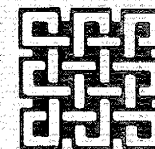


# Latin American Studies Association



Volume XXVI  
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# LASA FORUM



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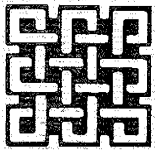
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# LASA Forum

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# President's Report

by Cynthia M<sup>c</sup>Clintock  
George Washington University

I hope that you have already observed the fruit of one of our decisions at the February meeting of the LASA Executive Council: the enhancement of the graphics of LASA publications. Not only the *LASA Forum*, but also our new membership directory and our brochures have been given fresh formats. Reid Reading, LASA's Executive Director, has been working with a professional graphics designer on the new format, and we trust that you will find our publications more readable and attractive.

Perhaps the most significant decision taken at the LASA Executive Council (EC) meeting was the award of another five-year contract for the *Latin American Research Review* to the University of New Mexico. The *LARR* Bid Review Committee, chaired by John Martz, had unanimously endorsed the approval of the University of New Mexico's bid. Especially given the outstanding ratings that our members gave *LARR* in our fall 1994 membership survey (See Sandy Klinzing, "Results of the LASA Membership Survey," in the spring 1995 issue of the *LASA Forum*), the EC was delighted that Gilbert Merx will remain Editor of *LARR* and that the journal will continue to be housed, produced, and distributed at the University of New Mexico through the academic year 2000-2001.

The most extensive discussion at our EC meeting was about the submission of a third proposal for an Endowment Challenge Grant to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). As I reported in the Winter 1995 *LASA Forum*, our endowment campaign suffered a setback when our second proposal to NEH was denied. There were various concerns about resubmission. First, given that NEH currently includes only literature, history, and cultural anthropology in its definition of the "humanities," there was fear that NEH and LASA could prove an odd couple. There was also fear that, given NEH's two previous rejections and the current political climate, the chances of success for a 1995 proposal were limited and, accordingly, the opportunity costs of resubmission should be considered.

Ultimately, however, noting the encouragement from our NEH staff person and the willingness of EC member Marysa Navarro (an historian familiar with NEH's priorities) to redraft the proposal, the EC voted unanimously to resubmit. In line both with our own and NEH's reflections about the prospects for support for narrowly defined humanities programs within LASA, however, the EC decided to reduce LASA's request to NEH from \$500,000 (which required a matching \$1.5 million for the humanities from LASA) to \$200,000 (which would require a \$600,000 match).

The need for LASA's endowment becomes clearer every year. As you know, since 1992 the Ford Foundation has been warning LASA that it will not maintain its previous levels of support for congress travel. Now, in the context of the serious challenges by the Republican-dominated Congress to the Inter-American Foundation, the North-South Center, and other institutions that have been sympathetic donors for travel to LASA congresses, LASA's prospects for support for congress travel are further reduced. For the 1992 congress in Los Angeles, the travel of about 150 Latin American experts was funded, and for the 1994 Atlanta congress the number was 114; for Washington D.C., however, the number could fall below 60. In this context, the EC took an unprecedented step: to guarantee support for congress travel to a minimum of 75 Latin America-based scholars, even if the only available funds are from LASA's own reserves.

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Although external support for congress travel is unlikely ever to return to the levels of previous years, we are continuing to explore strategies to this end. In order to make a better case for support to the foundations, we will be making a vigorous effort to determine at the Washington congress whether or not scheduled participants who had asked for travel support, but had not received any funds, were in fact able to attend. Also, as I reported in the winter 1995 issue of the *Forum*, our "Panels Plus" committee is identifying institutions that could co-sponsor congress participants.

There is good news about the progress of our endowment campaign. Led by Development Committee Chair Carmen Diana Deere and LASA Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement Sandy Klinzing, our campaign has been receiving generous support from our members. We are delighted that there are now 28 Founding Life Members of LASA, and that contributions to the campaign have reached \$217,315. Adding to this amount the \$150,000 recently transferred by EC decision to endowment from LASA's own reserves, the grand total in our humanities and general endowment funds is \$367,315. We have recently completed a mailing to our top dues-paying members, and are hoping for continued success. At the September congress, our Development Committee will meet, and we look forward to new insights for our campaign in the coming years.

One of my own priorities as president has been LASA's institutional membership. In the winter 1995 issue of the *Forum*, I reported that the Steering Committee of the Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP), which had served as LASA's "institutional affiliate," had decided to withdraw from LASA, and that our Executive Council had

agreed to accept CLASP's decision; concomitant amendments to our constitution were proposed in a formal mail ballot, and approved by our membership. (Forty-seven members affirmed the proposed amendment, two opposed it, and two abstained.)

In the wake of the withdrawal of CLASP from LASA, we are making our first-ever effort to attract institutional members based in Latin America. In part, this is an effort stimulated by the 1994-95 grant from the Ford Foundation for LASA's endowment campaign. We have now compiled a mailing list of more than 225 Latin American institutions, and have sent membership packages that include copies of the brochure in Spanish or Portuguese. For the 1995 LASA Congress, Sandy Klinzing has coordinated three special sessions of particular interest to Latin American institutions: "Developing Effective Boards of Directors;" "Making the Assets of a Nonprofit Grow;" and "Reflections about Endowment Campaigns." At these sessions, we will also be welcoming suggestions from the representatives of Latin American institutions about the benefits and services that they would welcome from LASA.

Various LASA Task Forces have been working hard on particular substantive problems. As you know from previous issues of the *LASA Forum*, Wayne Smith, Chair of LASA's Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba, has been spearheading the challenge to the Clinton administration's tighter restrictions upon scholarly travel to Cuba (which require all professional researchers to apply for a specific Treasury Department license at least six weeks in advance, without assurance that the license will be granted). In acts of civil disobedience, Wayne and other LASA members courageously made three trips to Cuba without seeking Treasury Department licenses. Although the U.S. government took no action against Wayne's groups that would have enabled a lawsuit on constitutional grounds, such action was taken by the government against the Freedom to Travel Campaign. The current emphasis of the Task Force is to support the Freedom to Travel Campaign's lawsuit.

Election-monitoring delegations have been regular initiatives of LASA Task Forces. Last November, John Gitlitz and Kevin Middlebrook, Co-Chairs of LASA's Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom, proposed a LASA delegation to observe the electoral process in Peru, and in February the proposal was approved by the EC. Although it is currently very difficult to secure external funds for election-monitoring delegations, and LASA itself cannot devote major sums, we were gratified that scholars' home institutions (in particular the North-South Center) supported the delegation. As a member of the delegation, I was delighted both that the experience was intellectually stimulating for us, and that our work was valuable for Peru (see my preface to the "LASA Delegation Members' Reports on the 1995 Peruvian Election and its Aftermath" in this issue of the *Forum*. In part to draw lessons from our Peru initiative for future efforts, the EC is currently drafting a set of guidelines for LASA election-monitoring delegations.

Our September 28-30 congress in Washington, D. C. will be our biggest ever and of course we would like it to be our best ever as well. As Program Chair Tom Holloway indicates in his column, more than 2,250 individuals will be participating in a

total of 555 sessions. Tom, John Bailey (Local Arrangements Chair), and I have also arranged plenaries with two of Latin America's most celebrated leaders: César Gaviria, Secretary-General of the Organization of American States and Enrique Iglesias, Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. Other confirmed speakers of special interest include Harriet C. Babbitt, U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States; Santiago Creel, Citizen Counselor on the governing board of Mexico's Federal Electoral Institute; and the four prominent Latin American writers mentioned in Tom's column. Rose Spalding (Finance Committee member) is coordinating a plenary on the future of Nicaragua to which Antonio Lacayo (Minister of the Presidency), Sergio Ramírez (former Vice-President), and other top Nicaraguan leaders have been invited. Additional plenaries including key Mexican, Guatemalan, and U.S. leaders may come to fruition. There will be opportunities to hear from some of LASA's own distinguished leaders too: from Richard Fagen, our 1995 Kalman Silvert Award winner, and from twelve other LASA past presidents at the sessions "Secrets from LASA's Past...Keys to Its Future" and "Continuing Challenges in Latin America: LASA Past Presidents Speak Out."

For several years, the EC has been pondering alternative systems for the distribution of the papers presented at the congress. Unfortunately, there was widespread dissatisfaction with Kinko's copy operation in Atlanta. Led by Reid Reading, we have decided that, for the Washington congress, our members would favor a tried-and-true procedure, and we are again asking authors to bring hard copies to the congress for sale (but providing coupons towards the purchase of papers for these authors). Deborah Jakubs, Chair of the Task Force on Scholarly Resources, and Task Force member Naomi Lindstrom have been prodding LASA towards the electronic distribution of papers, and a pilot on-line project will be initiated at the Washington congress. Vice President Jane Jaquette has indicated that one of her priorities as president will be to assure that LASA is up to speed on the information highway.

A question that has been of great interest over the years both to LASA's leaders and members has been the role that LASA should try to play in U.S. policy-making towards Latin America. At our business meeting during the Washington congress, we will invite not only resolutions about current issues as we have in the past, but also discussion about any possible changes in our resolution-making practice as well as the structure of the business meeting in general. Please make every effort to attend.

Valuable information about congress logistics is included on other pages of this *Forum*. The piece by Margaret Sarles about Washington D.C. is a helpful guide to cultural and culinary opportunities in the city. Note too that, for the budget-conscious, the LASA Secretariat is offering a roommate matching service for our hotel, and the Local Arrangements Committee is arranging opportunities to stay at modest hotels and graduate students' apartments.

As always, we welcome your feedback on any of the issues facing LASA today. I hope to see you in Washington in September! ■

# Foreign Area Studies Back to the Future?

by Gilbert W. Merx  
University of New Mexico

In 1973 Richard D. Lambert, the eminent specialist on foreign area studies, published a major study called *Language and Area Studies Review* in which he reported:

*We were a bit puzzled by the force of negative feelings towards area studies of some non-area oriented American scholars. The commonest cliché we heard in our travels was "going beyond traditional area studies," which had an implicit negative judgment as well as a promise of fresh approaches. The latter phrase, incidentally, came most often from other sections of the international studies community whose members might be expected to be natural allies--the discipline-based project research scholars.*

Today the Vice President of the Social Science Research Council, Dr. Stanley J. Heginbotham, is asserting that the end of the cold war requires "going beyond traditional area studies", the very cliché noted by Lambert more than two decades ago. Heginbotham's argument has been widely publicized in such forums as the *SSRC Items* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. He implies that foundation and public agencies should invest less in foreign area studies and more in studies of international "themes." Given the tendency of foundations and public officials to follow current fashion, Heginbotham's recommendations may have negative consequences for the already scarce funding of foreign area studies in the United States.

Heginbotham's argument rests upon three assumptions, summarized as follows:

- The cold war shaped the focus and content of foreign area studies in the U.S.
- The cold war caused area studies to focus on "geo-cultural specifics" of a traditional character and not on "thematic substance" of contemporary importance.
- The study of international "themes" is more relevant in the post-cold war period than the study of "geo-cultural specifics."

On the basis of these assumptions, Heginbotham concludes that:

- International scholarship is shifting away from foreign area studies towards "thematic" studies that are "context-sensitive."
- The function of area specialists will be to support research by "substantive specialists" whose work will be "targeted on particular topics."

- Student training should be more "substantively focused" and "more selective in drawing on area program offerings."

## Did the cold war shape the focus and content of U.S. foreign area studies?

After a number of prior experiments, the federal role in support of foreign area studies was initiated in its current form by the passage in 1958 of Title VI of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). Federal dollars were followed by foundation grants, university matching funds, faculty lines, and student fellowships. Coming in the 1960's, a time of rapidly growing university budgets, these investments met with stunning success. Foreign area and international studies proliferated at research universities across the nation.

Despite the "national defense" rhetoric enshrined in its title, the NDEA was not designed to serve cold-war goals. The legislative history of the 1958 NDEA reveals congressional motives that were unrelated to cold war ideology. As documented by Barbara Barksdale Clowse in *Brainpower for the Cold War*, the NDEA was pushed through by liberal Democrats led by Senator Lister Hill and Representative Carl Elliott, with help behind the scenes from a liberal Republican, Assistant Secretary of

Health Education and Welfare Eliot L. Richardson. Hill and Elliott used the public hysteria over Sputnik to achieve a long-sought goal: federal aid to higher education. The legislative debate had less to do with the cold war than with whether the federal government should begin to fund higher education. Supporters and opponents of the NDEA were keenly aware of the significance of this precedent. The bill was strongly contested by conservatives, who argued that the NDEA would open the floodgates of federal assistance to higher education. Senator Barry Goldwater declared it "the camel's nose under the tent," and Senator Strom Thurmond denounced the bill for its "unbelievable remoteness from national defense considerations."

Apart from congressional intent, did Title VI funding bring a cold-war slant to the content of foreign-area studies in the United States? Heginbotham asserts that "In retrospect it seems clear that those who shaped emerging institutions of international scholarship in the early years of the cold war should have been more attentive to a range of issues involving the autonomy and integrity of scholars and scholarly institutions." Yet the historical record makes it clear that the protection of scholarly integrity was a major concern of those involved with the Title VI experiment. Logan Wilson, Presi-

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*The legislative debate [over the 1958 NDEA] had less to do with the cold war than with whether the federal government should begin to fund higher education.*

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dent of the American Council on Education, in 1962 observed with regard to the Title VI program:

*The Federal Government has provided its share of the financing of language and area centers without impairing the autonomy of the institutions receiving the funds; in short, Federal funds have been given without Federal control.*

The Title VI legislation established that the primary locus of foreign area research in the United States would be the university, in contrast to the European practice of locating foreign area studies in a national academy or government think-tank. The placement of foreign area studies in universities in turn provided them with considerable autonomy. Since area scholars were required to meet the standards of the academic disciplines for purposes of tenure, promotion, and salary increases, U.S. area studies were conducted from the perspectives and approaches of the various disciplines. Thus the focus of foreign area studies came from the university, not the government, while the content of area studies came almost entirely from overseas research by U.S. scholars and their foreign colleagues.

Even Soviet area studies, which might be presumed to have suffered the greatest pressure from the U.S. government, maintained academic integrity and autonomy. Three scholars in this field, Robert T. Huber, Blair A. Ruble, and Peter J. Stavrakis, recently observed:

*The reality is that Slavic and Eurasian area scholars and funders produced results strikingly independent of assumptions driving U.S. political preferences... The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union provided an impetus for developing important elements of the postwar research infrastructure, but it is simply wrong to assert that this was the sole organizing theme for area studies programs in universities, or that individuals participating in these programs were unable to isolate their own research agendas from overarching political considerations.*

Their argument can be taken a step further. The expansion of area studies following passage of Title VI led to the dissemination of new and more objective information about foreign areas, criticism of U.S. foreign policy, and exposés of the mistakes made by national security agencies. Two of the most criticized administrations, those of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, responded by attempting to terminate Title VI funding entirely. The U.S. Congress, however, rescued Title VI. The relationship of the area studies community to U.S. cold-war policy was therefore not marked by dependence and support but rather by autonomy and even confrontation, as demonstrated by the long history of resolutions denouncing U.S. foreign policy passed by the Latin American Studies Association and other foreign area associations. Foreign area studies served as an independent alternative to information from government agencies, which helped to widen debate over foreign policy alternatives and to fuel opposition to cold war policies.

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*The focus of contemporary foreign area studies...places a major, and for some foreign areas, even predominant emphasis on social science issues of contemporary relevance.*

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In sum, Heginbotham's interpretation of the relationship between the cold war and area studies has things backward. As the cold war intensified, differences between policymakers and foreign area specialists widened. The cold war did not result in a marriage between the policy community and the area studies community, but in their separation.

### **Did the cold war cause area studies to focus on "geo-cultural specifics" of a traditional character and not on "thematic substance" of contemporary importance?"**

The fact that non-area scholars were already attacking "traditional" area studies not much more than a decade after the passage of Title VI suggests that the label "traditional" was simply a pejorative used by non-area scholars jealous of area studies funding. Does the term "traditional" as used in the current debate have a more substantive meaning? What would be "non-traditional"?

Heginbotham cites a recent announcement by the Mellon Foundation that it intends to replace support for "area studies as they are traditionally defined" in favor of programs "on such

themes as nationalism and the shaping of national identities, the resurgence of ethnic and religious rivalries, new varieties of democratization, the role of violence in settling--or exacerbating--disagreements, the spread of mass culture and Western economic values, as well as counter-movements." Such themes presumably exclude the humanities. Heginbotham's references to "geo-cultural specifics" as the focus of area studies provides an

additional description of "traditional" area studies. Thus traditional area studies are portrayed as humanistic and geo-specific, in contrast to the presumably more desirable "thematic" studies of contemporary social issues.

However, is it accurate to characterize today's area studies as "traditional" rather than "contemporary?" The official research journals of the five major area studies associations, which cover Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Slavic Studies, can be considered suggestive of current foreign area studies. These publications are the *African Studies Review*, *Journal of Asian Studies*, *Latin American Research Review*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, and *Slavic Review*. The contents of 266 articles published by these journals in 1992, 1993, and 1994 were examined and coded as being either non-traditional (dealing with contemporary themes) or traditional.

The non-traditional, contemporary articles comprised 76 percent of the *African Studies Review*, 70 percent of the *Latin American Research Review*, 46 percent of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26 percent of the *Slavic Review*, and 16 percent of the *Journal of Asian Studies* (Table I.) It is interesting that the average for African, Latin American, and Middle East studies was 64 percent non-traditional, whereas the average for Slavic and Asian studies is only 21 percent non-traditional.

These findings suggest that foreign area studies today give substantial attention to issues of contemporary significance and to the kinds of themes identified by the Mellon Foundation, which Heginbotham cites approvingly. A more sophisticated content analysis would also be likely to find that today's research on traditional humanities topics such as literature, religion, and history is actually comparative and thematic in focus and contemporary in terms of implications. The Muslim religion, for example, might seem an esoteric humanities topic; nevertheless today Islam is one of the key factors shaping developments within and among the Arabic, Turkic, and Persian-speaking nations of North Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia.

Important scholarship by area specialists is also published in non-area studies journals. The high prestige associated with the flagship journals of the disciplinary professional associations makes them a magnet for area scholars, who must establish disciplinary credentials for tenure and promotion. Presumably, foreign area scholarship appearing in the disciplinary publications has theoretical or thematic relevance that transcends geo-specific traditionalism. The evidence suggests that the focus of contemporary foreign area studies is not limited to the geo-specific, but in fact places a major, and for some foreign areas, even predominant emphasis on social science issues of contemporary relevance.

**Is the study of international "themes" more relevant in the post-cold war period than the study of "geo-cultural specifics?"**

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the list of "themes" cited by Heginbotham (nationalism, national identities, ethnic and religious rivalries, democratization, violence, the spread of mass culture and Western economic values) is how dated and even traditional they are. The same themes were fashionable after World War II during the process of decolonization and the achievement of independence by many African and Asian nations. However, the attempt to intellectually organize international scholarship around such trendy themes as nationalism and the spread of Western values failed. Writing from an international relations perspective, J. David Singer recently noted:

*As scientists, we need to pick problems we deem important in the knowledge-acquiring or problem-solving sense rather than what is "hot" in the discipline or the foundation or the Council on Foreign Relations. We need, too, to take a hard look at such notions as "today is totally unlike the past."*

The post-colonial period was followed by the cold war, during which the most fashionable "theme" was the cold war itself.

The relatively stable political-economic-military blocs of the cold war lent themselves to the development of bipolar models of international relations that downplayed geo-specific variables in favor of international-system attributes. The end of the cold war, however, was not predictable on the basis of cold-war systematics. The disintegration of the Soviet empire was a function of geo-specific variables. As the systemic features of the cold-war order unraveled, the importance of information about geo-cultural specifics became increasingly obvious.

The removal of cold-war hegemonies unleashed an accelerated pace of change at the local and national levels throughout the world, resulting in greater complexity, differentiation, and unpredictability. One indicator of the extent of such instability is the number of countries experiencing civil war or armed intervention in the 1990s: Angola, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Cambodia, Chechnya, Croatia, Georgia, Haiti, Iraq, Kuwait, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tajikistan, and Yemen. The count of countries experiencing guerrilla insurgencies is even larger. Steven Metz agrees that, "For the third tier [of countries], current trends suggest a future of disintegration, conflict, chaos, and ungovernability. In its extreme form this will lead to 'failed states' where order has totally broken down and the central government does not function."

Due to its inherent limitations, the thematic approach to understanding events of the post-colonial, cold-war, and post-cold war periods has been largely replaced by a combination of foreign area research and comparative scholarship. The dependence of comparative scholarship on information provided by area studies is now commonly accepted. James A. Bill sums up an American Political Science Association roundtable on area studies and theory-building by stating that "Area studies and comparative political analysis are inextricably intertwined with one another. The experiences of nation-states across the world provide the material and substance for analysis."

What is less commonly recognized is that comparative research depends on foreign area studies conceptually as well as

**TABLE I:  
CONTENT OF MANUSCRIPTS PUBLISHED IN JOURNALS OF  
FIVE MAJOR AREA STUDIES ASSOCIATIONS, 1992-94**

	Afr. St. Rev.	Lat. Am. Res. Rev.	Int. J. M.E. St.	Slavic Review	J. Asian Studies
Non-Traditional*	76% (25)	70% (37)	46% (26)	26% (22)	16% (7)
Traditional*	24% (8)	30% (11)	54% (31)	74% (63)	83% (36)
Totals	100% (33)	100% (48)	100% (57)	100% (85)	100% (43)

\*"Traditional" defined as articles dealing with culture, philosophy, history (regardless of topic), language, art, and literature. "Non-traditional" defined as articles on issues of current international relations; economic, social, or political change; or contemporary gender, ethnicity, religion, or social equity. The tabulation excludes book reviews and bibliographic essays, but includes research notes and review essays. *Latin American Research Review* complete through 1994, but some 1994 issues missing for all other publications.

empirically. The majority of comparativists are area specialists whose comparative research is shaped by issues and problems derived from their area studies background. Foreign area studies have thus generated many, if not most, of the concepts that have inspired comparative research; dependency, bureaucratic-authoritarianism, democratization, privatization, and social movements are but a few examples. Huber, Ruble, and Stavrakis observe that "Broader conceptualization builds upon—but does not replace—area programs, and our academic programs should reflect this fact." In sum, area studies are the essential starting point for understanding new global realities, as well as a prerequisite for comparative scholarship.

## Implications

Robert B. Hall, chairman of the SSRC Committee on World Area Research, argued in 1947 that area studies would "not only help to fill the now unknown interstices, but also to bring about an exchange of the particular knowledge and peculiar insights of the different disciplines, to the general enrichment of research." The conceptual enrichment envisioned by Hall has certainly taken place, and many foreign areas have been well-researched. But the rapid pace of socio-political change around the world does not make area studies obsolete; rather it outdates old information. Hall's "unknown interstices" continue to multiply both in number and potential importance.

The challenges confronting foreign area studies are not post-cold war obsolescence and thematic irrelevance, as suggested by Heginbotham. Two more fundamental questions are posed by the current juncture. The first is whether the foreign area studies community in the United States has the capacity to generate the geo-specific knowledge required for understanding global change in the post-cold war environment. The second question is whether the nation's area studies investment can sustain even current levels of capability.

The answer to the first question is straightforward. The nation's foreign area studies capacity is inadequate to cope with current challenges. This inadequacy in turn weakens comparative research. Despite its achievements, the U.S. area studies effort has never been funded at the level required for comprehensive coverage of all foreign areas. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the gaps are more obvious than ever. There is only one Title VI center offering coverage of the vast Uralic and Central Asian republics, and few American scholars fluent in any of the languages of these countries. Area expertise on Africa and the Middle East is marked by major gaps, which have worsened due to growing problems of conducting field work and obtaining information. Asian studies are marked by similar lacunae, particularly for Southeast Asian countries such as Cambodia, Burma, and Vietnam. Basic research materials from all areas abroad are in short supply. The decline of the dollar (now worth one-third of its former value in yen) has decimated budgets for overseas travel by scholars and for purchases by research libraries.

The situation with respect to maintaining current capacities is less clear. Will there be sufficient funding to prepare a future

generation of scholars? Will there be jobs for the next generation of area specialists? Can current levels of research production continue if resources dwindle? The education of an area specialist is a costly and demanding process. In addition to meeting all the requirements of graduate training in an academic discipline, the area specialist must acquire foreign language fluency and master the scholarly literature on the area. Moreover, foreign area expertise depreciates unless it is constantly renewed both individually and across generations. Languages acquired, but not spoken, gradually disappear. Overseas contacts and sources not renewed by field research are lost. Scholars age, retire, and die. Unless new scholars are prepared and employed, the field of study disappears.

Officials in government agencies and private foundations may not appreciate the full implications of the fact that the considerable achievements of foreign area scholarship rest on a shaky institutional foundation. The paradox is not that achievement is associated with vulnerability, because the vulnerability is easy to explain. The dependence of university-based area studies programs on faculty housed in disciplinary departments ensures intellectual standards, but also guarantees organizational weakness. University administrations are subject to intense lobbying by academic departments in pursuit of disciplinary budgets. This Darwinian environment is problematic for all interdisciplinary programs. The 1981 Rand Corporation study of Title VI centers reported: "Even though centers at major universities often enjoy considerable prestige at other institutions, there is difficulty in translating this into influence and status on their home campuses."

The paradox is that institutional vulnerabilities have not prevented foreign area studies from achieving excellence. How was this accomplished and how is it sustained? The answer lies in the catalytic and critical role of federal and foundation grants. The multiplier effect of these awards has been extraordinary. Given the invidious nature of universities, external funding conveys prestige to the area program, validates the university's investment, and encourages further commitments.

The oldest, largest, and last important source of area-studies funding is the Title VI Foreign Language and Areas Studies National Resource Centers and Fellowships program. If Title VI funding is withdrawn, universities will divert resources from foreign area studies to other fields. The result will be an implosion of foreign area studies in the United States. As is known from the cases in which a university disinvested in an area studies program, a Title VI National Resource Center can virtually disappear in a three or four-year period.

It may be the case that some foundation and government program officers prefer to discard past practices in favor of innovation, invariably labeled as "reform". Certainly many politicians reflect this syndrome. But novelty for novelty's sake is a destructive force in scholarship. The consequences of dismantling foreign area studies in the United States would be staggering, not just for scholarship, not just for the nation as a whole, but for the future that all nations will inherit. ■



# ***Preface to LASA Delegation Members' Reports on the 1995 Peruvian Election and its Aftermath***

by Cynthia McClintock

George Washington University

LASA President and Member of the Delegation

In November 1994, John Gitlitz and Kevin Middlebrook, Co-Chairs of LASA's Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom, proposed a LASA delegation to observe the electoral process in Peru, and the proposal was approved by the LASA Executive Council. We were delighted that despite the fact that there were no external funds for the delegation and members had to seek resources from their own institutions, an outstanding 14-member delegation--diverse by discipline, gender and rank--was assembled. (The participants are named below our photograph on page 9 of the Spring *LASA Forum*). Steve Stein of the North-South Center was the coordinator of our group, Carlos Monge our liaison with our Peruvian support institution, *Transparencia*, Tommie Sue Montgomery the editor of our report, and José Luis Rénique its translator into Spanish.

As the delegation was established, Task Force Co-Chair John Gitlitz was key in stimulating us to reflect on our role. Many questions arose. Given that blatant election fraud was unlikely, what should be our focus? Our answer was the electoral playing field: the conditions and rules for the elections, and the status of civilian political institutions. Accordingly, we decided to travel in February, more than two months before the election, when we still would have good access to key political actors, and when we would be able to make constructive criticisms when they still could possibly have some impact. We still worried about the lack of clear criteria for determining whether or not an electoral context was legitimate.

These worries were well founded, but even in the absence of any internationally recognized standards to aid us in making a

succinct judgment about the "levelness" of the playing field, our work still was fruitful. Especially given the scant presence of other high-level delegations (neither the National Democratic Institute nor the International Republican Institute nor the Carter Center sponsored delegations), our week-long visit to Peru, including travel to many areas outside the capital demonstrated high-level international interest. Our attention raised the spirits of Peruvian election-monitoring groups and reinforced their efforts. Our report was completed about two weeks prior to the election and made available in Peru. Demand for the report was considerable, and portions of it were reprinted in several Peruvian publications. Especially given our focus on electoral conditions and political institutions, the report should be of longstanding value.

Although a free and fair election is not a sufficient condition for democracy, it is of course a necessary one. I was delighted that three members of our delegation were in Peru for the election itself and were able to write follow-up accounts. In retrospect, it is clear that elections can be tarnished by such a great variety of problems that a pre-electoral delegation may not be able to anticipate which ones will be the most salient on election day. From the accounts that follow, it is evident that we should have called more attention to the complexity of the ballot, the possible difficulties of correctly tabulating votes, professional shortcomings among some election officials, and the various measures that reduced turnout. Overall, I believe that together, our delegation's report and the members' accounts below provide cogent analysis of recent steps both towards and away from democratic consolidation in Peru. ■

## **Troubled Accounting, Troubling Questions Looking Back at Peru's Election**

by Catherine M. Conaghan

Queen's University, Canada

Within minutes of the closing of Peru's polling stations on April 9, the magnitude of President Alberto Fujimori's political victory was evident as television stations rushed to broadcast their first exit polls. The exit polls indicated what the national election board, the Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (JNE), would confirm later that evening; it was a stunning win for the incumbent president. The press, the opposition, and the government had reason to anticipate the result. Confidential polls released to the foreign press on April 7 predicted

Fujimori's first-round victory.

What most pollsters and political professionals did not anticipate was the strong performance of Fujimori's *Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría* (C90-NM) congressional list. Polls taken in the last week of the campaign estimated support for the C90-NM list in a range between 25 to 35 percent of the vote.<sup>1</sup> By the time all the votes were finally counted, C90-NM candidates accounted for 52 percent of the vote; that translated

into 67 of the 120 seats in the unicameral congress, an absolute governing majority.

The conduct and the results of the congressional election merit further reflection for what they reveal about the state of institutional life and the party system. The election should have been a showcase for an administration trying to reestablish its democratic credentials and legitimate its new institutions. Nonetheless, the legitimacy of the new congress' election was marred by scandals and confusion that delayed the vote count, disenfranchised thousands of voters, and left a trail of unanswered questions about the JNE and the extent to which the Fujimori government has made progress in the reform of public administration. Equally troubling are the congressional returns that show the ruinous state of Peru's party system.

The controversies that surrounded the congressional election began on Thursday, April 6, when news broke that local JNE officials and candidates in Huánuco had been caught in a scheme to alter preferential votes on the congressional portion of the ballot. The conspirators were caught with 3,024 *actas* (the official tally sheets that are used to report the presidential and the congressional vote from each voting table); three hundred and sixty *actas* had already been filled out to favor the congressional candidates of six different political parties. The candidates benefitting most from the conspirators' accounting were Horacio Cánepa of the Partido Popular Cristiano, Víctor Joy Way of C90-NM, and Bertilo Malpartida Tello of Acción Popular. Also implicated in the scandal was C-90 congressman Pablo Tello Tello. The stolen election materials could have been used to change as many as 604,800 votes--approximately 4.79 percent of the national vote.<sup>2</sup>

The Huánuco scandal seemed to confirm the worst fears of the opposition--namely, that an informal infrastructure was in place that *could* be used for electoral fraud should the government deem it necessary. All of the opposition presidential candidates had complained vociferously throughout the campaign of the government's machinations to insure its own victory. Yet, most of the opposition's concerns were centered on the pre-election use of public officials and resources for campaign purposes or the possible involvement of the military in the electoral process.<sup>3</sup>

The competence of the election board itself was not a central concern. In late November, opposition parties signed a common code of conduct (*Pacto de San Marcos*) under the auspices of the domestic election monitoring group, *Transparencia*. The pact expressed confidence in the integrity of the JNE.<sup>4</sup> There was some critical press on the JNE during

the campaign. The investigative magazine, *Sí*, published stories on shady business dealings between the JNE and firms providing election materials; those reports forced the firings of three JNE officials in early March. Nevertheless, the *Sí* reports went largely unnoticed by the mainstream press and the opposition.<sup>5</sup>

By Friday evening, the atmosphere in Lima turned tense. The Huánuco revelation coincided with the arrival of OAS president, César Gaviria. Gaviria had come to Lima to head the OAS delegation of 110 election observers. In a Friday evening news conference, Gaviria declared that the Huánuco affair endangered the legitimacy of the entire electoral process and that reports of similar problems were being investigated in Huancavelica and Cerro de Pasco. Attorney General Blanca

Nélida Colón, along with representatives from the JNE and the OAS, was already on the scene in Huánuco to pursue the investigation. Two of the major suspects in the case, Horacio Cánepa and Alberto Nieves, escaped the police round-up and remained at large.

On Saturday morning, government spokespersons announced that preliminary investigations indicated that the Huánuco affair was an isolated criminal act, a "vote-selling" operation involving some JNE officials and candidates seeking to assure themselves a good showing in the preferential vote portion of the ballot. But opposition leaders were unsure of the official explanations. After intense discussions, nine of the leading presidential candidates presented an official request that the JNE postpone the Sunday election pending a complete clarification of the Huánuco incident. The opposition also expressed doubts as to the OAS' ability to guarantee the integrity of the process and requested that Gaviria

withdraw the OAS delegation from election day observation. Among the opposition leaders joining in the protest were Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (Unión por el Perú), Alejandro Toledo (CODE-País Posible), Meche Cabanillas (Partido Aprista), Ricardo Belmont (Movimiento Obras), and Agustín Haya de la Torre (Izquierda Unida). In a dramatic conclusion to a campaign riddled by the opposition's anxieties about fraud and government denials, Saturday night newscasts featured images of demonstrators gathered around the Sheraton hotel where Gaviria was headquartered. They chanted, "el fraude ya se dió" (the fraud is done).

The opposition's demand for a postponement was a half-hearted effort; while some leaders favored an across-the-board boycott of the election by the opposition, others believed that the boycott would be interpreted by the



Preparing for a Fujimori Parade at Party Headquarters

(all Photos by David Scott Palmer)

public simply as an attempt by the opposition to avoid an embarrassing loss, or worse, as an open provocation of military intervention. Moreover, even before the opposition's official request for postponement was submitted, JNE president Ricardo Nugent announced that the election would go ahead as scheduled with or without opposition candidates.

By Sunday, the Huánuco incident was already fading away as a major news story. The OAS, *Transparencia*, and other observers made their way to the polls as did all the presidential contenders, who were televised as they arrived to cast their ballots. Election day coverage by the principal television stations made virtually no mention of the events in Huánuco. Polling proceeded normally; there were few reports of irregularities at the 70,456 voting tables.

Exit polling and the "quick count" undertaken by *Transparencia* accurately reflected the dimensions of the government's victory.<sup>6</sup> Fujimori won 64.2 percent of the valid vote; Javier Pérez de Cuéllar trailed with 21.8 percent. Each of the remaining twelve candidates polled less than five percent of the vote. The vote for congress closely coincided with the presidential race. The C90-NM led the pack with 52.1 percent of the valid vote, followed by Pérez de Cuéllar's UPP with 13.9 percent. Of the remaining 18 parties that fielded lists, only the Partido Aprista managed to eke out more than 5 percent of the vote. Not only had Fujimori pulled off a first round victory, but his "coat-tails" produced an absolute majority in the congress.<sup>7</sup> As one euphoric C90-NM congressman put it, the electoral results were a mandate for Fujimori to "hacer lo que le da la gana" (do whatever he feels like). At his election night press conference, Fujimori interpreted the results as the death knell for parties and the dawn of a new type of party-less democracy in Peru. He characterized his own government as "non-partisan" and C90-NM as a collection of independent technocrats.

For opposition leaders, there was no alternative but to admit that the results were a stinging defeat and a rejection of party politics as practiced by them. Traditional parties, from Acción Popular to APRA, performed poorly, but so did the entire array of new political movements. Even heavy media spending by the popular, pro-Fujimori congressional leader, Rafael Rey, yielded only 2.9 percent of the vote and three congressional seats for his Renovación movement.

In the weeks following the election, questions about the future of the party system and electoral fraud dominated the headlines. The issue of fraud resurfaced with the revelation that an inventory taken just prior to the election showed that 37,000 *actas* were missing from JNE storage facilities and could not be accounted for. High-ranking JNE officials denied that they had been informed of the problem by the lower-level managers in charge of the election materials. Along with the *actas*, other missing materials included thousands of bottles of indelible ink (used to mark voters' fingers), and hundreds of official seals. The disappearance of such massive quantities of election materials made the Huánuco incident look far more menacing than it had been represented. The new scandal broke just as the

OAS and *Transparencia* were poised to issue their final reports on the elections; both groups suspended the submission of their final reports pending further clarifications by the JNE.

Missing *actas* were not the only problem to confound the count and delay the release of the official results. The *acta* itself was poorly designed; election officials at polling stations were confused as to how to add and write in the results on the form, especially the results from the preferential portion of the congressional ballot where voters were allowed to indicate two candidate preferences from a single party list of their choice. In many instances, the two preferences chosen by voters were counted erroneously as two votes by election officials--thus, hundreds of *actas* were submitted that showed a number of congressional votes that exceeded the number of voters assigned to a polling station. When such a discrepancy occurred, the computer program used by the JNE automatically rejected the results and invalidated the votes. Because all individual voting ballots were destroyed after the count at each polling station, no recount of the actual ballots was possible. The result was an extraordinarily high number of invalid votes. A total of 2,988,897 votes were declared void in the congressional race. This meant that there were more invalid votes than the total number of votes cast for the winning party, C90-NM. As one UPP leader observed, the awkward and unclear format of the *acta* almost seemed designed to induce maximum confusion and invite a high incidence of annulled votes.<sup>8</sup> The question of why the *actas* were not designed to be more "user-friendly" has yet to be addressed by the JNE.

Another indication of the confused counting in the *actas* came to light when the official results of the presidential and congressional elections were compared after their official announcement by the JNE on April 18. Since both the presidential and congressional choices were contained on a single ballot used by voters, the number of voters in both contests should have been the same; nonetheless, there was a serious discrepancy in the total number of voters in the presidential race compared to the number of voters in the congressional race. In theory, that discrepancy should have been reflected in the null/blank votes of the congressional race. It was not. Under pressure from the opposition to clarify the whereabouts of the "835,317 missing votes," the JNE admitted that yet another counting mistake on the part of officials at the voting tables explained the discrepancy.<sup>9</sup>

The JNE's problems got even worse when another case of criminal wrongdoing came to light on April 21. A technician of Otepsa, the firm contracted by the JNE to handle the computer operations used in the count, charged that the firm had uncovered 206 fraudulent *actas* from the province of Juliaca. The *actas* had been altered to favor the local C90-NM congressional candidate in the preferential vote.<sup>10</sup> Implicated in the Juliaca case were two local C-90 officials. Under heavy pressure from the opposition and the OAS, the JNE finally agreed to a recount of the *actas* to insure that no more fraudulent *actas* had been slipped into the system; the recount, which involved a comparison of the original *actas* with the "scanned" version within the JNE computer files, did not produce any more.

In the meantime, the criminal investigations of the Huánuco incident and the 37,000 missing *actas* continued, albeit with complications. The JNE revealed that its own supply director, Hilda Otoyá, fled just days after the election and could not be located. By mid-May, twelve ex-officials of the JNE faced criminal indictments in reference to the missing *actas* and alleged wrongdoing in the purchase of election materials.

As of this writing, the criminal investigations remain ongoing. The JNE still has not offered a public explanation of the missing *actas*. From the perspective of the JNE, the "best case" scenario would be a finding that the missing *actas* never existed--i.e., that printers failed to deliver the amount of materials that they were contracted to produce. Some contractors are being investigated, but the firms involved have produced receipts that confirm their delivery of the materials in question. Even this "best case" scenario leaves the JNE looking incompetent, although more benignly so. But if the investigations reveal that the missing *actas* were stolen, then the public deserves a comprehensive explanation of how a criminal conspiracy could form inside a public institution of such importance and what ends may have been served by its existence.

One positive effect of the otherwise messy electoral process may be a revision or elimination of the preferential vote in future congressional elections. As many party leaders now openly admit, the preferential vote tempts tampering and invites corruption. In this and in previous elections, party pollwatchers have been accused of "re-allocating" preferential votes from one candidate to another, with the collaboration of election officials. Eight losing congressional candidates have requested recounts of the preferential votes within parties, with the implication that their preferential votes were "re-assigned"

to other candidates within their own parties.

In the words of Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, the events of April (Huánuco, Juliaca, 37,000 missing *actas*) cast a "negative shadow" on the electoral process. To shake off that shadow, the JNE and the judicial system need to provide Peruvian citizens with credible explanations and mete out justice to those who schemed to pervert the election process, even if that includes C90-NM or JNE officials. Along with the April incidents, investigations and judicial action on the many alleged violations of electoral code that took place during the campaign would also go a long way in clearing the air and demonstrating an institutional commitment to the rule of law. President Fujimori recently declared that "moralization" will be a central goal of his second administration. The disposition of these election-related criminal investigations could serve as a good litmus test of the government's commitment to moralization and institution-building.

Political parties also must find a way to shake off the shadows of the April debacle. The involvement of local party notables in the Huánuco affair and the suggestion that some party officials participated in the "re-allotment" of preferential votes only served to reinforce the image of parties as bankrupt forces in political life. President Fujimori has made it clear that he does not see parties as central to democratic political life, preferring plebiscitary to representative democracy. He recently signed into law a controversial reform of the electoral code that dramatically raised the number of petition signatures that parties will need to collect in order to qualify for a place on the ballot in the upcoming November municipal elections.<sup>11</sup> Whether contending political elites will be able to reform and remount parties in this hostile environment is one of the many questions left in the wake of April 9. ■

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The polling firm that came closest to predicting the actual results was Datum Internacional. Datum projected the C90-NM vote for congress at 50 percent. Datum was also the closest in projecting the presidential vote; their last pre-election poll put Fujimori at 64 percent. Datum's projections were based on voting simulations.

<sup>2</sup> The figures were presented in a news conference by the JNE and reported in *Gestión*, 9 April 1995. The investigation also uncovered 305 *actas* that had been filled out to favor a variety of presidential candidates. Fujimori was the candidate most favored by the fraudulent count (3,225 votes) in the 305 *actas*, followed by Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (1,708 votes) and Meche Cabanillas (1,104 votes).

<sup>3</sup> The report of the LASA delegation discusses the fears that were being expressed during the course of the campaign, see Latin American Studies Association, *The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru* (Latin American Studies Association/North-South Center, University of Miami, March 1995).

<sup>4</sup> It is important to note that two of Peru's oldest parties, APRA and Acción Popular, refused to sign the pact. APRA leaders were reticent to endorse the Jurado, and were especially suspicious of Jurado officials at the provincial level.

<sup>5</sup> For the *Sí* articles on corruption with the JNE see the following editions: 23-29 February 1995, 27 February-5 March 1995, 13-19 March 1995, 20-26 March 1995. Interview, Marcelo Gullo, Director of *Sí*, 25 April 1995.

<sup>6</sup> On the evening of April 9, *Transparencia* reported the results of its "quick count." Their results coincided with the results of exit polling and the quick count done by the firm, Apoyo. The quick count by *Transparencia* differed by less than 1 percent from the official results delivered by the JNE. *Transparencia* fielded an observation team of 9,000 Peruvians to monitor conditions at the

polls and collect information for the quick count.

<sup>7</sup> The placement of the photos of presidential candidates on the ballot may also have worked heavily in favor of the C90-NM list. Fujimori's photo was distributed widely even prior to the campaign season. The C90-NM list was on the same line with Fujimori's photo on the ballot. In the view of Datum pollster, Manuel Torrado, congressional lists without presidential candidates may have suffered heavily due to the absence of photos on their listing. The placement of presidential photos on the ballot generated controversy during the campaign and was considered by the opposition to give Fujimori an unfair advantage. This issue is discussed in the previously cited LASA delegation report.

<sup>8</sup> Interview, Francisco Pardo Messones, 20 April 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Apparently, election officials at some tables had computed only the preferential votes as the congressional vote. Many voters did not use their preferential votes and marked only the list; mistakenly, those votes were not added as congressional votes. This explains the drop in the number of votes recorded for the congressional race. The JNE's explanation is taken from a report in *La República*, 10 May 1995.

<sup>10</sup> *Gestión*, 24 April 1995; *Caretas*, 11 May 1995.

<sup>11</sup> The new law now requires parties that have lost their legal standing (by failing to win five percent of the vote in the previous election) to re-register by collecting 500,000 petition signatures (i.e., four percent of the electorate); the previous election law required only 100,000 signatures. No other Latin American country imposes such a high barrier to electoral participation; most countries require parties to present petitions from 0.5 percent to 1.5 percent of the electorate. See the discussion "Las 500 mil firmas: Caso único" in *Caretas*, 18 May 1995.

# Observations on the 1995 Peruvian National Elections

by Bruce H. Kay

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## Introduction

In its March pre-election report, the LASA delegation concluded that the 1995 Peruvian elections would not likely be fraudulent. That conclusion was based partly on the recognition that electoral laws had been modified to strengthen civilian control over the process, that the contest was open to all political parties, that the agency charged with overseeing the elections was generally perceived as being fair and autonomous, and that the threat of disruption due to violent conflict had diminished significantly since the last presidential elections. LASA also pointed out the obvious obstacles to free and fair elections: an outdated registration list and the possibility the list could be manipulated, the subordination of civilian to military authority in some areas, the alleged abuse of state resources for campaign purposes, the inaccessibility of televised media to opposition candidates, and the creation of a single national electoral district. LASA concluded that while free and fair elections are necessary to democratic rule, the Fujimori government had not done all it could to promote institutional growth at the core of consolidated democracy.<sup>1</sup>

My experience supports these conclusions. What the delegation tended to overlook, in my view, was the underlying potential for procedural irregularities in the counting of the vote and the way in which these irregularities could undermine public confidence in the outcome, even a valid one. Fujimori's stunning victory is not disputed, but the mishandling of the vote in the congressional elections has raised serious questions about the competence and integrity of the Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (JNE) and doubts that the President's new parliamentary majority is indeed the expression of popular will.

## Results

Alberto Fujimori's re-election to a second term was not unexpected. What surprised most observers and participants, including, apparently, Fujimori himself, was the sheer size of his first-round victory. With two-thirds (64 percent) of the valid vote, Fujimori garnered three votes for every one received by his closest rival, former UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (who received 21.8 percent). There were conflicting interpretations of Fujimori's first round victory. For some analysts it legitimated the April 1992 *autogolpe* and the legal and political restructuring in its aftermath, and expressed a popular mandate to "deepen the reforms in progress." For

government critics, the victory was orchestrated by an ambitious president making full use of his incumbency powers in an avalanche of spending on public works targeted at areas of opposition.<sup>3</sup> For government allies, the election sounded the death knell of *partidocracia* (rule by an elite of party politicians) and the beginning of the plebiscitarian "direct democracy without intermediaries" formula favored by Fujimori.<sup>4</sup>

Whatever the reality, Fujimori's reelection was as close to a foregone conclusion as any in recent history, given his success in slashing inflation and fighting an insurgency which had proven beyond the capabilities of prior governments to control. In large measure, his electoral support reflected a perception that these reversals could be attributed to Fujimori's iron-fisted style of governance -- seen alternately as a necessary evil or a positive good -- or to the 'bitter pill' economic adjustments enacted during his tenure.

Socio-economic breakdowns of the vote are incomplete, but Fujimori's support appears to emerge from the same quarters which backed his *autogolpe* -- the paradoxical coalition of working classes hardest hit by the effects of the economic "shocks" of 1990-1991 and the upper class strata which have most benefitted from them.

Apart from any virtues of leadership attributed to Fujimori, though, the absence of a strong challenge played a large role in giving the incumbent his decisive first round advantage. None of the traditional party candidates appeared to offer any credible alternatives to the Fujimori agenda. Among the independents, only Pérez de Cuéllar's appeals to the longer term goal of consolidating democracy seemed to attract voters.

Surprisingly, despite the generally high regard with which many Peruvians hold the former UN chief, his international prestige and decades of experience as a diplomat were deemed insufficient qualifications for the Peruvian presidency.

At the congressional level, the results were surprising on two accounts. First, C90-NM swept an absolute majority in the congress in defiance of predictions that the renewed participation of traditional parties (which sat out the 1992 race) would shrink C90-NM's share and eliminate its congressional majority. These predictions were corroborated by the many polls showing support for C90-NM to be averaging around 35



Election Day in Ayacucho

percent. Second, the so-called "traditional parties" -- APRA, Acción Popular, the Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC) and the Izquierda Unida (IU) -- fared more poorly than expected. Whether traditional parties are on the verge of extinction is uncertain, but the electoral r ut strips them of their status as entities legally registered with the JNE.

Fujimori's triumph is even more surprising when viewed at the departmental level. First, Fujimori and C90-NM prevailed in many of the same departments which defeated the government-backed constitution only 16 months earlier. In Puno, for example, where an overwhelming 80 percent voted to reject the constitution in October 1993, Fujimori won handily (with 64 percent), while C90-NM exceeded the nationwide percentage by 3 points (at 55 percent). Analysts attribute the climb in support for Fujimori in former areas of opposition

to the use the President has made of state and private resources in the sponsorship of public works, some of which were inaugurated in publicized presidential visits only weeks before the election.<sup>5</sup> Second, there was a gap of at least ten percent between the vote for Fujimori and the vote for C90-NM in nearly every department. Support for the President, in other words, did not translate into support for C90-NM. The discrepancy is likely due to the continuing support for some parties in certain regions (such as APRA in the North), to the personalistic politics of assistentialism, and to a general lack of faith in any of the major parties, including C90-NM, an attitude Fujimori has both benefitted from and reinforced.

### Observation

Fujimori's unwillingness to play by the rules, his dislike for party politics, his autocratic style, and his ties to a military establishment not noted for respecting democratic procedures gave rise to fears that the 1995 elections would not be held in accordance with international standards of fairness. Fueling these concerns were allegations of foul play in the two elections held since the *autogolpe* -- the 1992 congressional elections and the 1993 constitutional referendum. In November 1994 all of the major parties signed an agreement to allow the OAS and an independent, Peruvian group, *Transparencia*, to act as observers in the election. Fujimori's acquiescence to the pact was undoubtedly motivated by a confidence in his ability to prevail in clean elections and a desire to have OAS approval were he indeed to win. By the end of March 1995, the OAS had committed 70 monitors to the mission, and *Transparencia* had begun to train several thousand volunteers as monitors.

A few days before the election, the story broke that local JNE officials and political party activists linked to local candidates had been arrested in connection with a scheme to change the results of the congressional vote in the department of Hu nuco. (See Catherine Conaghan's article). In response to the Hu nuco incident, *Transparencia's* Lima headquarters was flooded with phone calls from potential volunteer monitors.

By the end of the day, *Transparencia* had amassed several thousand extra volunteers, swelling the number of monitors to 8,000 nationwide on the eve of the elections.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the anxiety produced by the fraudulent *actas* found in Hu nuco, the election went ahead as scheduled and voting took place without incident. After the dimensions of the Fujimori victory were made public, the OAS and *Transparencia* held separate press conferences in which they declared the elections fair and free of



Waiting...and waiting to vote at city hall

fraud. For its part, *Transparencia* noted that there was an overabundance of irregularities -- from late-opening polls, to improper staffing of the tables, to the complexity of the ballot, to the user-unfriendliness of the *actas* -- but concluded that "the volume of irregularities registered by the observers... did not... significantly affect the outcome of the elections."<sup>7</sup> A third group of observers, consisting of European and North American parliamentarians and legislators, concluded that the attempted "cambiazo" in Hu nuco "had no decisive impact on the outcome of the electoral process."<sup>8</sup> As for the results, there was little discrepancy between the parallel counts and the final results. *Transparencia's* quick count projections coincided (within a margin of about 1 percent) with the official count. Exit polls gave 64 percent of the presidential vote to Fujimori and 51 percent of the parliamentary vote to C90-NM.<sup>9</sup>

In the six departments visited by LASA there were no observed instances of fraud, despite earlier fears that military and other authorities would attempt to interfere with the electoral process. If there were any plans among the military to stuff ballot boxes or otherwise influence the outcome, the sheer number of observers may have served as a deterrent.<sup>10</sup> The lion's share of the *Transparencia* volunteers were posted in Lima, but many of the less populated departments were awash in observers. *Transparencia* had enlisted some 120 monitors in Ayacucho, for example. The OAS also kept a high profile in Ayacucho in the stationing in Huamanga of its chief of observers, Steven Griner. Whether the "climate of fear" (which LASA believed to characterize areas under states of emergency) made outright fraud unnecessary is difficult to say. My own percep-

tion, based on personal interviews, is that the alleged "climate of fear" was not a significant factor in the emergency zones.

Failure to update the voter registration list was, however, a decisive factor exacerbating the high abstention levels, as LASA predicted, particularly in the source departments for out-migration caused by the proliferation of violence. In some violence-afflicted areas, though, abstention actually decreased. For example, Ayacucho's rate of abstention was still high (at 28 percent), but far lower than the 41 percent rate in the first round of the 1990 elections. Inaccuracies in the *padrón* also prohibited thousands of eligible voters from casting their ballots. In the site at which I was stationed, I saw many voters with apparently valid identification cards turned away from the polls because their identification numbers appeared on the *padrón* as "canceled." In one case, an elderly man was dismayed to find that the JNE had declared him "deceased", even though, he reported, he was only "half dead." While the outdated *padrón* was a source of voter annoyance and abstention, however, it did not appear to have been a means of manipulating votes on election day.

## Electoral Problems

A few days after the election, problems began to surface. While the presidential vote was shaping up in line with the quick count projections, the count of the parliamentary votes was plagued by errors in computation. There were unsubstantiated reports that up to 60 percent of the congressional vote had been annulled and rumors that the elections would have to be voided. After a week of delays and uncertainty, the official results were finally broadcast on Sunday, April 16, 1995. Three million (2,998,896 to be exact) votes out of a possible 8 million cast or 37 percent of the congressional vote had been nullified, a substantially higher percentage than any attained during the crisis-ridden eighties.

When opposition parties complained about the unfairness of an election that had given the President a parliamentary majority from a mere 18 percent of the eligible electorate, the JNE explained the inordinately high null vote as the product of involuntary error. Confused over how to count the preferential votes, the JNE claimed, table monitors inadvertently added party votes to preferential votes, depicting more congressional votes than voters at each table. Thousands of *actas* showing vote totals exceeding the number of voters were thus submitted to the JNE, whose computer, in turn, rejected all discrepant *actas* and nullified their votes. Since the

ballot is divided in two columns, one for the presidential and the other for the preferential vote, only congressional tallies were invalidated in most cases. JNE officials claimed that these errors were committed partly because most officially designated and trained poll watchers didn't bother to show up on election day and those required to fill in for them were novices.

As the JNE fended off the opposition's charges of incompetence, a story broke that some 37,000 blank *actas* had mysteriously disappeared from the JNE's offices a few days before the elections, and that the JNE was apparently aware of the disappearance but had not disclosed it. The JNE admitted that an unspecified number of blank *actas* had indeed been 'lost' prior to the elections, discovered in an inventory on April 7, two days before the election. The admission prompted the OAS to postpone the release of its final report. An assistant Attorney General was appointed in short order to head up the investigation. A few days later, opposition party representatives petitioned the JNE to set aside the congressional results while a full accounting of the missing *actas* was pending.

On April 30, *Transparencia* issued a statement expressing concern that revelations about missing *actas* "created a climate of doubt" about the elections, even if they did not significantly alter the results. Drawing a distinction between the presidential elections (about which there was no dispute) and the parliamentary elections, *Transparencia's* report concluded that "the

complexity of the [preferential] ballot and of its calculation, independently of possible fraud, combined with the lack of preparation of the members of the table, is one of the causes of the strange distortions in the parliamentary electoral results."<sup>11</sup>

As the reports of the missing *actas* were confirmed, conspiratorially minded segments of the press began to run sensationalist stories of a "secret chamber" hidden in Lima's Civic Center, wherein votes were allegedly altered *en masse* to favor

the President. The JNE denied the accusations, offering to place its computer diskettes at the disposal of any party. Rumors were compounded by other reports, however, such as the mysterious resignation from the JNE of the persons thought responsible for abetting the alleged theft of the *actas*. The explanation offered by JNE officials that the missing *actas* never existed in the first place helped only to erode even further the public's perception of the election agency's credibility and competence. By mid-May, the furor over the missing



Getting the ballots out

*actas* had subsided, but demands for a public accounting of the missing *actas* persisted.

## Conclusion

In summary, the stamp of approval given by independent observers seems not to have satisfied all participants that the congressional elections were fair and transparent, despite the fact that the outcome was corroborated by parallel counts and exit polls. This is partly because of the huge percentage of the vote that was voided. Yet there is also a lingering suspicion, in the wake of Huánuco and other post-election revelations, that foul play occurred -- not during the voting process, but before the election, when *actas* were allegedly stolen from the JNE and altered, and/or afterward, during the official count, when the microscopic attention focused on the elections was diverted elsewhere. At the time of this writing, however, proof of fraud had yet to be found.

Suspicious of fraud should be taken in political context. In part they can be read as expressions of a siege mentality among parties on the defensive against a president whose very idea of "democracy" seems to depend on the elimination of "political intermediaries." Now facing the possibility of extinction, Peru's parties also have a tactical interest in casting doubts on the legitimacy of another Fujimori-controlled legislature. Still, the criticism of the JNE's poor handling of the elections is justified and constructive; justified, because the government must bear the responsibility for reducing the enormous volume of irregularities, particularly when those irregularities have disenfranchised nearly 40 percent of the electorate; constructive, because it underscores the need to overhaul an electoral system which, for all its alleged improvements, remains prone to manipulation and error. Whether Fujimori's second administration actually tries to correct these inadequacies will be a litmus test of its commitment to fair and transparent elections. ■

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru: A Delegation Report of the Latin American Studies Association." (Latin American Studies Association/North-South Center: March 1995). See especially the Executive Summary.

<sup>2</sup> *Expresso* April 10, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> *Caretas*, Number 1358. April 4, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Alberto Fujimori. *Semana Económica*, April 4, 1995.

<sup>5</sup> The 1995 Electoral campaign in Puno was particularly aggressive. On March 28, for example, Fujimori paid a visit to Puno to inaugurate the San Gabán Hydroelectric Project (funded through a loan of US\$ 155 million by the Import Bank of Japan); to supervise the construction of a Social Security Hospital, and to attend the signing of an agreement between FONAVI and a local water purification business to provide drinking water from Lake Titicaca. During the same visit, the President also announced an alleged joint Peruvian-Russian partnership to extract some 30-50 million barrels of oil from the region. DESCO, *Resumen Semanal*, (March-April 1995).

See also "Por Qué Ganó?" in *Caretas*, April 12, 1995, which attributes the breadth of the Fujimori victory to public works sponsored by the presidential ministry. Social spending increased some US\$ 400 million in 1994 (to US\$2 Billion) and infrastructural works multiplied along with the alphabet soup of agencies (both governmental and non-governmental) charged with implementing public works: INADE, FONCODES, CORDECALLAO, ENACE, COOPOP, UTEFONAVI, INABIF, CORDELIMA among other departmental organizations.

<sup>6</sup> This is based upon a conversation with Federico Velarde, one of

*Transparencia's* directors, on April 8, 1995. Lima, Peru.

<sup>7</sup> According to *Transparencia's* findings, for example, only about a third of the tables were actually staffed with all of the titular members, and only half of the tables opened before 9:00 AM, though the legal opening time is 8:00AM. This was reported in *El Comercio* and *Expresso*, April 10, 1995. Both the opening and closing of the polls were problems. At the Rímac site which I monitored, none of the polls opened before 9:00, and there was a great deal of confusion over the closing time, which was slated for 3:00. For more than half of the electorate, in other words, the voting day was only 6 hours long. Extending the voting day an hour or two to accommodate lines of waiting voters is common practice and many assumed the same would be true of this election. It was not.

<sup>8</sup> "Según parlamentarios europeos y norteamericanos: Elecciones fueron en líneas generales libres y justas." *La República*, April 11, 1995.

<sup>9</sup> APOYO, S.A. April 10, 1995. Results reprinted in *El Mundo*, April 10, 1995. p. A12.

<sup>10</sup>10. This also seemed to be the feeling among many of the table monitors with whom I spoke, i.e., that were it not for the presence of the monitors, the military would not have hesitated to interfere with the vote in some way, though it was not always clear on behalf of which party or candidate, if any.

<sup>11</sup> *El Comercio*, May 1, 1995.

[I am grateful to the Institute of Latin American Studies at UNC Chapel Hill for providing financial assistance for this venture, and to *Transparencia* in Lima for offering me the opportunity to serve as an election monitor.]



# PERU'S 1995 ELECTIONS: A SECOND LOOK

## Following Up the LASA Delegation Report, The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru

by David Scott Palmer  
Boston University

*[This analysis is my response to LASA President Cynthia McClintock's and LASA Forum's invitation to the members of the LASA delegation to Peru who returned or stayed to observe the election itself to submit their comments for possible publication. My observations concentrate on the presidential election and its implications for the country.]*

*It was my good fortune during my sabbatical year to be able to go back to Peru from March 26 through April 11, as a U.S. Speaker with the support of USIA. During these two-and-one-half weeks I travelled to Trujillo, Lima, Arequipa, Cuzco, and Ayacucho. Between lectures at universities and other Peruvian institutions, several of which also provided financial support for my visit, I had time in each city to observe the electoral process as it unfolded. This included attending candidate rallies; gathering campaign and election materials; and interviewing candidates and officials. In addition, in Ayacucho on election day, I participated from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. as a locally recruited Organization of American States (OAS) observer in some 25 polling places, the Registro Electoral, and the Jurado Provincial de Elecciones. The opportunity to have served as a LASA delegation member for a week in February--in what I found to be a remarkably energizing, synergistic collaborative experience--served me well indeed on my return trip. I am most grateful to all of my delegation colleagues for their contributions to this greater understanding, though, of course, I alone am responsible for the observations that follow.]*

This initial, first cut summary analysis of Peru's 1995 presidential elections elaborates briefly on five key points. One, incumbent President Alberto Fujimori won handily. Two, the 1993 Constitution and its implementing legislation gave the incumbent several significant advantages over the competition. Three, in fact, President Fujimori's reelection victory was not as decisive as it seemed. Four, the renewed outbreak in January and February of the Peru-Ecuador conflict benefitted the incumbent on balance, but a growing popular perception that it was not being resolved in Peru's

favor also cut into his support during the ten days or so before the April 9 election. And, five, there are already some disquieting signs concerning the nature of post-election democracy in Peru which President Fujimori's reelection has served to highlight.

**1. President Fujimori won handily** under the new electoral rules of the 1993 Constitution and its relevant implementing legislation--with 64 percent and a narrow but viable majority in the 120 seat unicameral national congress. His support was nation-wide, and was based fundamentally on the perception among many Peruvians that his first administration, *autogolpe* and all (1990-1995), had succeeded in bringing Peru back from the brink of collapse.



*Before the Vote: Voting table officials initial the ballots*

Citizens gave him credit for bringing raging inflation under control (2,700 percent in 1989 to 15 percent in 1994); for restoring net economic growth (about 4 percent in 1993 and 9 percent in 1994 after five years of net decline); and for sharply reducing political violence (2,779 incidents and 3,745 deaths in 1990 to about 650 and 550 in 1994).<sup>1</sup> His campaign stressed these themes repeatedly and promised job creation and resource redistribution as the next steps in a second administration. Of all the candidates' TV spots, his were not only the most numerous but also seemed to me to be the clearest, least complex, and most effective.

President Fujimori used the intrinsic advantages of incumbency to his considerable benefit. These included inaugurating several small projects

almost daily in different parts of the country (for example, over 20 visits to Puno alone), continuously using the presidency as a bully pulpit, and keeping most of the media--especially TV--following closely in his wake. This was a personalistic, clientelistic campaign on the President's part from start to finish. Most of the time, he played it like the old pol he has become--not bad for someone who had never held political office before 1990 and who was elected president then largely for that very reason!

Furthermore, President Fujimori successfully divided his political opponents. At one point early on, they appeared to have a decent chance of forming a united anti-Fujimori front, but eventually split into 13 presidential contenders and 19 congressional opposition lists. The incumbent wasn't above resorting to dirty tricks to accomplish his objectives. For example, he initially encouraged the campaign of Alejandro Toledo as part of his divide-and-conquer strategy. However, after watching with growing consternation as Toledo's popular support mushroomed in September and October 1994, Peru's *Servicio de Inteligencia Nacional* (SIN) mounted a most effective "fact finding" operation to discredit the upstart. Toledo never recovered. He fell to low single digits in late pre-election polls and then received just over 3 percent of the presidential vote on April 9.

Except for former U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and APRA's candidate, Mercedes Cabanillas (the only woman of the 14), the other aspirants fared even less well. In fact, the four candidates of the established parties (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana-APRA*, *Acción Popular-AP*, *Izquierda Unida-IU*, and *Frente de Educadores, Trabajadores, y Campesinos-FRENETRACA*) together garnered under 7 percent of the total valid vote for president.

**2. The new constitution** (and its implementing legislation) **gave President Fujimori several significant advantages over the competition.** This constitution was the product of the president's April 5, 1992 *autogolpe*, which suspended its 1979 predecessor. November 1992 elections--pressed for by the OAS and agreed to by Peru--gave the president a majority in congress for the first time. This body fashioned a new constitution very favorable for Fujimori that was narrowly approved (52 percent to 48 percent) in an October 1993 national referendum. The most important advantages accruing to President Fujimori concerning the elections were the following:

**a. Immediate reelection of the incumbent.** While standard practice in the United States and many other democracies, this is a rare provision in modern Latin American constitutions. In fact, until Peru and Argentina modified their governing statutes, in 1993 and 1994, respectively, in all of the region only the Dominican Republic permitted immediate presidential reelection. It is even possible to interpret Peru's new constitution as allowing yet one more five-year term for President Fujimori should he so choose.

**b. Only the valid vote counts.** For the first time since democratic reforms were reestablished in Peru in 1980, the 1993 Constitution changed the basis for calculating presidential election voting percentages--from total vote cast, which included spoiled and blank ballots, to valid vote only. This represents a significant difference, because over the six national elections before 1995 (three presidential, 2 constituent assembly, and one referendum), the average total of spoiled and blank ballots was 16 percent.<sup>2</sup> When added to the average nonvoting totals of 21 percent (even though voting is compulsory under Peruvian law), the valid vote provision permits a calculation on the basis of a six election average of just 63 percent of the total electorate rather than 79 percent. If the averages held for the 1995 election, this would allow an absolute majority on the

first round with the support of less than 32 percent of the population eligible to vote.

**c. A single national electoral district.** For the first time, assured congressional representation by department (state) was eliminated. This provision had the effect of dramatically centralizing the electoral process, which undermined further local party organizations (thereby favoring Fujimori, who didn't have much of a national party organization, much less a local one). The change also gave much greater weight to metropolitan Lima, with over 31 percent of the total electorate and a strong tendency to support Fujimori (with 60 percent in the 1993 constitutional referendum and 59 percent in the 1992 constitutional congress vote).<sup>3</sup>

**d. No complete updating of the national voting register since 1985.** This omission had the effect of reducing the actual eligible electorate by about 18 percent between mortality rates and population displacement due to political violence, thereby increasing the weight of the valid vote. Since there was no provision for allowing transients to vote, many tens of thousands of citizens away from their home towns were effectively disenfranchised, reducing further the valid vote.

**e. Preferential votes for congress.** Voters could select up to two of their favorite candidates from one of the 20 national lists, by number (from 1-120), but only from one list. This provision proved confusing for many--almost 800,000 fewer citizens voted for congress than for president, but with substantially fewer blank votes.<sup>4</sup> Of those who did vote, over four times as many spoiled their ballots in the process (778,076 for president; 3,356,435 for congress!).<sup>5</sup> As a result, President Fujimori's list, *Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría*, was able to eke out a majority in congress as well, with 52 percent of the valid vote. (Had the 1995 elections been carried out under 1980-1993 rules, which calculated voting percentages on the basis of total vote rather than valid vote, the president's party list would have received less than 28 percent!)

**f. Presidential candidate pictures, but not names, on the ballot.** This change strongly favored the more visible contenders, most particularly the president himself. The electoral procedures permitted marking either the symbol of the party or the picture. The advantages of incumbency, with constant appearances before the national media, were particularly evident in this provision.

**g. Most favorable positioning on the ballot.** Only President Fujimori's party designation--"95"--and picture were both at mid-ballot and separated by spaces on either side. This had the effect of making his presidential candidate line stand out on the ballot much more sharply than that of any of his opponents. Such a possibility occurred because of the way the ballot was designed, with the list of all the presidential candidates down one side (14) and congressional lists down the other (20). While more sophisticated voters could look past such a distinctive and favorable placement to select their favorite, the less educated, disproportionately distributed in the provinces, by and large could not. This may have been a factor in the substantially higher percentages of support for Fujimori in departments with lower levels of literacy than in the 1993

constitutional referendum.<sup>6</sup>

**h. Short polling hours.** Since the election was on Palm Sunday, polls were scheduled to be open only from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. (By contrast, Argentina's Sunday elections a month later had more typical 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. polling hours and Peru's 1990 presidential elections were 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.) In fact, for a variety of reasons--including late arrival of military personnel to guard transport of electoral materials from the *Registro Electoral* office to voting sites, inexperienced civilian personnel in charge of polling places, and late arrivals of electoral table representatives--many polling places did not open until 9:00 a.m. or even 9:30 a.m.<sup>7</sup> Most, however, closed promptly at 3:00 p.m., leaving in the lurch quite a number of would-be voters who expected at least an hour grace period. The obvious effect of shorter polling hours was to favor the presidential preference poll leader--Fujimori--by reducing the total valid vote.

### 3. President Fujimori's reelection victory was not as decisive as it seemed.

While the president had a genuine and legitimate base of popular support, to say that his victory was, "by one of the largest margins in Peru's history," overlooks the degree to which the incumbent changed the rules in his favor.<sup>8</sup> In fact, his victory was a limited one, because 45 percent of the electorate was not included in the final count (28 percent not voting and 17 percent blank and spoiled ballots, almost 22 percent higher overall than the 37 percent average for the six previous national elections, 1978-1993). President Fujimori won 64 percent of the valid vote, to be sure, but this represented only 35 percent of the total electorate. Since the last published national poll (two weeks before the vote) gave him about 45 percent in national presidential preference polls, the voting results indicate that his national support was eroding in the final days leading up to the election itself. Put another way, had the 1995 electoral rules been in effect in the 1985 presidential vote (with 1995 levels of absenteeism and spoiled and blank ballots), Alan García would have garnered 69 percent rather than the 46 percent he received under the 1985 rules.<sup>9</sup>

**4. The Peru-Ecuador conflict benefitted the incumbent, but....** A quite significant and quite unexpected development which had a major impact on the election campaign was the outbreak of military hostilities between Peru and Ecuador on January 26, 1995. For several weeks during prime campaign time, the "border war" dominated the headlines and the concerns of most Peruvians. Opposition politicking, for all practical purposes, was suspended for more than a month during a crucial period.<sup>10</sup> Only the president continued to be constantly in the news. Initially, this served to boost his popularity in a national demonstration of solidarity. However,

when word began to spread that Ecuadorean forces remained in Peruvian territory and that Peru's military had not been able to dislodge them, Fujimori's visibility on the border conflict issue turned into a disadvantage and he began to lose support.<sup>11</sup>

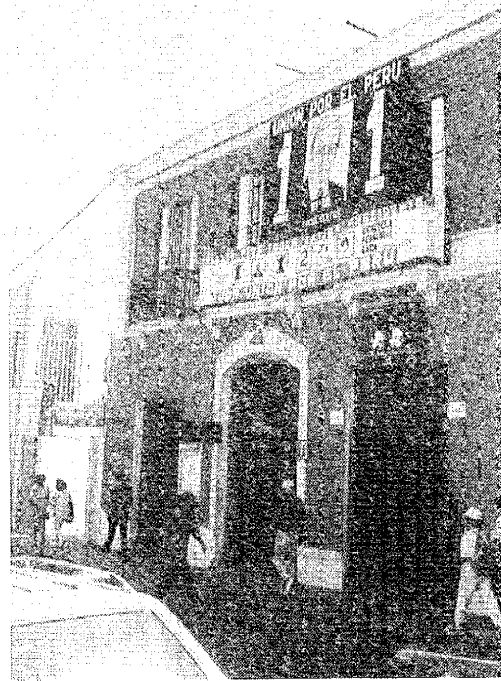
Some commentators believed that the president had provoked the conflict as the campaign was heating up in order to gain political advantage. While it did have that effect initially, our best information at this point indicated that it was not a war Peru wanted or was prepared to fight to a successful conclusion at that juncture; it probably started due to local, on site miscalculation. Whatever the cause, full scale political campaigning did not resume until the first week in March, just a month before the election, after Rio Protocol (1942) guarantor countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States) had fashioned cease fire agreements between Peru and Ecuador and had sent observer missions to the scenes of the conflict.

### 5. Post-election democracy in Peru--some disquieting signs.

In the judgment of both domestic (e.g., *Transparencia*) and international (e.g., OAS) observer groups, the democratic reforms stipulated by the 1993 Constitution and the implementing legislation were followed sufficiently on April 9 for the results to be considered "free and fair." To be sure, opposition parties, especially Pérez de Cuéllar's UPP, decried irregularities. Notable was a clumsy attempt in Huánuco by at least five congressional candidates from that department, representing various lists, to skew results in their favor by doctoring in advance *actas* which they had secured illegally from the JNE. As the LASA report on Peru anticipated, there were also numerous examples of local officials in more remote areas who used their position to influence voting.<sup>12</sup> One case brought to my attention by an OAS observer in the department of Ayacucho occurred in Quinua, where the pro-Fujimori mayor openly threatened residents with reprisals if they did not vote for the president--and brushed aside the observer's protestations. However,

the LASA delegation's concern that the military and police might abuse their position did not seem valid, on the whole.<sup>13</sup> A cynical interpretation of their neutrality, nevertheless, could note that armed forces' manipulation was not necessary given the electoral procedure arrangements already in place which favored President Fujimori's candidacy.

One can conclude, then, that formal democracy has been sustained or restored in Peru through the 1995 national election. Democratic consolidation, however, remains elusive. Established political parties were the big losers, and their future institutional capacity remains in doubt. The single electoral district reinforces the erosion of parties as transmission belts of popular concerns from the base to the center by depriving much of the country of regional representation. It also serves as a



UPP Headquarters

powerful recentralizing force which accentuates once again Lima's influence over the rest of Peru.

President Fujimori's victory speech on April 10 adds a personalized, anti-institutional dimension to his vision of how to lead the country during his second five year mandate. He calls it "direct democracy," by which he means his personal contact and response to the needs of Peruvians, "without recourse to institutions or intermediaries." Unlike most of its neighbors, Peru is eschewing decentralization and institutionalization as core components of the democratic process. Having brought his country out of the worst crisis in its modern history--and having been rewarded for his efforts by reelection--President Fujimori now seems determined to turn his back on a vision of Peru's future that includes concrete steps toward the definitive consolidation of democratic procedures and practices. ■

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Economic data from Peru's *Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática*, as reported each year in *Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo (DESCO), Resumen Semanal* (Lima), various January issues. Political violence data from the monthly publication by DESCO, *Violencia política en el Perú de hoy: Reporte especial*, various issues.

<sup>2</sup>Calculated from the remarkably complete election data (1931-1993) compiled and analyzed in Fernando Tuesta Soldevilla, *Perú político en cifras*, 2nd edition (Lima: Fundación Friedrich Ebert, 1994), 129-206.

<sup>3</sup>Tuesta Soldevilla, 129 and 143. As the 1995 presidential vote turned out, Fujimori got 64 percent of the valid vote in Lima, and 38 percent of his total vote nation-wide there (over 1.8 million votes of almost 4.8 million in the entire country). Data courtesy of LASA Peru delegation member Bruce Kay, via Cynthia McClintock.

<sup>4</sup>This discrepancy is a very strange one, because the voting for both president and congress was conducted on two halves of a single ballot, which was then separated at the time of the vote counting. Therefore, one would expect that the total vote would be about the same, with those not voting for congressional candidates appearing as blank ballots.

<sup>5</sup>Official totals are from the *Jurado Nacional de Elecciones*, as collected by the North-South Center of the University of Miami and provided to the author by North-South Center Senior Research Associate and Peru LASA delegation member Tommie Sue Montgomery, on May 12, 1995.

<sup>6</sup>Of course, other factors were at work as well. However, if we take five of Peru's departments with lowest literacy levels, the differences between the 1993 referendum and the 1995 presidential vote are dramatic: Puno--20 percent yes in 1993, 64 percent for Fujimori in 1995; Cuzco--38 percent and 62 percent; Apurímac--42 percent and 69 percent; Ayacucho--51 percent and 74 percent; Huancavelica--43 percent and 73 percent. 1995 department data courtesy of Bruce Kay; 1993 referendum totals from Tuesta Soldevilla, 129.

<sup>7</sup>In the course of my direct election day observations in Ayacucho, I saw military personnel, scheduled to be at the *Registro Electoral* near the center of town between 6:15 and 6:30 a.m. to protect the transport of electoral materials around the city and outlying districts, who did not appear until almost 7:30 a.m. As a result, ballots and other materials did not even arrive at many polling stations until about the time they were supposed to open. In the neighboring district of San Juan Bautista, for example, further delays were occasioned by late or non-arrival of local residents called to serve as election table officials (3 for each table set up to serve 200 voters). Back in Ayacucho itself, in the city hall, where 23 tables were scheduled to operate, the *Jurado Provincial de Elecciones* personnel in charge were simply overwhelmed by the organizational logistics. This caused the military officer in charge of polling place security there to grumble to me that this would never have happened had the armed forces still been responsible for election day procedural matters as well--as they had been between 1978 and 1993. Although voters were allowed into city hall beginning at about 9:00, it was almost 10:00 before they could actually begin to cast their ballots. The situation became tense, but there were no physical confrontations.

<sup>8</sup>Michael S. Serill, "Back to the Caudillos?," *Time International*, May 8, 1995, 31.

<sup>9</sup>Calculated from the presidential election table in the text for 1995 and from Tuesta Soldevilla, 175, for 1985.

<sup>10</sup>A matter of considerable concern to the LASA Peru delegation at the time (February 19-26, 1995). *The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru: A Delegation Report of the Latin American Studies Association*, March 1995 (Miami: LASA and the North-South Center, 1995), 18 and *passim*.

<sup>11</sup>Among other concerned commentaries at the time, see David Scott Palmer, "South America's Invisible War," *The Miami Herald*, April 2, 1995, C1.

<sup>12</sup>*The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru*, 16 and *passim*.

<sup>13</sup>*The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru*, 9-11 and *passim*.

## PERU PRESIDENTIAL VOTE 1995

	VALID VOTES	Percent
Alberto Fujimori (C90-NM) .....	4,796,953	64.42
Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (UPP) .....	1,624,441	21.81
Meche Cabanillas (PAP) .....	306,213	04.11
Alejandro Toledo (CODE-País) .....	241,226	03.24
Ricardo Belmont (Obras) .....	192,289	02.58
Others (Remaining 8 candidates) .....	285,374	03.84
Blank votes .....	830,204	
Null votes .....	778,076	
Challenged/disputed votes .....	7,736	

## PERU NATIONAL CONGRESSIONAL VOTE 1995

	VALID VOTES	Percent	SEAT
Cambio 90-Nueva Mayoría .....	2,280,018	52.10	67
Unión Por El Perú .....	611,921	13.98	17
Partido Aprista Peruano .....	285,592	6.53	8
Frente Independiente Moralizador .....	214,037	4.89	6
CODE-País Posible .....	181,431	4.15	5
Partido Acción Popular .....	146,028	3.34	4
Partido Popular Cristiano .....	135,160	3.09	3
Renovación .....	130,158	2.97	3
Movimiento Cívico Nacional Obras .....	87,338	2.00	2
Izquierda Unida .....	84,030	1.92	2
Frente Popular Agrícola .....	46,931	1.07	1
Perú al 2000-Fenatraca .....	46,695	1.07	1
Movimiento Independiente Agrario .....	34,613	0.79	1
Partido Independiente Nuevo Perú .....	29,560	0.68	0
Partido Reformista del Perú .....	13,080	0.30	0
Alternativa Perú Puma .....	12,412	0.28	0
Apertura Para El Desarrollo Nacional .....	10,751	0.25	0
Frente Independiente Reconciliación			
Nacional .....	10,318	0.24	0
Movimiento Independiente Inca .....	9,601	0.22	0
Movimiento Social Independiente			
Recambio .....	6,573	0.15	0
Blank Votes .....	50,470		
Null Votes .....	2,988,897		
Challenged/disputed votes .....	4,626		

Source: Official results released by Jurado Nacional de Elecciones on April 18, 1995.



## Note from the LASA95 Program Committee

by Tom Holloway,  
LASA95 Program Chair, Cornell University

As the complex process of program planning for the LASA95 Congress moves toward closure, I take the opportunity to express my appreciation to the thousands of people who have contributed to the process in some way. Some have been more centrally involved than others, but everyone has had a part to play. It is gratifying to conclude that most parts have had a positive effect on the whole.

This is also the time to explain briefly how we have come to this point. On or around November 1, 1994 we received approximately 450 full panel proposals and about 600 additional proposals of individual papers. We knew that many proposals we had in hand at that point would have to be rejected due to space limitations. Under the circumstances any late submissions eventually approved would be in the program at the expense of proposals that made the deadline, so in fairness to those who got their paperwork in on time, we held the line against late submissions.

After logging in and sorting by Program Section, originals were sent to the Section Heads while copies kept in the Program Office allowed us to begin entering information into the database from which the final program is about to emerge. By January, Section Heads created preliminary reports on their evaluations of panel proposals and made efforts to combine individual paper proposals into coherent new panel groupings, or add them to existing panel proposals.

At that point, before agonizing but necessary cuts to fit the time and room slots available at the Congress site, we had more than 3,000 "appearances" recorded in the database (including some multiple appearances by single individuals, and some stray papers not placed in panel groupings). Target numbers of cuts were then assigned proportional to the presence of each Section in the aggregate number of panels in consideration. In other words, Literature and the Arts and Gender Issues were the Sections with the most panels in consideration, so they were asked to cut more panels to get to the target. Scholarly Resources and Latinos in the U.S. had the fewest panels in consideration, so they were asked to cut fewer panels to make the target necessary to fit the space available. And so forth.

It was a simple formula, but a very difficult process to decide who would be in the program, and who could not be accommodated. Anyone wondering about the proportional size of the various Program Sections in the aggregate total should know that the breakdown is proportional to the submissions received, rather than the result of selective or disproportionate trimming by the Program Committee.

Then came the task of deciding which panels would go into which block in the time/room grid. The major issue there was avoiding situations in which individual participants would be asked to be in two or more places at the same time, which we hope to have accomplished pretty well. Unfortunately there is no way to avoid thematic overlap in a meeting as large and diverse as LASA95

will be, with some 35 panels or other events occurring simultaneously at any given time through the three days of meetings. (There is also no way to avoid an 8AM starting time each day, other than trimming the total by another 100 panels and rejecting an additional 500 individual participants.) In the meantime, here in the Program Office we were doing what was necessary to accommodate the various task forces and committee meetings, special sessions, and plenaries, many of which will necessarily compete with "regular" panels for audience and attendance.

The results of these various efforts were reported to all individuals in the database during April. We printed out more than 2,700 acceptance letters in the last days of March and early April, which were sent from Pittsburgh immediately thereafter. Due to the vagaries of bulk mail receipt was stretched out over several weeks, and many letters sent by international air mail arrived before domestic bulk, but we think that most accepted participants eventually received their mailing.

As I write in the last days of May the database reports 2,779 "appearances" in the program, involving 2,251 individuals. The difference is accounted for by multiple appearances by the same person. In the 16 Program Sections there are 496 sessions, plus 29 meetings, 19 Special Sessions, and 11 events billed as Plenaries, for a grand total at this point of 555 scheduled events. Of the 2,779 letters of acceptance, 1,929 were sent in English, 708 in Spanish, and 142 in Portuguese. Eighteen-hundred and seven were sent to addresses with U.S. ZIP codes, including 49 to Puerto Rico; 855 went to the rest of the Western Hemisphere, including 45 to Canada; and 117 to other countries. A full statistical accounting will be in our post-Congress report.

Among the Special Sessions will be afternoon events each day in which several distinguished Latin American writers will read from their work and comment on it: Ricardo Piglia, R.H. Moreno-Durán, Pablo Antonio Cuadra and Miguel Barnet. There will be a commemoration of "The Influence of Alain Touraine's Work on Latin American Thought;" an update on "The Political Economy of Latin America after the Miami Summit;" a multi-media "Celebration of Chilean Music and Letters;" a session reporting on the experience of the LASA delegation to observe the recent elections in Peru; and several events relating to Cuba in the international context, as well as Latin American relationships with the European Community, the former Soviet Union region and Japan--the latter among the range of events sponsored by LASA Task Forces and affiliated groups. Details will appear in the Program Book, which should be in the hands of LASA members and additional preregistered Congress participants well in advance of the congress.

In all, LASA95 promises to be a major milestone for the Latin American Studies community in the United States, through the Western Hemisphere, and reaching out to the world. See you there. ■



## Notes on Washington, DC

by Margaret J. Sarles  
Foreign Service Institute

Washington, D.C. offers a unique blend of history, national politics, natural beauty and museums that visitors on foot and metro can easily discover. Washington is, first, however, a city of neighborhoods, and you are located in one of the most central, Woodley Park, a peak of land rising from the valley of Rock Creek. In its easy accessibility, active street life, and blend of modern and historic architecture, this area around the **Sheraton Washington** is ideal for classic tourism, for concentrating on the aspects of the city most related to Latin America and the Caribbean, and for researchers and policy enthusiasts.

Across Connecticut Avenue from the Sheraton you will find a vibrant block of ethnic restaurants (Thai, Lebanese, Moroccan, Vietnamese, Italian....) and sidewalk cafes, full of diners eating outside watching the crowd pass by. Travel north for two blocks, and pass the **National Zoo**, with its panda, baby giraffe, an excellent Amazonian exhibit--and a wonderful store of stuffed animals, zoo sweatshirts, rain forest products, and nature-related gifts. One block further north on Connecticut Ave. survives one of the city's great movie theaters--the **Uptown Theater**, with its large screen and old fashioned balcony. Washington in the last five years has taken a strong leadership position on great coffee and great bread. **Starbuck's** and **Quartermaine's** coffee stores compete vigorously on either side of Connecticut Avenue, while **Uptown Bakery** in the same block is one of the best bread stores in the world. ("We ship anywhere.")

If you walk east from the Sheraton about one-third of a mile across the Duke Ellington Bridge on Calvert Street, you will reach **Adams Morgan**, centered at 18th and Columbia Roads, the center of Hispanic life in the city. The music drifting from the boom boxes of street vendors, the shops, the street language, markets, and restaurants probably represent the city's most concentrated ethnic mix--not only is virtually every Caribbean and Latin American country represented by a restaurant or store, but there is also a large range of Ethiopian, West African and Asian restaurants as well. The soft tacos at **Mixpec** (1792 Columbia Rd., NW) and the empanadas at **Julio's** (1604 U. St., NW) are comforting and tempting Latin American treats. Nearby, the **Gala Hispanic Theater** (1625 Park Road, NW) offers excellent productions in both Spanish and English, with a small professional company.

About half a mile south (one Metro stop) from the Sheraton lies **Dupont Circle**, one of the most fascinating parts of the city, a cosmopolitan blend of commercial and historical buildings where a new "underground" of shops and corridors has opened. But the street life above is most attractive, particularly the

late-night bookstores (try **Sidney Kramer and Afterwards**, a great book store with coffee bar and indoor/outdoor restaurant) and eateries. Winding through narrow streets of old townhouses and Victorian homes, you can find the **Textile Museum** (2320 S St., NW), with a large collection of textiles from Latin America (many, including ancient Peruvian fabrics, are not on display except to scholars), and the **Phillips Collection** (1612 21st St., NW), Washington's first modern art gallery, housing Renoir's "Luncheon of the Boating Party," among other treasures. Numerous embassies are located in this area of town, many lining Massachusetts Avenue along **Embassy Row**.

Two other attractions near the Sheraton should be visited. One is the **National Cathedral**, located at the highest point of the city (Massachusetts and Wisconsin Aves.), reached by walking west on Woodley Street. The large grounds (the "Close," 57 acres) smell of boxwood and summer plantings, and offer quiet places for reading and contemplation. The gothic cathedral itself was finally completed after almost a century of labor, using solid stone masonry and old-world artisan techniques, and is a lovely place to tour and pass a reflective, cool time in a Washington September. The second attraction is **Rock Creek Park** itself, a long thin strip of wooded parkland that wends through the northwest section of the city, with easy access from the hotel, excellent for runners, cyclists, and watchful pedestrians.

The city is full, of course, with the sights familiar to every American schoolchild: the Washington Monument and other presidential monuments; the unique Washington treasure of the Smithsonian Institution; the U.S. Capitol and the White House (with its new "pedestrian park" replacing part of Pennsylvania Avenue); the Supreme Court; and famous art galleries. The serious tourist should be armed with several books (including **Washington on Foot**, put out by the American Planning Association, Smithsonian Press). First, however, arm yourself with a map of the **metro**, a safe, rapid, and inexpensive way to get around the city. Within each station is a detailed map of the immediate area.

The Potomac River was critical to the area's economic rise in the 1700s. Long before Washington was established in 1791, the colonial port of Alexandria, Virginia (1749) and the Maryland port of Georgetown (1751) competed fiercely over the tobacco trade. Surely one of the most spectacular river views of the Washington area, particularly at night, is from the outside promenade of the **Kennedy Center** (Foggy Bottom metro), a must for any traveler. To give both Virginia and

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*Washington in the last five years has taken a strong leadership position on great coffee and great bread.*

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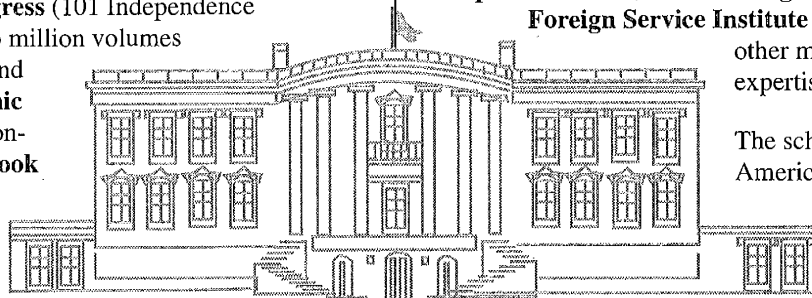
Maryland their historic due, metro to **Old Town Alexandria, Virginia**, centered around King Street, where preservationists have maintained many colonial homes and important historic sites. It has become a bustling shopping and residential area specializing in taprooms and restaurants with a colonial flavor (**Gadsby's Tavern**, 1792, has been in operation for over two centuries), but also offers pleasant strolls, some good jazz, and splendid views of Washington from Potomac Landing.

**Georgetown** (closest station is Foggy Bottom) is unfortunately not quite as accessible to the metro. The two main thoroughfares of M St. and Wisconsin Avenue are crowded with traffic and shops, but a walk down the riverside promenade, with its lovely views of the river and Virginia, is restorative.

Georgetown became part of Washington, D.C. in 1878, but has always maintained a separate identity. The **Chesapeake and Ohio Canal** (C & O) cuts through the center and has been partially restored; you can even book a ride up the canal on one of the old canal boats, which sometimes come complete with 18th century storytelling and banjo-playing. It is impossible not to shop here, but Latin American scholars should be aware of two important sites. One is **Georgetown University**, the oldest Catholic university in the United States (1789), with its School of Foreign Service and first-rate Latin American program. The Woodstock Library at the university has an excellent collection on the modern church in Latin America, and an emphasis on human rights. The second is **Dumbarton Oaks** (R St. and 31st St., NW; entrance is on 32nd St.), open to the public at designated hours. This is a magnificent 16-acre estate with extensive gardens, housing a fine museum of pre-Colombian art. For pre-Colombian scholars, there are special collections of botanical books and other material. Now owned by Harvard University, this site was originally the home of U.S. Foreign Service officer and Ambassador to Argentina Robert Bliss and his wife.

There are a number of other places that may be of particular interest to Latin American scholars and analysts. At one end of the mall, the **Library of Congress** (101 Independence Avenue, SE) houses about two million volumes related to the Luso-Hispanic and Caribbean world. The **Hispanic Division** of the library is responsible for preparing the **Handbook of Latin American Studies** (now also available "on-line"). Its walls are graced with a large Portinari mural and other art work of the region. Several Latin American-focused activist organizations are located nearby, including the **Washington Office on Latin America**, (400 C St., NE) which just celebrated its 20th anniversary. You may want to make a special stop at "The Castle," the oldest Smithsonian building along the mall (1000 Thomas Jefferson Drive), and the home of the **Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars**, with its well-known center of Latin American studies. It is directly in front of the Smithsonian mall metro stop.

The **Organization of American States**, located across from the mall, near the Washington Monument, at 17th and Constitution Ave., is a magnificent building, with frequent events and



receptions sponsored by member countries. The OAS Inter-American Commission on Human Rights publishes yearly country reports on human rights conditions. In back of it, also near the mall, is the **OAS Museum of Modern Latin American Art** (201 18th St., NW), specializing in contemporary Latin American and Caribbean art. Moving westward, and from multilateral to bilateral, you can pass by the tiny park on 22nd St. and Constitution Avenue that is home to one of the most charming statues in the city-- Albert Einstein, sitting in larger-than-life repose. Up 22nd St. half a block is the official C St. entrance to the **Department of State**, home to the U.S. diplomatic community, including the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America and the Caribbean, and the U.S. Ambassador to the O.A.S. Nearby is **PAHO, the Pan-American Health Organization**, part of the O.A.S., and the regional office for the Americas of the United Nations World Health Organization (525 23rd St., NW).

The **Inter-American Development Bank** (IDB), the largest multilateral donor in the Americas, is located at 1300 New York Avenue, half a block from the Metro Center metro stop. The Bank has a small **bookstore** open to the public with various Latin American economic reports of great use to scholars, and a **Cultural Center** with impressive art shows from member countries. The **World Bank bookstore** at Pennsylvania Ave. and 18th St. NW is also an excellent source of primary economic and social reports of countries in the region.

Think tanks, with their unique mixture of policy interests and scholarship often serve as critical liaisons between the academic community and the policy community. Chief among them is the **Inter-American Dialogue** (1211 Connecticut Avenue), which formally links over 50 non-governmental groups interested in Latin America, and issues reports and supports programs on a wide variety of policy-related areas. The Latin American and Caribbean program at the **Center for Strategic and International Studies**, the **American Enterprise Institute**, the **Brookings Institution**, and the **Foreign Service Institute** of the State Department are other major sources of policy expertise on the region.

The scholarly expertise in Latin America and the Caribbean is growing, and all the universities in the area offer programs in Latin American studies.

**Howard University** is now a major center of Caribbean scholarship. **Johns Hopkins University** maintains its Latin American program as part of its School for Advanced International Studies just off Dupont Circle. Scholars can easily reach **George Washington University's** Latin American Program in Foggy Bottom, and **The American University** Latin American program and School of International Service in northwest Washington. The **Catholic University of America** (which has the Oliveira Lima Library specializing in Brazilian materials) is near the Brookville metro; **George Mason University** in Fairfax, Virginia, and the **University of Maryland** also are home to well-known regional experts.

*Welcome to our city!* ■



## Reserve Rooms for LASA95 Now!

LASA95 hotels are holding designated blocks of rooms for XIX International Congress attendees. After the "cut-off" date, LASA must release these rooms to the hotel for use by the general public. We already have been contacted by LASA95 "overflow" properties informing us that the cut-off dates will be strictly enforced, and that LASA95 attendees cannot be guaranteed space after those dates.

We reproduce here information on LASA95 overflows, including the number of rooms originally blocked. **The cut-off date for all the overflows is AUGUST 27, 1995.**

**Washington Courtyard by Marriot** for \$115 single and \$125 double--call 800-842-4211 or 202-328-7039. **100 rooms blocked.** Half-mile from the Sheraton, and about four blocks

from the next inbound metro stop--Dupont Circle-- from the Sheraton (1900 Connecticut Avenue, Washington DC 20008). **Normandy Inn** for \$90 single and \$100 double--call 800-424-3729 or 202-387-8241. **50 rooms blocked.** Fifteen minute walk from the Sheraton (2118 Wyoming Avenue, NW, Washington DC 20008). **Days Inn Connecticut Avenue** for \$99 single and double occupancy--call 800-952-3060 or 202-244-5600. **125 rooms blocked.** About one mile from the Sheraton, one metro stop up Connecticut Avenue (4400 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington DC 20008).

Don't forget to mention that you are a LASA member, mentioning the special convention rates above. Don't be left out in the cold. Make your reservations now! ■

## Attention Authors

Your colleagues can see your monographs and articles first hand if your publishers exhibit at the 1995 LASA Congress. If your publishers are not listed here, you might want to ask them to contact LASA's book exhibit coordinator, Harve Horowitz, for information on how to secure exhibit space. But hurry! There are only a few spaces left. Advertising in the LASA program is another valuable opportunity and is not expensive. For either exhibit space or advertising information your publishers may contact: Mr. Harve Horowitz, 11620 Vixens Path, Ellicott City, MD 21403. Telephone: (410) 997-0763; fax: (410) 997-0764.

### Individual Booths or Tables

- Amnesty International
- Association of American University Presses Inc.
- Bilingual Press/Hispanic Research Center
- Cambridge University Press
- Carfax Publishing Co.
- CENEDIC/Universidad de Colima
- Center for Global Education/Augsburg College
- Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Center for US-Mexican Studies
- Charles Scribner's Sons
- CIRMA/Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies
- Consortium Book Sales & Distribution/Curbston
- Council on International Educational Exchange
- Duke University Press

- Earth Trade
- Ediciones Trilce
- Fulbright Scholar Program/CIES
- Fundación Mapre América
- Global Exchange/CEMANAHUAC
- Holmes and Meier Publishers Inc.
- Human Rights Watch/Americas Watch
- IBD Ltd.
- Indiana University Press
- Inland Book Co./Inbook
- Institute of Latin American Studies
- Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales
- Inter-American Development Bank
- Inter-American Foundation
- Johns Hopkins University Press
- Latin America Data Base/Univ. of New Mexico
- Latin American Bookstore, The Literal Book Distributors
- Latin American Literary Review Press
- Latin American Perspectives
- Latin American Research Review
- Library of Congress
- Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.
- Markus Wiener Publishers
- Monthly Review Press
- North-South Center
- Nueva Sociedad
- Ocean Press
- Organization of American States
- Oxford University Press
- Random House Inc./Penguin USA
- Scholarly Resources Inc.
- Scholarly Choice
- St. Martin's Press-Scholarly and References

- Stanford University Press
- Studies in Latin American Popular Culture
- Temple University Press
- UCLA Latin American Center
- United Nations
- University of Arizona Press
- University of California Press
- University of Georgia Press
- University of Minnesota Press
- University of Nebraska Press
- University of New Mexico Press
- University of North Carolina Press
- University of Oklahoma Press
- University of Pittsburgh Press
- University of Texas Press
- University of Wisconsin Press
- University Press of Florida
- Westview Press

### Combined Book Display

- American Association of University Professors
- Arizona State University/Center for Latin American Studies
- Centro Cultural Abya-Yala
- Feminist Press at CUNY, The
- Food First Books
- Greenwood Publishing Group
- Haworth Press, The
- Latin American Energy Partnership
- Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Libros de Colombia
- Nelson-Hall Publishers
- Rutgers University Press
- Simon and Schuster ■



# LASA95 Services to Members

In an attempt to accommodate several different needs, LASA will provide the following services for the XIX International Congress:

**Low Cost Housing for Students and Others on Low Budgets** LASA already has published information on ways to save money on hotel accommodations for LASA95. See *LASA Forum*, Summer 1993, page 6, and the LASA95 preregistration packet containing information about "overflow" accommodations. Additionally, Diana Bartholomew, LASA95 Local Arrangements Coordinator, will attempt to find apartment-sharing possibilities with students living in the Washington DC area. If you are interested in exploring this alternative, you may contact Diana at 202-298-0291.

### Roommate-Matching Service

If you have reserved a room in the Sheraton Washington or another of the LASA95 hotels, or are looking to do that, and would like to find a roommate with whom to share expenses, contact Mirna at the LASA Secretariat (addresses on inside front cover). She can provide you with the names and contact information of others who are searching for roommates. Your only obligation is to inform Mirna when an arrangement is made so that names can be removed from the list of applicants. If you write or e-mail, please be sure to include the following information: 1) Name of hotel you have reserved or desire to

reserve; 2) Number of nights you are staying; 3) How you can be reached, including regular mail and e-mail addresses, office and home telephone numbers and fax number.

### Child Care

LASA again will subsidize the cost of child care by reimbursing a parent at the rate of up to US\$4.50 per hour for one child, and US\$5.00 per hour for two or more children, for a maximum of 10 hours. LASA's maximum responsibility per family will be US\$45.00 for one child, and US\$50.00 for two or more children.

A parent who bills LASA must be a 1995 member of the association and a registered attendee of LASA95. To receive reimbursement, a parent must submit a properly dated bill from the caregiver, with the names of the child(ren) cared for, to the LASA Secretariat before **November 15, 1995**.

Inquiries about child care arrangements can be directed to Diana Bartholomew, Latin American Studies, Georgetown University, Car Barn Third Floor, Washington DC 20057-0885. Call 202-298-0291. ■

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## RECEPTION AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Thursday, Sept. 28th, 4:30-6pm, Hispanic Reading Room  
Room 205, Jefferson Building (use 2nd street entrance)  
2nd St. and Independence Ave., SE, 1 block from Capitol South metro

The **Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress** cordially invites all LASA participants to a reception in honor of the **Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS)** on the occasion of the publication of its retrospective, cumulative CD-ROM. **Please come help us thank the institutions and individuals which so generously supported this effort to make volumes 1-50 of the Handbook available for full-text searching on a single CD-ROM:**

**Fundación MAPFRE América** - the driving force behind and the principal financial contributor to the Handbook's digitization effort;

**The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation** and the **Lewis U. Hanke family** which provided generous additional support;

**The University of Texas Press**, HLAS publisher since 1979, which will distribute the CD-ROM;

**Harvard University Press** and **University Presses of Florida** which permitted their respective volumes to be published electronically; the **Joint LASA/SALALM Task Force on Scholarly Resources**; and, especially, the hundreds of current and former HLAS contributors and advisors.

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Arriving in Washington  
on *Wednesday*?  
**LASA95** attendees  
are invited to a

# **GALA WELCOMING RECEPTION**

featuring regional wines  
and a tapestry of many tastes

**September 27  
7:00-9:00 PM**

in the Galleria of the Intercultural Center  
**GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY CAMPUS**

Taxis are plentiful and not too expensive. You also can take the metro, boarding just moments from the Sheraton Washington, getting off at Dupont Circle. Walk down P Street one half block to catch the G2 bus to the front gates of Georgetown University. Enter the front gates and bear right toward the Intercultural Center.

*See you there!*

*Make Plans to Attend LASA's*

# **GRAN BAILE**

at

**LASA95!**

Reserve Friday September 29  
at 9:00 PM  
Sheraton Washington Ballroom

**Dance to the sounds of  
a terrific orchestra!**

## **PROGRAM BOOKLETS**

for the Washington DC  
XIX International Congress

will be mailed to LASA members  
and to nonmember preregistrants  
prior to the meeting

**DON'T FORGET  
TO TAKE YOUR BOOKLET  
TO WASHINGTON!**

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FAX: (505) 277-5985





## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

# Call for Participants In LASA Task Forces and Working Groups

Would you like to be considered for participation in a LASA Task Force or Working Group? Every eighteen months (coinciding with every new presidential term), there is a reinvigoration of the membership and leadership of LASA's Task Forces and Working Groups. All LASA members are now invited to request participation on a Task Force or Working Group for the November 1, 1995-May 1, 1997 term. Please send copies of 1) a brief statement indicating your interest and qualifications for the particular Task Force or Working Group and 2) your resume to BOTH the relevant chair/co-chairs AND vice-president Jane Jaquette at Occidental College, Department of Politics, 1600 Campus Rd., Los Angeles, CA 90041. Please see the list below for the names and addresses of current Task Force chairs/co-chairs.

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

John Gitlitz, Co-chair (Social Sciences, SUNY-Purchase, Purchase NY 10577)  
Kevin Middlebrook, Co-chair (Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla CA 92093-0510)

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

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

### **Task Force on Latino Issues**

Edwin Melendez, Co-Chair (Gaston Institute, University of Massachusetts-Boston, 100 Morrissey Blvd., Boston MA 02125-3393)  
Cathy Schneider, Co-Chair (Hunter College, Center on AIDS, 316 W. 105 St., 1B, New York NY 10025)

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

Deborah Jakubs, Chair (Duke University, 021 Perkins Library, Box 90195, Durham NC 27708)

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

Rina Benmayor, Co-Chair (Center for Puerto Rican Studies, Hunter College, 695 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10021)  
Beatriz Schmuckler, Co-Chair (Instituto Mora, Plaza Valentín Gómez Farías 12, San Juan 03730, México, DF, Mexico)

### **Task Force on Gay and Lesbian Issues in Latin American Studies**

Daniel Balderston, Chair (Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 304 Newcomb Hall, New Orleans LA 70118)

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

Rachel McCleary, Chair (4316 Windom Place NW, Washington DC 20016)

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

Wayne Smith, Chair (The Cuba Project, Nitze School for Advanced Studies, Johns Hopkins University, 1740 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036)

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

Pamela Constable, Co-Chair (The Washington Post, 1150 15th St. NW, Washington DC 20005)  
Suzy Castor, Co-Chair (CRESFED, 10 Rue Jean-Baptiste, Canape-Vert, Port-au-Prince, BP 15294 Petion Ville, Haiti)

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

Gustavo Andrade, Co-Chair (Instituto Iberoamericano, University of Sofia, 7-1 Kioi-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 102 Japan)  
Peter Smith, Co-Chair (CILAS, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla CA 92093-0510)

### **Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural and Engineering Sciences Communities**

David Bray, Co-Chair (Inter-American Foundation, 1515 Wilson Blvd., Rosslyn VA 22209)  
Marianne Schmink, Co-Chair (Center for Latin American Studies, Grinter Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville FL 32611)

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

Alvaro Caballero, Co-Chair (CIRD, Curupaty 226, Asunción, Paraguay)  
Beverly Nagel, Co-Chair (Dept. of Sociology/Anthropology, Carleton College, Northfield MN 55057)

### **Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe**

Andres Serbín, Co-Chair (Apartado 80948, Zona 1080, Caracas, Venezuela)  
Peter Winn, Co-Chair (Tufts University, 315 W. 106th St., New York NY 10025)

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

Joaquin Roy, Chair (University of Miami, 1531 Brescia Ave., P.O. Box 248123, Coral Gables, FL 33124)

### **Working Group on Labor Studies**

Russell Smith, Co-Chair (School of Business, Washburn University of Topeka, Topeka, KS 66621)  
Hector Lucena, Co-Chair (Universidad de Carabobo, A.P.5110, Naguanauga, Carabobo 2005, Venezuela)  
Cliff Welch, Co-Chair (Department of History, Grand Valley State University, Allendale, MI 49461)

### **Working Group on Natural Resources and the Environment**

David Barkin, Co-Chair (Apdo. 33E, Morelia, Michoacán 58020, México)  
Janet Chernela, Co-Chair (Dept. of Sociology, Florida International University, North Miami, FL 33181) ■



## CALLING ALL MEMBERS (CONT.)

### **BE SURE TO VOTE** in the **1995 LASA ELECTIONS**

**Ballots were mailed in early July**

**Deadline for receipt of ballots  
at the LASA Secretariat is  
September 1, 1995**

*Please follow instructions to assure  
your ballot is valid*

*SHARE THE MEMBERSHIP  
FORM  
IN THIS ISSUE  
WITH A COLLEAGUE*

**JOIN US IN WASHINGTON  
in  
1995!**

## GET THERE FOR LESS!

### **American Airlines - official carrier for LASA 1995**

- Save 10% on lowest unrestricted fares, with 7 day advance
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## LASA Endowment Fund Support

LASA members continue to show their support for the endowment campaign through their generous gifts and pledges. We gratefully acknowledge one new Founding Life Member--Wayne Cornelius. Wayne is the 28th LASA member to make this very special commitment to our association. Although Life Memberships will be available both during and after the campaign, the opportunity to become a Founding Life Member expires at the end of 1995.

There are a number of options open to those considering Life Memberships: (1) outright payment of the full \$2,500 (\$2,200 actual contribution to the funds) through check, securities, Visa or MasterCard; (2) payment of \$1,000 at the time of the pledge followed by three annual installments of \$500 each; (3) a pledge now and installment payments as agreed upon by the individual member and the Secretariat. The only requirement is that pledges be completed by July, 1999, the close of the campaign.

Since the last issue of the *LASA Forum* letters seeking support for the campaign have been mailed to current and past LASA Presidents and Executive Council members, the members of LASA's Development Committee, and top dues paying members. Others have generously included gifts with membership renewal and congress preregistration. We gratefully acknowledge the following donors to the Humanities Endowment Fund:

Rolena Adorno  
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and  
William A. Hazleton  
Matsuo Yamada

Many employers match gifts to nonprofit organizations, thereby doubling or tripling the value of the gift. Matching gift forms can usually be obtained from the human resources office. We particularly acknowledge the thoughtfulness of Heliodoro Diaz who arranged to have his employer, the Kellogg Foundation, match his gift. Thanks you, Heliodoro!



### LASA Represented in Tokyo Meeting

LASA Executive Director Reid Reading and Executive Council Member Marysa Navarro were enthusiastic participants in the Japan-USA Area Studies Conference held at International House of Japan in Tokyo, March 6-8. The conference was organized by the National Council of Area Studies Associations (NCASA), of which LASA is a founding member. Reading is current NCASA chair.

One of NCASA's prime objectives is to intensify contact with area studies colleagues abroad. The Tokyo meeting was the third in a series of NCASA activities designed to draw the five principal U.S. area studies associations closer to their counterparts abroad. The first meeting of this kind was held in 1993 in Quebec City and the second in San Juan in 1994. (See the Summer 1993 and Summer 1994 issues of *LASA Forum* for reports on these meetings).

The Tokyo meeting, spearheaded by John Campbell, Secretary Treasurer of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) and organized by the Japan Area Studies Center (JACS) and the International House of Japan, was made possible by a generous grant from the Center for Global Partnership of the Japan Foundation.

In addition to Navarro and Reading, the U.S. delegation included the chief administrative officer and a leading elected officer from the other NCASA constituent societies that cover the African, Asian, Middle East and Slavic regions. Two delegates from the American Studies Association also were invited.

About 140 Japanese area studies scholars, representing eight area studies associations, joined the U.S. delegates for a series of meetings. After the general meetings, in which all the U.S. delegates presented papers, each of the NCASA associations and the American Studies Association met separately with their counterpart societies in Japan. In the case of LASA, Matsuo Yamada, President of the Japan Association for Latin American Studies, convened a three-hour meeting in which steps toward more intensive cooperation between LASA and JALAS was discussed. (LASA already has an agreement under which Latin Americanists in Japan can become joint members of JALAS and LASA--initiated by LASA's Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Latin Americanists in Japan and the only such arrangement among NCASA societies). Among other things, delegates deliberated about how to increase the participation of Japanese scholars in LASA congresses.

JACS will publish a full report on the conference in English, with the text of all the papers and an afterword by John Campbell. When LASA receives a copy of the report, a notice will be published in the *Forum* about how to obtain copies. ■

### LASA95 To Offer Three Special Congress Sessions on Resource Management and Growth

For the first time, LASA's international congress will feature three special sessions designed especially for the needs of growing institutions. Titled "Reflections About Endowment Campaigns," "Making the Assets of a Nonprofit Institution Grow" and "Developing Effective Boards of Directors," the sessions grew out of our desire to provide useful information on fund-raising and fund management for current and prospective institutional members, particularly those in Latin America.

At the session "Reflections about Endowment Campaigns," President Cynthia McClintock and Past President, Development Committee Chair Carmen Diana Deere will discuss the strategy, organization and progress of LASA's endowment campaign. They will be joined by Dr. Amparo Menéndez-Carrión, FLACSO, Sede Ecuador, who will discuss her efforts to secure an endowment for FLACSO. Representatives of other Latin American institutions as well will discuss their own efforts to secure financial resources.

James Seymour, Vice President of The Common Fund, in "Making the Assets of a Nonprofit Grow" will present information on investment management of endowments, including the purpose of an endowment fund, investment and spending policies, asset allocation and portfolio construction. The Common Fund is a nonprofit membership consortium devoted exclusively to enhancing the financial resources of educational institutions.

A close relationship exists between the quality of board leadership of an organization and the organization's ability to fulfill its mission. In "Developing Effective Boards of Directors", Larry Slesinger, Vice President of the National Center for Nonprofit Boards will discuss the responsibilities of the board, what type of individuals make good board members, and the board's role in fund-raising.

Participants will discuss ways in which all can cooperate to share information on campaign planning and potential funding sources. For additional information on any of these sessions please contact the LASA Secretariat. ■

**JOIN US IN WASHINGTON IN SEPTEMBER!**

# Just Who are Our LASA Members?

by **Sandy Klinzing**  
LASA Assistant Director for  
Institutional Advancement

In preparing the recent survey of LASA members we spent a good deal of time comparing the current membership profile with information provided by survey respondents. Although this was done largely to guarantee the validity of the survey, it also helps us to monitor trends and thus better meet the needs of our members. We thought you might be interested in knowing who makes up our LASA membership. We will update this report at the end of 1995 and then make it an annual feature in our reporting to you.

As of 6/12/95, there was an all-time high in both individual and institutional LASA members, with **3505 individual** members and **93 institutional** members (compared to a record 3387 individuals and 73 institutions for all of 1994). Of the 3505 current members, 281 or **8 percent** joined LASA just this year.

Six hundred sixty-seven or about **19 percent** are students. This percentage seems to vary little from year to year. Also consistent is the percentage of **members residing in the U.S.--about 80 percent**. Of the remaining 20 percent, approximately 14 percent (474 for 1995) permanently reside in Latin America.

A little fewer than one-half (**44 percent**) of the **1995 membership are women**.

About 92 percent of current members indicated their affiliation. Of those reporting, approximately 89 percent or 3,125 individuals are associated with an academic institution; one percent work in the private sector, one percent in government, and one percent in nonprofits.

Of the 3,306 current members who indicated their discipline, the following are the most strongly represented fields:

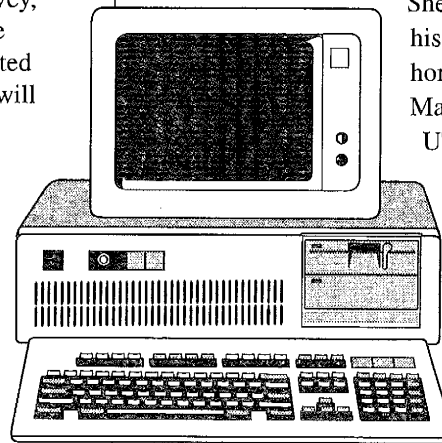
- 21 percent--political science
- 20 percent--history
- 13 percent--literature (up from 11 percent for 1994)
- 10 percent--sociology/social sciences
- 9 percent--anthropology/archeology/architecture
- 7 percent--economics
- 3 percent--language/linguistics
- 3 percent--Latin American studies

Let us know if you would like to have any other information about our membership, or if we can assist you in any way. ■

# LASA Joins the Web

Thanks to UT-LANIC at the University of Texas at Austin, LASA now offers its own home page on the World Wide Web. Maria Cavalcanti of UT-LANIC, working under the supervision of Carolyn Palaima created the basis for the LASA home page. Now that they have thrust us into cyberspace, the home page has been transferred to a LASA account, allowing us to further develop it by making available information about the association. We are very grateful to Vadim Staklo, Glenn

Sheldon's temporary replacement, for his considerable work in getting the home page operational, and of course to Maria and Carolyn and all the folks at UT-LANIC. **The location of the LASA homepage is <http://info.pitt.edu/~lasa>.**



LASA members will continue to have access to current job listings through a special address on the home page: <http://info.pitt.edu/~lasa/empl>. ■

# A Word of Thanks to Glenn

After more than four years of dedicated service to LASA, Glenn Sheldon, Publications Director, left the Secretariat to complete his doctorate and to pursue a career in writing and teaching.

During his tenure at LASA Glenn devoted himself to preparing and enhancing the association's publications, including the *LASA Forum*, the *LASA Membership Directory*, the association's membership brochures and the directory *Latin American Studies in the United States, Canada and Mexico*. This last publication entailed countless hours of detailed work, assembling the data, entering it and preparing the directory for publication.

Despite his already considerable responsibilities, Glenn was always eager to assist with any special demands placed upon the Secretariat. We will all miss Glenn as a dedicated professional, a colleague and a friend. We wish him much success in his future career.

As a temporary replacement the Secretariat has secured the services of Vadim Staklo, a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh. Vadim will be with us through the end of August and will assist with publications and with enhancing LASA's use of electronic networks. Welcome Vadim! ■

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## OPPORTUNITIES ON-LINE

# Electronic Access to the Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS) A Progress Report

The Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress is pleased to announce the October 1995 availability of a **new full-text CD-ROM containing volumes 1-50 of the Handbook**. This retrospective conversion project is being undertaken by the Fundación MAPFRE América (Madrid) for the Library of Congress, with additional support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation (New York). Stop by the Fundación MAPFRE América booth or the University of Texas Press booth at the LASA '95 Exhibit for a live demonstration of this valuable resource which will soon be available from the University of Texas Press for only US\$150.

In addition, as many of you have already discovered, the working file of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS)* is currently available via **Internet** from the Library of Congress catalog. This editorial file contains bibliographic records corresponding to *HLAS* 50-57, but in various stages of the editorial process. The *Handbook* data is contained in the Library of Congress's Generalized Bibliographies (GenBib)

file, a shared file available by telnetting to **MARVEL.Loc.Gov** (login = **marvel**): 1) choose the Library of Congress Online Systems; 2) choose "Connect to LOCIS -- Public Users"; 3) choose the Library of Congress Catalog; 4) choose Books cataloged since 1968. Once connected, type in your search, being sure to append **;f=gb** at the end of each search. (Without this file qualifier, you will be searching in the general LC books catalog.) For further information on searching *HLAS* online, please see the "LOCIS Quick Search Guide: *Handbook of Latin American Studies*" which can be accessed through **Marvel** under "Library of Congress Online Systems" -- "Quick Search Guides".

Steps are also underway to provide a more user-friendly interface to the *Handbook's* current database. By the end of the summer we expect to provide access to volumes 50 onward via our own home page on the **World Wide Web**, a project generously supported by the family of Lewis U. Hanke, the *Handbook's* late founder. ■



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

**Escuela de Agricultura de la Región Tropical Húmeda--EARTH--**(Costa Rica) has opened the position of Professor of Anthropology/Rural Sociology. EARTH is a new, private, non-profit, educational college composed of an international faculty and student body dedicated to academic career excellence based on the principle of "learn-by-doing."

To apply send an application letter, complete resume and three professional references. Master's or Ph.D. degree required. Send correspondence to: Dr. José A. Zagalul, Director General, EARTH, Apartado 4442-1000, San José, Costa Rica. Fax: 506-255-2756; Tel. 506-255-2000. ■

# Princeton University

## Latin American/Latino Studies

**P**inceton University seeks an outstanding senior scholar who has very strong research and teaching interests in the field of Latin American and/or Latino Studies. The faculty member will be appointed at the rank of Full or Associate Professor in one of the University's Humanities or Social Sciences departments. Nominations or applications should be sent to Senior Scholar Search, 302 Nassau Hall, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 08544. Applications will be reviewed until the position is filled. Princeton University is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer.



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The **National Humanities Center** supports advanced study in history, languages and literature, philosophy, and other fields of the humanities. Each year the Center awards residential fellowships to scholars of demonstrated achievement and to promising younger scholars. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional accomplishments. Younger scholars should be engaged in work significantly beyond the revision of a doctoral dissertation. Most fellowships are for the academic year (September through May), though a few may be awarded for the fall or spring semester. Scholars from any nation may apply for fellowships. In addition to scholars from fields normally associated with the humanities, representatives of the natural and social sciences, the arts, the professions, and public life may be admitted to the Center if their work has humanistic dimensions. For more information or for application material write to Fellowship Program, National Humanities Center, Post Office Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27709-2256. Applicants submit the Center's forms, supported by a curriculum vitae, a 1000-word project proposal, and three letters of recommendation. Applications and letters of recommendation must be postmarked by October 15, 1995.

The **National Endowment for the Humanities Reference Materials Program** supports projects to prepare reference works that will improve access to information and resources. Support is available for the creation of dictionaries, historical or linguistic atlases, encyclopedias, catalogues raisonnés, other descriptive catalogues, grammars, databases, textbases and other projects that will provide essential scholarly tools for the advancement of research or for general reference. Support is also available for projects that address important issues related to the design or accessibility of reference works. The application deadline is November 1, 1995 for projects beginning after September 1, 1996. For more information contact: Reference Materials, Room 318, NEH, Washington, DC 20506 or via e-mail at [JSERVENTI@NEH.FED.US](mailto:JSERVENTI@NEH.FED.US).

**Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**, Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences 1996-97. The Center awards approximately 35 residential fellowships each year. Men and women from any country and from a wide variety of backgrounds (including government, the corporate world, the professions, and academe) may apply. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional accomplishments. Fellows are provided offices, access to the Library of Congress, computer or manuscript typing services, and research assistants. The Center publishes selected works written at the Center through the Woodrow Wilson Center Press. Fellowships are normally for an academic year. In determining stipends, the Center follows the principle of no gain/no loss in terms of a Fellow's previous year's salary, but not to exceed \$61,000. Travel expenses for Fellows and their immediate dependents are provided. The application deadline is October 1, 1995. For application materials write to: Fellowships Office, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Drive S.W., SI MRC 022, Washington, DC 20560. Tel. 202-355-2841.

Fellowships on Latin American topics are offered by the **Social Science Research Council** for doctoral dissertation research in the social sciences and the humanities. Proposals on any topic are eligible for support, including projects comparing Latin American or Caribbean countries to others located outside this region. Eligibility: Full-time students, regardless of citizenship, who are enrolled in doctoral programs in the United States. Students should have completed all Ph.D. requirements, except the dissertation, before going into the field. Prospective applicants should write to request application forms, explaining their eligibility, *after* August 1, 1995. Application deadline: *November 1, 1995*. Applicants should contact: SSRC, 605 Third Ave., New York, NY 10158. Tel. 212-661-0280.

The **Kellogg Institute** is dedicated to advancing research in comparative international studies, with special emphasis on Latin America. For the 1996-1997 academic year (August 26-May 21), the Institute will offer up to six residential fellowships of one, or for exceptional cases, two semesters 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 in the University. The Institute's research reflects commitments to democracy, development, and social justice, and focuses on five priority themes: democratization and the quality of democracy; paths to development; religion and the Catholic Church; social movements and organized civil society; and public policies for social justice. The Institute seeks fellows of high accomplishment and promise whose work and presence will contribute creatively to its major research themes. It welcomes candidates of any country who hold a Ph.D. or equivalent degree in any discipline of the social sciences or history. Candidates will be evaluated individually, but joint projects will be considered. A complete application, including references and all documentation, must be received by November 15, 1995. Awards will be announced by January 31, 1996. For application forms and more information, contact Joetta Schlabach, Acting Academic Coordinator, University of Notre Dame, The Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Notre Dame In 46556-5677. E-mail: [Schlabach.2@nd.edu](mailto:Schlabach.2@nd.edu).

**Fulbright Visiting Scholar-in-Residence Program** for 1996-1997. U.S. colleges and universities are invited to submit proposals for a Fulbright grant to host a visiting lecturer from abroad. The purpose of the program is to initiate or develop international programs at colleges and universities by studies of area-specific programs, or otherwise expand contacts of students and faculty with other cultures. Grants are for one semester or the full academic year. Deadline is November 1, 1995. For application materials and proposed guidelines contact: Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3005 Tilden St., NW, Suite 5M, Box VSNEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Tel. 202-686-8664. E-mail: [CIESVS@CIESNET.CIES.ORG](mailto:CIESVS@CIESNET.CIES.ORG).

Grants are offered by the **Social Science Research Council** for research by social scientists and humanists on all aspects of the societies and cultures of Latin America or the Caribbean area. Research proposals on any topic are eligible for support, including those involving more than one area or country within Latin America or the Caribbean. Projects involving a Latin American and a non-Latin American country are also accepted. In this case, proposals may be independently reviewed by another relevant area committee at the Council. Eligibility: Scholars who hold the Ph.D. or an equivalent degree and are U.S. students or have been resident in the United States for at least three consecutive years at the time of application. Scholars who have held an advanced research grant from the Council within the previous five years may not submit applications, although individuals who received a doctoral fellowship are eligible. Prospective applicants should write to request application forms, explaining their eligibility, *after* August 1, 1995. Application deadline: *December 1, 1995*. Write: SSRC, 605 Third Ave., New York, NY 10158. Tel. 212-661-0280.

The **Social Science Research Council** anticipates offering two-year dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships for training and research on peace and security in a changing world, with the support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Contingent on the availability of funds, it is expected that approximately seven dissertation and seven postdoctoral fellowships will be awarded. The program is administered by the Committee on International Peace and Security on behalf of the SSRC. The fellowships are intended to



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES (CONT.)

support innovative and interdisciplinary research on the implications for peace and security issues of worldwide cultural, social, economic, military, and political changes. There are no citizenship, residency, or nationality requirements. These fellowships are open to researchers who are finishing course work, examinations, or similar requirements for the Ph.D. or its equivalent. Applicants must complete all

requirements for the doctoral degree except the dissertation by the spring of 1996. Application deadline: *December 1, 1995*. Applicants for both predoctoral and postdoctoral fellowships should contact the International Peace and Security Program for the most recent program information: SSRC, 605 Third Ave., New York, NY 10158. Tel. 212-661-0280. ■



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

1995 Annual Meeting of the **New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS)**, October 14, Dartmouth College. The 1995 NECLAS annual meeting will be held at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, on Saturday, October 14, 1995. Professor Nina Scott, Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and President of NECLAS, is in charge of the program. Professors Diana Taylor and Marysa Navarro-Aranguren of Dartmouth College will be in charge of local arrangements. To receive registration information contact Susan S. Bourque, NECLAS Secretary-Treasurer, c/o Project on Women and Social Change, Smith College, Seelye Hall, Room 210, Northampton, MA 01063 (tel. 413-585-3591; fax 413-585-3593). All former members of the NECLAS Executive Committee are invited to attend a special dinner to be held at the Hanover Inn on Friday, October 13, 1995. Anyone interested in attending should contact Susan Bourque at the above number.

The **Institute of Early American History and Culture** invites proposals for papers and/or panels to be presented at its second annual conference May 31 - June 2, 1996. The Institute's field of interest encompasses all aspects of the lives of North America's indigenous and immigrant peoples during the colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods of the United States and the related histories of Canada, the Caribbean, Latin America, the British Isles, Europe, and Africa, from the sixteenth century to approximately 1815. The meeting will take place at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and is intended to provide a forum for the rich diversity of scholarship that characterizes the study of early America. Advanced graduate students and beginning scholars are particularly encouraged to apply. The Program Committee is especially interested in proposals for workshops in teaching new and old topics in early American history and culture. Organizers should exchange syllabi and offer the audience suggestions for using new sources, methods, and aids. Ten copies of submissions, not exceeding three pages and accompanied by a short-form C.V., should be sent to Professor Gloria L. Main, Department of History, Campus Box 234, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309, by September 30, 1995.

The twenty-fifth year celebration of **The International Congress of Latin Americanist Geographers** will convene in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, January 3-6, 1996. Scholarly presentations on the Congress theme, "The Changing Environments of Central America", are especially appreciated, however papers on any Latin American topic are welcomed. Papers may be presented in previously organized thematic sessions (e.g., natural environments, forestry, urbanization, regional developments, migration, indigenous communities, agriculture) or in general sessions. Field trips throughout Honduras will be led by geographers with local expertise and will take place before and after the congress. Contact: William V. Davidson, Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803. Tel. 504-388-5942. Fax: 504-388-2912. E-Mail: [GASAM@LSUVM.SNCC.LSU.EDU](mailto:GASAM@LSUVM.SNCC.LSU.EDU).

"Race, Ethnicity and Power in Maritime America: The Role of Race and Ethnicity in Maritime Communities of North America and the

Caribbean," is the theme of a conference to be held at **Mystic Seaport** in Mystic, Connecticut September 14-17, 1995. Designed to expand the boundaries of the American maritime story and foster communication between scholars, museums and the public regarding race and ethnicity. Scheduled topics include: sailors and rivermen in slavery and freedom; racial and national identity in the maritime world; labor struggles in the 19th and 20th centuries; American Indians; Cape Verdean's; the U.S. Navy; AMISTAD; and the character of maritime communities. Concluding roundtable topic, "New Directions in Maritime Studies." For information contact: REPMA- Mystic Seaport Museum, P. O. Box 6000, Mystic CT 06355-0990, or call Susan O'Donnell 203-572-5350.

The **Business Association for Latin American Studies (BALAS)** in conjunction with the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey will hold its 1996 annual conference in Monterrey, Mexico from March 27-30 on the theme, "Creating Competitive and Cooperative Advantage in Latin America: Combining Theory and Practice for Success." For more information, contact Dennis Vanden Bloemen, U.S. Conference Coordinator, University of Wisconsin-Stout, Department of Business, School of Industry and Technology, 213 Jarvis Hall, Menomonie, WI 54751-0790, USA. Tel. 715-232-2311. Fax: 715-232-1274. E-mail: [VANDENBL@AOL.COM](mailto:VANDENBL@AOL.COM)

The **Fourth International Congress on Central American Literature** will take place in San Salvador, El Salvador, February 21-23, 1996. Send inquiries to: Jorge Román-Lagunas, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Purdue University Calumet, Hammond IN 46323-2094. Tel. 219-989-2632.

The Women's Studies Program of the **University of Havana** announces its international workshop, "Women on the Threshold of the XXI century," to take place November 22-25, 1995. For application, contact Dra. Norma Vasallo Barrueta, Cátedra de la Mujer, Universidad de la Habana, San Rafael #1168 esquina Mazón, Ciudad de la Habana, Zona 4, Código postal 10400, Cuba. Fax: 537-33-5774. E-mail: [PSICO@COMUH.UH.CU](mailto:PSICO@COMUH.UH.CU).

The **International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR)**, the principal international research society for persons interested in nonprofit organizations, philanthropy, and civil society around the world, will hold its second international conference in Mexico City in July 1996. El Colegio de México will serve as host from July 18-21, 1996, and will provide the site to advance research on the Third Sector in Latin America. The theme of the conference is Citizen Participation, Economic Development and the Third Sector. The conference intends to explore the role of the Third Sector in the development of communities, civil society and the economy. Abstracts are invited, preferably in English, but also can be submitted in Spanish. The full Call for Papers has been published in English and Spanish with a submission deadline of September 15, 1995. For additional information, please contact Margery Berg Daniels, Executive Officer, ISTR, The Johns Hopkins University, Wyman Building, Baltimore MD 21218. Tel. 410-516-4678. Fax: 410-516-8233. E-Mail: [ISTRMBD@JHUNIX.HCF.JHU.EDU](mailto:ISTRMBD@JHUNIX.HCF.JHU.EDU).



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES (CONT.)

The Centre for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Utrecht University; the Netherlands Association for Latin American and Caribbean Studies; and the Department of Latin American Studies, Leiden University, will sponsor an international conference "Societies of Fear: The Legacy of Civil War, Terror and Social Disintegration in Latin America and the Caribbean." The conference aims to address the current dilemmas of political transition and social reconstruction

in Latin America and the Caribbean by examining a number of key themes as well as a wide range of country cases. Deadlines for paper proposals are past, but interested parties should contact Dr. Kees Koonings, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Utrecht University, P.O. Box 80141, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands. Tel. 31-30-531-879/532-111. Fax: 31-30-534-666. E-Mail: KOONINGS@FSW.RUU.NL. ■



## PUBLICATIONS

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), Division of Reproductive Health, has released the following reproductive health survey reports. Ecuador: *Encuesta Nacional de Salud Familiar*, 1994 - Preliminary Report (Spanish). Jamaica: 1993 *Contraceptive Prevalence Survey - Final Report* (English). Costa Rica: *Encuesta Nacional de Salud Reproductiva*, 1993; Working Paper No. 1: *Metas Reproductivas y Patrones de Crianza de los hijos*; Working Paper No.2: *Comportamiento Reproductivo Postparto*. Single copies are available at no cost from: Behavioral Epidemiology and Demographic Research Branch, Division of Reproductive Health, MS K35, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Atlanta GA 30333.

The first issue of *Cuadernos Cervantes* has been just released. Its main objective is to popularize the Spanish language and facilitate communication among those who use it for professional reasons. For more information contact Oscar Bergudo, Coordinador editorial, *Cuadernos Cervantes*, Travesía de Andrés Mellado 9, 28015 Madrid, España. Tel. 34-1-543-46-46. Fax: 34-1-543-47-06.

The Haitian Studies Association (HSA) is pleased to announce the introductory issue of the *Journal of Haitian Studies*. The *Journal* is published annually by HSA and it covers the arts, culture, economy, history, literature, politics, and religion of Haiti as well as academic research on Haitians in the diaspora. The *Journal* endeavors to create a balance between academic research and issues of relevance to Haiti's economic, political, and social conditions. The *Journal* advances HSA's goal of promoting research on Haiti and Haitians, identifying and disseminating information on Haiti. Information: Tel. 617-287-7138. Fax: 617-287-7099.

E-mail: HSA@UMB.SKY.CC.UMB.EDU.

*Political Expressions*, a new journal of politics and culture based at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia, is coming out with a special issue featuring the theme "The Americas." All interested writers, academics and artists are invited to submit their articles, essays, reviews, notes and discussions, photography, poetry, etc. for publication. The journal, started and run mainly by postgraduates and junior academics, specially encourages students and younger writers to participate. The material is to be submitted in English, whether as translation or in original. Contact: Bruce Lindsay, Department of Politics, Monash University, Wellington Rd., Clayton, Vic., 3168, Australia. Tel 61-3-905-2445, Fax: 61-3-905-2410. E-mail: POLEXP@ARTS.CC.MONASH.EDU.AU.

The editors of the *CLAG Yearbook 1996*, a peer-reviewed journal sponsored by the Conference of Latin American Geographers since 1970, welcome the submission of manuscripts on Latin America, as well as on the links between the region and other parts of the world. Manuscripts may involve natural or social sciences, or the humanities. Pieces with historical perspectives and of broad interest are especially sought. The deadline for submission is October 1, 1995. Those interested should send three copies of a manuscript and a disc, preferably in Microsoft Word format, to: S. Driever and D. Hopkins, CLAG Yearbook, 1996, Department of Geosciences, University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, MO 64110-2499. Tel. 816-235-1334. Fax: 816-235-5535. E-mail: SLDRIEVER@CCTR.UMKC.EDU; DHOPKINS@CCTR.UMKC.EDU. ■



## GENERAL

Mount Holyoke College hosted the first annual Schomburg- Moreno Lecture by Dr. Edna Acosta-Belén of the University at Albany on April 10th, 1995. Professor Acosta-Belén's topic was, "Revisiting the Concept of NUESTRA AMERICA in Latin American and Latino Studies." The lecture series is named in honor of Arthur Schomburg and Luisa Moreno, two pioneers whose lives intersected the histories of Latin American, Caribbean, Latino, and U.S. societies, a crossing which the series seeks to highlight. For further information on the series contact: Latin American Studies, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, MA 01075. Tel. 413-538-2007.

The following prizes were awarded at the 1994 New England Council of Latin American Studies (NECLAS) Annual Meeting held at Harvard University of Saturday, September 24, 1994: The Best Book Award was awarded to Jonathan Fox for *The Politics of Food in Mexico: State Power and Social Mobilization* (Cornell University Press, 1993); The Joseph T. Criscenti Best Article Prize was awarded to Michael F. Brown for "Facing the State, Facing the World: Amazonia's Native Leaders and the New Politics of Identity," *L'Homme* 126-128, avr.-dec. 1993, XXXIII (2-4), 307-326; and The

Best Dissertation Prize was awarded to Nina Gerassi-Navarro, Assistant Professor of Spanish at Mount Holyoke College, for her dissertation (written under the supervision of Jean Franco at Columbia University) entitled, *Pirate Novels: Metaphors of a Developing Identity*.

The Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin (ILAS) will inaugurate a Brazil Center in September of 1995. The Brazil Center will coordinate the extensive resources at the University of Texas that include the 40 Brazilianist faculty members and the Benson Latin American Collection. The Brazil Center will facilitate Brazilian Studies at the University by bringing visiting professors, scholars and lecturers to the campus; by sponsoring meetings, lectures and activities; and by serving as a source of information on Brazil in the United States. The Brazil Center will complement the focus developed in ILAS by the Mexican Center. Lawrence H. Graham, professor of Government, will be the first director. David Workman, a recent graduate at ILAS with a Brazilian Studies concentration, will be the administrative assistant. ■

# CONSTITUTION and BY-LAWS of the Latin American Studies Association

## CONSTITUTION [As Amended May 1995]

### Article 1. *Name and Status*

1. The name of this organization shall be The Latin American Studies Association (LASA).
2. It shall be a nonprofit corporation that shall qualify and remain qualified as exempt from federal income tax under Section 501(c)(3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code of 1954, as the same may be from time to time amended.
3. LASA is an independent professional association and is not affiliated with any government.

### Article II. *Purposes*

The purposes of the Association are: to foster the concerns of scholars interested in Latin American studies; encourage more effective training, teaching, and research in connection with such studies; and provide a forum for dealing with matters of common interest to the scholarly professions and to individuals concerned with Latin American studies.

### Article III. *Membership*

Membership in the Association is open to anyone with a scholarly or other professional interest in Latin American studies. Only members in good standing shall be eligible to vote and to serve on the Executive Council, as officers of the Association, or as members of committees and task forces. Student members, who shall enjoy voice and vote in the conduct of the association, are defined to mean students who are pursuing a degree at a university or college. No one may hold student membership for more than five years.

### Article IV. *Officers*

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, Vice-President, and a Treasurer.
2. The President shall serve one term of eighteen months. Upon retirement as President, she/he shall remain on the Executive Council as a voting member of that body for an additional period of eighteen months.
3. The Vice-President shall serve in that capacity for a term of eighteen months, upon completion of which she/he shall become the President. The membership of the Association shall elect a new Vice-President every eighteen months, by mail ballot, procedures for which are prescribed in the By-Laws. In the event that the Vice-President is unable to assume the office of President, nominations and election for the Presidency shall then be carried out as prescribed in the By-Laws for the Vice Presidency. If the Vice-President's inability to advance to the Presidency becomes known after the regular annual elections but before the time when the new President is to take office, the Executive Council shall call

a special election for the Presidency, to be carried out as prescribed in the By-Laws for the Vice Presidency. In the event of absence, death, resignation, or incapacity of the President, her/his duties shall fall upon the Vice-President, who shall serve as President through the current and succeeding eighteen-month terms.

If neither the President nor the Vice-President is able to serve, the Executive Council shall elect one of its own members to serve as Acting President through the current eighteen-month term; nominations and elections for the Presidency for the succeeding eighteen-month term shall be carried out as prescribed by the By-Laws for the Vice Presidency.

4. The President shall serve as chairperson of the Executive Council and shall be responsible for preparing the annual budget for submission to the Council. The President, with the advice and consent of the majority of the Council members, shall appoint such committees as are specified in the By-Laws as well as any task forces deemed useful in pursuing the general objectives of the organization.

5. The Executive Council shall elect from its membership a Treasurer, who shall exercise that office during her/his term of membership on the Council.

6. The Executive Council shall appoint an Executive Director who shall serve at the pleasure of the Council, under the terms and conditions specified in writing by the Council and accepted in writing by the Executive Director. She/he shall carry out the instructions and policies prescribed by the membership and/or the Executive Council, and shall supervise the work of the Secretariat. Once each year the Executive Director shall prepare the annual financial report of the Association for review by the Executive Council. The Executive Director will be responsible for the publication of the *LASA Forum*, the official LASA newsletter, on a regular basis, as determined by the Executive Council. The Executive Director shall also prepare annually a list of the members in good standing, which shall be open for inspection and may be published by direction of the Council. The Executive Director shall be a nonvoting member of the Executive Council.

7. The Ways and Means Committee assists and provides guidance to the President and Executive Director between meetings of the Executive Council. It is composed of the President, Vice-President, Past President, Treasurer, and Executive Director, the latter to have voice but no vote.

8. Any person made party to any action, suit, or proceeding by reason of the fact that she/he is or was an officer of the Association or of any corporation in which she/he served as such at the request of the Association, shall be indemnified by the Association against the reasonable expenses incurred by her/him in connection with the defense of such action, suit, or proceeding, except in relation to matters as to which it shall be adjudged that such an officer is liable for negligence or misconduct in the performance of her/his duties.

## Article V. *Executive Council*

1. The Executive Council shall administer the affairs of the Association, and for corporate purposes be considered as its Board of Directors.

a. The Executive Council shall consist of nine voting members: the Immediate Past President, President, Vice-President, and six elected members; and three ex-officio members with voice but no vote: the LASA Executive Director, the editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, and the current Congress Program Chair.

b. The terms of the elected members shall be for three years. Three shall be elected every eighteen months by mail ballot as prescribed in the By-Laws.

2. The Executive Council shall carry out the Association's purposes and promote its professional interests.

3. The Executive Council shall conduct and supervise the business of the Association, manage its properties, receive gifts, grants, donations, approve and implement annual budgets, and take all the necessary actions in the interest of the Association.

4. The Executive Council shall meet as frequently as the interests of the Association dictate, and at least once a year. The President is empowered to call meetings of the Executive Council, and is required to do so on the petition of four council members.

5. The Executive Council is authorized to call meetings of the membership.

## Article VI. *Annual Audit*

There shall be an annual audit or financial review of the accounts of the Association, the results of which shall be reported to the membership.

## Article VII. *Amendments*

Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by two-thirds of the membership of the Executive Council, or by a petition of one hundred members in good standing. Ratification of such amendments shall require approval of a majority of those members who vote within ninety days following the distribution of ballots to all members, either through publication in the *Forum* or by mailing. The date by which ballots must be received will be printed on the ballot. The Executive Director is responsible for the distribution, counting, and reporting of results to the Executive Council and to the membership.

## Article VIII. *Latin American Research Review*

The official journal of LASA will be the *Latin American Research Review (LARR)*. The appointment of the Editor shall be made by the Executive Council. This appointment and that of Associate and/or Assistant Editors and Editorial Board; selection of the publisher of LARR; policies regarding their tenure, dismissal, and replacement; conduct of the journal; the conditions of bidding; and the re-

lations between the journal and LASA shall be governed by the *LASA-LARR Articles of Understanding*.

## Article IX. *Ethics and Professional Conduct*

It is incumbent upon all members to carry out their professional actions in ways that convey respect for the integrity of LASA as an organization, and the status and rights of all members as professional persons regardless of gender, age, sexual preference, nationality, ethnicity, race or belief.

## BY-LAWS

### Article I. *Nominations*

1. A Nominations Committee of no fewer than five persons nor more than seven, including a chairperson, shall be appointed by the Executive Council every eighteen months to select candidates for Vice President and Executive Council. One member of the current Executive Council shall be designated by the EC to serve on the Nominations Committee, but never as chair. The chair of the previous Nominations Committee may be a member, but not chair, of the new committee. The Committee will be selected at least six weeks prior to the formulation deadline for the ballot.

a. In constituting the Nominations Committee, the Executive Council shall endeavor to achieve diversity of region, discipline, gender, and by such other criteria as may be judged appropriate.

b. In considering candidates for membership on the Nominations Committee, the Executive Council should select persons with ample experience in their respective fields and who have broad knowledge of the personnel in their disciplines.

c. The Nominations Committee must put forth at least two candidates for each position opening to be elected.

d. The Nominations Committee will submit its choices of candidates to the Executive Council, accompanied by a brief report which summarizes the Committee's deliberations, including the names and numbers of candidates for each position, pertinent comments describing the reasons for these elections, and recommendations to the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall review the ballot of candidates suggested by the Nominations Committee prior to its submission to the electoral process to verify that candidate qualifications are in order and the By-Laws followed. The Executive Council may alter this ballot only by a two-thirds vote of all members of the Council with a right to vote.

e. The Executive Director will assist the Nominations Committee as needed in the provision of information, and the placing of any announcements in the *LASA Forum*, pertinent to the selection process.

2. The Nominations Committee in making its selections, and Executive Council in reviewing them, shall take into account the following attributes for candidates, adhering to these guidelines:

- a. Each nominee for office on the official ballot must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to her/his nomination;
- b. Disciplines: The Committee shall seek to assure that at least four different disciplines are represented on the Executive Council at all times;
- c. Geography: The Committee shall seek to assure representation on the Executive Council from the various regions in which members reside;
- d. Age and academic rank or its equivalent: The Committee shall seek to assure that younger members are represented on the Executive Council at all times;
- e. Gender: The Committee shall seek to assure that women be represented among the nominees for the Executive Council at all times.

3. Candidates for the Vice Presidency shall be nominated according to the following procedures:

- a. The Nominations committee shall nominate two candidates each election;
- b. Members of the Association may propose additional candidates by submitting petitions signed by at least one hundred members in good standing for each candidate;
- c. The Executive Director shall enter on an official ballot the names of the two candidates proposed by the Nominations Committee and the names of all candidates proposed by petition.

4. In the event that an incumbent LASA Vice-President assumes the office of LASA President, resigns, or is otherwise unable to continue as Vice-President, the Vice Presidency thus vacated shall be filled in the following manner:

- a. If a regular LASA election has already been held, the Vice-President-elect shall immediately assume the office and duties of the Vice Presidency,
- OR
- b. If the regular LASA election referred to above has not yet been held, the Executive Council shall name from among its number one member to serve as Vice-President until such election is held.

5. Members of the Executive Council shall be nominated according to the following procedure:

- a. The Nominating Committee shall nominate six candidates for each election for three vacan-

cies on the Executive Council for three-year terms;

- b. Members of the Association may propose additional candidates for the Executive Council by submitting a petition signed by at least twenty members in good standing for each candidate;
- c. The Executive Director shall enter on an official ballot the names of the candidates proposed by the Nominations Committee together with the names of the candidates by petition.

6. In the event that a member of the Executive Council does not attend two consecutive Executive Council meetings, said member shall vacate the office and be replaced by an alternate. In the event of the death or resignation of a member of the Executive Council, two candidates will be nominated for each vacancy at the next regular election. Pending that election, however, the alternate member of the Executive Council who received the highest number of votes in the preceding election shall serve as a member of the Executive Council in place of the member who has died or resigned.

#### Article II. *Elections*

1. The Vice-President and the members of the Executive Council shall be elected by mail ballot sent every eighteen months by the Executive Director to all members in good standing. The Executive Director shall be responsible for counting ballots and submitting a report to the Executive Council. Election results will be published in the *LASA Forum*.

2. Of the candidates for the Executive Council on the ballot, the three receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected to the Council for the ensuing three years. The three receiving the next highest number of votes in that order shall be alternates for eighteen months to serve in the event of temporary inability of a regular member of the Executive Council.

#### Article III. *Treasurer*

The Treasurer is the officer principally concerned with financial oversight of the Association's affairs. The Treasurer will review and report to the Executive Council on all annual and quarterly financial reports of the Association, making such recommendations as she/he sees fit. The Treasurer will cooperate with the President in proposing financial policies and plans.

#### Article IV. *Removal of Officers and Council Members*

Any elected officer or member of the Executive Council may be removed from office by a petition bearing the signatures of two-thirds of the members. In such an event the Council shall call a special election to fill the vacated post.

#### Article V. *Committees and Task Forces*

1. There shall be three standing committees: the Ways and Means Committee, the Membership Recruitment Committee, and the Nominating Committee. The Executive Council may, if it so decides, assume the functions of the Membership Recruitment Committee. The Executive Council is empowered to create other committees to be governed by a Memorandum of Understanding approved by the Executive Council.

2. The Executive Council may, by majority vote, create ad hoc task forces, specifying in each case the duration of the existence of such task forces if different from the normal term. The President of the Association shall appoint the chairperson and members of such groups, with the advice and consent of the Council. To the maximum extent feasible, committee and task force appointments shall be used to broaden membership participation in the Association.

3. The size and terms of office of all committees shall ordinarily include a member of the Executive Council. The chairperson of each committee shall make such report on the work of her/his committee as may be requested by the Executive Council. The names of the members of each committee and their terms of office shall be made known to the membership of the Association at least annually.

4. No funds shall be solicited or accepted by any committee without the prior approval of the Executive Council.

5. All committees and task forces shall normally be appointed for the specific term of eighteen months, to coincide with the cycle of international congresses, and all task forces shall dissolve at the end of their term.

6. No committee or task force shall be allowed, without explicit Executive Council authorization, to create or ask to have created any subordinate bodies such as subcommittees or working groups.

#### Article VI. *International Congress*

1. At each International Congress there shall be a Business Meeting, during which only members in good standing may vote. Such a vote shall be effective for any legislative purpose consistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Neither the Constitution nor the By-Laws can be amended at the meeting. Non-members may speak at the Business Meeting with the consent of a majority of members present, but not make motions or vote.

2. The agenda for the Business Meeting at the International Congress will be arranged by the President in consultation with the Executive Council and the Executive Director, and normally will include: (1) reports from the Standing and Ad Hoc Committees and Task Forces; (2) a summary of the current report of the Executive Director for the previous 18 months; (3) the Treasurer's report for the fiscal year; and (4) a concise statement by the new President on the "State of the Association" which outlines forthcoming plans and discusses issues of importance to members. Place will be reserved on the agenda for discussion of the items presented.

3. Any legislative action of the members taken at a National Meeting shall be submitted to a mail ballot of all members.

4. The proceedings of the National Meeting shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order, newly revised.

5. All votes in the Business Meeting shall require a quorum, which shall consist of ten percent of those members registered for the Congress.

6. On each occasion for voting, the presiding officer shall determine if a quorum is present and shall call for three categories of preference: yeas, nays, and abstentions.

7. Resolutions for consideration at the International Congress must be signed by at least five LASA members and received by the LASA Secretariat thirty days prior to the beginning of each Congress. All proposed resolutions shall be reviewed by a Subcommittee on Resolutions consisting of three members of the Executive Council, appointed by the President. This Subcommittee may seek advisory opinions from the relevant LASA task forces as well as individual scholars with appropriate expertise, and may recommend revisions. The Subcommittee shall report its findings to the full Executive Council and recommend action to be taken. Resolutions to be referred to the Business Meeting must be approved by a two-thirds majority vote of both the Subcommittee on Resolutions and the Executive Council. The vote on a resolution in its final form at the Business Meeting shall be by secret ballot. A resolution approved by the Business Meeting shall be submitted to the full membership by a mail ballot along with the tabulation of the secret ballot.

8. At business meetings, motions other than those dealing with procedural matters will be accepted only when they address unforeseen new events that preclude the use of normal resolution procedures. Such motions must be signed by five LASA members and presented in writing to the President of the Association at least twenty-four hours before the Business Meeting.

#### Article VII. *Dues*

The annual membership dues shall be set by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council. The Council may set differential rates of dues for special categories of members. When the Council sets a special rate for student members, whose status is certified by their principal faculty advisers, such special rate shall be applicable to a member for a maximum of five years.

#### Article VIII. *Amendments*

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed either by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council or by petition of fifty members. Ratification procedures shall be as follows:

1. Amendments proposed by two-thirds of the members of the Executive Council must be published and distributed to the membership by the Executive Director;

2. Such amendments shall be considered ratified unless at least one hundred members object in writing to the Executive Director within ninety days of distribution of the proposals.

3. Any proposed amendments that have been so protested must be submitted to a mail ballot and shall be considered ratified if approved by a majority of the voting membership that responds within ninety days of the distribution of the ballot.

4. Amendments proposed by petition and subsequently endorsed by two-thirds of the Executive Council shall then be subject to the same ratification procedure as provided in sections 1-3 of this same Article.

5. Amendments proposed by petition but not endorsed by two-thirds of the Executive Council shall be submitted to a mail ballot of the members in good standing and shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those members whose vote is postmarked not later than ninety days after the postmarked distribution of the ballot. ■



# Independent Auditor's Report

as of September 30, 1994

*Bluett & Bluett, PC*  
(A Professional Corporation)

Public Accountants

Harry Bluett, P/CA  
Edward J. Izyony, C/P/CA  
Lynne Yu, C/P/CA

Main Office:  
Suite 850, E. N.W. Towers  
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

Telephone 412-671-7660  
Fax 412-671-8508

To The Board of Directors  
Latin American Studies Association  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

We have audited the accompanying statements of financial position of Latin American Studies Association (A Non-profit Organization) as of September 30, 1994 and the related statements of activities, statements of functional expenses and statement of cash flows and statement of changes in net assets for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of Latin American Studies Association's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audit.

We conducted our audit in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards. These standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audit provides a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly in all material respects, the financial position of Latin American Studies Association at September 30, 1994 and the changes in its net assets and its statement of activities, statement of functional expenses and statement of cash flows for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

*Bluett & Bluett*

May 31, 1995  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Branch Office: Suite 808, Jannet Building, 6650 William Penn Highway, Monroeville, PA 15146  
Telephone 412-856-5518 Fax 412-856-5528

## LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL POSITION SEPTEMBER 30, 1994

	Year Ended September 30, 1994			Total	LASA Endowment Fund	Eliminations	(Memorandum Only)	
	Latin American Consortium of Studies Association	Latin American Studies Program	Latin American Research Review				Total All Funds 1994	Total All Funds 1993
<b>ASSETS</b>								
<b>Current Assets</b>								
Cash	\$ 746,039	\$ 27,690	\$ 140,973	\$ 914,702	\$ 69,123	\$	\$ 983,825	\$ 1,136,908
Investments	279,135			279,135			279,135	100,534
Accounts Receivable less Allowance for Doubtful Accounts	12,121		1,039	13,160			13,160	2,594
Prepaid Expenses	736			736			736	1,170
Due from other Fund	2,558		8,373	10,931	40,672	( 51,603)		
Prepaid Expenses XVIII Congress								14,749
<b>TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS</b>	<b>1,040,589</b>	<b>27,690</b>	<b>150,385</b>	<b>1,218,664</b>	<b>109,795</b>	<b>( 51,603)</b>	<b>1,276,856</b>	<b>1,255,955</b>
<b>Fixed Assets</b>								
Equipment, Net of Accumulated Depreciation of \$41,006 and \$33,665 in 1994 and 1993 respectively	13,301		6,881	20,182			20,182	14,367
	\$ 1,053,890	\$ 27,690	\$ 157,266	\$ 1,238,846	\$ 109,795	\$ ( 51,603)	\$ 1,297,038	\$ 1,270,322
<b>LIABILITIES</b>								
<b>Current Liabilities</b>								
Payroll Taxes Payable	\$ 1,672	\$	\$	\$ 1,672	\$	\$	\$ 1,672	\$ 4,279
Accounts Payable	5,444			5,444			5,444	14,667
Deferred Subscription Revenue			16,041	16,041			16,041	2,961
Due to Other Fund	49,045	2,558		51,603		( 51,603)		
Deferred Advertising Revenue			3,083	3,083			3,083	
<b>TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES</b>	<b>56,161</b>	<b>2,558</b>	<b>19,124</b>	<b>77,843</b>		<b>( 51,603)</b>	<b>26,240</b>	<b>21,907</b>
Unearned Grant Revenue - Restricted (Note 4)	456,078			456,078			456,078	530,819
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b>	<b>512,239</b>	<b>2,558</b>	<b>19,124</b>	<b>533,921</b>		<b>( 51,603)</b>	<b>482,318</b>	<b>552,726</b>
<b>NET ASSETS</b>	<b>541,651</b>	<b>25,132</b>	<b>138,162</b>	<b>704,925</b>	<b>109,795</b>		<b>814,720</b>	<b>717,596</b>
	\$ 1,053,890	\$ 27,690	\$ 157,266	\$ 1,238,846	\$ 109,795	\$ ( 51,603)	\$ 1,297,038	\$ 1,270,322

(SEE ACCOMPANYING NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS)

## STATEMENT OF ACTIVITIES

	Latin American Studies Association		Consortium of Latin American Studies Program		Latin American Research Review	Total	LASA Endowment Fund	(MEMORANDUM ONLY)	
	Unrestricted	Restricted	Latin American Studies Program	Latin American Research Review				Total All Fund 1994	Total All Fund 1993
<b>Support and Revenue</b>									
Contributions	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Membership Dues (Note 2)	145,692		6,672			152,364	4,651	4,651	2,757
Special Projects		9,703				9,703		9,703	12,820
Task Force - C.W.S.A.		32,796				32,796		32,796	50,766
Grants	900	164,189				165,089		165,089	4,442
National Meeting XVIII Congress									
Grants	72,402					72,402		72,402	
Registration	84,580					84,580		84,580	
Baile and Souvenirs	14,805					14,805		14,805	
Paper Sales	4,750					4,750		4,750	
Book Exhibit	24,008					24,008		24,008	
Program Advertising	6,551					6,551		6,551	
<b>Publication Revenue</b>									
Bulletin of Latin American Research	3,760					3,760		3,760	3,205
Journal of Latin American Studies	7,601					7,601		7,601	5,247
Directory Sales	1,485					1,485		1,485	460
Subscriptions	360			46,754		47,114		47,114	44,857
Bank Issues	536			1,948		2,484		2,484	5,155
Reprints	454			2,539		2,993		2,993	10,775
Other Publications	935					935		935	1,117
In-kind									21,277
Air Mail Postage	2,026			399		2,425		2,425	1,932
Advertising	3,585			8,583		12,168		12,168	10,738
Mailing Labels Sales	12,501			5,890		18,391		18,391	14,151
Interest Income	40,632		591	4,757		45,980	1,944	47,924	35,224
Other Revenue	1,645		45	128		1,818		1,818	320
<b>TOTAL SUPPORT AND REVENUE</b>	<b>\$ 429,208</b>	<b>\$ 206,688</b>	<b>\$ 7,308</b>	<b>\$ 70,998</b>	<b>\$ 714,202</b>	<b>\$ 6,595</b>	<b>\$ 720,797</b>	<b>\$ 338,506</b>	
<b>Expenses (Page 4)</b>	<b>( 290,890)</b>	<b>( 212,565)</b>	<b>( 2,983)</b>	<b>( 116,630)</b>	<b>(623,068)</b>		<b>( 623,068)</b>	<b>(339,346)</b>	
<b>Support and Revenue in Excess (Deficit) of Expenses</b>	<b>138,318</b>	<b>( 5,877)</b>	<b>4,325</b>	<b>( 45,632)</b>	<b>91,134</b>	<b>6,595</b>	<b>97,729</b>	<b>( 840)</b>	
<b>Provision for Federal Income Taxes (Note 1)</b>	<b>( 605)</b>				<b>( 605)</b>		<b>( 605)</b>	<b>( 341)</b>	
<b>Increase (Decrease) in Net Assets</b>	<b>\$ 137,713</b>	<b>\$( 5,877)</b>	<b>\$ 4,325</b>	<b>\$( 45,632)</b>	<b>\$ 90,529</b>	<b>\$ 6,595</b>	<b>\$ 97,124</b>	<b>\$( 1,181)</b>	

## STATEMENT OF EXPENSES

	Latin American Studies Association		Consortium of Latin American Studies Program		Latin American Research Review	Total	LASA Endowment Fund	(Memorandum Only)	
	Unrestricted	Restricted	Latin American Studies Program	Latin American Research Review				Total All Fund 1994	Total All Fund 1993
<b>Expenses</b>									
Special Projects	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Ford-Cuba		9,703				9,703		9,703	12,820
Various Task Forces	2,172	39,854				42,026		42,026	7,768
Ford Fellowships		20,785				22,957		22,957	6,857
Task Force - C.W.S.A.		49,181				49,181		49,181	812
National Meeting XVIII Congress		32,796				32,796		32,796	50,766
Travel and Accommodations	81,998					81,998		81,998	11,542
Program Committee	44,318					44,318		44,318	5,099
Supplies	5,431					5,431		5,431	
Other Expenses	29,626					29,626		29,626	3,067
<b>Publication Expenses</b>									
Printing-Forum	7,899					7,899		7,899	10,401
Printing-Other	13,994			37,428		51,422		51,422	44,666
Postage	3,374			13,337		16,711		16,711	17,710
<b>Supplies</b>									
Computer Supplies	1,882			363		2,245		2,245	3,287
Other									63
<b>Office Expenses</b>									
Contract Labor	7,142		225	47,485		54,852		54,852	62,306
Office Supplies and Equipment	4,834			3,604		8,438		8,438	4,608
Postage	10,932		30			10,962		10,962	8,714
Telephone	5,137					5,137		5,137	4,166
Copying	1,070					1,070		1,070	988
Other	424					424		424	1,165
Insurance	1,875					1,875		1,875	
Labels	5,698					5,698		5,698	4,888
Salaries		20,417				20,417		20,417	
Payroll Taxes		2,670				2,670		2,670	
Dues and Subscriptions	890					890		890	
Investment Fees	2,485					2,485		2,485	
<b>Travel and Administrative</b>									
Executive Director	1,039					1,039		1,039	1,471
Executive Council	4,341					4,341		4,341	9,558
Secretariat	1,199					1,199		1,199	131
LARR				10,203		10,203		10,203	2,804
CLASP			1,597			1,597		1,597	1,088
CLASP-Field Trips									3,533
Professional Service	4,680					4,680		4,680	4,200
Reimburse-Univ. of Pittsburgh	19,835					19,835		19,835	25,533
Decrease in Securities Valuation	23,720					23,720		23,720	
<b>In-kind</b>									
Mailing									2,160
Telephone									1,000
Supplies									2,000
Printing-Forum									8,330
Printing-Other									7,747
Equipment Repair	110					110		110	40
LASA Committees	1,078	37,159	1,058		3,834	39,295		39,295	192
Depreciation	3,507					7,341		7,341	7,206
Miscellaneous	200		73		376	649		649	660
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>\$ 290,890</b>	<b>\$ 212,565</b>	<b>\$ 2,983</b>	<b>\$ 116,630</b>	<b>\$ 623,068</b>	<b>\$ 6,595</b>	<b>\$ 623,068</b>	<b>\$ 339,346</b>	

(SEE ACCOMPANYING NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS)

## STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN NET ASSETS

	Latin American Studies Association		Consortium of Latin American Studies Program		Latin American Research Review	LASA Endowment Fund	(Memorandum Only) Total All Funds	
	Unrestricted	Restricted					1994	1993
Balance, Beginning of Year	\$ 468,237	\$	\$ 29,223	\$ 150,200	\$ 69,936	\$ 717,596	\$ 718,777	
Increase (Decrease) in Net Assets	138,318	( 5,877)	4,325	( 45,632)	6,595	97,729	( 840)	
Provision For Federal Income Tax (Note 1)	( 605)					( 605)	( 341)	
Transfers	( 64,299)	5,877	( 8,416)	33,574	33,264			
<b>BALANCE, END OF YEAR</b>	<b>\$ 541,651</b>	<b>\$ -0-</b>	<b>\$ 25,132</b>	<b>\$ 138,142</b>	<b>\$ 109,795</b>	<b>\$ 814,720</b>	<b>\$ 717,596</b>	

## STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS

	Latin American Studies Association		Consortium of Latin American Studies Program		Latin American Research Review	Total	LASA Endowment Fund	(Memorandum Only) Total All Funds	
								1994	1993
Increase (Decrease) in Cash:									
<b>CASH FLOWS FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES:</b>									
Cash Received from Members, Customers and Contributors	\$ 599,986	\$ 7,117	\$ 101,643	\$ 708,746	\$ 1,944	\$ 708,746	\$ 660,343		
Interest Received	40,632	591	4,757	45,980		47,924	35,224		
Cash Paid to Suppliers and Staff	( 593,801)	( 11,399)	( 112,797)	( 717,997)		( 717,997)	( 373,261)		
<b>NET CASH PROVIDED BY (USED IN) OPERATING ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>46,817</b>	<b>( 3,691)</b>	<b>( 6,397)</b>	<b>36,729</b>	<b>1,944</b>	<b>38,673</b>	<b>322,306</b>		
<b>CASH FLOWS FROM FINANCING ACTIVITIES:</b>									
Payment for Purchase of Securities	( 191,824)			( 191,824)		( 191,824)	( 100,000)		
Decrease in Securities Valuation	13,223			13,223		13,223			
<b>NET CASH PROVIDED BY (USED IN) FINANCING ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>( 178,601)</b>			<b>( 178,601)</b>		<b>( 178,601)</b>	<b>100,000</b>		
<b>CASH FLOWS FROM INVESTING ACTIVITIES:</b>									
Payments for Purchase of Equipment	( 9,035)		( 4,120)	( 13,155)		( 13,155)	( 1,165)		
<b>NET CASH PROVIDED BY (USED IN) INVESTING ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>( 9,035)</b>		<b>( 4,120)</b>	<b>( 13,155)</b>		<b>( 13,155)</b>	<b>( 1,165)</b>		
Net Increase (Decrease) in Cash	( 140,819)	( 3,691)	( 10,517)	( 155,027)	1,944	( 153,083)	221,141		
CASH, BEGINNING OF YEAR	886,858	31,381	151,490	1,069,729	67,179	1,136,908	915,767		
<b>CASH, END OF YEAR</b>	<b>\$ 746,039</b>	<b>\$ 27,690</b>	<b>\$ 140,973</b>	<b>\$ 914,702</b>	<b>\$ 69,123</b>	<b>\$ 983,825</b>	<b>\$ 1,136,908</b>		

## STATEMENT OF CASH FLOWS

	Latin American Studies Association		Consortium of Latin American Studies Program		Latin American Research Review	Total	LASA Endowment Fund	(Memorandum Only) Total All Funds	
								1994	1993
<b>RECONCILIATION OF EXCESS (DEFICIENCY) OF REVENUE OVER EXPENSES TO NET CASH PROVIDED BY OPERATING ACTIVITIES:</b>									
Excess (Deficiency) of Revenue over Expenses	\$ 131,836	\$ 4,325	\$( 45,632)	\$ 90,529	\$ 6,595	\$ 97,124	\$( 1,181)		
<b>ADJUSTMENTS TO RECONCILE EXCESS (DEFICIENCY) OF REVENUE OVER EXPENSES TO NET CASH PROVIDED BY OPERATING ACTIVITIES:</b>									
Depreciation and Amortization	3,507		3,834	7,341		7,341	7,206		
Transfers-LARR	( 33,574)		33,574						
Transfers-CLASP	8,416	( 8,416)							
(Increase)Decrease in:									
Accounts Receivable	( 11,103)		331	( 10,772)	( 4,651)	( 15,423)	44,359		
Deferred Costs and Prepaid Expenses	15,183			15,183		15,183	( 14,284)		
Increase (Decrease) in:									
Accounts Payable and Other Liabilities	7,293	400		7,693		7,693	( 59,853)		
Unearned Revenue from Subscription and Advertisements			1,496	1,496		1,496	( 1,260)		
Unearned Revenue from Grants	( 74,741)			( 74,741)		( 74,741)	347,319		
<b>TOTAL ADJUSTMENTS</b>	<b>( 85,019)</b>	<b>( 8,016)</b>	<b>39,235</b>	<b>( 53,600)</b>	<b>( 4,651)</b>	<b>( 58,451)</b>	<b>323,487</b>		
<b>NET CASH PROVIDED BY (USED IN) OPERATING ACTIVITIES</b>	<b>\$ 46,817</b>	<b>\$( 3,691)</b>	<b>\$( 6,397)</b>	<b>\$ 36,729</b>	<b>\$ 1,944</b>	<b>\$ 36,673</b>	<b>\$ 322,306</b>		

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
 NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
 SEPTEMBER 30, 1994

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
 NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
 SEPTEMBER 30, 1994

1. SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

BUSINESS ACTIVITY

The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) is a nonprofit corporation, incorporated May 12, 1966, pursuant to the nonprofit corporation laws of the District of Columbia. Latin American Studies Association is exempt from federal income taxes under Section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Latin American Studies Association pays income tax on income generated through operations unrelated to the exempt purpose of the Association.

The Association was organized to provide a forum for dealing with matters of common interest to the scholars profession and to promote more effective training, teaching and research in connection with the study of Latin America.

ACCOUNTING

The financial statements are presented on a accrual basis of accounting in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles. Under the accrual basis, revenue is recognized as the right to receive it occurs and expenses are recognized when a liability is incurred.

FUND ACCOUNTING

To ensure observance of limitation and restrictions placed on the use of resources available to the Association the accounts of the Association are maintained in accordance with the principles of fund accounting. This is the procedures by which resources for various purposes are classified for accounting and reporting purposes into funds established according to their nature and purposes. Separate accounts are maintained for each fund group.

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FUND ACCOUNTING (CONTI.)

The assets, liabilities and fund balances of the Association are reported in four self-balancing fund groups as follows:

- 1) Latin American Studies Association (LASA) which is comprised of individual members. The funding for LASA includes unrestricted and restricted resources that are available for support of activities related to its individual members.
- 2) Consortium of Latin American Studies Program (CLASP) is a separate fund for accounting and administration of institutional members' resources.
- 3) Latin American Research Review (LARR), currently located at the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, is responsible for the publication of the Association's journal. Resources available for support of LARR include unrestricted funds from subscribers and subsidies received from LASA.
- 4) LASA Endowment represents money contributed to the Association to establish a permanent endowment. Only the interest earned on the funds may be spent by the Association.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Comparative totals for the prior year have been presented in the accompanying financial statements in order to provide an understanding of changes in LASA's financial position and operations.

TOTAL COLUMNS

Total columns are indicated "memorandum only" and are presented to facilitate financial analysis. Data in these columns do not present financial position, results of operations and changes in fund balances in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

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LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
 NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
 SEPTEMBER 30, 1994

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
 NOTES TO THE FINANCIAL STATEMENTS  
 SEPTEMBER 30, 1994

2. MEMBERSHIP DUES

Membership dues are assessed annually. The assessment is based upon the members' income, occupation and place of residence. Dues are nonrefundable and are recognized as revenue when received.

3. FIXED ASSETS

Fixed assets purchased by LASA are stated at cost fixed assets contributed to the Association are stated at fair market value at the date of the contribution. Expenditures and betterments are capitalized; expenditures for repairs and maintenance are charged to income as incurred. Depreciation is provided for in amounts sufficient to relate the cost of depreciable assets to operations over the estimated useful lives on a straight line basis.

Fixed assets of LASA consisted of the following at September 30, 1994:

Computer Equipment	\$ 32,965
Office Equipment	2,901
	-----
	35,866
Less; Accumulated Depreciation	22,565
	-----
TOTAL	\$ 13,301
	-----

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4. UNEARNED GRANT REVENUE-RESTRICTED

Unearned grant revenue consist of funds received by the Association which are restricted for uses stipulated in the grant document. The following is a summary of unearned grant income at September 30, 1994:

Ford CUBA	\$ 6,394
Ford CWSA	12,235
Ford Caribbean Women	4,987
Ford CWSA/92	227,488
Ford Lecturing Fellow	75,007
Ford Cuba/93	61,548
Ford High Ed IAF	40,015
Ford Development	8,404
United Nation Development	20,000
	-----
	\$ 456,078
	-----

5. DONATED SERVICES AND FACILITIES

The Association received donated services and facilities from the Universities of New Mexico and Pittsburgh during the fiscal year ended September 30, 1994. Generally accepted accounting principles state that the value of donated facilities would be recorded as a contribution to and an expense of, an organization only if a reasonable determination of value is possible. As the value of the donated facilities is not reasonably determinable they have not been reflected in the financial statements.

Generally accepted accounting principles state that donated services should be recorded as a contribution to and an expense of an organization if the services of the recipient organization are not principally intended for the benefit of its members. As the services of the Association are intended for the benefit of its members these donated services have not been reflected in the financial statements of the Association.

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946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260  
FAX: (412) 624-7145 INTERNET: LASA@VMS.CIS.PITT.EDU

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP for Calendar Year 1995: \_\_\_\_\_ Renewal; \_\_\_\_\_ New Application  
(Dues are for the 1995 calendar year: January 1 - December 31.)

Please *print* or *type* all information requested. Joint members, please include full information for both individuals.

Surname(s) \_\_\_\_\_ First Name(s) \_\_\_\_\_ Initial \_\_\_\_\_

Surname under which you should be indexed on LASA database \_\_\_\_\_ Discipline \_\_\_\_\_

Mailing Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, State, Zip Country \_\_\_\_\_

Business Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Home Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

FAX Number \_\_\_\_\_ E-Mail Address † \_\_\_\_\_

† Please write e-mail address exactly as it appears in correspondence to you

INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION \_\_\_\_\_

Countries of Interest: Country #1 \_\_\_\_\_; Country #2 \_\_\_\_\_

For statistical purposes only: Date of Birth (m/d/y): \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_\_

**Membership\* and Special Optional Journal Rates: CALENDAR 1995**

Introductory (for new members only, regardless of income) . . . . .	_____ \$30 . . . . .	\$ _____
Regular:		
Under \$20,000 annual income . . . . .	_____ \$30 . . . . .	\$ _____
\$20,000 to \$29,999 . . . . .	_____ \$36 . . . . .	\$ _____
\$30,000 to \$39,999 . . . . .	_____ \$43 . . . . .	\$ _____
\$40,000 to \$49,999 . . . . .	_____ \$52 . . . . .	\$ _____
\$50,000 to \$64,999 . . . . .	_____ \$61 . . . . .	\$ _____
\$65,000 and over annual income . . . . .	_____ \$72 . . . . .	\$ _____
LIFE MEMBER--\$2,500, or \$1,000 first installment . . . . .	_____ \$ _____ . . . . .	\$ _____
Student Member (five year limit) . . . . .	_____ \$20 . . . . .	\$ _____
Latin Americanists permanently residing in Latin America or the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico) . . . . .	_____ \$20 . . . . .	\$ _____
Joint Membership (for second member at same mailing address as first member; one copy of publications sent.) <b>Choose this plus one     other category.</b> Add to rate for highest income of the two: . . . . .	_____ \$18 . . . . .	\$ _____
Journal of Latin American Studies (optional special offer to LASA) . . . . .	_____ \$47 . . . . .	\$ _____
Bulletin of Latin American Research (optional special offer to LASA) . . . . .	_____ \$30 . . . . .	\$ _____
AIR MAIL OF LASA FORUM (International only) . . . . .	_____ \$15 . . . . .	\$ _____
ADD CREDIT CARD HANDLING FEE IF USING VISA or MasterCard . . . . .	_____ \$2.75 . . . . .	\$ _____
My contribution to the LASA Humanities Endowment Fund. . . . .	_____ \$ _____ . . . . .	\$ _____
My contribution to the LASA General Endowment Fund. . . . .	_____ \$ _____ . . . . .	\$ _____
<b>TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED</b> . . . . .		\$ _____

Method of Payment:  Check payable to LASA (in U.S. dollars drawn *only* on a U.S. bank)  U.S. dollar money order

UNESCO coupon(s)  U.S. dollar traveler's check, *with your two signatures* CREDIT CARD:  VISA  MasterCard

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If payment is by credit card, you may fax this form to 412-624-7145; all other forms of payment must be mailed to LASA at the Pittsburgh address above.

\*LASA will commit \$5.00 from each member's dues to the LASA Humanities Endowment Fund, in anticipation of an NEH Challenge Grant.

LASA PUBLICATIONS

ORDER FORM

The following LASA publications are available from the Secretariat:

Final Report of the LASA Commission on Compliance with the Central American Peace Accords. March 1988. 44 pp. \$3.00. \$ \_\_\_\_\_

The Chilean Plebiscite: A First Step Toward Re-democratization. Report by the International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association to Observe the Chilean Plebiscite. February 1989. 19pp. \$3.00. \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Electoral Democracy Under International Pressure. Latin American Studies Association Commission to Observe the 1990 Nicaraguan Election. March 1990. 56pp. \$5.00. \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Latin American Studies Association Membership Directory, 1995. \$10.00 (US or foreign surface). \$15.00 nonmembers. \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Special Offer:

Offprints of Volume 53 of the Handbook of Latin American Studies (Social Sciences):

#1 - Government and Politics. 162pp. \$12.95. (\$16.45 foreign surface) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

#2 - International Relations. 66pp. \$5.25. (\$6.75 foreign surface) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

#3 - Both sets, bound together. \$18.00. (\$22.50 foreign surface) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Latin American Studies in the United States, Canada and Mexico, 1993-1994: A Select Listing of Institutions with Courses and Programs. 1993-1994. 153pp. \$15.00, \$19.00 foreign surface. \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Negotiating Democratic Corridors in Paraguay. Report of the LASA Delegation to Observe the 1993 Paraguayan National Elections. 1994. 117pp. \$6.50. (\$9.00 US priority mail; \$10.00 international surface) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

The 1995 Electoral Process in Peru. LASA Delegation Report, March 1995. 35pp. \$3.00. (\$4.50 international surface) \$ \_\_\_\_\_

TOTAL AMOUNT ENCLOSED: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

These and older LASA publications may be ordered from the Secretariat; backlist available on request. Available back issues of the LASA Forum may be purchased for \$7.50 each. All prices include library rate postage in U.S. and Puerto Rico; add \$1.50 for surface mail to other countries unless indicated otherwise.

To order, or for more information:

LASA Secretariat
946 William Pitt Union
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA

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# New! 1995 LASA Member Directory Now Available

*All the information you need to keep in touch with LASA members throughout the world!*



See page 46 to order your copy of the new 1995 LASA Member Directory.

This handy, 135-page bound volume contains names and addresses of all individual LASA members, as well as a listing of institutional LASA members, all indexed by discipline and primary country or sub-region of interest. The Directory has a bright new look and is value-priced at just \$10.00 for LASA members and \$15.00 for non members.

**Latin American Studies Association**  
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Pittsburgh, PA 15260

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