecilia Roxo Wagley, his daughter Isabel Anne Kottak, his son-in-law Conrad P. Kottak, two grandchildren and a brother, William Wagley. Friends, colleagues and students of Charles Wagley who wish to make a gift in his honor are invited to contribute to the Charles Wagley Endowed Graduate Fellowship Fund at the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. Income from the endowment will support graduate students at the University of Florida who are carrying out social science research in tropical Latin America, especially Brazil. Checks should be made out to the University of Florida Foundation (memo: Wagley Endowed Fellowship Fund) and sent to: Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611-2037.



## ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Instituto Latinoamericano de Servicios Legales Alternativos (ILSA) sponsors the International Essay Competition on Parallel Legal Systems. In many countries, there are a wide variety of expressions of social regulation which are distinct from and opposed to those recognized and exercised by the State. These alternative expressions are a force of resistance, in some cases passive and hidden from society, in other cases active and insurgent. This is the theme organized by ILSA for a 30-60 page essay in Spanish, Portuguese, English or French (double-spaced). First prize: A trip through a Latin American country for one month to get to know other experiences in this area, or \$3,000 (U.S. dollars). *Deadline: June 30, 1992.* Write ILSA for a copy of complete submission guidelines: Héctor Moncayo, Márgarita Flórez, ILSA-A.A., P.O. Box 077844, Calle 38 No. 16-45, Bogotá, Colombia. Telephone: (571) 245-5955 or 288-4437; fax: (571) 288-4854.

The Hispanic Reading Room of the Library of Congress announces the reopening of its doors in its original quarters (second floor, Thomas Jefferson Building) on February 3, 1992. Reference staff and area specialists assist scholars and other readers in planning research strategies throughout the Library of Congress' vast collections of books, government documents, periodicals, manuscripts, maps, films, prints, photographs and musical scores. The reader will have access to automated catalogs as well as the 50 volumes of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, containing annotated bibliographic citations to the latest scholarship on the area. The Hispanic Division's staff support researchers in all aspects of their work, including briefing scholars about important archival and library holdings in the Washington area and elsewhere and providing, upon request, a listing of reasonably-priced housing near the Library for researchers. Hours are Monday through Friday, 8:30 A.M. to 4 P.M. For more information contact Everette E. Larson, Head of the Hispanic Reading Room, at: Hispanic Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC 20540; phone (202)-707-5397, fax (202) 707-2005.

The Modern Language Association's (MLA) Committee on Honors and Awards invites nominations for the second Katherine Singer Kovacs Prize for an outstanding book published in English in the field of Latin American and Spanish literatures and cultures. The prize-selection committee will be especially interested in original, broadly interpretive books that enhance understanding of the interrelations among literature, the other arts, and society, and that offer fresh perspectives on the field. Collections of essays by a single author are eligible for consideration for the prize, but essays by several hands are not. The prize will be awarded in 1992 for a 1991 publication; the deadline for nominations is *May 1, 1992.* Authors of nominated books need not be members of the MLA. The award will consist of a check for \$1,000 and an engrossed certificate which will be presented to the winning author at the 1992 MLA convention. Publishers of eligible books should send six copies to: Katherine Singer Kovacs Prize, Modern Language

Association, 10 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003-6981. For further information, write: Richard Brod, Director of Special Projects, Modern Language Association. Telephone: (212) 624-6406.

**National Endowment for the Humanities Reference Materials Program** supports projects to prepare reference works that will improve access to information and resources. Support is available for the creation of dictionaries, historical or linguistic atlases, encyclopedias, concordances, reference grammars, data bases, text bases and other projects that will provide essential scholarly tools for the advancement of research or for general reference purposes. Grants also may support projects that will assist scholars and researchers in locating information about humanities documentation. Such projects result in scholarly guides that allow researchers to determine the usefulness or relevance of specific materials for their work. Eligible for support are such projects as bibliographies, bibliographic data bases, catalogues raisonnés, other descriptive catalogues, indexes, union lists, and other guides to materials in the humanities. In both areas, support is also available for projects that address important issues related to the design or accessibility of reference works. The application deadline is *September 1, 1992* for projects beginning after July 1, 1993. For more information, write to: Reference Materials, Room 318, NEH, Washington, DC 20506.

The 1992 Conference of the **Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM)** offers you the opportunity to showcase your database. The Latin American Database Consortium is sponsoring a hands-on online workshop in Austin, Texas, at the University of Texas at Austin, on Monday afternoon, June 1, 1992. We invite you to submit a proposal for inclusion of your database in this SALALM "Trade Fair." Proposals should include the following information: scope and size of your database, percentage of your data dealing with Latin American Studies, and hardware requirements (i.e., Can you bring your own equipment? If not, what computer equipment will you need? How much memory will you need? What are your telecommunications/networking requirements? If you cannot access your data online, will you be bringing it on CD-ROM? Will you need a CD-ROM player?, etc.) Proposals should be submitted by May 1, 1992 to Sue Mundell, Hispanic Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540. For more information on the 1992 conference, contact Sue Mundell at address above. Telephone: (202) 707-2008; fax: (202) 707-2005.

The **UCLA Latin American Center** welcomes submissions of book-length manuscripts for publication in its Latin American Studies Monograph Series. The series spans the social sciences, natural sciences, humanities, professional fields, and the fine arts. Titles published to date in the series have come from the fields of history, politics, women's studies, anthropology, archaeology, education, literature, and theater. Manuscripts and inquiries should be directed to Colleen H. Trujillo, UCLA Latin American Center, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1447. Telephone: (310)

825-7547; fax: (310) 206-3555.

The University of Florida is pleased to announce establishment of the Bacardi Family Eminent Scholar Chair in Latin American Studies in the Center for Latin American Studies. The \$1 million endowment which supports the Bacardi Chair was made possible by a challenge grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, matched by a gift from Bacardi Imports, Inc., and funds from the State of Florida's Eminent Scholar program. The chair will be filled one semester every year by distinguished Latin Americanists. It will be inaugurated during fall semester 1992 by OSCAR ARIAS SANCHEZ, Nobel Peace Laureate and former President of Costa Rica. Inquiries and nominations for subsequent years should be sent to: Chair, Bacardi Scholar Advisory Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611.

#### 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.

For questions regarding delivery of the *Journal of Latin American Studies*, including missed or delayed issues, please contact the *Journal* directly. Questions should be directed to Harry Florentine, Journals Marketing Manager, Cambridge University Press, 40 West 20th St., New York, NY 10011.

For questions regarding delivery of the *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, including missed or delayed issues, please contact the *Bulletin* directly. Questions should be directed to Geraldine Billingham, Social Sciences and Humanities, Pergamon Press, Pergamon Press plc, Heading Hall, Oxford OX3 0BW, ENGLAND.

Please direct all other inquiries, including questions about the *LASA Forum*, to the Secretariat.



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Bard College invites applications for a full-time one year visiting position of Assistant Professor of Comparative Politics with specialization in Latin America. Areas of research interests are open. Candidates should have a commitment to teaching in a small liberal arts college. Teaching responsibilities will include courses in comparative politics and courses that introduce the histories and cultures of Latin America. Conversion to a tenure-track position is very likely and the successful candidate for the current position will be eligible to apply. Curriculum vitae and three letters of reference to: Tonia J. Doran, Coordinator of Personnel Services, Bard College, P.O. Box 5000, Annandale-on-Hudson, NY 12504. Applications will be reviewed as received. AA/EOE.

The Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales at Quito, Ecuador (FLACSO-Ecuador), the fast-growing Andean campus of the thirty-five year-old Latin American international institution devoted to graduate training and research in the social sciences, invites applications for several available graduate teaching and research positions beginning mid-1992. Since 1989, FLACSO-Ecuador's Graduate School has offered intensive two-year master's degree programs and mid-career diplomas with a regional and comparative focus on the Andean and Amazon Basin countries. Faculty will teach in the degree programs, develop curricula and help consolidate the academic departments within the School. Disciplinary programs currently offered or planned include: Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, Sociology and History. In addition, an interdisciplinary program in Amazonian Studies (with a strong emphasis in ecology) is offered. It is anticipated that by 1993 the School will have 150 resident students and 25 full-time faculty. Areas of specialization in each discipline are open. Experience in theory and research methods desirable; preference will be given to candidates with research and teaching interests in the Andean and/or Amazonian countries. These are full-time positions; hiring could be as early as June 1992. Teaching duties begin April 1993. The appointment will be one or two-year renewable. Will also consider visiting appointments for one or two semesters. Responsibilities include: teaching in advanced graduate courses, colloquia or seminars; advising graduate students; participation in academic committees. In addition, appointees will have ample opportunities to undertake research in Ecuador and neighboring countries. Minimum qualifications: a Doctorate in the disciplines mentioned above; broad training in his/her field; demonstrated skills and commitment to teaching (preferably at the graduate level); an established and active research profile leading to scholarly publications; evidence of high quality scholarship and a commitment to building an innovative graduate institution with a strong regional character. Native or near-native proficiency in Spanish is required. Joint appointments to different graduate departments or programs are possible. Women and Latin American scholars are strongly encouraged to apply. The School is willing to help appointee's spouse seek suitable employment. Salary negotiable depending on rank, experience, research record.

Additional benefits include travel and relocating expenses for appointee, spouse and children. Depending on length of appointment, professors will have diplomatic status and privileges in Ecuador. Please direct inquiries or send letter of application, summary of Ph.D. dissertation, curriculum vitae, sample publications/written work, teaching materials, and three letters of recommendation to: Amparo Menéndez-Carrión, Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, P.O. Box 17-11-06363; fax: (593-2) 459-589, Quito, Ecuador. To ensure consideration, submit application materials by *June 30, 1992*. Applications received after that date will be considered until the position is filled. The position will be filled as soon as possible.

The Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales at Quito, Ecuador (FLACSO-Ecuador), invites application for the position of Coordinator of each of the following Graduate Programs: Sociology, Political Science, and Interdisciplinary Studies. Disciplinary programs currently offered or planned include: Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, Sociology and History. In addition, an interdisciplinary program in Amazonian Studies (with a strong emphasis in ecology) is offered. Duties include: overall planning, guidance and coordination of the academic program; advising graduate students; development of new projects; securing and administering grants; initiation of proposals and reports; working with faculty and students to develop and fund research proposals; establishing linkage with universities and research institutes worldwide; maintaining contacts with international donor and funding agencies; supervising programs; limited teaching. In addition, appointees will have ample opportunities to undertake research in Ecuador and neighboring countries. Candidates should have strong academic credentials in graduate teaching and research, administrative experience and a commitment to building an innovative graduate institution with a strong regional character. Native or near-native proficiency in Spanish is required. Areas of specialization are open in each field. Experience in theory and research methods desirable; preference will be given to candidates with research and teaching interests in the Andean and/or Amazonian countries. Applicants for Interdisciplinary Studies should have experience and/or training in multidisciplinary work which includes environmental or natural sciences. Women and Latin American scholars are strongly encouraged to apply. These are full-time positions; hiring could be as early as June 1992. Teaching activities begin April 1993. The appointment will be one or two-year renewable. The school is willing to help appointee's spouse seek suitable employment. Salary negotiable depending on rank, experience, research record. Additional benefits include travel and relocation expenses for professor, spouse and children. Appointee will have diplomatic status and privileges in Ecuador. Please direct inquiries or send letter of application, summary of Ph.D. dissertation, curriculum vitae, sample publications/written work, teaching materials, and three letters of recommendation to: Amparo Menéndez-Carrión, Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales,

P.O. Box 17-11-06363; fax: (593-2) 459-589, Quito, Ecuador. To ensure consideration, submit application materials by *June 30, 1992*. Applications received after that date will be considered until the position is filled. The position will be filled as soon as possible.

The Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales at Quito, Ecuador (FLACSO-Ecuador), seeks a Head Librarian with imagination and vision to develop an academic and research library serving the local academic community as well as its own students. The library of FLACSO-Ecuador is a section of the fast-growing Andean campus devoted to graduate training and research in the social sciences. Minimum requirements include: a master's degree in library science and/or information services, training in a social scientific discipline with a concentration in Latin American studies, experience in collection management and development at a professional level in an academic library, familiarity with the literature in Latin American Studies, and proficiency in spoken and written Spanish. Other desired qualifications include: experience in bibliographic instruction with automated data bases and bibliographic networks; administrative ability and good communication skills. Candidates should be ready to take full responsibility for managing the current library, developing it into a full-service, up-to-date academic library, and promoting a local library consortium. Women and Latin American professionals are strongly encouraged to apply. This is a full-time position with academic rank. Hiring could be as early as June 1992. The appointment will be one or two-year renewable. The school is willing to help appointee's spouse seek suitable employment. Salary negotiable depending on experience. Additional benefits cover travel and relocation expenses for appointee, spouse and children. Depending on length of stay, appointee will have diplomatic status and privileges in Ecuador. Please direct inquiries or send letter of application, curriculum vitae, sample publications/written work and three letters of recommendation to: Amparo Menéndez-Carrión, Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, P.O. Box 17-11-06363; fax: (593-2) 459-589, Quito, Ecuador. To ensure consideration, submit application materials by *June 30, 1992*. Applications received after that date will be considered until the position is filled. The position will be filled as soon as possible.

The Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales at Quito, Ecuador (FLACSO-Ecuador), invites applications for the position of Coordinator of Development. Since 1989, FLACSO-Ecuador's Graduate School has offered intensive two-year master's degree programs and mid-career diplomas with a regional and comparative focus on the Andean and Amazon Basin countries. Candidate will work with the Deputy Director of Academic Affairs in organizational and support tasks for the implementation of the School's graduate teaching and research programs planned for the 1992-96 period. Responsibilities include: developing international foundation, corporate or individual support for graduate teaching and research programs focusing on the Andean and Amazonian countries; promoting programs, fellowships, scholarships and publications; grant writing. Candidates

should have successful experience in fundraising for a university or other non-profit institution; management, organizational and administrative experience; proven skills in identifying prospective donors; excellent communication skills; knowledge or experience in international relations, and knowledge of Latin America. Speaking knowledge of Spanish is required. Women and Latin American professionals are strongly encouraged to apply. This is a full-time position with academic rank. Hiring could be as early as June 1992. A one-year contract, possibly two-year renewable. The school is willing to help appointee's spouse seek suitable employment. Salary commensurate with experience. Additional benefits include travel and relocation expenses for appointee, spouse and children. Please direct inquiries or send letter of application, curriculum vitae, sample publications/written work and three letters of recommendation to: Amparo Menéndez-Carrión, Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, P.O. Box 17-11-06363; fax: (593-2) 459-589, Quito, Ecuador. To ensure consideration, submit application materials by *June 30, 1992*. Applications received after that date will be considered until the position is filled. The position will be filled as soon as possible.

The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) seeks an Editor for its bimonthly journal *Report on the Americas*, the most widely read magazine on the region in the English language. This senior position of a two-person editorial team requires extensive, substantive knowledge of Latin America and the Caribbean, Spanish fluency, progressive politics, leadership ability, and excellent writing and editing skills. Salary: High \$20s. Curriculum vitae and writing sample to: Editor Search, NACLA, 475 Riverside Dr. #454, New York, NY 10115. *Apply immediately*. Position begins July 1.

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC) invites applications for a full-time Program Officer to augment staffing of its Latin American program. The Program Officer will work closely with the Director of the Latin American program, as well as with other members of the Council Staff. In addition to working on topics that focus on Latin America and/or the Caribbean, the successful candidate will also help to develop projects that involve comparisons between Latin America and other world regions. Specific responsibilities will include: helping to coordinate fellowship competitions; planning workshops, seminars and conferences; assisting with research planning functions of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies and other Council panels; working with professional and support staff to oversee day-to-day administrative operations of the program on Latin America and the Caribbean; and initiating new programs of collaborative research and training involving scholars from Latin America and other regions. Applicants should hold a doctoral degree in the social sciences or be nearing completion of the doctoral dissertation. While the successful candidate will have interests that range beyond any single social science discipline, the Council is especially looking for a scholar who might help to strengthen its programs in economics, geography, and/or sociology.

Applications from minority scholars and women are strongly encouraged. Fluency in Spanish and/or Portuguese is essential, computer literacy is strongly preferred. Program management experience is desirable. Candidates should submit a letter of application, a curriculum vitae, and three letters of reference to: Program on Latin America and the Caribbean, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Ave., New York, NY 10158. AA/EOE.

### COMPUTERIZED DATABASES ON CENTRAL AMERICA

El Salvador: The Centro de Información, Documentación, y Apoyo a la Investigación (CIDAI) at the UCA maintains computerized indexes of *Proceso* (since 1980), *Estudios Centroamericanos* (since 1969) and *Realidad Económico-Social* (since 1978). Searches by standardized keywords. CIDAI can also conduct bibliographical computer searches through over 5000 documents and periodicals covering El Salvador and Central America. Nicaragua: The Centro de Documentación at CRIES maintains a computerized annotated index of all three daily Nicaraguan newspapers (since 1991 and selectively since 1989). It also has a computerized index of all three Nicaraguan dailies from 1979 through 1989 (not annotated). For more details or information on costs and access, contact: LASA Task Force on Central America, Jack Spence, Chair, University of Massachusetts, Department of Political Science, Harbor Campus, Boston, MA 02125. Telephone: (617) 287-6939; fax: (617) 265-7173. Or contact: George R. Vickers, 205 W. 19th St., New York, NY 10011. Telephone: (212) 741-0545; fax: (212) 929-6912. ■

### EAST CAROLINA UNIVERSITY Thomas W. Rivers Distinguished Visiting Professor of International Studies

East Carolina University invites applications for a one- or two-year appointment as the Thomas W. Rivers Distinguished Visiting Professor of International Studies to begin January or August 1993. Applicants should be distinguished scholars in global and/or multicultural studies. Duties include teaching at least one course, and offering lectures and workshops. Screening begins March 1, 1992 and will continue until the position is filled. Salary is commensurate with experience. Send letters of application, curriculum vitae, and names of three references to:

Linda D. Wolfe  
Rivers Distinguished Chair Search Committee  
Office of International Studies  
East Carolina University  
Greenville, NC 27858-4353  
Fax: (919) 757-4363  
E-mail: SOWOLFE@ECUVM1

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

### North-South Center UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI RESEARCH ASSOCIATES

The North-South Center, a major resource for hemispheric relations, located at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, seeks two (2) research associates for one-year appointments to contribute to on-going research programs and projects in the following areas: Debt, Democratization (including issues of security, human rights, and basic human needs), Trade, Investment, Drug Trafficking, and the Environment. Applicants must demonstrate a commitment to research and writing on contemporary Latin American and Caribbean issues. Responsibilities include: conducting research and preparing reports for on-going publications and programs; providing research support for the staff of North-South Center, for Info-South, and for the Center's research and outreach projects; preparing internal summaries and reports for the Center's Executive Staff; occasional editing of North-South Center research and publications; participation in North-South events, including occasional lecturing. Salary range: \$30-35k, with a complete university benefits package. Qualifications: Ph.D. with Latin American area specialization or equivalent experience, demonstrated publications record, fluency in English and Spanish (or Portuguese), superior interpersonal and communications skills. Search extended: Deadline May 15, 1992. An AA/EOE; a smoke/drug free workplace. Send curriculum vitae, a published writing sample, and the names of three professional references to:

Dr. Robin Rosenberg  
Deputy Executive Director  
North-South Center  
University of Miami  
P.O. Box 248205  
Coral Gables, FL 33124-3027

## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Council of International Educational Exchange is pleased to announce its 1992-93 schedule of International Faculty Development Seminars, a series designed to support academic institutions in their commitment toward institutionalizing curricula. Hosted by prestigious academic institutions overseas, the seminars last one to two weeks and offer focused updates on global issues and regions that are shaping the course of world events. By introducing faculty to scholarly communities overseas, these seminars can facilitate the creation of collegial networks between American faculty and their overseas counterparts, leading to institutional partnerships, bilateral research, and educational exchange opportunities. Since the series' inception in 1990, more than 300 faculty and administrators from over 200 institutions in the U.S. and overseas participated in seminars in Europe, Asia, South America, and the United States. Featured among the 1992-93 programs are: "Chile after Pinochet: The Challenges of Reestablishing Democracy," Pontificia Universidad Católica, Santiago, Chile, November 22-28, 1992; and, "Protecting the Environment: Politics and Policy," Universidade de Sao Paulo, Brazil, June 13-19, 1993. Similar programs are offered in the U.S., the Dominican Republic, Germany, Hong Kong, Netherlands/Belgium, Northern Ireland, Poland, Russia, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe. Seminars in all countries are open to full-time faculty and administrators at two- and four-year institutions of higher education. Academic institutions are encouraged to provide at least 50% support, with their faculty participants responsible for the balance. For further information and application materials, please contact: CIEE/Professional Programs, 205 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017. Telephone: (212) 661-1414 x1455.

**Fulbright Scholar Program 1993-94** includes some 1,000 grants for research, combined research and lecturing, or university lecturing in over 120 countries. Opportunities range from two months to a full academic year; many assignments are flexible to the needs of the grantee. Nearly one-third of Fulbright grants are targeted for research and many lecturing awards offer research opportunities; multi-country research is also possible. Virtually all disciplines and subfields participate. Specific openings exist in almost every area of the humanities, social sciences, physical sciences, the arts, and applied fields such as business, journalism, and law. Many offerings throughout the program allow scholars to propose their own lecturing or research projects. The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright award are U.S. citizenship and Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications; for certain fields such as the fine arts or TESOL, the terminal degree in the field may be sufficient. For lecturing awards, university or college teaching experience is expected. Language skills are needed for some countries, but most lecturing assignments are in English. Applications are encouraged from professionals outside academe and from independent scholars. Fulbright seeks good teachers as well as active researchers. Early deadlines exist: *June 15, 1992* for Australia and South Asia; *August 1, 1992* for Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Canada. Other deadlines are in place for special programs. Application materials are available beginning March 1, 1992. For further information and applications, call or write the

Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden St. N.W., Suite 5M, Box NEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: (202) 686-7877.

**King's College London, Centre for Latin-American Cultural Studies (CLACS)**, Department of Spanish, offers an intensive course in Aymara Language and Culture which will be held at CLACS in October-December 1992. The course will focus on the Aymara dialects of the Southern Andes spoken in Oruro and North of Potosí, which have not been taught at this level before. Aymara language learning and conversational skills will be combined with an examination of Aymara texts, in a series of research seminars on work in progress in linguistic and cultural aspects of this region. The course will be equivalent to one teaching unit (40 hours of teaching) and will be open to under- and post-graduates. Submit copy of your curriculum vitae and interests in learning Aymara by *June 30, 1992*. For further details and registration, write: The Director, Centre for Latin-American Cultural Studies, Department of Spanish, King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS, GREAT BRITAIN. Telephone: 071 873 2205; fax: 071 836 1799.

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) announces the application deadlines for the following programs: Fellowships for University Teachers; Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars; Travel to Collections; and, Study Grants for College and University Teachers. Fellowships for University Teachers and Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars enable individual scholars to devote an extended period of uninterrupted time to investigation, reflection, and writing. University Teachers Fellowships are for faculty members of postgraduate professional schools. Deadline: *June 1, 1992*. For more information, contact: Maben Herring; telephone: (202) 786-0466. Fellowships for College Teachers and Independent Scholars are for faculty members of programs that do not grant the Ph.D.; individuals affiliated with institutions other than colleges and universities; and scholars and writers working independently. Deadline: *June 1, 1992*. For more information, contact: Joseph B. Neville, Jr.; telephone: (202) 786-0466. Travel to Collections grants enable individual scholars to travel to use the research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories throughout the United States and the world. Awards help defray such research expenses as transportation, subsistence, lodging, photo-duplication, and other reproduction costs. Deadline: *July 15, 1992*. For more information, contact: Kathleen Mitchell; telephone: (202) 786-0463. Study Grants for College and University Teachers provides \$3000 to free undergraduate teachers of the humanities for six weeks of full-time study. These grants help teachers to enrich their understanding of their own disciplines or related humanities and to pursue intellectual projects that will inform their teaching. Awards are made for intensive study rather than for research intended primarily for publication. Deadline: *August 15, 1992*. For more information, contact: Clayton W. Lewis; telephone: (202) 786-0463.

The North-South Center at the University of Miami promotes, through cultural and technical exchange, better relations among the United States, Canada, and the nations

of Latin America and the Caribbean. Funded from private sources and a U.S. Congressional appropriation, the North-South Center recently established an External Grants Program to support research projects by individuals and nonprofit institutions in the region. The External Grants Program considers funding projects with innovative approaches to contemporary issues of importance in the region. Specific research areas are Debt, Investment, Trade, Environment, Culture, Drug Policy, and Democratization, reflecting the changing social, economic, and political challenges faced by the peoples and governments of the hemisphere. The North-South Center gives priority to proposals involving a consortium of institutions in more than one country and to proposals addressing issues encompassing several countries. Funding for research projects can include conferences, workshops, symposia, and the dissemination of the research and analysis. Grant amounts are typically capped at \$50,000 for one year. Principal criteria include research quality, lasting impact of investigation, and potential for fostering cooperation and understanding among the peoples of the region. The deadline for Fall 1992 consideration is *August 15, 1992*. To obtain a copy of the guidelines for application, or for other information on the External Grant Program, contact: Mary Uebersax, Grant Projects Officer, North-South Center, University of Miami, P.O. Box 248205, Coral Gables, FL 33124-3027. Telephone: (305) 284-8951; fax: (305) 284-6370.

## PUBLICATIONS

*Compact for a New World*—An Open Letter to The Heads of State and Government and Legislators of the Americas from the members of The New World Dialogue On Environment and Development in the Western Hemisphere—October 1991, is available free on a single copy basis in four languages (English, Spanish, Portuguese and French). The document contains a set of complementary initiatives hammered out in intense negotiating sessions among 28 private citizens from the Americas—educators, businessmen, non-governmental organization leaders, mayors, national legislators, policy analysts, former ministers. The authors began discussions with a common concern for the environment on the *Compact for a New World*. In the *Compact* are unusual tradeoffs on population, tropical forests, greenhouse warming, debt, trade and financing. It requires all our countries to take actions so that all may benefit. The Institute can make arrangements for faculty members who wish to use *Compact for a New World*. For information, call: Janet W. Brown, Senior Associate, World Resources Institute, 1709 New York Ave., Washington, DC 20006. Telephone: (202) 638-6300; fax: (202) 638-6300; telex: 64414 WRIWASH.

The *Latin American Data Base* (LADB) at the University of New Mexico, publisher of four electronic news digests (*Chronicle of Latin American Economic Affairs*, *SourceMex*—Economic news & analysis on Mexico—*Central America Update* and *NotiSur*) is presently seeking analytical work on issues pertinent to the region. Spanish, Portuguese and English-language submissions are acceptable. Items on women, indigenous peoples, environment, and the impact of free trade policies by country are of particular interest. Payment for original contributions ranges between US\$30 and US\$150, depending on length and content. Payment for

reprints is US\$20. All submissions are subject to editorial review. Contributors should include their mailing address and daytime telephone number. Articles may be sent electronically to LADBAG@UNMB.UNM.EDU or mailed to LADB, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque NM 87131.

The well-known Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut from Berlin has found a new publisher for its series *Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana* (starting with Vol. 37) and the journal *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* beginning with Vol. 18 (1992). The first two volumes of *Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana* have already been published: Harald Wentzlaff-Eggebert, ed., *Euopaische Avantgarde im lateinamerikanischen Kontext. Akten des internationalen Berliner Kolloquiums 1989*. 1991, 590 p. (*Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana*, 37). The volume includes essays in Spanish and German about Latin American avantgarde. Harald Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Las literaturas hispanicas de vanguardia*. Orientacion bibliografica. 1991. XV, 229 p. (*Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana*, 38). This bibliography includes more than 3000 entries about avantgarde in Latin America and Spain. The review *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* will be published in Spanish, Portuguese, English and German. It is dedicated to social science and history and will be published twice a year. Contributions about language and literature will be included in the journal *Iberoamericana* also, published by Vervuert. Unfortunately, the former publishing house did not supply the Institute or Vervuert with the names of subscribers of *Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana* or *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*. So, please, check your records. To claim your subscription, or to ask for further information, contact: Klaus D. Vervuert, Wielandstr. 40, D-6000 Frankfurt 1, Fax: 49-69-597-8743.

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## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy (ASCE) announces its Second Annual Meeting to be held August 13-15, 1992, at Florida International University, Miami, FL. While the official language of the conference is English, papers in Spanish are welcome. Proposals for papers or sessions should be sent by *June 15, 1992* to: Professor Roger Betancourt, Department of Economics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Telephone: (301) 405-3479; fax: (301) 405-3542.

Con motivo del trascendente momento político que vive el país, el Comité Organizador convoca a la comunidad académica al Primer Congreso Nacional de Ciencia Política a realizarse en la ciudad de San Salvador del 22 al 24 de julio de 1992, con el tema central denominado: "El Savador: Los retos y desafíos de la reconstrucción." Dos de los objetivos definidos para esta actividad académica por el Comité Organizador son: 1-Promover una discusión seria y científica en el seno de la comunidad académica sobre el impacto que la guerra ha tenido en la economía, la política, la sociedad y la cultura de nuestro país durante la última década. 2-Estudiar los retos y desafíos que en la actualidad enfrenta la nación salvadoreña en el período de postguerra. Se buscará privilegiar un enfoque multidisciplinario en torno a las distintas problemáticas a ser enfrentadas para la reconstrucción. Estamos invitando a los académicos de nuestro país, para que presenten ponencias. Las ponencias serán entregadas preferentemente en diskettes de computadora—sistema Macintosh or IBM—o mecanografiadas a doble espacio, en original y dos fotocopias de buena calidad, tamaño carta, con un máximo de 40 páginas y un agregado de una síntesis de 80 a 150 palabras aproximadamente, y deberán enviarse a más tardar el día *15 de junio de 1992*, indicando en cual mesa de trabajo desean presentarla. Con la ponencia debe de adjuntarse un breve currículum del autor (media página), y señalar claramente la dirección y teléfono en donde puede ser contactado. Las ponencias deben ser enviadas a la siguiente dirección: Edificio A & M, suite B-20; la Calle Poniente y 63 Avenida Norte; San Salvador. Teléfono: 79-1870; fax 79-0962.

El Primer Congreso Internacional "Salud Psicosocial, Cultura, y Democracia en América Latina: Redescubriendo Paraguay en el Contexto Latinoamericano" tendrá por objetivo: crear un espacio de encuentro de intercambio y reflexión sobre la situación psicosocial, cultural y política de nuestros pueblos, en este período de democratización de América Latina, desde una perspectiva pluridisciplinaria y con especial atención hacia la salud psicosocial; promover el conocimiento de la realidad el estudio y la comprensión de las múltiples fuentes de identidad y de cultura que nos son propias a todos los latinoamericanos; continuar y profundizar la interacción y el aprendizaje mutuos sobre diversos aspectos psicosociales y culturales del proceso de democratización a que se encuentran abocados nuestros países; propender a la creación de una red latinoamericana de investigación y praxis profesional sobre los factores que

afectan la salud sicosocial en este proceso; documentar los trabajos presentados y las conclusiones en un libro a publicarse. El Congreso de realizará en Asunción, Paraguay del 2 al 6 de noviembre de 1992. Debido a razones económicas no se podrá contar con traducciones simultáneas, por lo cual solicitamos presentar los trabajos en castellano. Solicitamos el envío del módulo de participación antes del 31 de Mayo del presente. Obtenga el módulo y otra información de la Secretaría General del Primer Congreso Internacional, Yegros 836, Asunción, Paraguay. Teléfono: 443-135; fax: (595) 21-498-032.

On behalf of the Latin American Association of Rural Sociology (ALASRU), the Planning and Social Research Centre (CEPLAES) of Quito, Ecuador, is organizing an international seminar on agrarian questions. This seminar will be sponsored by ALARSU, the Instituto Interamericano de Cooperación para la Agricultura, UNICEF, the Institute Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Sociales, and other Ecuadorean and international organizations. The seminar will be held July 15-17, 1992 in Quito. Briefly, the objectives of the seminar are: 1-analyze Latin American rural society in the context of the opening and expansion of world markets, 2-discuss the participation of rural peoples in the transformation of the rural sector and the introduction of new social actors, and 3-suggest the future of new regional and international relationships and their impact on the rural population of the region. Participation is invited; completed papers should be sent to CEPLAES at the address below by *June 10, 1992*. Maximum length is 30 pages, double-spaced. An abstract of 200 words or less should be included. Presentations will be in Spanish. For further information, contact: Lucía Salamea, CEPLAES, Seminario La Sociedad Rural Latinoamericana Hacia el XXI, Casilla 17-11-6127, Quito, Ecuador. Telephone: 548-547, or 232-261; fax: (593-2) 439-560 (directed to William F. Waters, Universidad San Francisco de Quito).

The Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS) will hold its annual meeting August 13-15, 1992, at Florida International University, Miami, FL. While the official language of the conference is English, papers in Spanish are welcome. Proposals for papers or sessions should be sent by *June 15, 1992* to: Professor Roger Betancourt, Department of Economics, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Telephone: (301) 405-3479; fax: 405-3542.

Foi fundada, no dia 16 de novembro passado, a Midwestern Association of Brazilian Studies. O principal objetivo da MABS é fortalecer os estudos brasileiros nos Estados Unidos, num diálogo interdisciplinar entre as pessoas interessadas em melhor conhecer o Brasil. Informações: Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities Campus, 34 Folwell Hall, 9 Pleasant St. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455. Telephone: (612) 625-5858.

The National Endowment for the Humanities' Division of Research Programs announces two research conferences of interest to Latin Americanists. "Latin American Theatre Today: History, Gender, Genre, Performance," will take place April 28-May 2, 1992 at the University of Kansas. Those interested in additional information, or a copy of the proceedings, should contact: George Woodyard, 108 Lippincott Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045. Fax: (913) 864-4555. "Hispanic Philosophy in the Age of Discovery" will take place October 14-17, 1992 at The Catholic University of America, The Life Cycle Institute. Those interested in additional information, should contact: Jude P. Dougherty, School of Philosophy, The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC 20064. Telephone: (202) 319-5259. For a complete list of research conferences, or information on proposing a conference, write to: David Coder, Program Officer, Division of Research Programs, National Endowment for the Humanities, Room 318, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W., Washington, DC 20506. Telephone: (202) 786-0204.

The North Central Council of Latin Americanists (NCCLA) is soliciting papers for its annual meeting, to be held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, October 8-10, 1992. (Optional cultural events also are planned for Saturday afternoon, October 10, and Sunday morning, October 11.) The conference will be hosted by Marquette University. This year's conference theme is "500 Years of Encounter: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Latin America." Papers are invited from any academic field, and interdisciplinary topics are encouraged. Proposals for complete panels are especially welcome. A special invitation is issued to undergraduate and graduate students to submit proposals. Anyone interested in presenting a paper should send an outline or abstract *ASAP* to the Program Chair. Completed papers should be submitted by *September 1, 1992* to: Professor Lance Grahn, 1992 NCCLA Program Chair, Department of History, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI 53233. Telephone: (414) 288-7217. For information on local arrangements contact: Professor Armando González-Pérez, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI 53233. Telephone: (404) 288-6715. All presenters submitting completed papers to the Program Chair by the September 1 deadline are eligible for the NCCLA Research and Teaching Awards.

North East Popular Culture/American Culture Association meets at Pine Manor College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts, on November 6-8, 1992. Papers or panels on any interdisciplinary subject (history, literature, art, film, sociology, anthropology, music, dance, politics, etc.) may be proposed. Send an abstract and brief curriculum vitae by *June 15* to the program chair: Alan Cleeton, Wentworth Institute, Humanities & Social Sciences, 550 Huntington Ave., Boston, MA 02115. Telephone: (617) 442-9010 x370.

The Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) will hold its next annual conference at the Jester Center, University of Texas at Austin, May 30-June 4, 1992. The theme of the 37th Seminar will be

"SALALM and the Area Studies Community." Multiculturalism, SALALM's relationship to other area studies programs as well as new configurations and emerging alliances will be examined. Participants normally include librarians and book dealers from North and South America, the Caribbean, and Western Europe. Inquiries should be directed to this year's president and editor of the published conference proceedings: David Block, Latin American Librarian, 504 Olin Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14854. Telephone: (607) 255-9480.

The Society for Human Ecology (SHE) meeting will be held October 2-4, 1992 in Snowbird, Utah. The general theme, "Human Ecology: Crossing Boundaries," emphasizes the role of human ecology in spanning boundaries between traditional disciplines, theory and practice, individuals and society and the social, biological and physical environments. For further information regarding paper proposals, sessions or other forms of participation, contact: Scott D. Wright, FCS Department, University of Utah, 228 AEB, Salt Lake City, UT 84112. Telephone: (801) 581-8750; fax: (801) 581-3007 (Attn: Scott Wright).

United States Institute of Peace will hold a conference on "Conflict Resolution Techniques and International Conflict: Dialogues on Current Cases," July 13-16, 1992, Stouffer Mayflower Hotel, Washington, DC. The public is welcome to attend. For a brochure and registration form, write to the United States Institute of Peace, c/o Ms. Wanda Vann Parker, 1550 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20005-1708. Telephone: (202) 429-3848; fax: (202) 429-6063.

The University of Minnesota's Hubert H. Humphrey Center will hold a conference on "Matrilineality and Patrilineality in Comparative and Historical Perspective" in Cowles Auditorium of the Center on the Minneapolis campus May 1-3, 1992. The registration fee is \$20 plus \$30 for the conference papers; the registration fee is waived for University of Minnesota faculty, students, and staff. For more information, write: Department of Professional Development and Conference Services, University of Minnesota, 209 Nolte Center, 315 Pillsbury S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55455-0139. Telephone: (612) 624-6053.

University of North Florida will hold an interdisciplinary conference on Belize. Proposals for individual papers, complete panels, session chairpersons and commentators in all fields of study are sought for a conference on Belize. Conference dates: March 5-7, 1993. Location: Jacksonville, Florida. Submission date: *October 15, 1992*. Send proposals to: Tom Leonard, Conference Coordinator, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32216.

The World History Association presents an international conference on "The Global Impact of 1492" to be held June 24-27, 1992 in Philadelphia, PA. The program includes Alfred W. Crosby, Philip D. Curtin and William D. Phillips, and is a must for world history scholars and teachers. For more information, contact: Dick Rosen, Drexel University, Philadelphia PA. Telephone: (215) 895-2471.

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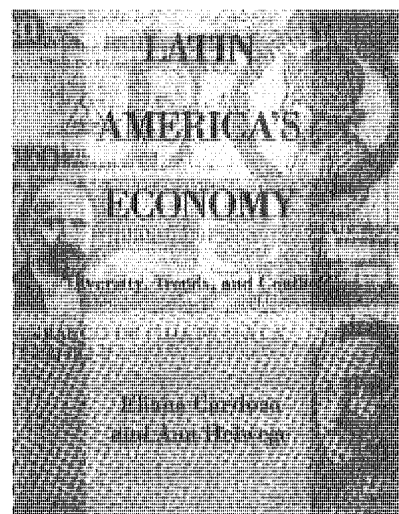
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