

LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

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Osvaldo Sunkel
Recipient of Silvert Award for 1994

Osvaldo Sunkel, currently Special Advisor to the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), is the 1994 recipient of the LASA Kalman Silvert Award.

LASA Past President Lars Schoultz, 1994 chair of the Silvert Award Committee, will present the award in a special panel at the XVIII International Congress in Atlanta, Georgia. Professor Sunkel also will participate in the Kalman Silvert Award Panel. The schedule for the panel will be announced soon.

continued page 37

President's Report

by

Carmen Diana Deere

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

I am pleased to announce that, at its June meeting, the LASA Executive Council unanimously endorsed undertaking our first-ever capital campaign to build LASA's Endowment Fund. We are seeking to develop the resources that will expand many of the Association's activities and provide LASA with long-term financial security.

LASA's Strategic Development Plan (SDP) was presented to the membership at the Los Angeles '92 Business Meeting by President Lars Schoultz and addressed in his column in the Fall 1992 *LASA Forum* (Vol. XXIII, No. 3). It outlines a clear vision of where we are going as an Association and of our proposed new activities, targeted to encourage a closer bond between Latin Americanists in the United States and those in Latin America.

continued page 40

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Articles:

- On *Labor*--John French & Russell Smith . . . p.3
- On *The Torricelli Law*--Jean Weisman . . . p.12

Reports:

- LASA/Nica Seminar*--Charles Stansifer p.6
- Seminar/Congress*--Marianne Schmink . . . p.21

NOMINATING COMMITTEE SLATE p.19

LASA 1994:

- Program Committee Progress Report*--
Edna Acosta-Belén p.22

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM pp. 23-34

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Silvert Award for 1994	1	Task Force International Workshop	21
President's Report	1	<i>by Marianne Schmink</i>	
<i>by Carmen Diana Deere</i>		LASA 1994 Progress Report	22
Labor, Free Trade, and Economic		<i>by Edna Acosta-Belén</i>	
Integration in the Americas	3	LASA 1994 PRELIMINARY PROGRAM	23-34
<i>by John D. French and Russell E. Smith</i>		New Guidelines for Task Forces	35
Nicaragua Research Seminar	6	Employment Opportunities	38
<i>by Charles L. Stansifer</i>		Endowment Fund Contributors	39
On Titling	11	Publications	42
Directory of Researchers on Higher Education	11	Research and Study Opportunities	43
The Torricelli Law	12	Forthcoming Conferences	45
<i>by Jean Weisman</i>		Announcements	47
Electronic Job Bulletin Board	18	Individual Membership Form	51
<i>by Glenn Sheldon</i>		Institutional Membership Form	52
Nominating Committee Slate	19	LASA 1994 Preregistration/Membership Form	54

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Labor, Free Trade, and Economic Integration in the Americas

by

John D. French

Duke University

and

Russell E. Smith

Washburn University of Topeka

In June 1993, the North-South Center of the University of Miami awarded a \$29,600 grant for an international research project on "Labor, Free Trade, and Economic Integration in the Americas: National Labor Union Responses to a Transnational World." Co-directed by the authors, the project will examine the response of labor movements to proposals for free trade zones and their ongoing reactions to the broader process of economic integration taking place in the hemisphere.

Project participants will study the responses of labor movements in the Americas, within and across national boundaries, to past, present, and proposed free trade and economic integration experiences, processes, and proposals. Placing labor movements firmly in the center of the analysis, the project will explore the role of organized labor as a social actor in an economic environment marked by a growing integration and globalization of production, circulation, and communication. Thus, we seek to explore the ways that labor movements "internationalize" or fail to internationalize in response to business and government attempts to broaden product, capital, and labor markets.

Over 1993-1994, project researchers will produce analytic briefing books on the labor implications of and responses to the trilateral North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), embracing the U.S., Canada, and Mexico, and the Common Market of the South (Mercosur) which includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Together, NAFTA and Mercosur involve seven countries of the Western Hemisphere, including the three most populous nations, the United States, Brazil, and Mexico.

Ongoing project research will culminate in prepared papers for an international conference of labor, industrial relations, and trade specialists to be held in August 1994 at Duke University. In all cases, the labor aspects of greater trade and economic integration will be analyzed within a hemispheric, "all-American" if you like, perspective and not from any single national or nationalistic point of view.

Analytically, the project includes a provocative comparative dimension given the potentially quite different social implications of economic integration and free trade in three quite different contexts: North-North (the U.S. and Canada), South-South (Mercosur), and North-South (NAFTA). The

comparative perspective will be broadened further by drawing upon research about the European Common Market experience as well as surveying the growing literature on global transnationalism.

...the project will explore the role of organized labor as a social actor in an economic environment marked by a growing integration and globalization of production, circulation, and communication

Implications for Current Debates

This labor and free trade project will make an important contribution to a fundamental—yet still neglected—aspect of the hemispheric debate regarding NAFTA and other economic integration initiatives like Mercosur. Its relevance to this current public policy controversy is suggested by a recent report by the Inter-American Dialogue. In *Convergence and Community: The Americas in 1993*, a group of distinguished Western Hemispheric political, academic, business, and labor leaders set forth an agenda for Inter-American relations based on hemispheric economic integration and collective defense of democracy. The report, which also speaks to the region's profound problems of poverty and inequality, is optimistic that a new development model has in fact been found. They endorse NAFTA and propose, in its wake, the accession of other Latin American countries to NAFTA as a step towards a hemispheric common market.

Yet the Inter-American Dialogue report also includes a dissent by Latin America's most prominent trade unionist. In the longest supplemental comments attached by any of the participants, Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, who lost the 1989 presidential election in Brazil by only five percent of the total vote, expresses his profound disagreement with the report's support for regional economic integration and free trade through initiatives such as the Enterprise for the Americas. In this, Lula shares common ground with his U.S. counterpart in the Dialogue group, the former president of the United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO), Douglas Fraser, who

also disassociates himself from the report's endorsement of NAFTA.

...the labor impacts of freer trade are of fundamental importance when considering the social and equity consequences of proposals such as NAFTA and Mercosur

The consensus text of the Dialogue report also demonstrates the authors' awareness that labor issues—along with the environment—will remain at the heart of public policy debates on free trade. As they put it, "concerns about the environment and workers' rights have emerged as the most difficult issues in the ongoing debate over NAFTA, and they are likely to surface in future debates over hemispheric free trade" (page 14).

Indeed, the labor impacts of freer trade are of fundamental importance when considering the social and equity consequences of proposals such as NAFTA and Mercosur. In particular, this project will examine the present and future labor impacts of the new or anticipated trade agreements. These impacts could be conventional labor-market effects on employment, wages or incomes; or could be legal and institutional effects involving changes in labor law or standards and their enforcement or shifts in the conduct of collective bargaining law or practice. The legal and institutional changes might be explicit in the agreements or might come about as a consequence of or in parallel to such trade pacts. In either cases, the changes might take place ahead of or in anticipation of an agreement, as in the case of NAFTA.

Finally, our focus on the response of organized labor movements to current trends towards free trade and economic integration will increase our understanding of a vital but too-often slighted component of the emerging civil society in the hemisphere. As major contributors to the triumph and maintenance of democracy, trade unions represent the largest and best organized voice of working and middle class people throughout the Americas. We believe that how union leaders and members respond and why will reveal much about the future of the hemisphere.

From our perspective, we would pose the central problem as follows:

1) In a world where capital is mobile, where workers compete across national boundaries for jobs, and where labor movements are basically national and only incompletely international, the fundamental question is whether the labor

movements of different countries are destined to be bitter competitors for jobs rather than allies in a common struggle to improve the lives of all working people.

In other words, is it inevitable that labor movements in the less-developed countries will welcome capital mobility for the jobs it creates for their country's citizens? And must labor movements in the developed capital-exporting countries inevitably decry "runaway shops" and "hollow corporations" while demanding protectionist measures to preserve their jobs?

2) The strictly national responses epitomized above continue to prove inadequate for both sides. Protectionism has not "saved jobs" that are leaving developed countries. Nor is it clear that those who receive the newly-created jobs in the less developed countries have had their living and working conditions substantially or permanently improved.

It is precisely the prospect of reducing this downward pressure on wages, benefits, and conditions that may lead labor movements on both sides towards international cooperation. Thus, solidarity across national boundaries remains an ideal in all labor movements, whatever their political complexion. At the same time, it remains unclear if and how such an ideal can be made a reality in an increasingly integrated world economy. What are the points of commonality and/or contact that might create the basis for cooperation and dialogue among labor movements in the Americas? Indeed, the project gains in importance precisely because it will chart the likelihood of transnational cooperation in a policy area marked by protectionist trends and fears.

Work to Date and Future Plans

The North-South Center grant, which will be administered by Duke University, increases the scope of activities of a working group on "Labor and Free Trade" formed in January 1993 with a \$10,000 grant from the Duke-University of North Carolina Program in Latin American Studies. Co-chaired by John French and U.S. labor historian Leon Fink (UNC), this inter-disciplinary working group is one of a number of such groups that bring together faculty and graduate students, across disciplines and campuses, under the sponsorship of the Duke-UNC Program co-chaired by William Ascher and Lars Schoultz.

Between February 1993 and the end of the summer, the Duke-UNC working group held four seminars and sponsored a public talk on April 22, 1993 by Barry Carr (La Trobe University) on "Rhetoric or Reality: Labor Internationalism in the Era of NAFTA." Seminar topics have included: union responses to the European Common Market and NAFTA, the role of International Labor Organization and the

proposed linkage of trade to ILO labor standards, and the conceptualization of labor's role in the current global economy set forth in recent books by Robert Reich and Raymond Marshall, current and past Secretaries of Labor in Democratic Party administrations in Washington.

The working group was also active over the summer. Faculty facilitators French and Fink carried out a stimulating and productive research trip to the annual conference of the International Labor Organization in June in Geneva, Switzerland. In addition, we hired two graduate research assistants, Jeff Cowie (UNC) and Kecia Albright (Duke), who are working on NAFTA and Mercosur respectively. Both have already begun their research and correspondence while Jeff Cowie has made an exploratory trip to Washington to compile research materials and to conduct preliminary interviews with labor leaders, analysts, and union lobbyists.

Finally, the working group has also made progress in compiling a comprehensive bibliography on labor transnationalism and the social dimension of global and hemispheric trade. Having already grown to over 700 items, the bibliography will be available in preliminary form in late fall to be followed, at a later point, by a series of specialized topical bibliographies. As the scope of research material widens, we will be well placed to draft the analytical "briefing books" on the labor dimension of NAFTA and Mercosur called for by the North-South grant.

The project is broadly collaborative in structure and will draw upon the resources and support of existing networks of labor studies specialists such as LASA's Labor Studies Working Group, which is chaired by Russell Smith. In addition, it builds upon the initiative taken by *Latin American Labor News*, edited by John French, which has already published three issues containing contributions on labor and free trade. Issue #5 of *Latin American Labor News* (October 1992) and double issue #6-7 (August 1993) are available from the Center for Labor Research and Studies, Florida International University, University Park Campus W MO TR#2, Miami, FL 33199. Write for further information.

Finally, the project is also unfolding in collaboration with Hector Lucena of the Escuela de Relaciones Industriales of the University of Carabobo in Valencia, Venezuela. "Free Trade Agreements and Industrial Relations" was one of the four themes chosen for the Second Industrial Relations Congress of the Americas (International Industrial Relations Association) held in Valencia, Venezuela on September 1-4, 1993 at Hector Lucena's initiative. In addition, project research results will be made available to a wider Latin American audience through the journal he edits, *Relaciones de Trabajo* (Asociación de Relaciones de Trabajo, Apartado Postal 5110, Naguanagua, Carabobo 20005 Venezuela).

We are eager to bridge the gaps between disciplines and nations as well as between labor leaders and academics. Please inform us of your research and send us relevant documents, citations, union resolutions, newspaper articles, or other resources. We will, in turn, keep you informed of our activities and the research products that will result. Indeed, our mailing list at present has already grown to over sixty five people in Europe and the Americas. In particular, we are more than willing to provide access to our project bibliography and other research materials to cooperating individuals or groups engaged in similar or parallel research.

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CONFERENCE
on
FREE and UNFREE LABOUR

Three years ago, the editorial board of the *International Review of Social History* published an editorial on the issue of "free and unfree labour." The board now is organizing a conference, bringing together those who are interested in discussing thoroughly—on the basis of precirculated papers—general concepts of labour history in relation to the problem of free and unfree labour. The conference will take place at the **International Institute of Social History** in Amsterdam, 13-14 January 1995. Historians, sociologists, anthropologists, economists, jurists and other scholars who are engaged in research on the relationship of labour history to the problem of free and unfree labour are invited to send summaries (ca. 100 words) before *January 1, 1994* and papers in English before *October 1, 1994* to: Conference Free and Unfree Labour, International Institute of Social History, Cruquiusweg 31, 1019 AT Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Fax: 31-20-6654181.

LASA Research Seminar In Nicaragua

August 1-11, 1993

by

Charles L. Stansifer

University of Kansas

The annual LASA research seminar in Nicaragua, launched in 1984 by Professor Thomas Walker of Ohio University, is distinguished by three special characteristics. First is the appeal of research possibilities in Nicaragua to young scholars. Second, non-specialists can review and update of the current political, economic, social, and cultural scene in Nicaragua. Third, Nicaraguan officials and citizens, prominent and not so prominent, continually have been willing to give their time to LASA delegations; without this the seminar could not continue. Happily, all these aspects were very much in evidence during the 1993 seminar.

The 1993 group consisted of 16 individuals, from New York, Virginia, Florida, Ohio, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, California, and Japan. Participants represented fields as diverse as literature, political science, film studies, international relations, social work, Latin American studies, and education. Professor Charles L. Stansifer, University of Kansas historian of Central America, served as academic coordinator. As in the past, Alice McGrath of Ventura, California, proved to be a highly efficient coordinator of logistics. Ileana Figueroa, of the Fundación Nicaragüense Pro Desarrollo Comunitario Integral (FUNDECI), made appointments and set a basic schedule in advance, in consultation with Stansifer and McGrath, and made other local arrangements. The delegation was lodged at the Hotelito near Parque El Carmen.

The 1993 seminar was designed to focus on three important themes: municipal government and decentralization, dependence of Nicaragua on international financial assistance, and the state of culture and the arts. These themes of course could not be understood without taking into account the combined political and economic crisis of contemporary Nicaragua: almost all interviewees started with a commentary on this crisis. A prime purpose of the seminar was to introduce the participants to research institutions and universities in Nicaragua in the expectation of assisting research projects in progress, making research contacts, and directing attention to research possibilities.

Almost without exception the group enjoyed access to high-level government and political party officials, university authorities, diplomatic personnel, newspaper men and women, workers in governmental and non-governmental agencies, scholars, and writers. For the purpose of demonstrating research opportunities a special effort was made to

introduce the participants to museums, libraries, archives, research institutions, and universities. In addition to Managua the group visited León and Granada.

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A complete itinerary, with summaries of activities and interviews, follows:

Sunday, August 1. Arrival in Managua. Introductions and review of special interests and itinerary.

Monday, August 2. The first activity of the LASA delegation was to visit the headquarters of the Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, where Julio Valle-Castillo, poet and former vice-minister of Culture, received the group and spoke about current cultural trends. He commented on his own recently published book on Nicaraguan modernist poets, 1860-1930, and other publications of the Editorial. The group visited the Editorial's bookstore. Afterwards the group went to FUNDECI for a formal welcome by Miguel d'Escoto, former Nicaraguan foreign minister in the Sandinista period and currently president of FUNDECI. D'Escoto addressed the group and entertained questions. He touched on the recent takeover of Estelí, his recent visit to Cuba, and United States-Nicaraguan relations. Interview with Sofia Montenegro, Directora, *Revista Gente* (weekly magazine published by *Barricada*). She discussed the work of the magazine, women's issues, women's organizations in Nicaragua, and the upcoming international women's conference in San Salvador. Interview with Alejandro Martínez Cuenca, founder and director of the Fundación Internacional para el Desafío Económico Internacional (FIDEG), Minister of Foreign Trade from 1979 to 1988 and Minister of Planning and Budget from 1988 to 1990. He presented a very lucid history of the financial difficulties experienced by Nicaragua in the last fourteen years. He was the first of many interviewees who spoke of the dependency of the Nicaraguan

economy on international donors and the failure of the present government's reactivation policies.

In the evening Professor Stansifer, who lived in Nicaragua before the great earthquake of 1972, conducted a walking tour of old Managua, starting from the Rubén Darío Theatre and the Carlos Fonseca Monument and ending at the Asamblea Nacional (formerly the Banco Nicaragüense).

Tuesday, August 3. Meeting with various officials of the Instituto Nicaragüense de Fomento Municipal (INIFOM). First, **Flavio Valladares López**, Director of International Relations of INIFOM, informed the group of INIFOM's structure and purposes. Essentially, INIFOM provides guidance and coordination for the mayors and councilmen and councilwomen of the 147 municipalities of Nicaragua. Greater authority was given to city government by a law of 1988 and the elections of 1990, the first significant municipal elections in Nicaragua in this century, brought many untrained people to municipal office. Second, **Santiago Rivas**, president of INIFOM, spoke of the political and economic issues facing municipal authorities. A meeting at city hall with **Arnoldo Alemán**, mayor of Managua, member of the Partido Liberal Independiente, and a leading political figure of the "populist" right, could not take place because of an emergency city council meeting, but **José Rizo Castellón**, General Director of International Relations of the city of Managua, and like Alemán, a member of the Partido Liberal Independiente, went over the various projects and controversies confronting the city at the time. Interview with **Ernesto Cardenal**, Trappist monk and former Minister of Culture, at the Galería de Tres Mundos. In addition to commenting on the effect of Nicaragua's economic difficulties on cultural life, Cardenal spoke of his personal experiences as Minister and of his upcoming trip to the United States. Interview with **Rosa Marina Zelaya Velásquez**, Secretary of the Consejo Superior Electoral (CSE). The meeting took place at CSE headquarters in Las Colinas. Zelaya spoke about legal and constitutional issues affecting elections and explained the efforts of the CSE to promote the idea of a permanent Nicaraguan identity card which would facilitate electoral registration. The project will be presented at the next session of the National Assembly. She also spoke frankly of the dependency of the CSE on international assistance for the identity card and other projects. Next the delegation visited the Biblioteca Nacional, administratively located under the Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura. The director, **Jorge Eduardo Arellano** answered questions about Nicaragua's cultural output, demonstrated the library's computerized bibliographical services, showed the group the Rubén Darío collection and the Bibliobus, and explained the work of the archives and *hemeroteca*, which are also under his direction. The library is housed in a former military warehouse near Huembes market.

In the evening the delegation visited the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua, where a documentary and photographic exhibition on "Liberalismo y modernización en Nicaragua, 1870-1912" was in place. The director, **Margarita Vannini**, hosted. Professor Stansifer presented a scholarly paper entitled "Dos imágenes de José Santos Zelaya: la norteamericana y la centroamericana," which was followed by a formal commentary by **Carlos Tünnerman Bernheim**, former Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States, and informal commentary by several Nicaraguan scholars.

Wednesday, August 3. Meeting with officials of the Universidad Autónoma Americana (UAM), a private university founded in 1992. **Manuela Knapp de Aguilar**, Dean of International Relations, hosted the meeting, which took place at the University's main facilities in Barrio El Carmen, and reviewed the history of the university's founding. She also commented on the other Nicaraguan universities. Vice-Rector **Helio Montenegro** also participated in the discussion. Rector **Ramón Romero Alonso**, a magistrate of the Supreme Court, spoke about the purposes of the university and then took a few questions on the proposals to reform the 1985 Constitution and to hold a new constituent assembly to write a new constitution. Interview with **Gilberto Cuadra**, general manager of an engineering consulting firm and Honorary President of the Consejo Superior de la Empresa Privada (COSEP). Cuadra presented a critical overview of the Sandinista period and discussed the country's economic problems from a Conservative perspective. Like many other Nicaraguans interviewed, he gave special importance to the hindrance to production of untitled private property. Without titles property owners have trouble getting credit; without credit farmers do not plant. Interview with **Fernando Silva**, a pediatrician, psychiatrist, novelist, and deputy in the National Assembly where he serves on the health committee. The meeting took place at FUNDECI. Silva spoke movingly of the desperate situation of the rural population in view of closed hospitals and shortages of medicine, particularly on the Atlantic Coast. He reviewed the contributions of Cuban doctors, most of whom have returned to Cuba, and in response to questions outlined his latest unpublished book, to be entitled *Cedro galán*. At midday, the delegation lunched with **Luz Marina Torrez**, director of the Casa de la Mujer 8 de marzo. She explained how the movement for autonomy from the Sandinista-oriented women's organization, the Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenses "Luisa Amanda Espinoza" (AMLAE), got under way and how the Casa broke away. The women of the Casa, she said, were interested in practical issues such as health and legal recourse in case of abuse, and not politics. She outlined the Casa's projects related to these issues. Interview with **Vilma Nuñez**, director of the Centro Nicaragüense de Derechos Humanos (CENIDH), a non-governmental organization founded in May, 1990. Nuñez

emphasized that CENIDH, while taking testimony about individual cases of human rights violations and promoting individual rights, was more interested in the promotion of the rights of the voiceless workers and campesinos. She cited as examples of CENIDH's work its support of workers' right to strike and its involvement in the negotiations to persuade armed recontras and recompas to disarm. Interview with **Carlos Fernando Chamorro**, director of the newspaper *Barricada*. Chamorro answered questions about his family's political division, about professional journalism in Nicaragua, and about his and rival newspapers. He also discussed the political and economic environment. Interview with **Alvaro Argüello Hurtado**, former representative of the Catholic Church in the Council of State (1979-1984) and director of the Instituto Histórico Centroamericano (IHCA). IHCA is located on the campus of the Universidad Centroamericana (Jesuit) and has one of the finest historical collections in the country. In addition to outlining the principal functions of IHCA and UCA's plans to offer a Master's degree in history, Argüello gave details of the strike against higher tuition by UCA students. Students had taken possession of the university rector's office the night before our interview.

Thursday, August 5. On Thursday morning the LASA delegation went to FUNDECI to listen, along with other visitors, to a talk by **Omar Cabezas**, Sandinista guerrilla hero and author of *La montaña es algo más que una inmensa estepa verde*. In addition to discussing the July assault on Estelí and United States-Nicaraguan relations, he commented on his new book, *Canciones de amores para los hombres*. Interview with **Xavier Gorostiaga**, rector of the Universidad Centroamericana (Jesuit) and member of the Inter-American Dialogue. Gorostiaga spoke briefly about the university but focused sharply on the economic and political crises of the country. Two circumstances which he discussed—Nicaragua's position as the nation receiving the second highest per capita financial assistance in the world (after Israel), and Nicaragua's position as the only nation in the world with less per capita income in 1992 than in 1960—reveals the depth of the economic crisis. He then outlined the internal restructuring of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN). At noon the delegation lunched with **Rodolfo Delgado Romero**, Executive Director of the Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses at the Hotelito. Delgado reported on research projects of interest to IEN. He supplied concrete data which revealed the depth of the Nicaraguan economic crisis. Interview with **Celia María Morales Peña**, Director of International Relations of the Unión Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos (UNAG). In the interview Morales dealt with the impact of the economic crisis on campesinos, the problem of lack of land titles and the resulting unavailability of credit, and relations between UNAG and the FSLN. Interview with **Sergio Ramírez**,

former Vice-president and leader of the FSLN in the National Assembly. Ramírez, who received the group at the Fundación Víctimas de Guerra en Nicaragua, answered questions on a wide range of topics, including the current state of the Nicaraguan revolution, the role of women in the revolutionary process, and relations between Nicaragua and the United States.

In the evening the delegation attended a reading at the Biblioteca Amanda Joya (formerly the library of the Banco Central) presented by novelists **Erick Blandón** and **Alejandro Bravo**. Blandón and Bravo alternately read short stories. Bravo's new book of short stories, *Reina de corazones*, was released by the Editorial Nueva Nicaragua during the week of our visit.

Friday, August 6. The morning began with a quick book-buying stop at the Centro Valdivieso and then a visit to United Nations headquarters, where Colombian **Humberto Marín**, a psychiatrist and UN Representative in Nicaragua, and his assistant **Marcia Quirós**, presented a detailed briefing on the activities of the UN in Nicaragua and on the political and economic crisis of the country. The UN is involved in political reconciliation as well as traditional community development and cultural projects. Marín and Quirós dispelled the notion that the UN had any intention of sending the "Blue Helmets" to Nicaragua to keep the peace between warring factions in the North. Interview with **Hortensia Rivas**, Vice-Minister of Education until a few months ago and now a private school teacher. She was severely critical of both the Sandinista and UNO governments for their lack of commitment to teachers and education in general and for their excessive emphasis on militarism. She also spoke approvingly of the abrupt change of school texts since 1990. Interview with **Jaime Incer Barquero**, director of the Instituto de Recursos Naturales (IRENA). The interview took place at IRENA's headquarters near the airport. After outlining some of the difficulties of attempting to protect the environment in a crisis-ridden country, Incer pointed to several reforestation and forest reserve projects as evidence of the government's commitment to environmental matters. Interview with **Paul Travelli**, economics counsellor at the United States Embassy. After a briefing on the economic situation by Travelli, both Travelli and Public Affairs Officer Steve Monblatt of the Embassy answered questions on the economy, on Agency for International Development projects, and on United States relations with Nicaragua, particularly the threat to terminate United States financial assistance. Interview with **Edgardo García**, General Secretary of the Asociación de Trabajadores del Campo (ATC), at the Hotelito. García first provided a personal account of his involvement with the FSLN and the campaign against Somoza and then outlined the history of the ATC since 1979.

Saturday, August 7. The delegation departed Managua at 7:00 am for a tour of León Viejo, at the foot of Momotombo Volcano. León Viejo was founded in 1524 by Hernández de Córdoba but was abandoned after several volcanic eruptions and earthquakes in the late sixteenth century. Recent completion of an extensive archaeological excavation and restoration enabled the group to form an idea of the colonial city. Stansifer and Gustavo Correa, a graduate student in history at UCA, provided commentary. After continuing to the contemporary city of León and depositing baggage at the Hotel Europa, the delegation visited the León *alcaldía*. Interview with Luis Felipe Pérez, mayor of León, and Iván Aguilar (hijo), municipal councilman. Both are members of the FSLN. Pérez turned the tables on the delegation by asking questions of the group before responding to questions himself. He addressed questions on his selection as mayor by the FSLN in the 1980s and his election in 1990, on the local economy, particularly the effect of the collapse of the cotton industry, and the cultural agenda. He stressed his efforts to open the Frente to participation by non-militants such as Aguilar. Following lunch the group adjourned to the house of Iván Aguilar (padre) and Rosario Aguilar in León. Rosario spoke to the group about her already published literary work, which includes *Primavera sonámbula*, *Rosa Sarmiento*, and *La niña blanca y los pájaros sin pies*, among others, and of her current writing projects. As most of the characters in her novels are women, she also answered questions about her views on feminism. Her husband Iván, the owner of a local tannery which employs nearly a hundred workers, then agreed to give his views (mostly negative) on COSEP, on the government, and on economic conditions. He reviewed the reasons for the failure of the cotton industry in Western Nicaragua: lower world prices, higher costs, environmental degradation, and lack of government support.

In the evening most members of the group toured the original campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Nicaragua.

Sunday, August 8. The day began at 9:00 am with a visit to the newly refurbished León Cathedral, where poets Rubén Darío, Alfonso Cortés, Salomón de la Selva, and Miguel Larreynaga are buried, and to the adjacent monument to the FSLN victory over the Somozas. Then the group visited the Archivo Histórico Diocesano, where Silvia Morales, the director of the Archives, provided an explanation of the organization and contents of the institution. The next stop was the Rubén Darío Museum, where the great poet once lived. The museum was founded in 1964 by Edgardo Buitrago and was extensively renovated in 1984. Buitrago's daughter, Mercedes Buitrago, provided commentary on the lives and loves of Rubén and his family. Leonel Aguilar then joined the group for a guided bus tour of León. Highlights

included downtown areas destroyed by bombing in 1978 and 1979, the National Guard command post during the war against Somoza, a National Guard jail now turned into a memorial, the church of Subtiava (Indian barrio of León), and the Tamarindón, where Spanish conquerors hung rebel Indian leaders. On the way to Poneloya the group could see numerous abandoned cotton fields and a few new fields of soybeans, which local farmers hope will replace cotton as the principal cash crop of the region. After lunch on the beach at Poneloya, the group returned to Managua.

Economically Nicaragua is clearly not a viable state. Without the financial support of European governments and foundations, Nicaragua would face economic catastrophe

Monday, August 9. Monday and Tuesday were holidays in Nicaragua, but the group's activities did not slacken. On Monday morning the group was invited to return to INIFOM, which was taking advantage of the holiday to host a special meeting of Nicaraguan women mayors and councilwomen. The group heard addresses by María Auxiliadora Matus, president of the Instituto Nicaragüense de Mujeres (INEM), and Josefina Vannini, Nicaraguan representative to the United Nations in New York. Both Matus and Vannini urged the women to build an organization of women municipal leaders and to develop local projects such as *comedores infantiles* and *farmacias comunales* which might attract funding from abroad. Matus, an economist, gave special emphasis to the idea of *bancos comunales*, and Vannini developed her views on family values and the role of women, among which first was "ser madre." Women from Masaya, León, San Pedro de Lóvago, Yalagüina, Jinotepe, La Paz Centro, Matagalpa, Corn Island, and other cities spoke forcefully of special problems facing their communities. The LASA delegation withdrew when the women began their organizational efforts. Interview with Carlos Tünnerman Bernheim, who provided an historical overview of the development of universities in Nicaragua, followed by a detailed discussion of the concept of autonomy and the current crisis in higher education. Before answering questions on a range of topics he also discussed his education work for UNESCO. Interview with Oscar René Vargas, sociologist, historian, political analyst, and FSLN militant. Vargas, who met the delegation at the Hotelito, provided the delegation with perhaps the most scientific analysis of the problems facing Nicaragua that we had heard. Having recently finished a book entitled *Nicaragua: un país de niños y mujeres*, he provided demographic data on the

population and levels of poverty. As for the political situation he found that it was more confusing now than usual, because the political pendulum which had been swinging back and forth from 1990 to 1992, was at rest, as everyone seemed to be looking for a new political model.

Tuesday, August 10. On Tuesday morning the LASA delegation paid a visit to one of the poorest barrios in Managua, the Barrio Acahualinca. Approximately 7,000 people live in the barrio, which is located on the banks of polluted Lake Managua. **Alejandro Lezama**, pastor of the Iglesia Evangélica "La Resurrección," of the Misión Hispanoamericana, and the director of a group of fifteen pastors in the barrio, received the group along with a delegation of women who worked on community problems. He spoke quietly and eloquently of the problems of the barrio and the efforts to overcome them. The delegation visited the *comedor infantil*, the kitchen where meals for children are prepared, and the school. Afterwards, we visited the Museo Acahualinca, which preserves human footprints believed to be 6,000 years old. **Ramiro García Vásquez**, an anthropology professor in charge of the museum, provided an explanation of the footprints and the museum. Interview with **Daniel Ortega**, ex-president of Nicaragua. Ortega received the group at the headquarters of the FSLN. He surprised the delegation by asking individuals if their states were affected by the flood in the United States. Later, in his remarks and his answers to questions he dwelt on United States-Nicaraguan relations, which he perceived to be worse now than during the time of President George Bush. He also dealt extensively with the financial and banking crisis faced by the government of Nicaragua. Like any good politician he ducked the question about his possible candidacy for the presidency in 1996.

In the afternoon the delegation visited Granada. **Eduardo Bermúdez**, a student from Granada, joined us and escorted us to several scenic attractions in Granada. We visited the Cathedral, the restored colonial house known as the La Casa de Tres Mundos, the convent of San Francisco, and the shore of Lake Nicaragua. The convent of San Francisco, founded in 1529, is now known as the Conjunto Histórico de San Francisco and is being restored to its original condition with financial assistance from Sweden and under the direction of the Instituto Nicaragüense de Cultura. When finished it will serve as the Granada municipal library, an archaeological and historical museum, and municipal archive; for now the principal attraction is the collection of twenty-six stone statues collected by various explorers from the Island of Zapatera in Lake Nicaragua.

Wednesday, August 11. Departure. Only three participants returned to the United States on this day. Some stayed in

Managua and others went on to San Salvador, Guatemala City, Tegucigalpa, and San José.

A few personal observations. The 1993 seminar was sandwiched in between two major events of violence, the attack on Estelí by irregular forces on July 21 and the taking of hostages by both *recontras* (former contras) and *recompas* (former Sandinista soldiers) in mid-August. The events underscored the political instability of Nicaragua midway between the elections of 1990 and 1996. Many of the individuals we spoke to commented on the "ungovernability" of Nicaragua, emphasizing the reappearance of armed groups in the North, the continuing fractionalization of political parties, and the resurging polarization which hinders common action. Polls show that neither UNO nor the FSLN commands much public respect. Some interviewees blamed economic stagnation as responsible for accentuating political problems. Some pointed to the failure to resolve the problem of large amounts of untitled land as responsible for economic uncertainty. Others did not think that any progress could be made toward solving economic or titling problems until some political consensus was reached. Only a few spoke with any optimism about Nicaragua's future.

Many of the people we spoke to were deeply concerned about the failure of the economy to rebound after the change of government in 1990. Economists in and out of government agree that a situation in which the country imports approximately one billion dollars worth of goods and exports only two hundred million cannot go on. And yet few could cite any figures that indicated an economic revival. There is general agreement that the growth of the Gross National Product during 1993 will be around one per cent. With a three per cent rate of population growth, this means that per capita income will again fall. At US \$431 for 1992, per capita income is already the lowest in Latin America, except for Haiti.

Economically Nicaragua is clearly not a viable state. Without the financial support of European governments and foundations, Nicaragua would face economic catastrophe. Everywhere in Nicaragua, whether in cultural institutions government offices, municipal offices, development agencies, or the barrios, references were made to the assistance of the governments of Sweden, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and Spain, along with the assistance of private foundations from some of these countries. The issue of United States assistance was a subject of much discussion during our visit since the United States Congress had just passed a non-binding resolution withholding aid until Nicaragua could prove that it was not a terrorist state. Unfortunately, the present level of foreign assistance is insufficient to bring about economic reactivation.

The overwhelming importance of international assistance appears to have weakened rather than strengthened the central government. President Violeta Chamorro came into office as the head of a coalition with deep fissures and these have grown worse in the last three years. Evidence of de facto decentralization abounds. Cities, government agencies, political parties, and private entrepreneurs have little reason to look to the central government for assistance; they go directly abroad. While this may benefit local autonomy at the municipal level—and we saw evidence of that in our discussions with municipal leaders—this situation does not seem to be moving Nicaragua away from dependency. Rather, Nicaragua's dependency on outside forces appears to be deeper than anything experienced before in its history.

This is obviously not a bounteous time in Nicaragua for writers and artists, but the political and economic crisis appears to have had less of a negative effect on them than on the population at large. Institutions such as the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua, Instituto Histórico Centroamericano, Editorial Nueva Nicaragua, Museo Rubén Darío, Teatro Rubén Darío, and the Biblioteca Nacional, operating often with a combination of foreign and Nicaraguan financial assistance, are holding steady and provide fora for discussion. Universities also provide multiple opportunities for dialogue but are uniformly weak financially. Literary figures and scholars whom we interviewed remain committed to their work despite all manner of obstacles.

Next year, the tenth anniversary year, Professor Walker will again direct the LASA seminar. It is to begin in Managua on June 20, 1994. For information or applications contact: Professor Thomas Walker, Director, Latin American Studies Program, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701-2979. Telephone: 614-593-1339; fax: 614-593-1837. Or contact: Alice McGrath, P.O. Box 1782, Ventura, CA 93002. Telephone: 805-648-4560; fax: 805-653-6359. ■

On Titling A Word to the Wise

In a recent meeting of the National Association of Area Studies Associations (NCASA) in which creating and maintaining databases of area studies dissertations was discussed, the desirability of including meaningful keywords in titles was pointed out. This speeds up the work of the person compiling the database, since decisions about whether to include or exclude do not have to await the reading of an abstract or some other method of arriving at the scope of the research. Thus, if there is interest in assuring that a

dissertation, monograph, or article is included in an index of works on Latin America, the Latin America, a country in the region, or some other well-known indicator of place should be included in the title. Most works should lend themselves to this. ■

Directory of Researchers on Higher Education

The Latin American Studies Association Task Force on Higher Education is organizing a directory of researchers on higher education in Latin America. The aim is to provide a list of persons—whether in Latin America, the United States, Europe or in other countries—who are active in conducting research on some aspect of Latin American Higher Education. If you fit this description, and would like to have your name included in the directory, please provide the following information: name; country of residence; institution; highest degree (field, institution, year); main interests in higher education; one or two most significant publications on higher education; and main current project. The Task Force will use its discretion in deciding what actively conducting research means, and what ultimately to include. Please return the information by *April 1, 1994* to: Simon Schwartzman, Universidade de São Paulo-NUPES, Rua do Anfiteatro 181-Colmeias 9, 05508-900 Cidade Universitaria, São Paulo, Brazil. Fax: 55-11-815-4272. E-mail: [SSCHWART@BRUSPVM \(Bitnet\)](mailto:SSCHWART@BRUSPVM(Bitnet)); SSCHWART@LION.CCE.USP.BR (Internet). ■

The **LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba** is collecting information about student and faculty exchanges with Cuba. We are planning to summarize the information and hope to encourage the growth of these programs.

If you are participating in a program involving students or faculty from the United States visiting Cuba or students or faculty from Cuba visiting the U.S., please send us a brief letter explaining the program and any literature describing the program.

The information should be sent to: Iralda Lopez, Coordinator, CUNY-Caribbean Exchange, Box 548, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York NY 10021.

The Torricelli Law Whys, Wherefores, and a Call for Change

by
Jean Weisman
City College of New York
and
City University of New York-Caribbean Exchange Program

[A Personal Note: For the last three years, I have been organizing graduate student research trips to Cuba and conducting individual research on the impact of education on the participation of women in political and economic decision making in Cuba. LASA has provided an important support network in this work. I first attended a LASA convention in April of 1991 in Washington, DC and was very impressed with the high level of academic discourse, the participation of scholars from Cuba and the strong resolution LASA passed in favor of economic and diplomatic relations with Cuba.

In September 1992, the business meeting of LASA unanimously passed a resolution on Cuba which called for "the normalization of diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba" and "respect for Cuban self-determination and an end to U.S. intervention." This resolution was subsequently ratified by the membership in a mail ballot, in which 87 percent of the voting members supported the resolution.

It was precisely in September 1992, during the LASA convention, that the Torricelli law, which extends the embargo against Cuba, passed Congress. In attending the workshops at the convention on Cuba, it became very clear to me that LASA members wanted more information about legislative developments concerning Cuba. I decided to conduct a research project on the Torricelli Law, trying to determine how and why it passed Congress. I urge Latin Americanists interested in seeing a reversal of our Cuban policy to make their opinions known to their congressional representatives. If you would like a copy of the entire research paper on the Torricelli Law or you would like information about legislative work concerning Cuba, please write the author at CUNY-Caribbean Exchange Program, Box 548, Hunter College, 695 Park Ave., New York, NY 10021.]

On October 23, 1992, President Bush signed the so-called Cuban Democracy Act, more commonly called the Torricelli law for its author, Representative Robert Torricelli (D-NJ). This law gives the President the power to deny aid to any country that provides assistance to Cuba, prohibits foreign companies which are substantially owned or controlled by U.S. citizens from trading with Cuba and makes it illegal for a ship which enters a port in Cuba to load or unload freight in the U.S. for 180 days. According to the law, a civil penalty of up to \$50,000 can be applied to an individual who violates the "Trading with the Enemy Act" which applies to

illegal travel to Cuba. The penalty cannot be provided for "clearly defined educational or religious activities, or activities of recognized human rights organizations, that are reasonably limited in frequency, duration or number of participants."¹ Although slightly more than two-thirds of the members of the House of Representatives and a majority of the members of the Senate voted for the bill, a study of the debate on the bill within the House of Representative and interviews I conducted with Congressional aides reveal that there was not a bipartisan consensus on the need to strengthen the embargo against Cuba.

An analysis of the process by which the bill passed indicates that the Presidential election of November 1992 played a critical role. Both President Bush and Governor Clinton were very concerned about winning votes in Florida. Before April 1992, Bush's representatives who spoke at Congressional hearings expressed strong reservations about the bill. As noted below, just after Clinton spoke at a dinner organized by Cuban exiles in Miami, accepted their donation of \$125,000 to his campaign and announced that he had read the bill and liked it, Bush's representatives expressed strong support for the bill. Congressman Charles Rangel (D-NY) expressed his concern about the political implications of the bill during a debate on the bill on the House Floor:

Indeed Mr. Speaker, it appears to me that this bill is not just a legislative initiative but it is more a political statement, and I think the gentleman really when he mentions President Bush or Governor Clinton, we might take a look at this as not being concerned so much about the future of people living in Cuba as it is an appeal to the Cuban-Americans in Dade county.²

My data further revealed that only four percent of the Black members of the House of Representatives, 50 percent of the women, and 53 percent of the Democrats voted for the Torricelli bill. In 12 states, less than 50 percent of the

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1. House of Representatives "National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993" Conference Report to Accompany HR 5006, Title XVII-Cuban Democracy Act of 1992, Section 1710.
 2. *Congressional Record*, September 22, p. H 9087.

members of the House voted for the bill. Forty-three members of the House received donations between 1989 and 1992 from the Free Cuba PAC, the political arm of the Cuban-American National Foundation and 81 percent of those representatives voted for the bill. While the data are insufficient to draw conclusions about why members of the House voted for or against the bill, they are interesting enough to provide a basis for a much more extensive analysis.

Diverse Views

Those who *supported* the bill saw it as a means of encouraging the collapse of the Castro government and providing humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people. Congressman Dante Fascell (D-FL), chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, was one of the most vocal supporters of the bill. In his opening address at the hearings on the bill, Fascell stated that he supports the bill because "the people of Cuba have lived under a tyranny more comprehensive than any other that has existed in this hemisphere."³ Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), a Cuban-American, supported the bill because she sees it as placing more "nails in Castro's coffin."⁴ Congressman Lagomarsino (R-CA) stated:

Our passage of this measure—and its enactment into law—will send a clear and unmistakable signal to one of the world's last Communist dictators: The U.S. Congress and the Administration will not accommodate a tyrant and we will not compromise in our drive for freedom in the hemisphere.⁵

In April of 1993 I interviewed several legislative aides by telephone about why their employers *voted for* the bill. Their responses ranged from lack of familiarity with the law, to personal support for Torricelli to vehement anti-communism. Some of the replies I received were: "We didn't discuss it and I don't recall anything about it"; "We went with it because he's on the House Foreign Affairs Committee with Torricelli and they work very well together"; "He supports anything that promotes democracy, that is anti-Castro."

Those who spoke *against* the bill argued that it was counterproductive because by extending the embargo, the bill would encourage support for Castro by increasing antagonism toward the United States government. They also argued that the United States has a long tradition of excluding food from

embargoes, and that American farmers are facing severe financial losses and workers are losing jobs as a result of the embargo. They also pointed out that the bill would offend our allies by interfering with their international trading rights. Late Congressman Ted Weiss (D-NY) said that "as long as Fidel Castro can use Cuba's main antagonist to mobilize support for his own benefit, any hopes of bringing change to Cuba are guaranteed to fail."⁶ Congressman Dave Nagle (D-IA) stated that "we should opt for a policy of rapprochement of those areas that increase contact between our nations, provide for humanitarian needs to be met by the sale of medicines and food, benefit our farmers and industries, and assure U.S. citizens the right to free travel."⁷ Congressman Bill Alexander (D-AR) quoted a study from Arkansas State University, which shows how the embargo caused his state to lose \$285 million in sales of rice and poultry and 675 jobs between 1985 and 1986 and the nation lost \$2 billion in sales and 4,500 jobs during the same period.⁸ Congresswoman Nancy Johnson (R-CT) stated:

Passage of this bill will not stop Cuba from buying elevators. They will just buy European elevators or Asian elevators instead of Connecticut elevators.⁹

I also interviewed legislative aides about why their employers *opposed the law*. Their views ranged from lack of familiarity with the act to humanitarian concerns about the Cuban people to concern about U.S. trade relations. Some of the replies I received were: "It's not a particularly hot issue"; "Extending the embargo has the effect of extending American law into international law and creates complications with our trading partners"; and "He didn't feel the bill would promote improvements in the day to day lives of Cubans."

The Process

The bill was formally introduced by Congressman Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), chair of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, on

3. Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Consideration of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992: Hearings and Markup Before the Committee on Foreign Affairs-House of Representatives* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993) p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
5. *Congressional Record*, September 22, 1992, p. H 9087.
6. Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Consideration of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992*, p. 3.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
9. *Congressional Record*, September 22, 1992, p. H 9090.

February 5, 1992. Torricelli represents part of northern New Jersey (Bergen County) which consists primarily of working class, Jewish, Black and liberal communities. His district is to the north of Hudson county, which includes the largest Cuban-American community in New Jersey. He had the reputation for being a liberal and was critical of U.S. policy in Nicaragua and El Salvador. In 1988, he visited Cuba and when he returned he stated that in Cuba "living standards are not high, but homelessness, hunger and disease that is witnessed in much of Latin America does not appear evident."¹⁰ In 1989/1990, he received \$1,500 from the Free Cuba PAC, the political arm of the Cuban American National Foundation and in 1991/1992, he received \$10,000 from the Free Cuba PAC, which was the largest donation he received from any PAC.¹¹

**In one of his radio broadcasts,
Mas Canosa accused the *Miami Herald*
of taking the same position
as the Cuban government**

One of the key architects of the bill was Jorge Mas Canosa, a multi-millionaire Cuban exile and participant in the Bay of Pigs invasion, Director of the Cuban American National Foundation and a strong supporter of the Republican Party. Mas Canosa worked closely with Torricelli not just in drafting the legislation but throughout the legislative process. The first hearing on the bill was delayed for several hours because Mas Canosa, who flew in on his private plane, arrived late. The Cuban American National Foundation, through their Free Cuba PAC, donated over \$263,000 to Congressional candidates between 1989 and 1992.¹²

Several weeks before Torricelli officially introduced the bill, the *Miami Herald* published an editorial opposing the bill because it would damage trade relations with our allies and because it wouldn't promote democracy or liberty in Cuba, but could promote chaos and violence. Outraged at the editorial, the Cuban American National Foundation organized a vicious campaign against the *Miami Herald*, which a recent report by Americas Watch describes as an example of intimidation and harassment against the freedom of the press. In one of his radio broadcasts, Mas Canosa accused the *Miami Herald* of taking the same position as the Cuban government. David Lawrence, publisher of the *Miami Herald*, received three death threats and was advised by police to start his car using remote control.¹³

The hearings and markup sessions on the bill took place between March 18 and June 5, 1992. Those speaking at the hearings, in addition to members of Congress and State Department representatives, included Jorge Mas Canosa; Enrique Baloyra, from the Cuban Democratic Party; Jorge Dominguez, a former President of LASA who was representing the Inter-American Dialogue; Susan Kaufman Purcell, from the Americas Society; Victor Sidel, past president of the American Health Association; Jack Otero, Vice-President of the AFL-CIO; and Jeanne Woods, from the American Civil Liberties Union.

**...the Torricelli amendment
took the guts out
of the Weiss amendment**

On April 8, 1992, Robert Gelbard, a State Department official who was representing the Bush administration stated:

Where we differ is not in the goal but in aspects of the strategy. Where the Cuban Democracy Act would demand adherence by our allies to a policy similar to ours, we would respect their sovereignty and ask their cooperation . . . One provision in the Cuban Democracy Act, for example, instructs the United States Government to negotiate with other governments which trade with Cuba agreements to restrict their trade in a manner consistent with United States policy. In our view no foreign government will accept the offer to negotiate. While many governments agree that Cuba should not receive aid, few want to impose an embargo against it.¹⁴

On April 23, 1993, Presidential Candidate Bill Clinton, concerned about winning votes in the state of Florida, spoke at a dinner organized by Cuban exiles in Little Havana in

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10. Jane Franklin, *The Cuban Revolution and the United States* (Melbourne: Ocean Press, 1992) p. 231.
 11. Federal Election Commission, Washington D.C..
 12. Ibid.
 13. America's Watch, *Dangerous Dialogue: Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Miami's Cuban Exile Community* (New York: Americas Watch, August, 1992 p. 17).
 14. Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Consideration of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992*, p. 359.

Miami in which he received \$125,000 and announced "I have read the Torricelli-Graham bill and I like it."¹⁵ Soon after Clinton endorsed the bill, Bush reversed his position and expressed his full support of the bill. At the mark-up session which took place on May 21, Congressman Lee Hamilton vigorously questioned David Dworkin, the State Department representative about the administration's reversal:

Mr. Hamilton: Now, with regard to the so-called Mack amendment that prohibits exports to Cuba by foreign-based subsidiaries in United States firms. My recollection is that the administration has opposed that provision in the past. Is that correct?

Mr. Dworkin: That is correct.

Mr. Hamilton: And that you argued in the past that these amendments would place United States subsidiaries wanting to sell to Cuba in the position of having to choose between violating the laws of the United States or violating the laws of the countries in which they were based . . . Will U.S. subsidiaries still face that same choice if the bill is enacted?

Mr. Dworkin: They could, in the event that a country that a U.S. subsidiary was based in had a law that required it to provide the kind of assistance that would be prohibited and our law said that they couldn't provide that kind of assistance, then, yes.

Mr. Hamilton: All right. Now what is it in the administration's thinking that caused them to change their position here, if the impact is the same?

Mr. Dworkin: Well our position on the Mack amendment has not changed. Our position is well known, and we do have these concerns about extraterritoriality and the concerns that you have discussed. However, it would not necessarily preclude us from recommending that the President sign the bill. We are looking at the entire package.¹⁶

Congressman Ted Weiss (D-NY) proposed an amendment to the bill which would have allowed Cuba to purchase medicines, medical supplies and instruments from the United States. His amendment passed the House Foreign Affairs Committee with a vote of eleven for and ten against. Two weeks later, Torricelli proposed an amendment to the

amendment which rendered Weiss's amendment meaningless. Torricelli's amendment stated that medical supplies could be exported only if the President determined that the U.S. government is able to verify by on-site inspections that the items are being used for their intended purpose. Since it is highly unlikely that the U.S. government would provide funds to pay for these inspections or that the Cuban government would allow it, the Torricelli amendment took the guts out of the Weiss amendment. Torricelli's amendment passed with a voice vote.

The entire Cuban Democracy Act was passed by a voice vote at the meeting of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on June 5 with 24 of the 45 members present. At this point Weiss stated: "Mr. Chairman, would the record reflect that I voted in the negative." Congressmen Frank McCloskey (D-IN), Donald Payne (D-NJ) and Doug Bereuter (R-NE) also asked that the record reflect that they voted no.¹⁷

The legislation was then submitted to the Merchant Marine and Fisheries, Ways and Means, Energy and Commerce, and Post Office and Civil Service Committees. The Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee passed it with a voice vote. John Dingell (D-MI), chair of the Energy and Commerce Committee discussed the bill with three members of his committee, made a proposal for a minor revision and agreed to "being discharged from further consideration of the bill."¹⁸ William Clay (D-MO), chair of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, agreed to waive jurisdiction. After it became clear that Congressman Rangel was planning to vigorously oppose the bill in the Ways and Means Committee, Torricelli wrote a letter to Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), chair of the Ways and Means Committee, in which Torricelli agreed to withdraw a section on tax deductions and announced that he would no longer seek action by the Ways and Means Committee. Since he was assured that all provisions related to the committee were deleted from the bill, Rostenkowski supported Torricelli's request to have the bill placed on the suspension calendar.¹⁹

After he received the committee approval that he needed, Torricelli requested a suspension of the calendar vote. Under suspension of the calendar, the bill is not sent to the Rules Committee, but it is sent directly to the House floor. Under this provision, no amendments are allowed and only 40 minutes of debate are allowed. In order for the bill to pass, two thirds of the members present must vote for the bill.

15. The *Miami Herald*, April 24, 1992.

16. Committee on Foreign Affairs, *Consideration of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992*, p. 424.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 485.

18. *Congressional Record*, September 22, 1992, p. H 9089.

19. *Ibid.*

A debate on the bill took place on the House floor on September 22, 1992. Statements were introduced by Bush and Clinton in favor of the bill. Members of Congress spoke in favor of and against the bill. Congressman Howard Berman (D-CA), who is a strong supporter of the freedom to travel and academic exchanges, explained that while he wasn't "persuaded that this bill's provisions weaken the regime's grip on the economy or the government", he planned to vote for the bill because "its authors had partially addressed some of the concerns I had with the bill as it was originally drafted." The original draft of the bill would have provided much greater restrictions on the freedom of Americans to travel abroad. He stated that he is opposed to current Trading with the Enemy Act policies which have been used by the administration to "intimidate United States scholars" and "prohibit attendance by Americans at scholarly and professional conferences." He stated that the bill's authors agreed to include provisions that would exempt educational, religious and human rights activities from the new penalties and reduce fines from \$100,000 to \$50,000. He reluctantly supported the legislation because "Given the broad support it enjoyed in the House, I considered it the better course to seek to mitigate some of its worst features."²⁰

The House passed the Cuban Democracy Act on September 24, with a vote of 276 for a 135 against. Under a suspension of the rules, a two-thirds majority of those present and voting is required for passage. In this case, 274 votes were required to pass the bill. In other words, if three of the members who voted for the bill had voted against the bill, the bill would have been defeated. The bill was also discussed in a Senate subcommittee, but to a much lesser extent than it was discussed in the House. The Senate Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere and Peace Corps Affairs conducted a hearing on the bill on August 5th. Senator Christopher Dodd, chair of the subcommittee, stated that he opposed the legislation. Claiborne Pell, the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, also opposed the bill. On September 18, Senator Graham of Florida proposed the entire Cuban Democracy Act as an amendment to the Defense Authorization Act. Senator Dodd tried to amend the bill to give the President discretionary power over the entire act. Dodd then proposed a motion to table the bill, but that was defeated by a vote of 61 to 24, with 15 people not voting. The entire Cuban Democracy Act was then added to the Defense Authorization Act with a voice vote.

A conference committee from the Senate and the House then agreed to make the Torricelli bill an amendment to the Defense Authorization Act. On Friday, October 23, President Bush signed the law, with Jorge Mas Canosa standing by his side.

The Torricelli Law Backfires

Soon after the Torricelli bill became a law, it backfired against those interests that are pushing for an extension of the embargo. On November 24, 1992, the United Nations passed a resolution in favor of ending major aspects of Washington's embargo against Cuba. Only two countries—Israel and Romania—voted with the United States against the resolution. According to the *New York Times*: "Most of the allies declining to come to Washington's support made it clear that they were using the nonbinding vote to signal their anger at a new American law that tightens the longstanding embargo."²¹ They were particularly concerned about the aspects of the Torricelli bill which extend American jurisdiction to foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies. The twelve nation European Community and Canada issued statements condemning the Torricelli law. In July, 1993, the III Ibero-American summit, composed of 21 heads of government of Latin America, Portugal and Spain, meeting in Brazil, issued a document which included a statement that "we take note of recent resolutions in international forums, about the need to eliminate the unilateral application, by any State, with political ends, of economic and commercial measures against another state," which was a reference to the U.S. embargo against Cuba.²² Caricom, the 13 nation Caribbean Community, meeting in the Bahamas in July, announced that they were creating a Caribbean Community-Cuba Commission to formalize trade links with Cuba.

Numerous editorials have been published by major newspapers such as the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, *New York Newsday*, and the *Daily News* calling for an end to the embargo against Cuba. Many of these editorials specifically refer to the Torricelli law. *Newsday* wrote that "This mischievous piece of legislation was vigorously promoted by George Bush and Bill Clinton as they scrambled for electoral votes in Florida, where anti-Castro Cuban exiles are a potent political bloc."²³ The *New York Times* wrote that "President Clinton would risk little, and could gain a good deal by removing America's Cuba policy from the cold war freezer."²⁴ The *Washington Post* wrote: "This newspaper has long supported the American embargo on Communist Cuba, but events are suggesting a change of view . . . [The United States] should be acting not as a manager of a post-Castro future but as a friendly

20. *Ibid.*, p. H 9094.

21. *New York Times*, November 25, 1992.

22. *El Diario*, July 18, 1993.

23. *Newsday*, November 30, 1992.

24. *New York Times*, July 16, 1993.

neighbor, sensitive to Cuba's historical suspicion of American power and eager to see the Cuban people move peacefully to democracy."²⁵ The *Boston Globe* wrote: "America's national security is more threatened by abandoned factories and crack cocaine than by Castro's bluster."²⁶

Recent activities within Congress also indicate that there is growing opposition to the thrust of the Torricelli bill. On April 29, Congressman Charles Rangel introduced a bill (HR 2229) which would remove all restrictions on trade, investment, travel, telephone and mail communications with Cuba. It would repeal the provision of the Torricelli Law which prevents subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading with Cuba. This bill currently has 12 co-sponsors. Congressman Jerrold Nadler (D-NY) introduced a bill (HR 2125) which would allow Cuba to purchase medicines, medical supplies or equipment from the United States. Congressman Howard Berman introduced a bill which would eliminate all restrictions on U.S. citizens traveling to Cuba and other countries. The bill passed the House Subcommittee on International Operations, but was withdrawn by Berman because he didn't have enough votes to pass the bill in the entire House Foreign Affairs Committee. Lee Hamilton (D-IN), chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, recently wrote the following reply to a woman from New York who had written him in support of establishing economic and diplomatic relations with Cuba:

I agree with the thrust of your argument that the U.S. needs to update its policy toward Cuba...I think it is both possible and useful to increase personal, professional and educational exchanges between the United States and Cuba.²⁷

There were also serious efforts in Congress to eliminate funding for TV Martí and reduce funding for Radio Martí, which are currently controlled by the Cuban American National Foundation. The House Appropriations Committee voted to eliminate all funding for TV Martí and halve the funding for Radio Martí. The Senate has voted to include full funding for both Radio and TV Martí. This funding will be discussed in a conference committee which is expected to meet in September.

The Cuban American National Foundation has received \$780,000 in federal grants from the National Endowment for Democracy. Last year the National Endowment for Democracy stopped providing funds to the very political CANF.²⁸ In June, the House of Representatives voted to eliminate all funding for the National Endowment for Democracy and thereby save \$48 million.²⁹

In October, 1992, the Inter-American Dialogue, which is a forum for exchange among leaders in the Western Hemisphere and an independent center for policy analysis of U.S.-

Latin American relations, issued a report on Cuba which urges Cuba to release all political prisoners and conduct free elections, monitored by international observers. They urge the U.S. to end all aspects of the embargo related to travel and communications, end funding of TV Martí and make Radio Martí a source of information, not propaganda. Beyond these areas, the U.S. should ease the embargo only in response to positive steps from Cuba.³⁰

**...there are some indications
of openings on the part
of [the Clinton] administration**

Leaders of the Inter-American Dialogue include Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, former Secretary-General of the United Nations and Elliot Richardson, former U.S. Attorney General, Secretary of Defense and Secretary of Commerce. Richard Feinberg, former President of the Dialogue, is currently Senior Director for Latin America at the National Security Council. Four members of the Dialogue have been appointed to the Cabinet—Warren Christopher, Secretary of State, Bruce Babbitt, Secretary of the Interior, Federico Peña, Secretary of Transportation and Henry Cisneros, Secretary of HUD.³¹

Although President Clinton has remained a supporter of the Torricelli law, there are some indications of openings on the part of his administration. One very important step taken by the Clinton Administration is the decision to allow American companies to expand telephone communications with Cuba and allow the Cuban government to receive some of the revenues, which could amount to 50 or 60 million dollars per year. The Cuban government has also taken measures toward establishing improved relations by ending restrictions on exiles who want to visit Cuba, agreeing to discuss payment for U.S. property that was confiscated after the revolution, freeing some political prisoners and allowing Cuban citizens to possess dollars.

Policy makers who are considering changes in U.S. foreign policy might be well-advised to consult public opinion polls

25. *Washington Post*, July 26, 1993.

26. *Boston Globe*, July 25, 1993.

27. Letter by Lee Hamilton, March 10, 1993.

28. *New York Times*, October 18, 1992.

29. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1993.

30. Inter-American Dialogue, "Cuba in the Americas: Reciprocal Challenges" (Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, October, 1992).

31. *Miami Herald*, January 27, 1993.

on Cuba. A survey in December of 1991 by the Tarrance Group, which does polls for the Republican Party, and Greenberg-Lake, which does polls for the Democratic Party, found that a majority of the American people do not view Cuba as a threat to the U.S. and a plurality support improved economic and diplomatic relations.³² A study conducted by Johns Hopkins University of the Cuban-American population indicated that 73 percent of the respondents favor normalization of relations with Cuba.³³ Numerous organizations, such as the Cuban-American Committee, the Cuban-American Coalition and Cambio Cubano, which are composed of Cubans who live in the U.S., support the establishment of economic and diplomatic relations with Cuba. Former political prisoners and human rights activists, such as Elizardo Sánchez and Eloy Gutiérrez Menoyo, have also called for an end to the embargo.

While attending the LASA convention in September, during the time that the Torricelli bill was passed, I was overwhelmed with the sense of powerlessness many members of LASA had about influencing legislation in the United States. As academics who do have the opportunity to travel to Cuba and study the current economic, political and social reality of Cuba, we have a special obligation to meet with our congressional representatives and members of the executive branch, write letters, send faxes and make phone calls to urge them to end the embargo.

We do not have a lot of time. Saul Landau, a senior fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, wrote in the May 1993 issue of *NACLA: Report on the Americas*:

"Members of Congress, White House staff and experienced reporters generally agree that to change Cuba policy, alternative domestic constituencies need to materialize to challenge CANF on these issues and show they can exercise some political clout. 'They've got about a year to get their act together, I would say,' my confidant, the Clinton insider said, 'or else we'll probably be stuck with the same old policy that on the one hand has failed to produce the desired results and that on the other hand works to shut down political space in Cuba.'³⁴

32. Commission on United States-Latin American Relations, *United States-Cuba Relations: An Issues Brief* (Washington, D. C.: CUSLAR, March, 1992) p. 205.

33. Cuban Studies Program of the Johns Hopkins University, "A Sampling of Cuban-American Opinions on Key Issues (Washington, D. C.: SAIS, December, 1988) p. 1.

34. Saul Landau, "Clinton's Cuba Policy: A Low-Priority Dilemma" in *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, May, 1993. ■

LASA's Electronic Job Bulletin Board

by
Glenn Sheldon

The Latin American Studies Association continues to offer its electronic job bulletin board for use from any modem, as well as from Internet and Telnet, to 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 or electronic mail system.

To access LASA's electronic job bulletin board:

1. Dial (412) 621-5954 (or 621-5864 [VADIC protocol]) from your modem. After "Connect" appears, Enter (or Return) two or more times until Local prompt appears.
2. Type CONNECT VMS or C VMS, Enter.
3. Type Username: LASA2.
4. Type Password: JOBLIST.
5. Type TYPE/PAGE JOBLIST.LAS. File will display entries page by page.
6. To exit, press Ctrl. and Z (at same time),
7. type LO once at each prompt, or utilize your normal log-off procedure.

To access LASA's electronic job bulletin board by Telnet (via Internet), access your Telnet directory and dial: GATE.CIS.PITT.EDU. At the introduction screen, type LAT. Follow as above from step #2 onward.

LASA depends on institutions to supply information for the bulletin board. Notices should be sent to Publications Director at e-mail address on page two of this *Forum*. For LASA members without access to modem or e-mail system, a free 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, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. ■

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NOMINATING COMMITTEE SLATE

The LASA Nominating Committee presents the following slate of candidates for vice president and members of the Executive Council (EC). The winning candidate for vice president will serve in that capacity from May 1, 1994, until October 31, 1995, and as president from November 1, 1995 until April 30, 1997. The three winning candidates for members of the EC will serve a three-year term beginning May 1, 1994.

Nominees for Vice President: Jane S. Jaquette
Saúl Sosnowski

Nominees for Executive Council: Sonia E. Alvarez
Lourdes Arizpe S.
Lourdes Benería
Charles R. Hale
Michael F. Jiménez
Mary Louise Pratt

(Buenos Aires: Ediciones Hispamérica, 1976; revised ed., Buenos Aires, Pardés, 1986; also published in Portuguese and German translations). He is the founder and editor of *Hispamérica, revista de literatura*, published every four months since 1972. He has edited six books, including *Angel Rama: La crítica de la cultura en América Latina* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1987), and *La cultura uruguaya: Represión, exilio y democracia* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 1987; English language edition, with Louise B. Popkin, Duke University Press, 1993). He conducted summer institutes for college teachers under grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities in 1989 and 1991, and has received grants from Fulbright-Hays, the Rockefeller Foundation, and other sources. He has served on the LASA Executive Council (1983-84), on the Executive Board of the Latin American Jewish Studies Association, and as a member of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies (1982-84).

BIOGRAPHIC DATA

Jane S. Jaquette is Professor of Political Science at Occidental College, where she also serves as Chair of Latin American Studies. She is the author of *The Politics of Development in Peru* (Cornell University, 1972), and both edited and contributed to *Women in Politics* (John Wiley and Sons, 1974) and *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy* (Unwin and Hyman, 1989; Westview, 1991 and revised ed., 1993). Her articles have appeared in *World Politics*, *Hemisfile*, and numerous books including Irene Tinker, ed., *Persistent Inequalities* (Oxford University Press, 1990). She has organized five conferences, including a meeting (jointly planned with Sharon Wolchik) on "Women's Roles in Transitions from Authoritarian Rule in East/Central Europe and Latin America," at the University of California at Berkeley in 1992. She received grants from the Social Science Research Council, the American Political Science Association, and the North/South Center of the University of Miami. Prof. Jaquette served as Chair of the LASA Committee on Women in 1977-80, and was a member of the Editorial Boards of the *Latin American Research Review* (1974-1979) and *Women and Politics* (1981-89). In 1991 she completed a term as president of the Association for Women in Development (AWID), and is currently at work on a manuscript in the field of political theory, on power and realism.

Saúl Sosnowski is Professor of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Maryland; he also chairs the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Latin American Studies Center there. Among the books he has written are: *Julio Cortázar: Una búsqueda mítica* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Noé, 1973), and *Borges y la Cábalá: La búsqueda del Verbo*

Sonia E. Alvarez is Associate Professor at the University of California at Santa Cruz, belonging to the Board of Studies in Politics. She is the author of *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics* (Princeton University Press, 1990), and co-editor (with Arturo Escobar V.) of *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America* (Westview Press, 1992). She has published journal articles in *Signs: Women in Culture and Society* and in *Feminist Studies*, and contributed a chapter to Alfred Stepan, ed., *Democratizing Brazil* (Oxford University Press, 1989). Among other grants, Prof. Alvarez received a Learning Fellowship on Social Change from the Inter-American Foundation (1982-84) and a Fulbright-CIES Lectureship-Research Award (1992). She served as a Trustee of Smith College (1978-80), and from 1989-92 was co-chair of the LASA Task Force on Women in Latin American Studies. She is chair of the Program Section on Politics and Public Policy for the 1994 LASA International Congress to be held in Atlanta. In Spring 1992 she served as Coordinator of the Latin American Studies Program at UC/Santa Cruz, and is now at work on a manuscript whose working title is *Democratizing the Grassroots: Social Movements and Local Democratic Alternatives in South America*.

Lourdes Arizpe S. is Director of the Institute of Anthropological Research at the National University of Mexico (UNAM). Among other books, she has written *Indígena en la Ciudad: el caso de las Marías* (México: Sepsetentas, 1975; reissued 1982), *Migración, Etnicismo y Cambio Económico: Un estudio de migrantes campesinos a la ciudad de México* (El Colegio de México, 1978), and *Cultura y desarrollo: una etnografía de las creencias de una comunidad mexicana* (Colegio de México/UNAM/Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1990). Her writings have also appeared in *International Migration Review*, *Signs*, *América Indígena* and other journals. She

served as a member of the Editorial Boards of the *Latin American Research Review* (1980-82), the *Journal of Latin American Studies* (1982-88) and *Signs* (1979-89). At the 1985 International Congress of LASA (Albuquerque) she presented the central paper at a plenary session on "The Present State of Anthropology in the Hemisphere." Prof. Arizpe was a founder and sub-director of the journal *Nueva Antropología* (1975-82). She was Director of Mexico's National Museum of Popular Cultures (1985-88), and was a member of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies (SSRC/ACLS) in 1987-90. She has received Fulbright-Hays and Guggenheim fellowships.

Lourdes Benería is Professor of City and Regional Planning and Women's Studies at Cornell University, and is also Director of Cornell's Latin American Studies Program. She is the author of *The Crossroads of Class and Gender: Homework, Subcontracting and Household Dynamics in Mexico City* (with Martha Roldán) (University of Chicago Press, 1987; pub. in Spanish, Colegio de México/Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992). She also edited (with Catherine Stimpson) *Women, Households and the Current Economy* (Rutgers University Press, 1988) and (with Shelley Feldman) *Unequal Burden: Economic Crises, Persistent Poverty and Women's Work* (Westview Press, 1992). She has directed varied conferences and workshops at Rutgers University and at Cornell, where she served from 1988 to 1993 as Director of the Program on International Development and Women. In 1984-86 she was a member of the Board of the American Economics Association's Committee on the Status of Women in the Economics Profession. She has consulted for many organizations including the World Bank, the International Labor Organization, and the Instituto Nicaragüense de la Mujer. Prof. Benería has received grants from sources including the Ford and Wenner-Gren Foundations, and the Ministry of Education of Spain.

Charles R. Hale is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Davis. He is the author of "Miskitu: Revolution in the Revolution," *NACLA* (1991), "Ethnic Militancy and U.S. Hegemony in the Miskitu Political Consciousness," in Faye V. Harrison, ed., *Decolonizing Anthropology* (Washington: American Anthropological Association, 1991), and other essays. His book *Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State, 1894-1987* will be published by Stanford University Press. Prof. Hale has held a Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation post-doctoral fellowship, and an SSRC/MacArthur Fellowship in International Peace and Security. In 1990-91 he was a member of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America. He has conducted field research in Bolivia, Nicaragua, Ecuador and Guatemala, and has lectured at Princeton, the University of California at Irvine, Stanford and Evergreen State College. At U.C./Davis, he has served as Interim Coordinator of the Initiative for Latin American/Hemispheric Studies.

Michael F. Jiménez is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Pittsburgh. Among many articles and chapters, he has written "Citizens of the Kingdom: Towards a Social History of Radical Christianity in Latin America," *International Labor and Working Class History* (1988), "Going Far in Grandfather's Car: The Life-Cycle of Central Colombian Coffee Estates," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (1989), and two chapters in William Roseberry et al., eds., *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming.) His book reviews have appeared in the *American Historical Review*, *International Labor and Working Class History*, and other journals. He received Fulbright-Hays and SSRC fellowships, and a New Jersey Governor's Fellowship in the Humanities (1989-90). He co-organized both the 5th and the 8th Latin American Labor History Conferences (1988 and 1991), and chaired a panel at the 1992 LASA International Congress (Los Angeles) on the theme "Colombia en los años cincuenta: más allá de la violencia."

Mary Louise Pratt is Professor of Spanish and Portuguese and Comparative Literature at Stanford University. She has written *Towards a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse* (Indiana University Press, 1977), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 1992), and *Amor Brujo: The Image and Culture of Love in the Andes* (Syracuse University, 1989; published in translation by Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima, 1989). She has served on the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association (1984-88), and on the editorial boards of *Signs*, *PMLA*, and the Stanford University Press. Professor Pratt has appeared on panels at all but one LASA international congress held since 1985, and in January 1992 participated in the "Seminario sobre el Posmodernismo" held in Havana and co-sponsored by LASA and the Casa de las Américas. She frequently speaks at conferences, and has delivered conference keynote addresses since 1989 at the Universities of Toronto, Pittsburgh, Notre Dame and Texas. She has received Pew, Guggenheim, and NEH grants, plus a Dean's Award for Excellence in Teaching at Stanford (1992). She is currently at work on a book entitled *Mujer y ciudadana: Historia de un discurso*.

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. Additional candidates for the EC may be proposed through submission of petitions signed by at least 20 members in good standing for each candidate. The deadline for receipt of petitions at the LASA Secretariat is *December 30, 1993*.

The 1993-1994 Nominating Committee consisted of Christopher Mitchell, chair; Florence Babb; Susan Eckstein; Manuel Pastor; Mary Roldan and Doris Summer.

LASA Task Force to Co-Sponsor International Workshop

by
Marianne Schmink
University of Florida

LASA's Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Science Community chaired by Marianne Schmink (University of Florida), will co-sponsor an international workshop entitled "On Common Ground: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Biodiversity Conservation and Land Use Dynamics in the Neotropics," in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, December 1-4, 1993. The workshop will be the first of a series of seminar-congresses in Latin America focused upon central themes of public policy and organized jointly by LASA task forces in cooperation with Latin American institutions. These seminar-congresses, held in Latin America during years between LASA Congresses, are part of LASA's broader strategy to provide leadership in assuring the Hemispheric integration of Latin American Studies by (1) improving and expanding public policy studies of Latin America by Latin Americans and (2) integrating Latin American scholars into the international scholarly community.

The workshop will be the first of a series of seminar-congresses in Latin America focused upon central themes of public policy and organized jointly by LASA task forces in cooperation with Latin American institutions.

The inaugural seminar-congress is co-sponsored by 1) the University of Florida (UF) and the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), with support from an Inter-University Exchange Program financed by the United States Information Agency (USIA); 2) the program for Support of Technology and Science Department (PADCT) of the Brazilian Secretariat of Science and Technology; 3) LASA, through its Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Science Community; 4) the Inter-American Foundation (IAF), which is sponsoring a panel on Mexico; and 5) Conservation International (CI). These sponsoring organizations represent a strong network of social and natural scientists with research experience on biodiversity conservation and sustainable development in the neotropics.

Approximately forty persons from eight countries have been invited to participate in the workshop, about half from Brazil, and the other half from the U.S. and from other Latin American countries. Participants will focus on

concepts and methods for interdisciplinary work that can address the complex interplay of biodiversity issues with development outcomes. The case studies presented will address a matrix of specific land use situations (e.g. protected areas; extraction; agriculture, agroforestry and livestock) within key forested and semi-arid regions of Latin America. The matrix format will help focus presentations and workshop discussions on comparison and analysis of the forces that lead to specific sequences of land use over time, and their social and environmental implications.

Participants will be given a set of common issues to address in their papers. These will include: 1) historical dynamics of land use sequences, future projections and limits; 2) forces driving land use change in each site; 3) outcomes of land use change in terms of biodiversity conservation and sustainable development; 4) alternative scenarios and policy options; and 5) priority research questions and approaches.

Products of the conference will include: a stronger network among researchers in Latin America involved in interdisciplinary research on land use dynamics, and their social collaborative research and training; and a conference proceedings that can be disseminated to a broader audience in Latin America. ■

LASA MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY 1992-1993

The 1992-93 *LASA Membership Directory*, for professional and private (non-mailing-list) use, is available through the Secretariat.

Prices are \$5.00 to mail in the United States (non-priority) and for international surface mail. The price for first class within the U.S., and air mail to Canada and Mexico is \$6.90; contact the Secretariat for information about multiple copy orders or air mail to other countries.

Orders must be prepaid; only checks drawn on U.S. banks, and UNESCO coupons are accepted for payment.

Progress Report from the LASA '94 Program Committee

by

Edna Acosta-Belén, Program Chair
University at Albany, SUNY

In this issue of the *Forum* we are pleased to announce the LASA '94 Congress Preliminary Program. As with the previous LASA Congress, the Program Office received a record number of proposal submissions, making it more difficult for the Program Committee to find space to accommodate all worthy proposals. The Program Section Chairs painstakingly worked with me in ensuring a fair and expeditious selection process. Close to 400 panels have been selected or created for inclusion in the final program. There is still a list of pending proposals that we will try to accommodate in the final program depending on cancellations of any of the already scheduled sessions.

We have tried to put together a stimulating program that combines the best of our intellectual endeavors, as well as enriching cultural events and relaxing opportunities to informally socialize with your LASA colleagues.

Regretfully, a few proposal submissions did not receive full consideration in the selection process because of incomplete information or noncompliance with the guidelines announced in the LASA Call for Papers. Although LASA is known for always trying its best to accommodate special requests and consider communication snags occasionally faced by its international membership, the increased competition for program space and travel resources is making it more imperative to follow the announced criteria and submission procedures and deadlines.

With the announcement of the LASA '94 Congress Preliminary Program in this issue of the *Forum* and the recent Program Office mailing of detailed panel information, participants will have a last opportunity to make minor corrections or changes in their panels before the official Congress Program is printed. *Please note that the Program Office will not be able to accept any special requests for changes in the days or times of a particular panel or event, since each request implies a major schedule reshuffling and it would be unfair to the membership for us to accept some requests and not others.* We would very much appreciate your cooperation in this regard and remind you to take the announced scheduling information into consideration when making travel arrangements to Atlanta. Sessions will run from Thursday, March 10 to Saturday, March 12 at two-hour intervals beginning at 8:00 am, with the last session of the day starting at 4:00 pm. At this point in time, *there are no sessions scheduled for Sunday, March 13.*

For this Congress, we also received a record number of LASA travel support requests making it more difficult to rely

on the organization for securing Congress participation for Latin America-based participants. The LASA Finance Committee, chaired by Mark Rosenberg, is working hard and diligently in requesting support from foundations, businesses, and other potential sources. Travel support decisions will not be announced until November and all arrangements will be handled by the LASA Secretariat at the University of Pittsburgh (not the Program Office). We suggest that panel organizers and participants in need of travel support do their best to pursue all other potential sources of travel funding at their institutions or countries.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you all for your patience and participation in LASA '94. My special *agradecimiento* to the Program Section Chairs for their commitment and the time and energy they have invested in putting together their respective section's programs. I know that at times the process involved making difficult decisions and I look forward to sharing the fruits of our labor with all of you next March in Atlanta. ■

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA
MARCH 10-12, 1994**

**PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE BY SECTION
(Panel Title, Organizer/Chair, Time)**

PLENARIES

Thursday

Gender and the Politics of Sexuality in Latin America, CHINCHILLA, 9:00 to 11:00 am
Cultural Politics and Political Culture(s): Recent Trends in Theory and Research, ALVAREZ, 3:00 to 5:00 pm
The Clinton Administration's Latin American Policy, RICHARD FEINBERG, 8:00 to 9:30 pm

Friday

North American News Coverage of Latin America, MONTGOMERY/DE URIARTE, 9:00 to 11:00 am
Recasting Women in the Global Economy, BOSE, 3:00 to 5:00 pm

Saturday

Gender and the Expanding of the Definition of Human Rights, CHINCHILLA, 9:00 to 11:00 am
Hemispheric Economic Integration, SANTIAGO, 3:00 to 5:00 pm
Closing Plenary/Guest Speaker: JOHNNETTA COLE, 7:30 to 9:00 pm

SPECIAL SESSIONS

Thursday

Latin American Labor Studies: Looking Backwards/Looking Forward, FRENCH, 8:00 to 9:45 am
América Latina en la perspectiva del cine norteamericano y de Europa (1945-1995), POTEET, 10:00 to 11:45 am
Higher Education: Funding Academic Research in the Context of Economic Restructuring, VESSURI, 10:00 to 11:45 am
Who Makes Culture? Gender and the Area Studies Paradigm/Knowledge and Institutions, MILLER/MORELLO-FROSCH,
12:00-1:45 pm
The Legacy of Frank Tannenbaum, COUTURIER/NAVARRO, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
BRASA Luncheon/Plenary, 12:00 to 1:30 pm
Place and Patterns of Subalterity in the New Millennium, RODRIGUEZ, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
Mestizaje, conflicto y nación, GARCIA-RUIZ/PINTO SORIA, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
The Caribbean in an Era of Global Change, BOLLES/BRAVEBOY WAGNER, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
Strategies for Successful Field Research in Latin America, MARGOLIES/EHRENREICH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
Kalman Silvert Award Panel, SCHOULTZ, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
BRASA Plenary Session, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Mestizo Identity and Processes of Mestizaje, EDELMAN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
Higher Education: Legacies of Massification, BALAN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
Por la paz y la reconciliación en El Salvador, POBLETE, 8:00 to 9:45 am
The Social Sciences in Central America: A Critical Balance, FISCHER, 10:00 to 11:45 am
Higher Education: Accountability and Accreditation, LEVY, 10:00 to 11:45 am
Aborto y políticas públicas en el Caribe: De la clandestinidad al financiamiento por el Estado, AZIZE, 12:00-1:45 pm
Island Literature: The Nobel Prize and the Caribbean, NEPAULSINGH, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
Women's Studies in Latin America and the Caribbean: Setting a Research and Action Agenda, ACOSTA-BELEN, 2:00 to
3:45 pm
Multicultural Latin America: A Workshop for Teachers, MILLER, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
Recovering the U.S. Latino Heritage, ACOSTA-BELEN/CORTINA, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
U.S.-Japanese-Latin American Relations in the 1990s, STALLINGS, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
Quo Vadis? Comparative Research Trends Through the Year 2000, REILLY, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
Río María: From Oppression to Hope, ADRIANCE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

- Popular and Elite Strategies to Transform Cuban Colonial Society in the Second Half of the 19th Century, CASANOVAS
CODINA/PEREZ, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Domestic Politics: Caribbean People as Agents and Actors, SEDOC-DAHLBERG, 10:00 to 11:45 am
- Haiti: The Struggle Continues, DUPUY, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Cuba 1994: Issues and Policy Options, HERRERA, 2:00 to 3:45 pm

Friday

- Economics and Social Relations in the Greater Antilles, RAYNOLDS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
- Gender Hierarchies in Late 19th Century Puerto Rico, FIGUEROA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Security, Sovereignty, and Politics in the Contemporary Caribbean, GRIFFITH, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
- Caribbean Studies in Europe, FERRAO, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

- The Future of Industrial and Financial Incentive Tax Policies in the Caribbean, GRUSKY/WATSON, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Cultura política y sociedad civil en Cuba, HERNANDEZ, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Cuba's Evolving Inter-American Relations: Defining Havana's Role in a Post-Cold War Hemisphere, MORALES DOMINGUEZ,
10:00 to 11:45 am
- Perspectives on the Economic and Political Development of Haiti, STARK, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Social and Economic Issues in Contemporary Cuba and Puerto Rico, GOROSTIZA ARROYO, 2:00 to 3:45 pm

CENTRAL AMERICA**Thursday**

- Representations of Terror: The Poetics of Fear and Suffering in Central America, PEDELTY/TULLY, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Guatemala and Costa Rica: A Comparative Historical Approach, HANDY, 10:00 to 11:45 am
- The Chamorro Administration at Midterm, CLOSE, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Reproductive Health Issues in Central America and Mexico, MORRIS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
- Class, Basic Identities, and Politics in Today's Central America, VILAS, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

- Labor Issues in Central American History, 1900-1950, CHOMSKY/GOULD, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Ajuste y desarrollo en Centroamérica, NOE PINO, 10:00 to 11:45 am
- Implementation of the Peace Accords in El Salvador and the Salvadorean Election, SPENCE, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Centroamérica: Obstáculos y alternativas a la democracia, BENITEZ-MANAUT, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
- Nuevas perspectivas de las negociaciones de paz en Guatemala, FRUNDT/LARUE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

- Europe in the Reconstruction and Pacification of Central America, FRERES/BAYO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Democratic Theory and Praxis in Central America, FURLONG, 10:00 to 11:45 am
- Central America: The Consequences of War, LOHSE, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Economic Development and State Reconfiguration in Central America, FUNKHOUSER, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
- In the Midst of Conflict: U.S. Presence in Central America, SALISBURY, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**Thursday**

- Rethinking Democratic Change in Latin America, CLEAVES, 8:00 to 9:45 am
- Economic Reform and Democratic Prospects: Cross-Regional Perspectives, NELSON, 10:00 to 11:45 am
- La política de Clinton sobre derechos humanos para Cuba y otros países de la región, AZCUY HENRIQUEZ/GITLITZ,
10:00-11:45 am
- The Social Participation Approach to Governability, DEL CAMPO/ALCANTARA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- Elites and Democratization: New Ways of Examining the Link, PEREZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
- The Economic Transformations Approach to Governability, PARAMID, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
- Political Parties, Elections, and Institutional Dynamics, DIETZ, 2:00 to 3:45 pm

Democracy and Human Rights: Global and National Perspectives, SLATER, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Democratization, Neoliberalism, and Participation, BONILLA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Cultura y democracia en América Latina, MILLAN/URICOECHEA, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 The New Politics in Argentina, MUNCK, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Partidos políticos y elecciones en la democracia en América Latina I, LOYOLA DIAZ/ALVARADO MENDOZA, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Gender, Violence, and Human Rights, TABAK, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Partidos políticos y elecciones en la democracia en América Latina II, LOYOLA DIAZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 National Security and Democracy in Latin America, 1978-1994, LOVEMAN, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Political Learning During Redemocratization in Latin America, MCCOY, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

Después de las denuncias: Ciudadanía, derecho y justicia en las democracias post-autoritarias, SMULOVITZ, 8-9:45 am
 Towards a New Sociopolitical Matrix in Latin American Societies? Chile and Argentina, GARRETON, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Women and Democratization in Latin America: Interdisciplinary Perspectives, STOLLEY, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The New Matrix of Argentine Politics, ACUÑA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Los partidos políticos frente a los procesos electorales de 1993 y 1994 en América Latina, DUTRENIT BIELOUS/PRUD'HOMME, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Crisis y estabilidad democrática en Colombia y Venezuela, JACOME, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

ECONOMICS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Thursday

The Post-Stabilization and Reform Era in the Andean Group and Medium and Small Firms, TELLO PACHECO/SHEAHAN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Industrialization and Economic Development in Mexico, RIVERA-BATIZ, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 The Role of NGOs in Latin American Development, CAVALCANTI, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Neoliberal Policy and the Dynamics of Land in Latin America, MELMED-SANJAK, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Microenterprises and Informality: North and South, MARTI, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Economic Implications of the Status Options for Puerto Rico, MELENDEZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 State Economy and Class in Latin America, BETANCES/VILAS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Credit Institutions, Adjustment Policies, and Agrarian Structure in Latin America, BARHAM, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Stabilization and Structural Reforms in Brazil, BINKERT/OLIVEIRA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Social Security Reform in Latin America, MESA-LAGO, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Trade Liberalization and Industrial Response, THORP, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Rethinking the State, SABORIO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Competition Policy and Trade in Latin America, BANNISTER, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The New International Trade Theory: Applications in Latin America, CONROY, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Economic Restructuring and Social Response in the 1990s, KORZENIEWICZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Restoring Economic Growth in Latin America, MCLEOD, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Human Resource Development in Latin America, REY DE MARULANDA, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Issues in Central American Economic Development, BULMER-THOMAS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Banks in the Economic Development of the Americas: Regulation, Structure, and Economic Growth, STOLOVICH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Comparative Economic Development, with Special Reference to Brazil, BAER, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

Labor Flexibility and Economic Restructuring: Comparative Perspectives from Brazil, Mexico, and Chile, AMADEO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 North American Free Trade and Economic Restructuring in Mexico and the Caribbean Basin, PANTOJAS-GARCIA, 10:00 to 11:45 am

The Macroeconomics of Growth and Development in Latin America, SANTIAGO/FFRENCH-DAVIS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Financial Development and Free Trade: Mexican Financial Services, WELCH/MCLEOD, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 El bloqueo norteamericano: Incidencia en el desarrollo económico de Cuba, TRUEBA GONZALEZ, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Intereses económicos regionales y política norteamericana hacia América Latina, GONZALEZ VILASECA/BACH,
 4:00 to 5:45 pm

ENVIRONMENT

Thursday

Historical Perspectives on International Conservation and Sustainable Forestry Initiatives in Latin America, CHRISTEN,
 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Landscapes Transformed: Examining the Environmental and Socioeconomic Consequences of Coffee Modernization,
 RICE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Japan's Role in Latin American Environmental Issues, STALLINGS/ANDRADE, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Interrelación medioambiente, población y desarrollo: La cultura ambiental como factor de sostenibilidad, BILSBORROW,
 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Sustainable Grassroots Development in Mexico, BURSTEIN/BRAY, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Environment and Development in Latin America, CONCEPCION RODRIGUEZ/BILSBORROW, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Environment and Human Rights, LYNCH, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Agriculture and the Environment, THRUPP, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Development Policies, Local Strategies, and the Environment, BROWDER, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 The Urban Environment, GOLDSMITH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

HISTORY

Thursday

Partidos políticos y estado en América Latina: Una visión desde la historia comparada, LOPEZ-ALVES/HARGIN,
 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Agricultural Production and State Formation, DIACON, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Race, Religion, Dance, and Sport: African-American and Cuban Relations in the Era of Jim Crow, BROCK/CASTAÑEDA
 FUENTES, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Gender, Ideology, and Work, GUY, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 On Being 'Black' and Consciousness of Each Other: African-American and Cubans Before the Revolution, BROCK,
 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Moralizing Mexicans: Discipline, Discourse, and Social Transformations, PICCATO/YOUNG, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 The Quest for a Social Ideal: Krausism, Positivism, Pragmatism, and Utopianism, MARTI/GOMEZ-MARTINEZ, 2-3:45 pm
 Politics, the Military, and Ideology in Latin America, MCCANN, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 The Sacrificial Body, GRAZIANO, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America, SKIDMORE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Markets, Merchants, and Peasants in Colonial Río de la Plata, SOLOW, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 The Catholic Church: Twenty Years After Medellín, POBLETE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Cultural Responses to Modernity, DELANEY/JAKSIC, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Import/Export Economies and State Formation, MURPHY, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Rethinking Latin American Legal History, GUY, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Language, Ritual, and Symbol in Pre- and Post-Conquest Mexico, SEED, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Revolutionary Ideology in Latin America, HAYNES, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 In the Shadow of the Giant: New Approaches to the Study of U.S. Hegemony, SPENSER/JOSEPH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

Nation-Building, Political Space, and Elections in 19th Century Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, ADELMAN/GRAHAM, 8:00 to
 9:45 am

Repensando la periferia: Economías agrarias regionales, siglos XIX y XX, NARO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Utopias, Workers, and Urban Space: Buenos Aires and Mexico City, 1870-1930, ARMUS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Between State and Nation: The Dominican Republic in the U.S. World Order, DERBY/CALDER, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The Left in Latin America: Essential Issues Past and Present, CHILCOTE, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Regional Components of National History: Political Culture in Argentina's Interior, WALTER/MEISEL, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Research Themes of a New Generation of Cuban Historians, FERNANDEZ, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Issues in Historical Sociology: The Latin American Experience, PEREZ-STABLE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Political Parties and Elections in Latin America and Spain, MALAMUD/GALLO, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Thursday

Puerto Rico: The Quest for Political Integration, BLASINI, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Migration and Regional Integration, SEGAL, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Latin America's New Political Economic Situation: Comparative Responses to Changing International Capital Flows, DURAND/WISE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Toward Integration: The Reshaping of North American Economic and Political Relations, DRISCOLL, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Expected Impacts of U.S.-Colombia Free Trade Agreement, GROSSE, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Commissioning the Truth: Declassifying Documents on U.S. Policy in Latin America, KORNBLUH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

The Clinton Administration and Latin America: Year One, LA RAMEE/ROSEN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Trends Towards Hemispheric Integration: U.S.-Latin American Relations in the New Millennium, TORRES/FINAN, 8:00-9:45 am
 Construction of Transnational Identities in Latin America in Times of Globalization, MATO, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Foreign Policy and Inter-State Relations in the Americas, BAGLEY, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 International Relations of Paraguay, MORA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 La nueva relación de México con América del Norte: Aspectos económicos, MORALES/DAVILA, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 La nueva relación de México con América del Norte: Aspectos sociales y políticos, DAVILA/MORALES, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

Cuba y las relaciones interamericanas en el nuevo contexto internacional, MORALES DOMINGUEZ/ERISMAN, 8-9:45 am
 Latin American and European Relations: A New Phase, PURCELL/FRISCIA, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Industrial Restructuring and Regional Integration, MORALES/WHITING, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Regional Integration in the Americas: Comparisons and Implications, NISHIJIMA/SMITH, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Transfer and Control of Conventional and Nuclear Weaponry in Latin America, MORRIS/MILLAN, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Latin American Foreign Policy: Beyond U.S. Hegemony?, SNARR/HEY, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 New Approaches to the Study of U.S.-Latin American Relations in the Context of the 1990s, PALMER, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Japanese Economic Relations with Latin America, STALLINGS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 The Regional Politics of Economic Integration in the Americas and Asia, PEREIRA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Economic Integration and Foreign Relations in Comparative Perspective, STARK, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

LABOR STUDIES

Thursday

Tendencias recientes de los cambios en los paradigmas productivos y la acción sindical en América Latina: Un balance, ABRAMO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Economic Integration and Women's Employment Issues, ANDERSON/ROLDAN, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 A crise da sociedade do trabalho e as perspectivas do sindicalismo no Brasil, ANTUNES, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Labor, Class, and State: Case Studies from Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, BAK/FRENCH, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Nationality, Ethics, and Gender in the Brazilian Working Class (1890-1930), BATAHLA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Labor Rights and Regional Trade: What Guatemala Tells Us, FRUNDT, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Poverty and Urban Unemployment in Mexico and Brazil, GOLDSMITH, 10:00 to 11:45 am

- Reestructuración productiva, desorganización, y reorganización social y sindical en Chile, FALABELLA/ABRAMO, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Labor-State Conflict in the New Conservative Era, LEVITSKY, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Economic Restructuring and Labor Movements in Comparative Latin American Perspective: Impact and Response, MARTIN, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

- The Contradictions of the Modern City: Buenos Aires, 1890-1945, MEAD, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Urbanization and Political Risk: The Guadalajara Explosion of April 1992, MORRIS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The Working Class in the Process of Democratic Consolidation in Argentina and Brazil, SANDOVAL, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Labor at the U.S.-Mexican Border: Ciudad Juárez and El Paso, STAUDT, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Labor and Economic Restructuring, MACLEOD, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 From North to South: Farm Workers and Neo-Liberal Reform in the Americas, WELCH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

LATINOS

Thursday

- Chicana/Latina Higher Education Success and Failure: Familial Support Study, VELASCO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Comparative Analyses of U.S. Latino Populations, FALCON/URIARTE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Comunidad cubana y relaciones Cuba-Estados Unidos, MARTINEZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 The Diaspora of Latinos to the Suburbs: Issues and Conflicts, MAHLER, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Cubans On and Off the Island: Immigration, Politics, and National Identity, TORRES, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Globalization and Migration from Latin America, MORALES, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Cultural Practices, Colonialism, and (Re)Presentations of Puerto Rican-ness, SANTIAGO-VALLES, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Interdisciplinary Approaches to Latinos in the United States, TORRES-SAILLANT, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

- De indocumentado a ciudadano: Dimensiones contextuales de un proceso, BUSTAMANTE, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Experiencias de los latinos: Un enfoque interdisciplinario sobre los cubanos en los Estados Unidos, MARTINEZ/URIARTE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Género y estado benefactor: La mujer puertorriqueña en Nueva York y en Puerto Rico: Un estudio comparativo, HERNANDEZ ANGUEIRA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 La globalización, migración y los problemas de identidad en el Caribe y los Estados Unidos, REY, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Latino Culture and Ethnic Identity: Implications for Mental Health Practitioners, RIVERA-SANTIAGO, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

- Latino Identity and Image Among Recent Latin American Immigrants, MASUD-PILOTO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Latinos in the United States: Comparative Studies, COBAS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Migración, cultura política y nación: El caso cubano, RODRIGUEZ CHAVEZ/GRENIER, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Organizing in the Global Economy, JEZIERSKI/SCHNEIDER, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Structural Transformation and the Construction of Ethnicity in the Americas, LOPEZ, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

LITERATURE AND ART

Thursday

- El conquistador conquistado, o una relectura de la textualización de la conquista, ROSES, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 From Within and From Outside: Writing About Exile, LARSON, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Brazilian Cultural Studies: Modes and Approaches, DAMASCENO, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Creoleness and Creolization in the Caribbean and Latin America, PHAF, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Latinos and Latin Americans: Merging Television Markets and Audiences, WILKINSON, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Old Spain/New Spain: The Sacred Spaces of Art and Ritual in the Viceregal Period, WEBSTER, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Transgressive Identities: Sexuality, Gender, and Ethnicity in Performance Art and Literature by U.S. Latinas, MENENDEZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Reconfiguring the Nation in Contemporary Latin American Literature and Culture, BARY, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Artistic Strategies in Chile: Coming of Age Since the Coup, NETCHINSKY, 12:00 to 1:45 pm

Un re-encuentro con Ricardo Sánchez: The Literary and Political Legacy, ESTRADA/LEAL, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Novísimos escritores hispanoamericanos, BERNAL, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 La política como péndulo de la cultura puertorriqueña, PERALES, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Poesía y memoria en Luis Cardoza y Aragón, ENGELBERT, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Contemporary Brazilian Theatre: Old Left, New Left, What's Left?, ALBUQUERQUE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Testimonio y abyección, WILLIAMS, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

The Gaucho Revival in the Río de la Plata in the 1920s and 1930s, DOLKART/LITWIN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Argentina: Escritura y política, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Re/negociaciones con el pasado colonial en la literatura hispanoamericana del siglo XIX, MELENDEZ, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Shaping Our Future to Preserve the Past, RODRIGUEZ-ARENAS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Gender and Culture I, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Boundary Displacements and Marginal Cultures, SANJINES, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Gender and Culture II, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 The Latin American Literary Canon: Structure, Evolution, Critical Approaches to It, RODRIGUEZ-LUIS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Fundadoras de la poesía hispanoamericana, GARCIA-PINTO, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 De la conquista al fin del imperio, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Novela histórica, ensayo político y crítica de la razón de estado en América Latina, POZAS HORCASITAS, 4-5:45 pm
 Cultura e identidade no proceso de modernização brasileira, COSTA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 La política del silencio: Voces mudas en textos disidentes, SALLES-REESE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Peru: New Voices, New Interpretations, BERG, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

Ethnicity and Judaism in Latin American Literature, SCOTT, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Writing, History, and Polemics in Spanish American Colonial Texts, ARIAS/WILLIAMS, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Testimonio de una época y su proyección al nuevo siglo: La narrativa de Hiber Conteris, PAREDES, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Performing Homosexualities: Latino and Latin American Boleros, Videos, and Film, CRUZ-MALAVE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Proceso y producción artístico-cultural en el Paraguay de la post-dictadura, KEEFE UGALDE/MENDEZ VALL,
 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Rethinking the Literary History of Central America, GOLD, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Ugly Americans: Visiones de los Estados Unidos en la novela hispana reciente, REATI, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 La nueva narrativa femenina en Chile, KOSKI, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Never More: Cultural Representations of Gender, Violence, and the Modern State in Argentina, GARRELS, 2-3:45 pm
 La ciudad como espacio y personaje, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Interdisciplinary Teaching on Latin America, SCHMIDT-CRUZ, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Literatura paraguaya y transición democrática: Panorama genérico actual, MENDEZ-FAITH, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Corrientes estéticas en Venezuela al final del siglo, DOUDOROFF, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Literature and Politics in Twentieth-Century Brazil, FRANCO MOREIRA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Who's Voice?: Hacia una poética de lo testimonial, RICHARDS, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 México: De las fronteras de Sor Juana a las de Rodríguez, atravesando por las de Fuentes, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

MEXICO

Thursday

Mexico Between the Revolution and Cárdenas: The Construction of Political Power, BOYER, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Modernization and the Mexican State, WILLIAMS, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Local-Level Consequences of Ejido Reform and Agricultural Modernization in Regional Settings in Mexico,
 ZENDEJAS-ROMERO, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The Impact of Ejido Reform Legislation on the Rural Population, APPENDINI, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Changing Political Traditions in Mexico: Intergovernmental Relations and the Opposition, WARD/RODRIGUEZ, 2-3:45 pm
 Las asociaciones en participación en la modernización del campo mexicano, VERA-CRUZ, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Promoting Equity and Social Participation in an Integrated North America, ZABIN/KING, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 The Impact of Economic and Ejido Restructuring on Gender Relations in Mexico, GOLDRING/STEPHEN, 10-11:45 am

Popular Movements and Democracy in Mexico, WIRTH, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Prospects for the Economic Revitalization of Rural Mexico, CORNELIUS/SOLIS GONZALEZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Democracy and the Media in Mexico, BASAÑEZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Evaluating Political Reform in an Authoritarian System: The Case of Mexico, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 La sucesión presidencial y los partidos políticos de México, GOMEZ-TAGLE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

New Perspectives on Mexico's Cristero Rebellion, JRADE, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Historical Perspectives on Modern Oaxaca, MURPHY/ROBLES GARCIA, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Regional Perspectives on Economic Change, HERNANDEZ-LEON, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 New Perspectives on Gender, Family, and Work in Urban Mexico, ESCOBAR LATAPI/GONZALEZ DE LA ROCHA,
 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 NAFTA, Economic Integration, and Trade Liberalization, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 The Social and Economic Impact of Ejidal Reform, FOLEY, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Redefining Politics in the Salinas Sexenio, BURGESS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 The Ethnic, Gender, and Nationalist Identities of *lo mexicano*, SARAGOZA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Analyzing the Impact of NAFTA, HELLMAN, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 The New Face of Rural Mexico: Perspectives on the Agrarian and Agricultural Reforms, MYHRE/CORNELIUS, 4-5:45 pm

POLITICS AND PUBLIC POLICY

Thursday

The Transformation of Political Ideology in a Post- Authoritarian Era, MAY, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Brazilian Export Promotion in Comparative Perspective, CASON, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Grass Roots Projects, Community Based-Developments, and Policy Influences in Latin America, LOPEZ-SPRINGFIELD,
 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Cuba: International Pressures and Internal Responses, LINGER/GOODWIN, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Presidents and Assemblies in the Consolidation of Democracy I: Parliamentary Issues, POWER, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Latin America and the New World Order: Are Revolutions Still Viable in the 1990s?, AZICRI, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Ajuste estructural y política social: Los casos de México y Chile, PEÑA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Presidents and Assemblies in the Consolidation of Democracy II: The Use of Presidential Decree-Laws, SHUGART,
 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Reconstructing Democracy from the Grassroots: Alternatives for Latin America in the 1990s, JONAS, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Participación social y política en Cuba I, DIAZ/LUTJENS, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Argentina's Urban Poor: Strategies for Survival in a Neoliberal Age, LAWTON, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Redefining the Welfare State: Policy Reform, Popular Organizations, and NGOs, PIESTER, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Participación social y política en Cuba II, DELLO BUONO/DIAZ, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 State Policy, Non-Governmental Organizations, and Popular Sectors in Latin America: Lessons from Ecuador, LIND,
 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 The Conduct of Democracy: Political Behavior in Argentina, SCHWARTZ/WAISMAN, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

Political Actors and Political Change in Central America, FONT, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Resolving Social Conflict in the 1990s, DUCATENZEILER, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Social Policy and Social Welfare in Comparative Perspective, CELLE DE BOWMAN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 The Politics of Identity and Territoriality in the Colombian Pacific Region, PARDO-ROJAS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Prospects for Social Democracy in Latin America, ROBERTS-HITE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Cultural Politics and Political Culture(s) I: Politics and Culture: The Building of a New Citizenship, DAGNINO,
 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Technopol: Ideas and Political Leaders in the Shaping of Democracy, DOMINGUEZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 New Forms of Representation: Left Parties and Social Movements, ROBERTS, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Cultural Politics and Political Culture(s) II: Cultural, Discursive and Spatial Dimensions of Politics, DAGNINO, 12-1:45 pm
 Globalización, ajuste y reestructuración política: El caso venezolano, GOMEZ CALCAÑO/LOPEZ MAYA, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Business Elites and Political Power in Central America, SPALDING, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 The Decline of the Developmental State in Brazil and Mexico, WEYLAND, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Cultural Politics and Political Culture(s) III: Re/visioning the Politics of Identity, MCCAUGHAN, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Beyond Adjustment: The Public Sector and Private Interests, VILAS, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

- Neoliberal Reforms in Latin America I: Social Welfare Policies: A Comparative Policy Sector Approach, PAPADOPULOS, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Religion and Politics in Guatemala and Mexico: Studies of Catholics and Evangelicals, STEIN, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Neoliberalism and Public Policy in Brazil and the Southern Cone, GOLDFRANK, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Saturday

- La transición latinoamericana hacia el nuevo siglo: Pautas, signos y propuestas, CONTERIS, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Neoliberal Reforms in Latin America II: A Comparative Policy Sector Approach: Economic Policy, MATSUDA, 8-9:45 am
 Planificación informal, informalidad planificada: Organización y participación urbana en Lima y San Francisco, CHION/FERNANDEZ, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Changing Dynamics of Local Government in Latin America, SCHONWALDER, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Education, Politics, and Public Policy in Latin America, TORRES, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The Spectacle of Politics: Public Life as Performance in Latin America, FERNANDEZ, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 From Bureaucratic to Democratic Authoritarianism?, GROTH/HARRIS, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Political Responses and Policy Implications of NAFTA, CARRILLO, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 The Globalization of Technology: Cyberculture and Technopolitics in Latin America, ESCOBAR/ PISCITELLI, 12-1:45 pm
 The Military in the Post-Communist Era: Latin America and Eastern Europe Compared, HUNTER, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Authoritarian and Mass Media: Politics and Culture in Brazil (1930-1970), TRONCA, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 The Catholic Church in Politics: Recent Trends in Latin America, SWEET, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 An Assessment of Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left After the Cold War by Jorge Castañeda, COLBURN, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Política y renovación social en Cuba, DELGADO DIAZ, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Crise económica e democratização: Concepções alternativas e estratégias de reforma dos programas sociais, DRAIBE, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 As classes sociais e sua representação política na América Latina: Tendências para o novo milênio, RIDENTI, 4-5:45 pm
 La función de la política social ante las tecnologías de avanzada, MARTIN POSADA, 4:00 to 5:45 pm
 Novas estratégias de reordenamiento da política social: Experiências recentes de intervenção, DRAIBE, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

SCHOLARLY RESOURCES

Thursday

- Lecturing, Research, and Fellowship Opportunities in the Caribbean, Latin America, and the United States, SOGGE, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Demystifying the Internet: An Invaluable Resource for Latin Americanists, ARELLANO, 10:00 to 11:45 am

Friday

- Documents: Between History and Culture, SANTI, 2:00 to 3:45 pm

SOUTH AMERICA

Thursday

- Mass Political Support for Democracy in the Andean Region, CARRION, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Politics and the Religious Arena I, DIXON/STOLL, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Politics and the Religious Arena II, DIETZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm
 Social Groups, the State, and Counternarcotics in Bolivia in the 1990s, DUDLEY, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Politics and Socioeconomic Reform, LOPEZ RESTREPO, 2:00 to 3:45 pm
 Institutional Aspects of Democracy in Chile and Colombia in Comparative Perspective, ENSALACO, 4:00 to 5:45 pm

Friday

- Estabilidad y crisis de la democracia en Suramérica: Colombia y Venezuela, GAITAN/HARTLYN, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Problemas agrarios, KAY, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Roundtable on the Venezuelan Crisis, HELLINGER, 8:00 to 9:45 am
 Gender and Social Transformation: The Politics of Working Women and Men in Twentieth Century Chile, HUTCHISON/DRAKE, 10:00 to 11:45 am
 Political Change and Economic Reform in Colombia, JUAREZ, 12:00 to 1:45 pm

D. The Chairs of LASA Working Groups are appointed by the LASA President in consultation with the EC. In the case of a renewal of a Working Group, this appointment will be made in consultation with the previous chair.

(1) Membership in Working Groups is open and not restricted in number. Membership usually consists of being on a mailing list or subscribing to a newsletter.

(2) Working Groups may opt to elect a small steering committee from among their members to assist the chair.

E. Both the members and heads of LASA Commissions are appointed by the LASA President in consultation with the EC. Every effort should be made to solicit self-nominations for participation in potential Commissions. The composition of these should reflect diversity of discipline, gender, region, professional rank, and other appropriate characteristics.

III. Activities of LASA Groups

A. Task Forces and Working Groups are encouraged to sponsor and recommend panels, workshops, and events to the Program Committee for each congress. LASA cannot guarantee either their inclusion on the Program or travel funding for Latin American participants on Task Force-sponsored panels, independent of the usual Program Committee procedures.

(1) Section tracks for the Congress Program are determined by the Program Committee in consultation with the President and EC. Where section tracks and Task Forces and Working Groups overlap in their thematic interests, these are considered to be autonomous structures.

(2) Task Forces and Working Groups may have multiple meetings at LASA congresses, but are required to have one meeting open to all LASA members. They should request slots from the Program Committee for this purpose.

B. Task Forces and Working Groups may also recommend proposals to the Executive Council, resolutions or other actions to the Business Meeting, or articles to the *LASA Forum*. They are encouraged to carry out other activities consistent with the scholarly purposes of LASA, such as workshops, seminars, study tours or newsletters, subject to prior presidential approval.

C. The activities of Task Forces, Working Groups and Commissions should be self-financed, although in unusual circumstances, they may request small subsidies from LASA. All proposals for funding from external sources must first be submitted to the LASA President and approved by the Ways

and Means Committee of the EC, in order to coordinate fund-raising efforts.

D. Task Force, Working Group and Commission chairs must submit a written report on their activities to the LASA President prior to each LASA congress. The report should include a description of proposed plans for the group if it is proposed that it continue for another term.

Approved by the LASA Executive Council, June 12, 1993.

■

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 Lynda DiCaprio, Journals Fulfillment 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.

LASA 1992 PAPERS

More than 450 panel and workshop papers from LASA's XVII International Congress in Los Angeles are still available from the Secretariat.

See the Winter Issue of the *Forum*, pages 19-29 for a complete listing and order information.

Oswaldo Sunkel continued

Professor Oswaldo Sunkel was born in Puerto Montt, Chile, in 1929. He studied economics at the University of Chile and the London School of Economics. He joined the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in 1955, working on various aspects of economic development and planning in several Latin American countries, mainly Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Brazil and Chile. In 1962 he became Director of the Training Programme and in 1965 of the Economic Development Research Programme of the UN Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning. During this period and until 1973 he was also Professor of Economic Development, both at the Chilean National University and the Catholic University of Chile. He was a co-founder and Senior Research Fellow of the Institute of International Studies of the University of Chile and has been Visiting Professor at the University of Paris, the Max Planck Gesellschaft, El Colegio de Mexico, and the Universities of Texas (Tinker Chair), Duke, and UCLA. From 1975 to 1986 he was a Professorial Fellow of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. From 1978 until 1988 he was co-ordinator of the ECLAC/UNEP Development and Environment Programme in Santiago.

He has been Special Advisor to the Executive Secretary of ECLAC (Santiago) since 1989. He is also Director of *Pensamiento Iberoamericano-Revista de Economía Política* (Madrid); Expert Adviser to the U.N. commission on Transnational Corporations (New York), President of the Corporación de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo (CINDE) and FORO 90 and Fellow of the Chilean Academy of Social Sciences. Sunkel is Visiting Professor, Bacardi Family Eminent Scholar Chair, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida at Gainesville.

He is the author of several books and many articles on questions of inflation, development, planning, international relations, economic history and environment published in Latin America, the United States and Europe. His best-known book is *El subdesarrollo latinoamericano y la teoría del desarrollo* (with Pedro Paz) originally published in 1970 in Mexico and now in its 23rd edition. His most recent books are: *La dimensión ambiental en los estilos de desarrollo de América Latina*, Santiago, 1981; *Un siglo de historia económica de Chile: 1830-1930* (with Carmen Cariola), Madrid 1982, reprinted in Santiago 1991; *América Latina y la crisis económica internacional: Ocho tesis y una propuesta*, Grupo Editor Latinoamericano, Buenos Aires, 1985; *Debt and Development Crises in Latin America, the End of an Illusion*, (with Stephany Griffith-Jones), Oxford University Press 1986, reprinted in paperback 1989, and also published in Spanish and Portuguese, and *Development from*

Within: Towards a Neostructuralist Approach for Latin America (Ed.) Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado 1993, Spanish edition by Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, November 1991.

Oswaldo Sunkel is the eighth recipient of the Silvert Award, established in 1982 as a memorial to LASA's first president, Kalman Silvert. The Award honors eminent senior members of the Latin American Studies profession who have made distinguished lifetime contributions to the study of Latin America, and to the advancement of the profession generally. Previously honored were John J. Johnson (1983), Federico Gil (1985), Albert O. Hirschman (1986), Charles Wagley (1988), Lewis Hanke (1989), Victor L. Urquidí (1991) and George Alexander Kubler (1992). The winner is selected by a committee consisting of LASA past presidents and the editor of the *Latin American Research Review*. Members of the 1994 Committee, in addition to chair Lars Schoultz of the University of North Carolina, were: Jean Franco (Columbia University); Paul Drake (University of California at San Diego); and Gilbert Merckx (University of New Mexico). ■

ANTHROPOLOGY/SOCIOLOGY

University of Minnesota

Morris Campus

Beginning September 16, 1994, tenure-track assistant professor wanted for introductory courses in cultural and physical anthropology and advanced courses in social policy/problems and in a non-western area. Latin American specialist preferred, especially with an emphasis on indigenous peoples of the Americas. Faculty are expected to participate periodically in the teaching of a one-quarter (10-week) interdisciplinary course common to all freshmen. Ph.D. is required. Strong commitment to teaching is essential. Scholarly research and some service responsibilities are expected. The University of Minnesota-Morris is an undergraduate, 2000 student, liberal arts college with superior students. Teaching load, research support, salary and fringe benefits highly competitive. Send vitae, graduate transcripts and three letters of reference by December 10, 1993. The University of Minnesota is an equal opportunity educator and employer.

Dr. Dennis Templeman
Search Committee
Division of Social Science
University of Minnesota-Morris
Morris, MN 56267

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Department of Government at **Cornell University** seeks to make a tenure-track, or, under extraordinary circumstances, a higher-level appointment in the field of comparative politics with research specialization in Latin American or Japanese domestic politics. The Department particularly seeks applications from women and minorities. Applications should be received by *October 30, 1993*. Candidates who will have the Ph.D. in hand by July 1994 are invited to send curriculum vitae, letter of recommendation, and examples or descriptions of recent work to: Benedict Anderson, Chair, Comparative Politics Search Committee, Department of Government, McGraw Hill, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853-4601. AA/EOE.

Guilford College, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, invites applications for a cultural anthropologist for a tenure-track position beginning August 15, 1994. Position will include teaching Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, either Research Methods or Theory, and courses that will contribute to a core requirement in Intercultural Studies (preference will be given to the areas of East Asia or Latin America). Guilford is an undergraduate liberal arts college established by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and has an enrollment of about 1600. Minorities and women invited to apply. Deadline: *November 10, 1993*. Send application letter describing experience, interests, goals; curriculum vitae; and three letters of recommendation to: Vernie Davis, Chair, Sociology/Anthropology, Guilford College, 5800 W. Friendly Ave., Greensboro, NC 27410. AA/EOE.

Hartwick College seeks to hire a Latin American Historian. Requirements include a commitment to undergraduate teaching and a willingness to serve as a role model for Latino/Hispanic, African-American, Caribbean or Native American students. Ph.D. or evidence of imminent completion required. Collateral fields in African, African-American, Caribbean or similar areas to complement a new Latin American/Caribbean studies minor. Position is tenure-track, beginning in September 1994. Rank negotiable; deadline *November 15, 1993*. Send credentials and three letters of recommendation to: Leonard W. Pudelka, History Department, Hartwick College, Oneonta, NY 13820. AA/EOE.

The **International Organization for Migration (IOM)** seeks Business Professors for private university in Quito, Ecuador, in the following areas: Business Administration, Marketing, Finance, Human Resources, and Operations. Responsibilities include research, teaching, and advising undergraduate and graduate students in the respective areas. Requirements: Ph.D./M.A. in respective areas, two years' teaching experience, fluency in Spanish. Send resume and cover letter to: IOM, Latin American Department, 1750 K St., NW, #1110, Washington, DC 20006.

The Department of Political Science at **Michigan State University** plans to make a tenure-stream appointment at the rank of Assistant Professor of a specialist in Latin American politics. MSU has a Title VI center in Latin American Studies and is committed to sustaining and developing this field. Applicants for the position should have field experience in Latin America, a strong commitment to research (theoretical or applied), and strong disciplinary training. Teaching would be primarily in courses on Latin America (comparative and international) but would also include courses on thematic or general topics in comparative or international politics. The appointment would begin August 16, 1994. The closing date for applications is December 1, 1993; however, later applications will be considered as long as the position remains open. Minorities and women are especially encouraged to apply. Send curriculum vitae, at least three letters of recommendation, samples of written work, and evidence of teaching ability to: Brian D. Silver, Chair, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, 303 S. Kedzie Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824-1032. An AA/EOE.

The **University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign**, Department of History, seeks to fill a tenure-track assistant professorship in colonial Latin American history, exclusive of Brazil and Peru, effective late August 1994. Preference will be given to candidates with Ph.D. in hand; publications and teaching experience preferred. Salary competitive. Specialists in Mexico are especially encouraged to apply. To receive full consideration, curriculum vitae, transcripts, and three letters of recommendation should be received by *November 22, 1993*. Please indicate whether you expect to be at the AHA convention. Send materials to: Professor Donald Crummey, Chair of the Latin American History Search, Department of History, 309 Gregory Hall, 810 S. Wright St., Urbana, IL 61801. Telephone: 217-333-4193; fax: 217-333-2297. An AA/EOE.

The **University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill** seeks Associate or Full Professor, depending on qualifications, for Modern Period in Latin American History. Extensive teaching experience and scholarship required. While preference will be given to historians of modern Mexico, scholars of other areas of Latin America are encouraged to apply. Appointment effective as early as July 1, 1994 (pending final authorization). Send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and four letters of recommendation before *December 1, 1993* to: Colin Palmer, Chair, Latin American Search Committee, Department of History, Hamilton Hall CB #3195, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3195. AA/EOE.

The Institute of International Studies of **Bradley University** invites applications from outstanding scholars for the Lee L.

Morgan Chair in International Economic Affairs. The Institute is dedicated to undergraduate education in international studies within the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. The serious applicant must be able to demonstrate expertise and high quality scholarship in international economics and finance; in developmental processes in international affairs; and a strong and ongoing commitment to excellence in undergraduate teaching in addition to research. Preference will be given to those also having a concentration in one or more of the following regions:

Africa; Latin America; or the Middle East. This senior faculty appointment will be made at the full or associate professor level, depending on the qualifications of the candidate. Salary is competitive. Women and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. To assure full consideration, application materials should be received by *December 15, 1993*. The appointment will begin August 15, 1994. Send a curriculum vitae, evidence of successful teaching, and three letters of recommendation to: Dr. John R. Howard, Institute of International Studies, Bradley University, Peoria IL 61625. Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer. ■

1993 Endowment Fund Contributors

(as recorded from January 1, 1993 to August 31, 1993)

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

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President's Report continued

Over the past nine months we have worked diligently to fund the activities proposed in the SDP. We secured funds from The Ford Foundation to launch the new Junior Lecturing Fellowships over the next two congresses. The Ford Foundation is also funding the planning activities of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba. The Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Science Community will be hosting the inaugural LASA Seminar-Congress in December on the theme of natural resource management in the neo-tropics. Co-sponsored by the University of Florida and the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil, with support from an Inter-University Exchange Program sponsored by the United States Information Agency, the seminar-congress is also being funded by the Inter-American Foundation, Conservation International, and others. Finally, the Atlanta 1994 Finance Committee has submitted requests for international travel funding for the Atlanta congress to a much broader range of foundations and other sources than in previous years.

All of these efforts have required the untiring work of a great number of LASA members. Moreover, we are faced with the problem of growing "donor fatigue," particularly with regard to regular international travel funding for our congresses. It has always been difficult to raise sufficient funds to meet the demand for international travel awards. As LASA's activities expand in scope and number, the task of fund-raising has become even more complex and challenging.

With those problems in mind, the Executive Council has concluded that it is time to concentrate our energies on building LASA's endowment. In the long run, LASA must be able to fund a steadily increasing portion of its activities through its own resources. Moreover, the Association has reached a point of maturity in its development where the Secretariat should assume a growing share of fund-raising responsibilities. Hence, our decision to dedicate the next several years to a major capital campaign.

LASA's Endowment Fund was established in 1983, under Helen Safa's presidency, with a roll-over grant of \$14,000 from The Ford Foundation. Today, it stands at over \$75,000 with the increase due solely to membership contributions and the total reinvestment of the interest income. Our goal is to build the Endowment Fund to \$5 million by the end of the decade, the level necessary to maintain LASA's special activities: travel to international congresses, including the junior lecturing fellowships; the work of its Task Forces, particularly planning meetings for seminar-congresses; and an expanded Secretariat, capable of engaging in systematic development work as well as providing more services to the membership.

We envision a two-stage campaign. The first stage is targeted toward raising \$3 million over the 1995-97 period. In April of this year we submitted a proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for a Challenge Grant of \$750,000. If granted the award in December, 1993, LASA would have to raise \$250,000 by July 31, 1994, and a total of \$2,250,000 from private sources by the end of the grant period.

If we are unsuccessful in this round, but successful in the 1994 competition, we would have eighteen months to raise the initial matching contribution. Moreover, if we have a major fund-raising effort already underway, we should be much more attractive to the NEH in a second application. The Executive Council has thus decided that with or without NEH funding, we must launch our capital campaign now.

If we receive NEH funding, the income generated by the endowment must be spent to enhance LASA activities in the humanities. We estimate that currently fifty percent or so of LASA's programming involves the traditional humanities disciplines or scholarship utilizing a humanities approach. These are also the activities which we have found most difficult to fund in the past, since most of our traditional donors prefer to fund activities focusing on public policy; hence, our decision to begin our capital campaign by approaching NEH. A second phase in the long-run capital campaign would aim to raise endowment income for activities in the public policy realm.

To implement the fund-raising campaign, we will be recruiting for a new position at the LASA Secretariat, an Associate Director, and hiring a part-time fund-raising consultant to advise us on strategy. We will also be constituting a new LASA Development Committee, composed of many of the Association's foremost scholars, to assist us in fund-raising.

Our fund-raising plan includes the following major categories of donors and activities as sources of matching contributions to the NEH Challenge Grant funds: 1) Membership challenge contributions; 2) Life memberships; 3) Membership dues assessment; 4) Institutional members dues assessment; 5) Corporations; 6) Foundations; 7) Friends and Patrons of LASA; and 8) International Congress activities.

Membership challenge contributions

LASA has always been characterized by the strong commitment of its membership to the Association. We will be "challenging" members once again to demonstrate their commitment to LASA by contributing \$100 to the Endowment Fund during 1994. If we receive the NEH challenge grant in December, each member would need to contribute

this amount by July 31, 1994, in order for LASA to meet the matching contribution requirement.

Life memberships

With renewals for 1994, we will be inaugurating a new membership category: LASA life memberships of \$2,500. Of this sum, \$2,000 will go directly to the Endowment Fund, with the remainder to cover the costs of lifetime subscriptions to the *Latin American Research Review* and the *LASA Forum*.

While we encourage members in the upper dues categories to consider becoming life members now, and, if feasible, to pay the full amount with 1994 renewals, we have also designed an installment plan whereby the \$2,500 may be paid in an initial installment of \$1,000, then \$500 annual payments for each of the next three years.

Membership drive and dues structure

With the introduction of life memberships, it will be crucial for LASA to strengthen its membership recruitment efforts in order not to undermine our normal level of operating income which we generate through dues. We ask each LASA member to assist us in this effort by describing the benefits of LASA membership to colleagues and graduate students, and by recruiting at least one new member for 1994.

Beginning in 1994, \$5 of the dues paid by regular members will go automatically into the Endowment Fund, as another means of building LASA's matching contribution should we be awarded the NEH grant.

We also have had to make some slight changes in the dues structure. LASA has for many years subsidized several categories of members: students, members living in Latin America, and emeritus members. Beginning in 1994, the dues of members living in Latin America and those of students will be raised by \$1, and \$2, respectively, to \$20. Emeritus members will now pay dues based on income. We hope that many of our most senior, distinguished members become life members. The dues for introductory (non-student) members have been raised to \$30. The regular member income-based dues rate will remain the same in 1994 as for 1993 since we are issuing the special appeal for the \$100 membership "challenge" contributions.

Institutional memberships

We also hope to increase the number of institutional members in the coming year. We would appreciate the

assistance of LASA members in this effort, as well. If your Latin American Studies program is not a member of LASA, please urge your university to join. Besides receiving the *Latin American Research Review* and the *LASA Forum*, institutional membership in LASA also conveys membership in CLASP, the Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs.

Beginning in 1994, dues for non-profit institutions have been raised from \$75 to \$100, with the \$25 increment to go to the Endowment Fund.

Congress fund-raising activities

Members will be seeing a number of innovations at the Atlanta '94 Congress. We will be selling T-shirts and tote bags with the motif of the congress, with the proceeds to go to the Endowment Fund. Other special fund-raising events will be announced in the next issue of the *LASA Forum*.

Over the coming months, the LASA Ways and Means Committee, the new Development Committee, and the Secretariat will be developing the other components of the capital campaign. If we are to meet our target of building a \$3 million Endowment Fund, we must secure substantial grants and gifts from a broad array of foundations, corporations, and private individuals. We will also need the assistance of all LASA members in identifying potential donors.

The LASA Executive Council is confident that we are articulating a shared vision of the future direction of the Association. The strong financial base that will be created with the endowment will enable LASA to continue as the leader in the interdisciplinary field of Latin American Studies and ensure that humanities scholarship within LASA will continue to thrive. ■

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PUBLICATIONS

Colonial Latin American Review (CLAR), a new interdisciplinary journal sponsored by the Simon H. Rifkind Center for the Humanities and the Department of Romance Languages of The City College of the City University of New York (CUNY), is pleased to announce the publication of its volume two (1994) in a double issue of 328 pages. It includes articles by Eric Van Young, Asunción Lavrin, Rolena Adorno, Carolyn S. Dean, Frederick Luciani, Nelson H. Vieira, Stuart B. Schwartz, Nancy Vogeley and Noble David Cook, and review essays and book reviews. The *Review* publishes studies, review essays and book reviews in English, Portuguese and Spanish deal with the art, anthropology, geography, history and literature on Colonial Latin America with the aim of fostering a dialogue among these disciplines. For subscription information and manuscript submission contact: Professor Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, General Editor, (*CLAR*), Department of Romance Languages (NAC5/223), Convent Ave. at 138th St., The City College, CUNY, New York, NY 10031. All submissions will be reviewed by specialists. If you are interested in reviewing books, send your curriculum vitae to: Professor Alfonso Quiroz, Book Review Editor, (*CLAR*), Department of History, Baruch College, CUNY, New York, NY 10010.

The Manual for International Book and Journal Donations, compiled by Janet Greenberg, American Council of Learned Societies, is designed to help U.S.-based donors—scholars and organizations—place books and journals in appropriate libraries and institutions abroad. Includes profiles of ten non-profit intermediary organizations able to assist individuals and organizations; fifteen donation programs organized by scholarly organizations; annotated bibliography. Full text of the 109-page *Manual* is available via anonymous FTP at [BURGANDY.OAH.INDIANA.EDU](ftp://BURGANDY.OAH.INDIANA.EDU) [156.56.25.10] in the ACLS subdirectory. For a printed copy, contact the office of Janet Greenberg at ACLS, 228 E. 45th St., New York, NY 10017-3398. Please include a check made out to ACLS *Manual* for \$10, to offset costs of production, shipping and handling. If payment is a hardship and requester has no access to the FTP site, fee will be waived.

The Fernand Braudel Institute of World Economics of São Paulo, Brazil, is now publishing *Braudel Papers*, a bimonthly newspaper of research and opinion, in simultaneous English and Portuguese editions. The Braudel Institute is engaged in research and public debate on varying aspects of the problems of chronic inflation and capital formation, with special reference to Latin America. Each issue of *Braudel Papers* contains a major essay and related commentary. Its first edition, in January-February 1993, published an essay on *Ethics and Inflation* by Professor Eduardo Giannetti da Fonseca of the University of São Paulo, who holds the

Otávio Bulhões Memorial Research Professorship, a chair created by the Braudel Institute in memory of Brazil's great finance minister who was its honorary president. The second issue, *Politics and Markets*, is a dialogue on economic reform in Brazil and Russia between Professor Jeffrey Sachs of Harvard University, a founding member of the Fernand Braudel Institute of World Economics, and Norman Gall, the Institute's executive director and editor of *Braudel Papers*. The third issue of *Braudel Papers* features an essay on *Brazilian Federalism and Inflation*, by Professor Aspásia Camargo, drawn from a book written for the Braudel Institute on structural imbalances of Brazil's political system. Dr. Camargo is president of IPEA, the government's economic research institute. The Fernand Braudel Institute of World Economics was formed in 1987 by a group of economists, businessmen, journalists and public officials in São Paulo. Braudel, the French economic historian, was a founder of the University of São Paulo in the 1930s. The Institute's president is Rubens Ricupero, Brazil's Ambassador to the United States. *Braudel Papers* welcomes submission of essays and articles on political and economic development. For sample copies and inquiries about subscriptions, please contact: Norman Gall, Fernand Braudel Institute of World Economics, Rua Ceará 2, São Paulo, Brazil 01243. Telephone: 55-11-824-9502; fax: 55-11-825-2637. ■

LASA MEMBERSHIP DIRECTORY 1992-1993

The 1992-93 *LASA Membership Directory*, for professional and private (non-mailing-list) use, is available through the Secretariat.

Prices are \$5.00 to mail in the United States (non-priority) and for international surface mail. The price for first class within the U.S., and air mail to Canada and Mexico is \$6.90; contact the Secretariat for information about multiple copy orders or air mail to other countries.

Orders must be prepaid; only checks drawn on U.S. banks, and UNESCO coupons are accepted for payment.

RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Ejido Reform Research Project of the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies announces its competition for graduate students for small grants to support graduate student research on the impacts of the ejido reform in rural Mexico. Application packets for the 1994 competition will be available on November 1, 1993. The deadline for receipt of applications will be *January 31, 1994*. Persons interested in the 1994 competition should write (via regular mail or fax—please no e-mail messages) to request that an application packet be sent when ready. Write: David Myhre, Ejido Reform Research Project Coordinator, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California at San Diego 0510, La Jolla, CA 92093-0510. *Fax: 619-534-6447*.

The challenges facing Chile in its struggle to form a lasting democracy will be explored in "Politics and Society in Post-Pinochet Chile," a faculty seminar to be held at Catholic University in Santiago, Chile, November 21-27, 1993. The seminar, administered by the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), will allow college and university faculty to meet with prominent Chilean academics, political and community leaders, and government officials in lecture and discussion sessions on such topics as: Chilean political democratization and economic development; women, human rights and the role of the church in Chile; and Chilean literature and the arts. In addition, seminar participants will have the opportunity to visit Valparaíso, the Pablo Neruda House at Isla Negra, and sites of cultural and historic interest in Santiago. The seminar in Chile, open to full-time faculty and administrators at two- and four-year institutions of higher education, is part of a series of International Faculty Development Seminars offered by CIEE. The series was established in 1990 to encourage the internationalization of curricula at American colleges and universities and to help educators prepare students to face the challenges of an increasingly interdependent world. By exploring important international issues and exchanging views with scholars overseas, seminar participants are able to examine their own disciplines within an international context, incorporate global perspectives into teaching and research, and share new insights with students, colleagues, and their local communities. In addition to the seminar in Chile, CIEE will hold similar programs in: Hong Kong, Japan, Northern Ireland, and Poland (November 1993); Egypt, the Netherlands and Belgium, and Vietnam (January 1994); Brazil, Germany, Russia, and Zimbabwe (June 1994). The Council on International Educational Exchange is a worldwide nonprofit organization dedicated to developing and supporting educational exchange as a means to promote intercultural understanding and cooperation. With a membership of over 250 educational institutions, CIEE administers study, work, volunteer, and travel programs in 33 countries on six

continents. For more information on the International Faculty Development Seminar series, contact: CIEE, Department of Professional and Continuing Education Programs, 205 E. 42nd St., New York, NY 10017. Telephone: 212-661-1414 ext. 1455; *fax: 212-697-7235*.

The John Carter Brown Library will award approximately 15 short- and long-term research fellowships for the year June 1, 1994-May 31, 1995. Short-term fellowships are available for periods of two to four months and carry a stipend of \$1,000 per month. These fellowships are open to foreign nationals as well as to U.S. citizens who are engaged in pre- and post-doctoral, or independent, research. Long-term fellowships, funded by the NEH, are usually for six months and carry a stipend of approximately \$15,000. Applicants for NEH fellowships may not be engaged in graduate work and must be U.S. citizens or have resided in the U.S. for the three years immediately preceding the term of the fellowship. Several short-term fellowships have thematic restrictions: the Jeanette D. Black Memorial Fellowship in the history of cartography; the Alexander O. Vieter Memorial Fellowship in early maritime history; the Center for New World Comparative Studies Fellowship for research with a definite comparative dimension; and the Touro National Heritage Trust Fellowship for research on some aspect of the Jewish experience in the New World before 1860. One fellowship is reserved for a scholar from Latin America. For scholars wishing to work at the Library for a period of two to eight weeks, the Library offers travel reimbursement grants of up to \$600; the María-Elena Cassiet Travel Grant awards up to \$2,000 for scholars from Spanish America. The application deadline for fellowships during the 1993-94 year is *January 15, 1994*. For further information, write to: Director, John Carter Brown Library, Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

The Kellogg Institute is dedicated to advancing research in comparative international studies, with special emphasis on Latin America. For the 1991-92 academic year, the Kellogg Institute will offer up to five residential fellowships of one semester at the University of Notre Dame. Fellows work on individual or joint research projects related to the Institute's themes, and take part in Institute seminars and other meetings. Kellogg fellows have faculty status within the University. The Institute's research reflects commitment to democracy, development, and social justice, and focuses on five major themes: democratization and the consolidation of democracy, alternative paths to development, the role of religion and the Catholic Church in Latin America, popular sectors, and public policies for social justice. The Institute seeks fellows of high scholarly accomplishment and promise, whose work and presence will contribute creatively to its

major research themes. It welcomes applications from candidates of any country who hold a Ph.D. or equivalent degree (A.B.D. will also be considered) in any discipline of the social sciences or history. Candidates will be evaluated individually, but joint projects will be considered. Complete applications, including all documentation, must be received by November 15, 1993. Awards will be announced by January 31, 1994. For application forms and additional information, contact: Erika M. Valenzuela, Academic Coordinator, University of Notre Dame, The Kellogg Institute, 216 Hesburgh Center for International Studies, Notre Dame, IN 46556.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California at San Diego is accepting applications for Visiting Research Fellowships to be held during the year beginning September 1, 1994. Since 1980, the Center has hosted 246 scholars and nonacademic experts from 19 different countries. Fellowships are offered at both the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels, for research and writing on any aspect of contemporary Mexico (excluding literature and the arts), Mexican history, issues in U.S.-Mexican relations, Mexico's international economic and political relations in general, and broader comparative or international political economy topics that have a substantial Mexico component (e.g., comparative immigration studies; comparative studies of democratization). Especially encouraged are proposals for work on one of the following, high-priority research topics for the 1994-95 academic year: (1) linkages between local-level democratizing processes or organization and those operating at the national level in Mexico; (2) other aspects of political change in Mexico; (3) strategies for poverty alleviation in Mexico; (4) the restructuring of Mexican agriculture; (5) the politics, economics, and social impacts of North American economic integration; (6) environmental and other problems affecting the U.S.-Mexico borderlands; (7) Mexican migration to the United States, and immigrant populations in the United States; (8) Mexico's economic relations with other Pacific Rim countries, especially Japan; (9) for Mexican scholars and policy analysts: aspects of the U.S. economy, political system, or foreign policy. Applications are especially encouraged from U.S.-born minority scholars, and from graduate students, recent Ph.D.s, and younger faculty from any of the University of California campuses. Students seeking admission to the Ph.D. program in any of the social sciences or history at UC-San Diego for fall 1994 may also apply for a fellowship from the Center. Each Fellow is expected to spend from 3-10 months in continuous residence at the Center. Field research needed to collect data for the Fellow's project must be completed prior to arrival at the Center. Summer fellowships are not offered. Applications and all supporting materials must be received by *January 10, 1994*. Application forms should be requested from: Graciela Platero, Fellowships Coordinator,

Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UC-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093-0510. Telephone: 619-534-4503; fax: 619-534-6447.

R. Stephen Warner, project director and professor of sociology at University of Illinois at Chicago announces an award of \$220,354 by Lilly Endowment Inc. to conduct a training and fellowship program promoting ethnographic studies of new ethnic and immigrant congregations. NEICP will provide intensive training in field research methods and one year of fellowship support. The fellowship opportunities are available for doctoral candidates and recent postdoctorates in all fields of social science and humanities, including anthropology and religious studies. Applications are particularly encouraged from individuals in Latino/a Studies and Asian Studies. It is the goal of the project to portray the increasing diversity of communal religious life in the U.S., for example Hispanic and Korean churches, Islamic centers and mosques, and Buddhist and Hindu temples. The final mix of congregations the project will study depends on the quality and variety of the proposals. The New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project will fund: a six-week ethnographic training institute in Chicago for all participants (summer 1994); ten-month research fellowships (\$12,000 dissertation fellowships, \$6,000 postdoctoral fellowships) in 1994-95; a one-week writing workshop for all participants (summer 1995); and, a national conference to present research results (spring 1996). Information packets and application forms for fellowships will be available from the NEICP office at the address listed below between August 1-December 1, 1993. Completed applications must be post-marked no later than *January 2, 1994*. The New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project is administered by the Office of Social Science Research at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Additional funding for the project is pending. Contact: New Ethnic and Immigrant Congregations Project, Office of Social Science Research (M/C 307), University of Illinois at Chicago, 1007 W. Harrison St., Chicago, IL 60607-7136. E-mail: U61477@UICVM (Bitnet). ■

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FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Association of Borderlands Scholars (ABS) will hold its annual meeting in Albuquerque, NM, April 20-23, 1994. Abstracts of 150 words are requested for papers on all aspects of borderlands studies. Also encouraged are proposals from individuals who wish to organize complete panels of papers and/or roundtable discussions. Proposals for papers, panels, and roundtables should be sent as soon as possible. The final deadline is *December 2, 1993*. Please include as much information as possible, including name(s), affiliation(s), mailing addresses, telephone numbers, fax numbers, and Bitnet/Internet addresses. The program chair is Ed Williams, Political Science Department, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. Telephone: 602-621-7600; fax: 602-621-5051.

The newly organized Brazilian Studies Association (BRASA) is proud to announce its first annual meeting to be held at the Westin Peachtree Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, March 10-13, 1994. This will be a structural meeting and the membership will develop working groups and elect board members. There will also be a limited number of paper presentations. If you are interested in attending this meeting, presenting a paper, travel arrangements of membership, please contact: BRASA Secretariat, Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1016. Telephone: 505-277-2961; fax: 505-277-5989.

The 26th annual conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians will be hosted by Interamerican University in San Germán, Puerto Rico, March 21-24, 1994. Contact: Teresita Martínez-Vergne, History Department, Macalester College, 1600 Grand Ave., St. Paul, MN 55105. Telephone: 612-696-6488.

The 1994 annual conference of the Business Association of Latin American Studies (BALAS) will be held at a close-to-the-sea hotel in Miami, Florida, April 6-10, 1994. Florida International University (FIU) College of Business Administration will host the meeting. The conference theme will be "Bridging the Americas: Re-discovery, Understanding, Partnership." The theme reflects the links between the U.S. and Latin America through the many common areas of interest, mutual understanding among people, and academic and professional partnerships. Panel proposals must clearly identify the topic covered and include a brief rationale as to why the panel session should be included in the program. Papers must relate to the business and/or economic environment of Latin America or the Caribbean (U.S. Hispanic issues are included), and most not have been published, accepted for publication, or be under consideration elsewhere. Only quality papers will be accepted. All papers will be double-blind reviewed (authors should avoid revealing their identity in the body of the paper). Selected papers (in

English, Spanish, or Portuguese) are eligible for publication in the conference *Proceedings*, to be delivered at the time of the meeting. Submit four (4) copies of your paper to the Conference Academic Chair on or before *December 3, 1993*. Papers should not exceed 15 double-spaced typewritten pages, including tables, figures, and references. Each paper must have a separate title page with the author's name, affiliation, mail and e-mail address, telephone and fax numbers. Multiple authorships should indicate the person to be contacted. Papers accepted for publication in the *Proceedings* will follow the BALAS Paper Guidelines for inclusion. Please include a stamped, self-addressed postcard for notification of receipt of your paper. Authors of accepted papers may agree to return a camera-ready copy of the paper as directed by the editor of the 1994 *Proceedings*, and (at least one author) must agree to attend the conference to present the paper. Suggested Latin American topics follow: International Business and Trade, Marketing and Business Environment, Finance and Accounting, Management and Decision Sciences, U.S. Hispanics: Domestic and International Business Issues, and International Business Education. For more information, contact: Arturo Z. Vasquez, Academic Chair, Barnett A. Greenberg, Institutional Chair, Antonio B. Pradas, Coordination Chair, 1994 Program Co-Chairmen, Florida International University, University Park, BA 307B, Miami, FL 33199. Telephone: 305-348-2571; fax: 305-348-3792. Internet: VASQUEZA@SERVAX.FIU.EDU; Sun: VASQUEZA@SERSSØ.FIU.EDU.

The International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) (U.S. and other chapters in the Americas) will be holding a joint conference on Popular Music in the Americas on August 16-22, 1994, at Casa de Las Américas in Havana, Cuba. Special themes of the conference are "The legacies of colonialism," and "Music and Identity," but all papers related to popular music in the Americas—whether speaking to performance, production, consumption, marketing, etc.—will be considered. Since the Spanish word "popular" refers to a range of musical phenomena more inclusive than the English word "pop" or "popular," papers referring to folk traditions will also be welcome. Include contact information (phone, fax and e-mail) and audio-visual needs. Please send *five* copies of your abstract (250 words or less) to: Roberta L. Singer, Chair, IASPM Program Committee (U.S.), City Lore, Inc., 72 East First St., New York, NY 10003 by *February 15, 1994*.

The Mid-America Conference on Hispanic Literature (MACHL), will be convened September 8-10, 1994, in Lawrence, Kansas. For more information, contact MACHL, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045.

The Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS) will hold its annual meeting on the campus of Keane College, Union, New Jersey, on April 8 & 9, 1994. Anyone interested in presenting a paper should contact Yale Ferguson, Department of Political Science, Rutgers-Newark, Newark, NJ 07102. Local arrangements are being handled by Eufonio Carreño, Department of Economics, Keane College, Union, NJ 07083.

The editors of *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* and the Latin American Studies Consortium of New England announce the fourth Conference on Latin American Popular Culture to be held October 27-29, 1994, at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. The principal conference theme is "What is Popular Culture? U.S., British and Latin American Answers," but the program committee invites proposals for panels and individual papers that reflect the entire range of Latin American popular culture artifacts, products and practices. The official language of the conference is English, but papers in Spanish and Portuguese will also be considered. Selected conference papers will be published in Volume 15 (1996) of *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*. Final program decisions will be made by May 15, 1994; abstracts of panels and papers should be submitted as early as possible but no later than *March 1, 1994*, to: Elizabeth Mahan, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, 843 Bolton Road, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-1161. Fax: 203-486-2963; e-mail: LAMSADM@UCONNVN.

The New England American Studies Association (NEASA) seeks papers for its annual conference on "American Popular Cultures: At Home and Abroad" at Brown University on May 7-9, 1994. Deadline: *February 15, 1994*. Contact: Fritz Fleischmann, Babson College, Babson Park, MA 02157-0310. Telephone: 617-239-4400; fax: 617-239-4312.

The annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) will be held at the Worthington Hotel in Ft. Worth, Texas, February 16-20, 1994. The program chair is William Beezley, Penrose Professor at Texas Christian University. Regular membership for RMCLAS is \$15.00 and student membership is \$10.00. The registration fee for this meeting is \$40.00 and will include an early arrival reception on Wednesday, February 16. If you are interested in becoming a member, presenting a paper, exhibiting, registration or assistance with travel arrangements contact: Karen A. Harris, Executive Secretary/Meeting Planner, Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131-1016. Telephone: (505) 277-2961; fax: (505) 277-5989.

The Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW), the Center for Middle East Studies, and the Middle East Studies Association will hold a conference "Enlarging Our World View: Undergraduate Education and the Middle East"

March 10-13, 1994, at the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona. The conference will bring together Middle East specialists and non-specialists with the three-fold purpose of: 1) identifying key concepts in Middle East studies useful for broader comparative inquiry; 2) determining the goals of interdisciplinary and comparative teaching and how to achieve them; 3) presenting models for faculty development and course revision for use on their campuses. The overall goal of the project is to integrate gender-sensitive material about the Middle East into the general undergraduate curriculum. SIROW, with the U.S. Department of Education, will cover travel expenses to and from Tucson. For additional information, write: Amy Newhall, 102 Douglass, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. Telephone: 602-621-7338; fax: 602-621-1533.

Universidad Central de las Villas, Cuba IV Simposio internacional sobre pensamiento filosófico latinoamericano, del 11 al 14 de enero de 1994. Tema central: Desafíos actuales del humanismo en el pensamiento latinoamericano. Humanismo, enajenación y movimientos sociales en América Latina; autenticidad del pensamiento marxista en América Latina; postmodernismo y crisis del marxismo en el pensamiento latinoamericano; nuevas tendencias en la filosofía latinoamericana de la liberación; pensamiento filosófico cristiano en América Latina; corrientes axiológicas en la filosofía latinoamericana; filosofía de la ciencia en América Latina; pensamiento indígena latinoamericano; pensamiento filosófico cubano. La solicitud de inscripción como ponente debe ser enviada antes del *30 de noviembre de 1993*. La ponencia resumida (máximo de 8 cuartillas) debe enviarse a la Comisión Organizadora antes de esta fecha para su posible inclusión en el programa del evento. Los participantes que no deseen presentar ponencia pueden inscribirse el día del inicio del Simposio, aunque deben enviar su solicitud previamente. Cuota de inscripción: \$60 USDLS. La semana posterior al IV Simposio (17 al 21 de enero) se ofrecerá un curso de posgrado (20 horas lectivas) sobre el tema "Humanismo y desalineación en el pensamiento latinoamericano." Toda la correspondencia debe ser enviada a la Comisión Organizadora del evento cuya dirección es: Dr. Pablo Guadarrama González, Universidad Central de Las Villas, Departamento de Filosofía, Carretera de Camajuaní Km. 5, Santa Clara, Villa Clara, Cuba. Teléfono: 81-519, 81-585 y 81-011; fax: 53-422-81608; correo electrónico: CDP!WEB!CENIA!UCLV!GUADARRA!PABLO.

Proposals for individual papers, complete panels, sessions chairs and commentators in all fields of study are sought for an interdisciplinary conference on Inter-American relations, to be held at the University of North Florida September 22-24, 1994. Submission deadline is *April 1, 1994*. Send inquiries or proposals to Tom Leonard, Conference Coordinator, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville FL 32224. Telephone: 904-646-2886; fax: 904-646-2703.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), in cooperation with its constituent societies, announces a program of travel grants, awarded on a competitive basis, to enable scholars in all fields of the humanities and humanities-related social sciences to participate in international meetings held outside the United States and its dependencies. Priority will be given to well-planned, broadly international meetings and infrequently-held international congresses. The program is funded by the Gladys Kriele Delmas Foundation. Approximately 170 awards of \$500 each (regardless of destination) will be made to individuals to offset necessary expenses such as air travel to and from the U.S.. The postmark deadline for applications is *February 1, 1994*, for travel to international meetings occurring between June 1, 1994 and May 31, 1995. Announcement of awards will be made by the third week of April 1994. Eligibility: Applicants must hold the Ph.D. or the terminal degree in their field and must be citizens or permanent residents of the U.S.. Scholars of all ranks affiliated with institutions, as well as independent scholars at all stages of the career, are eligible to apply. Only persons who will read papers or have a major, official role in the meeting are eligible for an award. Membership in an ACLS constituent society has no bearing on eligibility. To request application forms, interested scholars should write or call the ACLS Fellowship Office, 228 E. 45th St., New York, NY 10017-3398. Telephone: 212-697-1505 ext. 136 or 138, and give the following information: (1) The official name, dates, place, and sponsorship of the meeting, (2) applicant's highest academic degree and proposed role in the meeting, and address to which application should be sent. Only applications from individuals on their own behalf will be accepted. Conference planning committees or sponsoring organizations may not apply.

The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy invites submissions for its 1994 undergraduate prize of \$500 for the best essay written on any aspect of the Cuban economy. The selection committee will consist of C. Mesa-Lago, Distinguished Service Professor of Economics and Latin American Studies, University of Pittsburgh, Chair; L. Locay, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Miami; J.R. de la Torre, Professor of International Business, UCLA; A. Martinez-Piedra, Chair, Department of Economics, Catholic University; and S. Roca, Professor of Economics, Adelphi University. Selection criterion will be the quality of the essay. To be eligible, the paper has to have been submitted as part of a course or honor thesis at an accredited four-year college or university in the preceding year and a half (for this year any time between the Fall of 1992 and the Fall of 1993). The deadline for submissions is *March 1, 1994*. The

prize will be awarded by June 30, 1994. Submissions are welcome at any time prior to the deadline. Please send three copies of the paper with a cover letter from an administrative officer of the institution where the paper was submitted, to: Ms. Norma Gonzalez, Executive Secretary, ASCE Undergraduate Prize, 8317 Painted Rock Rd., Columbia, MD 21045.

Guide to International Conflict Resolution Education, Training & Research will be published by ACCESS. ACCESS, under contract with the United States Institute of Peace, is conducting a survey of organizations and individuals that are engaged in conflict resolution. Respondents would be included in an international database on this area. We are interested in surveying conflict resolution practitioners and others involved in education, training and research. If you are aware of any individuals or organizations that we should include in this project, please let us know. We are particularly interested in efforts of indigenous groups and individuals. ACCESS is a non-profit, non-partisan clearinghouse of information on international relations, peace, and world affairs. For further information, please contact: Lisa Alfred, telephone: 202-783-6050 or fax: 202-783-4767.

The H-Net Project at the University of Illinois at Chicago's History Department is sponsoring a series of 20 discussion lists for academic historians. In all we have 3000 subscribers in 35 countries. One list is H-LatAm, with over 100 subscribers. It is edited by Jackie Kent (SUNY/Cortland) and Phil Mueller (Xavier) and publishes what amounts to a free daily newsletter. The primary purpose of each list is to enable scholars to easily communicate current research and teaching interests; to discuss new approaches, methods and tools of analysis; to share information on electronic databases; and to test new ideas and share comments on current historiography. Each list is especially interested in methods of teaching history in diverse settings. The lists feature dialogues in the discipline. They publish book reviews, job announcements, syllabi, course outlines, class handouts, bibliographies, listings of new sources, guides to on-line library catalogs and archives, and reports on new software, datasets and cd-roms. Subscribers write in with questions, comments, and reports, and sometimes with mini-essays of a page or two. Most of the lists have no chronological or geographical limits. We need editors for new lists; if you are interested, send a vita to Richard Jenson at *H-NET@UICVM*. To subscribe, send *e-mail* message to: *LISTSERV@UICVM* (no subject line)—sub H-LATAM *yourname*, affiliation. ■

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Contents

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Mitchell A. Seligson, "Cuba and the Central American Connection"

Silvia Borzutzky and Aldo Vacs, "The Impact of the Collapse of Communism and the Cuban Crisis on the South American Left"

Jan Svejnar and Jorge Pérez-López, "A Strategy for the Economic Transformation of Cuba Based on the East European Experience"

Carmelo Mesa-Lago and Horst Fabian, "Analogies Between East European Socialist Regimes and Cuba: Scenarios for the Future"

Sixth Annual

Summer Social Science Program in Chile

July 1 - August 12, 1994
Santiago, Chile

Objective: To introduce graduate & advanced undergraduate students to contemporary debates in the social sciences/humanities & to outstanding Latin American scholars.

Study Site: Santiago, Chile (pop. 5.4 million) is an exceptional place to explore Latin American Studies. Santiago is home to many quality research centers such as CELADE, CEPAL, CIEPLAN, FLASCO, ILET, CEM & PET.

Four Courses (all Lectures in Spanish): [select up to three]

Chile in the 1990s: (Core Course/Required for all students) This course provides a brief overview of the contemporary issues facing Chile's economic, social, and political environments on a national and international level. An orientation and introduction to the richness and history of the Chilean culture will also be provided. Course coordinator: Joseph Scarpaci (Ph.D., Florida), Virginia Tech. 1 semester hour.

Women, Literature and Human Rights in Latin America: This class explores the intricate relationship between Latin American women writers and State terrorism, in which they have lived for nearly twenty years. Issues of gender & censorship, female discourse, the female political imagination & the role of the woman writer both as a spokesperson for the marginal, as well as a denouncer of repression will be explored. Guest lectures by Chilean women writers and artists will be a key aspect of this course. Course coordinator: Eliana Ortega (Ph.D., Massachusetts), Radio Tierra/Casa Morada. 3 semester hours.

Latin American International Relations: Analyzes the historical & contemporary aspects of the region & its relation to other regions: North-South, Latin American-European, Latin American-U.S., & Latin American-Pacific Rim countries. The course draws on several theoretical frameworks including modernization & dependency theories. Course coordinator: Manfred Wilhelmly (Ph.D., Princeton), Universidad de Chile. 3 semester hours.

Shantytown Health Care: Analyzes functions and challenges of neighborhood primary-care groups and NGOs in providing primary health care. Particular emphasis given to organizational, promotional, maternal-child, and related aspects of health care. Assesses the paradigms of health care as a right versus health care as a commodity in the context of contemporary Chile. Draws heavily on field trips to neighborhood projects in low-income communities. Taught by the staff of a large NGO, Colectivo de Atencion Primaria.

Extracurricular Activities: At least three major field trips are planned within Santiago and along the Vina del Mar - Valparaiso coast. Includes visits to governmental ministries, NGOs, the Congreso Nacional in Valparaiso, the house of Pablo Neruda at Isla Negra, and horse-back riding in the Andes.

Eligibility Requirements: Admission is competitive and requires very strong speaking and reading skills in Spanish and good university standing. Submit the following by **February 15, 1994:** Language evaluation forms, all academic transcripts, student essay and two letters of recommendation from faculty - at least one Latinamericanist. Admissions open until April 1, 1994.

For more information and application materials, contact:

Deborah A. Santiago or Joseph L. Scarpaci
Urban Affairs and Planning
Virginia Tech
Blacksburg, VA 24061-0113
Telephone and Voice-Mail: (703) 231-7504
Fax: (703) 231-3367
BITNET: SCARF@VTVM2.CC.VT.EDU

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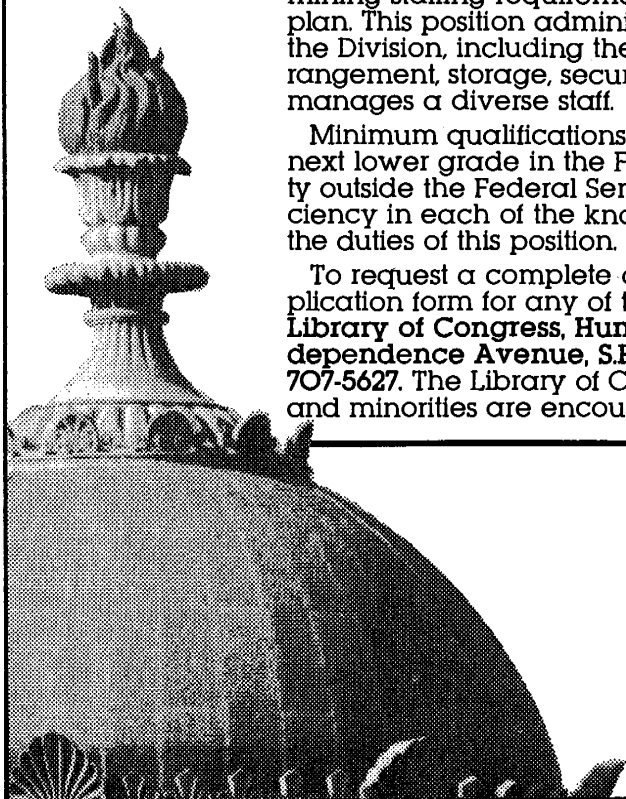
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Mexico Under Salinas

by Philip Russell

A 1993 Text Citing 1993 Sources

Table of Contents

Politics
Human Rights
The Economy
Debt Renegotiation
The Environment
Mexican Society
U.S. Mexican Relations
North American FreeTrade Agreement

Professors adopting this text will receive the following without charge:

- Cumulative supplement to Jan. 1994 (Even 1993 books get out of date.)
- Monthly summary of events in Mexico.

For those who are unfamiliar with Russell's work, his last book, *El Salvador in Crisis*, was described as "an excellent synthesis" in the *HAHR*. The review in the *Journal of Latin American Studies* declared, "Russell has provided a steady and useful overview, replete with factual information and accessible to students."

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Table with columns for membership category, rate, and currency symbol. Includes categories like Introductory, Regular (with income brackets), LIFE MEMBER, Student Member, Latin Americanists, Joint Membership, and Journal/Bulletin rates.

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(for individual membership application, please see other side)

PREREGISTRATION
LASA  **1994**
XVIII INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
of the
Latin American Studies Association
10-12 March 1994
Atlanta, Georgia

The preliminary program for **LASA 1994** is published in this issue of the *LASA Forum*. The theme of the XVIII International Congress is *The Americas and the Globalization Process: Trends and Strategies for a New Millennium*, but **LASA 1994** will feature panels, workshops, and plenaries with varied topics and approaches.

Preregister now, and join your colleagues from several continents as they gather in Atlanta!

See your preregistration packet, mailed earlier, for more information and a preregistration/1994 membership form. You may wish to pass along the form on the next page to one of your colleagues.

Mail all preregistration and membership forms to:

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