

LASA FORUM

Latin American Studies Association

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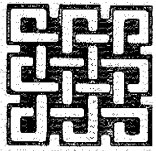
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LASA FORUM

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President's Report

by Jane Jaquette

Occidental College

I begin my term as LASA's president at a very good time in the Association's history. Individual membership is at an all-time high of 4,400. The Washington Congress in September was our biggest meeting to date, with 3,300 in attendance. Of these, more than 1,000 were from outside the United States, including 850 from Latin America and the Caribbean, and nearly 200 from other world areas. The incorporation of younger scholars from many different disciplines, backgrounds, and perspectives was evident at every turn. Past President Cynthia McClintock helped resolve several pressing issues for the Association during her term, including the bid processes that culminated in five-year contracts for our Secretariat at the University of Pittsburgh and for the *Latin American Research Review* at the University of New Mexico.

I want to take this first chance to address LASA's members to highlight three challenges I think LASA should deal with over the next year and a half. First, I believe it is LASA's main purpose to improve scholarly communication among Latin Americanists wherever they may

be based: in North America, in Central America and the Caribbean, or in Europe or Asia, where a growing number of LASA's members are located. New electronic technologies offer exciting possibilities that have not been fully explored. Today, LASA members increasingly have access to and use the Internet, primarily to communicate with people they already know or to do research using established data bases.

At this juncture, LASA is well-positioned to take advantage of the communications revolution to link scholars together via the Internet and to develop specialized CD-ROM resources. We have our toe in the water with LASA's new home page on the World Wide Web, which features an entry for LASA97 (which we invite you to "visit"), and we are experimenting with a pilot project to put some of the papers from the LASA95 Congress online. With advice from the Scholarly Resources Task Force, I hope to develop a proposal to improve LASA's capabilities in this area. If you have specific suggestions for projects, I would like to hear from you.

Second, I would like to work on improving LASA's business meetings. In my twenty-five years as a member of LASA, I have seen those meetings become more dysfunctional and more sparsely attended. Although business meetings are the only occasions in which LASA members can honor outstanding scholars, recognize exceptional journalism, welcome and meet LASA officers, and discuss issues of organizational direction and governance, fewer and fewer members attend. For LASA's

officers, they have become an ordeal, rather than an opportunity to exchange views with members.

I believe the main reason for this deterioration is the process by which we present and discuss resolutions. Working with a sub-committee appointed by the Executive Council (EC) in Washington, I propose to outline alternative ways of strengthening the LASA business meeting and of responding to the various issues on which members wish to express their views. Please note the call for suggestions about this issue under "Calling All Members" in this edition of the *Forum*. After receiving suggestions from the sub-committee and members at large, I propose to address this issue more fully in subsequent communications. Should you wish to contact me by e-mail, my address is jsjaquet@bobcat.oxy.edu.

Finally, I think we need to focus more attention on the issue of how best to plan effectively and realistically for LASA's financial future. We have just been turned down on our third try for an endowment grant from the National

Endowment for the Humanities. I believe this is one signal among others that it is time for LASA to reassess its long-term financial position in light of trends that are clear today, including the increasing costs to LASA of running the Secretariat and the likelihood that LASA will have to use more of its own funds to support the travel of Latin American scholars to LASA Congresses in the future.

A high level of Latin American participation in Congresses is an important LASA commitment, one which makes LASA Congresses so stimulating and worthwhile. But we know that we can no longer count on the foundation funding we were awarded in the past for this purpose. As you have recently received an appeal for an endowment gift, you know that LASA is actively working to meet this goal. However, I believe that the Endowment campaign must be carried out as part of a broad strategy to seek new sources of support, maintain LASA's solvency and meet LASA's objectives. Last September the EC also named a sub-committee to develop a planning budget for LASA. I will work in close collaboration with them, with the Development Committee, and with a special advisory committee to improve our budget and planning process on the basis of realistic projections for the future.

And, in case it's crept up on you unawares, 1996 is LASA's 30th birthday. Keep an eye on your *Forum* (and Web page) for commentaries by past presidents and others on LASA's 30-year history! ■

The Latin American Presence in the United States Can Scholarship Catch Up with the Immigration Backlash?¹

by Wayne A. Cornelius
University of California, San Diego

The United States today is in the midst of the most intense anti-immigrant backlash that it has experienced since the 1920's. Those of us living in the hotbed of anti-immigrant hysteria—namely, the state of California—are particularly aware of the backlash; but it is present in varying degree throughout the country.

Today's mantra is that the kind of immigration being experienced by the United States today is promoting balkanization, cultural fragmentation, and dilution of the so-called "core culture" of the United States—whatever that is. This neo-nativist mantra is chanted endlessly, by neo-conservative and otherwise liberal intellectuals, nationally-prominent media commentators, and just about every politician who aspires to higher office. It was just a small step from this lament to proposals for making English the official language of the United States, abolishing most forms of bilingual education, ending affirmative action, and denying education, health care, and virtually all other tax-supported services to illegal immigrants and their children—in a futile attempt to induce whole families to repatriate themselves and deter others from coming.

Most of the rhetoric and arguments being brandished against immigrants today are a direct throwback to those used by the nativists of the 1920's and earlier eras. No, we don't have scientists going around measuring craniums to prove the inferior intelligence of aliens or arguing that foreign stock is polluting native blood. But two of the most potent ideas promoted by earlier generations of nativists are very much alive and well in the U.S. today.

The first of these is the notion that the "human capital" being brought by the current wave of immigrants—almost invariably measured in terms of years of education upon arrival—is too meager to prevent them from becoming a drain on U.S. society. Today's immigrants allegedly cannot (and do not) pay their way in the American welfare state, and as long as we refuse to dismantle that welfare state, the country cannot afford the large-scale immigration of low-skilled people.² Accordingly, it has become fashionable to dismiss Third World immigrants as nothing more than cheap labor for rapacious business owners; they are "bad news" for all the rest of us.³

The second key neo-nativist idea is that the cultural baggage of today's immigrants—constantly reinforced through new immigration, especially from Mexico—will cause them to resist assimilation and engage in ethnic separatism. This, despite a June 1995 Gallup poll showing that identical proportions of the general public and first-generation immigrants hold pro-assimilationist views (59 percent in both samples). Let there be no mistake: Like previous anti-immigrant waves in U.S. history, this one is aimed squarely at immigrants belonging to

particular ethnic, cultural, and nationality groups. The Spanish-speaking Latino immigrants of the 1990's are the functional equivalent of the Chinese of the 1880's. In post-Proposition 187 California, the Latino immigrant community is a community under siege—demonized by politicians and the media, feared by the average non-immigrant resident, and threatened by a rapidly rising tide of discrimination in employment, housing, and other areas. To most members of the general public, it does not matter whether Latino immigrants came here legally or illegally; the same negative stereotypes are applied to all of them. They are all the undeserving, ungrateful, free-loading, potentially criminal poor.

At the federal level, dozens of "mainstream" politicians, both Republicans and Democrats, are pushing pieces of immigration legislation that most of us would consider morally reprehensible as well as wrong-headed, counterproductive public policy. The Congress is well on its way to creating a 10,000-agent Border Patrol and triple-fencing the U.S.-Mexican border—something that even the Border Patrol does not want, believing it to be hazardous to its own officers. And by the end of its current session, the Congress, with the Clinton Administration's active encouragement, will have approved Draconian cuts in legal immigration and refugee admissions. For the first time since 1924, there will be an absolute reduction—of at least one-third—in the number of immigrants and refugees who are legally admitted to the United States. Family-sponsored immigration will be hit especially hard. Most of the preference categories that for the past 30 years have permitted the entry of close relatives of naturalized U.S. citizens and permanent legal residents—including parents, adult unmarried children, brothers and sisters—will be eliminated or sharply restricted. Of course, shutting off routes to legal immigration, especially from historically high-emigration countries like Mexico, will only enlarge the stock and flow of clandestine entrants.

In all probability, the current backlash will roll on, until the demographic realities of an aging society and a labor-short economy begin to neutralize the political benefits of immigrant-bashing. The only real questions at this point in the cycle are: To what extent will immigrants' basic human and labor rights be rolled back? And: How much long-term damage will be done to the traditionally generous, predominantly family-based U.S. system for legal immigration?

The debate over the costs and benefits of immigration that has raged at the state and federal levels during the past three years is essentially over. The forthcoming cuts in legal immigration and refugee admissions will be justified in terms of fiscal realities—immigrants allegedly take more than they give back, and government at all levels is too financially strapped to give them more handouts.

The battle over immigration costs and benefits was fought, on both sides, with grossly inadequate data. But those who emphasized the costs won the headlines, the elections, and the legislative battles. The victors were able to ignore the benefit side of the equation: the successful absorption of the vast majority of immigrants, legal and illegal, into the U.S. labor market; the positive effects of immigrants' consumption of goods and services on employment for U.S.-born workers; the contribution of immigrants—even poorly educated, low-skilled ones—to U.S. competitiveness in the global economy, urban revitalization, and so forth. The benefits could be ignored for purposes of public debate because they are so diffuse and poorly documented, while the costs are highly concentrated and more easily quantified, using ostensibly complete and accurate statistics readily available from city, state, and federal government agencies.

Most of the key points at issue in the recent debate over immigration policy turned on empirical questions about the causes, effects, and selectivity of immigration, both contemporary and historical. The answers to these basic empirical questions were simply assumed by the main actors in the debate. But it is important to recognize that these are questions that have not really been answered satisfactorily through systematic research.

For example, it is widely assumed that the United States already has a large surplus of low-skill, poorly educated workers, who are infinitely substitutable for immigrants having similar human capital endowments. Thus, all immigration that is not "skill-based"—whether legal or illegal—is simply enlarging that surplus and discouraging the utilization of native-born workers or the adoption of labor-saving technologies. This construction of labor market dynamics rests on a bundle of untested assumptions derived from neo-classical economic theory, many of which probably would not withstand scrutiny using direct evidence gathered through carefully designed fieldwork. But even in California, where nearly half of the nation's immigrant population now resides, the kind of micro-level research needed to explain the role played by immigrant labor in the state's economy has not been done since the 1980s.⁴

How do we explain the persisting, glaring inadequacies of the primary data base in this issue area? Why has academic research gotten so far behind the curve of political action? Why has the academic research community failed even to set any boundaries for the out-of-control public debate over immigration in the United States today?

Responsibility for this dismal state of affairs can be widely apportioned, but three factors stand out. They are: (1) the indifference of the disciplines that we practice toward immigration studies; (2) the failure of multidisciplinary scholars—especially Latin Americanists—to do enough to fill the informational vacuum left by the more discipline-based scholars; and (3) the funding preferences of many foundations and government agencies—preferences that have militated against basic, fieldwork-based research in this field, while encouraging highly applied, quick-and-dirty studies based largely on data

collected by public agencies. I would like to elaborate briefly on each of these key explanatory factors.

First, it is all too clear that strongly discipline-based scholars tend to ignore the subject of immigration because there is simply no place for it in the reward structure of their discipline. Speaking as a political scientist, I can assure you that there is virtually no professional payoff from even the most conceptually sophisticated, empirically ambitious piece of research on immigration, at least by the prevailing standards of my discipline. It is a subject that cross-cuts three different subfields of political science—American politics, comparative politics, and international relations—and fits well within none of them. If the research is explicitly policy-oriented, the disciplinary response is likely to be even more dismissive.

Another, equally significant problem is that immigration specialists usually are not trained in area studies. The nationally prominent immigration specialists who are also bona fide Latin American area studies specialists can be counted on the fingers of one hand. What other major public issue involving Latin Americans today has engaged the talents and energy of so few members of the Latin American studies profession?

The most influential academic voices in the immigration policy debate today are "mainstream" (i.e., discipline-oriented) labor economists and sociologists, most of whom are demographers. Their common denominator is their preferred methodology: they specify models and crunch U.S. Census data. Most of these scholars have never done fieldwork, for any purpose. They have never created a primary data set. Because of the inherent limitations of census data and other data sets created by government agencies, not primarily for the purpose of studying immigration, they are compelled to specify their models in ways that may violate or truncate social reality in serious ways. The variables that one would ideally want to have in the data set to reach conclusions about some aspect of immigration very often cannot be found in census data. Not to worry; assumptions can always be made that the missing variables are not significant to the analysis, or highly indirect indicators can be constructed. Causal effects are simply inferred, because the variables necessary to disentangle the direction and logic of causality are not there to be measured. All that matters is how "robustly" the researcher's multivariate statistical model performs.

As a social scientist who has spent the past 26 years creating his own primary data sets, I have little patience with this approach to immigration studies; but most public officials, foundations, and the mass media find no fault with it. Econometric modeling using census and other "administrative" data sets is viewed as inherently more scientific than "softer" research approaches, and the conclusions of such modelers are considered more credible. After all, the researcher is working with huge data sets and performing state-of-the-art quantitative analyses upon them.

Since this genre of research is often used to support the restrictionist immigration policy prescriptions now in vogue, the methodology and the plausibility of the underlying empirical assumptions are rarely questioned. The often breathtaking

inferential leaps necessary to derive policy recommendations from such work are ignored. By contrast, the results of smaller but much more detailed, sociological and ethnographic studies that provide direct evidence on the behavior of immigrants, their employers, and other elements of the host society with whom they interact tend to be dismissed as "anecdotal" evidence. Such mere "case studies" could not possibly serve as a useful corrective to public policy.⁵

Another problem is that the findings of immigration researchers who are not also area studies specialists are usually poorly contextualized. Their interpretations of data cannot be informed by understanding of the culture from which immigrants come, and the new immigrant community culture in the United States that they are entering. Inevitably, some important things are missed, or they are deliberately ignored because they cannot be explained within the confines of a government-generated data set. Cultural and nationality differences among immigrants tend to be glossed over, in favor of highly aggregated cohort analyses, which differentiate among immigrants only in terms of the decade in which they arrived in the United States. Not surprisingly, many of the sweeping generalizations derived from such analyses begin to break down when we examine the experience of specific segments of the immigrant population, in the context of particular cities, industries, businesses, schools, and so forth.

As Latin Americanists, we constitute the small subset of social scientists and humanists who possess the tools most needed to illuminate what is happening in Latin American and Caribbean expatriate communities and how their presence is affecting the U.S. economy, society, and polity. We have a correspondingly large responsibility to perform in this way. And we should not overlook any opportunity to encourage our graduate students to enter the field. Given the hostility or indifference toward immigration studies that prevails in some of our disciplines, it takes an act of genuine intellectual and professional courage for a graduate student to develop an immigration specialization. Under these circumstances, strong faculty encouragement and financial support through grants is essential to expanding the pool of researchers active in this field.

It is too late, in my judgement, for scholarship to catch up with and restrain the current anti-immigration backlash. The political momentum is too strong, and the general public is in a sullen, "don't-bother-me-with-the-facts" mood, eagerly seeking scapegoats for wage stagnation, employment insecurity, crime, and host of other economic and social ills that are largely unrelated to immigration. This nativist spasm, like those that preceded it, will have to run its course.

We must look to the future. The policymaking process may not always be so impervious to serious academic research on this subject. The next 5-10 years will be a period of great flux in the immigration policy arena. The kinds of ham-fisted control measures now being implemented or considered are likely to fail to achieve their stated objectives. Eventually, there will be a search for better options.

There is much to be done, however, to lay the groundwork for a more rational as well as humane approach to immigration policy. In particular, carefully designed, rigorously analyzed, and accessibly reported studies will be necessary to assess the social and economic impacts of Latino immigration on specific receiving states, cities, and neighborhoods. Such studies can easily take 3-5 years to plan, fund, and execute. If there is to be any possibility that the next phase of U.S. immigration policymaking will be influenced by facts developed through fieldwork-based, academic research on Latino immigrants, the basic spadework will have to be done now.

The research effort must also be more proactive in character. Since the early 1980's, most research on Latino immigrants in the U.S. has been reactive to major developments in the public policy arena. For example, during the six years that followed passage of the 1986 U.S. Immigration Reform and Control Act, several major foundations poured millions of dollars into narrowly framed, "policy evaluation" research, conducted mostly at non-academic think tanks. The object was to determine how well the 1986 law was working to control immigration, not to assess the rationale or empirical basis for the policy. In essence, the horse had already left the barn. We can—and must—do better.

The author is the Gildred Professor of U.S.-Mexican Relations and Professor of Political Science at the University of California-San Diego. He was President of LASA from 1985 to 1986.

Notes

¹Revised version of a presentation to the Plenary Session on "Continuing Challenges in Latin America: Former LASA Presidents Speak Out," XIX International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., September 29, 1995.

²See George J. Borjas, "Tired, Poor, on Welfare," *National Review*, December 13, 1993.

³See, for example, Michael Lind, "Liberals Duck Immigration Debate," *The New York Times*, September 10, 1995.

⁴See, for example, Wayne A. Cornelius, "The U.S. Demand for Mexican Labor," in W.A. Cornelius and J.A. Bustamante, eds., *Mexican Migration to the United States: Origins, Consequences, and Policy Options* (La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, 1989), pp. 25-48.

⁵Even immigration studies that combine ethnographic work with sociological sample surveys—a hybrid methodology that has become known as the "ethnosurvey"—tend to be regarded as insufficiently rigorous and generalizable to inform public policymaking. For examples of the ethnosurvey approach, see Douglas Massey, et al., *Return to Aztlán: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1987); and Sherri Grasmuck and Patricia R. Pessar, *Between Two Islands: Dominican International Migration* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1991). ■

When a LASA President Was Only 66 Percent "P.C."

Secrets from LASA's Past: Keys to the Future

by Henry A. Landsberger

President of LASA, 1972- 1973¹

My task is to reveal secrets about LASA's past, but I think my presidency coincided with a period when I'm not sure that there were any secrets. On the contrary: I suspect that there were more facts known than really existed. The late 'sixties and early 1970s was a politically rambunctious period when everyone was talking and writing like never before. Evil acts were imputed to people; acts of which had indeed been committed for dubious motives; others of these acts had been committed, but with worthy motives; and some of the imputed acts just hadn't been committed at all.

There was, of course, very good reason for all the suspicion and anger. CIA intervention on the side of very cruel right-wing dictatorships became increasingly known (Guatemala 1954 turned out to be more the rule than the exception); a good few academicians had stumbled into Project Camelot for precisely the mixture of reasons I've just cited; the "Alliance for Progress" was seen, not entirely rightly in my opinion, as exclusively an attempt to prop up out-dated and oppressive economic systems and, above all, to prevent the spread of revolutions Cuban-style. Preventing a politically oppressive, though socially progressive revolution had been a partial motive behind Roosevelt's New Deal thirty years earlier, and all except the Communist Party thought that wasn't a bad motive at all! But it was now thirty years later and above all, it was the time of the Vietnam War and the horrors we were committing there.

But from the point of view of an incoming LASA president, it was a time when Annual Congresses weren't events that you anticipated like the wedding nights before your time (and mine, as a matter of fact). It was a time when Professor John Johnson, one of the founders of Latin American studies in the U.S., had been prevented from speaking at the Washington meeting of LASA, presumably in the cause of protecting academic freedom in Latin America; and when another founder of LASA, Kal Silvert—after whom, very appropriately, a prize was named some time later—had also been shouted down: I think it was in order to protect democracy more generally.

There was an approximate—a very rough—correlation between age and conservatism, not so much in actual political positions, although that, surely, too, but in the theoretical framework—or lack of it—within which most of the worthy fathers of Latin American Studies and of LASA did their work. And they were indeed exclusively fathers. There were no mothers amongst them, which added its own ferment to the brew. The founders' best studies, written in the 1950's would, admittedly, not shrink from quite frankly describing the succession of one harsh dictator by another, though these works didn't dwell on the gore and the real suffering of the lower classes. Political facts were simply described. They were not interpreted, as did the then younger

generation, as part of the inevitable product of the crisis of the world capitalist system. Similarly, the until then revered fathers would duly note U.S. interference in Latin America—possibly not sufficiently—but in any case, they would again fail to interpret it, as did the upcoming and expanded generation of Latin Americanists—as an iron law of U.S. imperialism which needed to be harshly condemned in an academic treatise, and not just described.

This, then, was a situation of growing polarization. A British friend with a penchant for dramatic language which he has had to suppress as a life-long senior civil servant described it as "the founding fathers fast fading" against the "rising radicals raucously ranting." In any case, in this tense situation I had been chosen as a candidate for the presidency—and the secret of why I was chosen I of course don't know. But I suspect it was probably because at the LASA Congress at the University of Texas at Austin I had acted as something of a bridge between the younger radicals and the establishment folk. The latter were, understandably, becoming wary of assuming the August presidential position because of the hazards involved—not to mention the fact that most of them had already occupied it.

Trouble was, that I was indeed a bridge type person not only ideologically—my position on various issues—but also in the more immediately relevant sense of what I considered to be an appropriate posture to adopt for an academic association vis à vis the events out there in the real world. And those just weren't the times for "well, I'll go along with this, but I'll be damned if I support that" kind-of-tack: you wuz either *for*, or *agin*.

I first got into trouble while presiding over LASA's Wisconsin conference in 1972 (or was it 1973—no matter). It's twenty-three years back, and my memory may not be fully accurate as to detail. But I do know that I became concerned that all the officially designated tables for the display of literature had been occupied as early as possible by "the radicals" so to speak, and that other groups came to me and complained that they therefore had no place to display their wares. Frankly, I can't remember a darned thing about who these other groups were except that they weren't "radicals" (in quotes, or not, as you like). I certainly don't think anyone was really right-wing: no one was distributing flyers nominating "Papa Doc" for the Nobel Prize, nor did anyone collect funds to augment the salaries of the Brazilian generals. But I felt it weren't fair, and, having a peculiar tendency to defend the underdog (provided it was a reasonably civilized dog) I saw to it that additional tables were provided in spaces not set aside for such displays. Somehow, my fellow council members conveyed to me that this was not the kind of innovation on behalf of a disadvantaged segment of the population which was considered in tune with the times. It wasn't

the kind of defense of the powerless minority which merited attention.

But my real moment of truth came in the months after the military coup in Chile on September 11, 1973. Now Chile was "my" country, as they say: I'd spent four years there in the early and middle 'sixties and knew its politics and politicians pretty well; I had visited it every two years since that long stay, and had last been there a mere month before the coup.

Being a bit of a pedant (not a good characteristic for a Latin Americanist at that time,) I divided the issues raised by the coup and its aftermath into three. First and above all, there were the gross violations of human rights—a term I have always considered inadequate to cover torture and rape—which were taking place on a massive scale. Against these, I believe that any human organization, from bricklayers' union to religious institutions, should take public stands, especially in this instance, in which the U.S. was clearly involved—to an arguable degree, but in any case: involved. Second, there were gross violations of academic freedom. As an academic association, I had no trouble with LASA taking a stand on that score. But—and here comes the 33 percent on which, unforgivably, I wasn't politically correct. Shocking though it may seem—and certainly seemed at the time—I didn't think that it was our business to take a stand against the coup as a political event.

That position wasn't exclusively based on a desire to remain academically impartial, though that did play an important part. After all, you can't really study a phenomenon when you've made up your mind within three days that it's all bad, who the guilty parties are, what were the forces behind it and so forth. Especially when you know little about the country. In addition to the academic inappropriateness of condemning this coup *qua* coup, however, I did in this instance know a good deal about the complexity of the facts. For example: I knew, as few did, that Dr. Allende had had to move his presidency to the foreign exchange producing coppermines of Chuquicamata in the far North—an unprecedented step—in order to sort out an anarchic situation which had become for him both an economic and a dire political threat. It had arisen after nationalization because the extreme left—the MIR—was, indeed, trying to create anarchy. Specifically, the MIR and those loyal to it wanted to oust the new government-appointed manager—an engineer who belonged to the more moderate left. But more generally, the MIR saw the creation of anarchy as the road to that "real" revolution which they accused Allende of having betrayed. And I knew that land invasions and factory invasions, both decried by Allende and predicted by the Chilean Communist Party as likely to lead to a coup, were putting genuine physical fear into the middle classes (whom I regarded as at least partly human). The number of such invasions was not really very large and, of course, the opposition played them up. But both the Supreme Court and Parliament had declared the failure to use the police to oust the invaders as unconstitutional—obviously signaling danger. The president's military aide had been assassinated; sailors had been called upon to disobey their officers; the left-wing of Allende's own party was allied with the left extreme—and the right extreme was, of

course, also on a rampage. In short: the place was in total chaos. And as I left, a member of Congress told me that a coup was expected: and that he didn't mind. No one thought the military would do anything but preside, briefly, over new elections which recently-held ones indicated the left would lose.

I won't bore you any further with a history now over twenty years old which you either do know and therefore don't want to hear repeated in capsule form, or don't know and may not care about. But it did seem to me to be from a political, and from a political science point of view, that mass academic protests about the coup *qua* coup (as distinct from protest about human rights violations and academic freedom) from a scientific association most of whose members didn't know much about the situation was not indicated.

To top things off—or finish off my reputation, if you like—I some time later called up the Chilean Embassy to arrange a meeting with the newly arrived military attaché. I had somehow learned that that position was now occupied by a general who during the coup had taken over the large industrial city of Concepción and wanted to hear something from that side. I have a penchant for that sort of thing: in 1991, I stayed over-night in the home of a Palestinian trade union leader who had been imprisoned for a total of eleven years between 1967 and 1991; and two months ago I spent a leisurely evening with a high-level Palestinian professional who, far from belonging to Hamas, was still opposed to Palestinians accepting the Oslo Declaration of Principles. Those contacts didn't endear me to some of the more vocal hard-line members of my religious community, though the milder sort very much appreciate it. (I'm personally somewhat Jewish, as Damon Runyon, the original author of "Guys and Dolls" used to put it.)

And so, I think, it was with LASA: there were many who would have approved of a cautious, academic exploration of the causes of the coup at a LASA conference. They were increasingly unhappy with the endless string of resolutions protesting events which, though deplorable, they just didn't feel they wished to have dealt with by majority votes of the small numbers sitting it out—precisely for that purpose—at the end of business meetings. But that kind of person generally doesn't make as much noise as those with more determined positions. And I know that some of these more moderate types dropped out of LASA during that period, if not over Chile, then over insufficiently nuanced positions on Nicaragua and Cuba. By the way: the Chilean general struck me, in so far as you can judge over a cold lunch, as not motivated by hatred; not too likely to have knowingly approved of torture; and sincerely convinced—by the massive turn-out in the streets as his troops marched in—that he had the support of the population and had therefore been right to support the coup, about which he initially had doubts. I'm not taking his word for it altogether. But then, those were days when there were a good few people whose words you couldn't take for it: when a well-known writer for NACLA Report confessed in print, with remarkable frankness, that U.S. responsibility for the coup

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Reflections on ALAS '95

"El Congreso de la Esperanza" and Paradigm Redefinition

by Susanne Jonas
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The 20th Congress of the Asociación Latinoamericana de Sociología, ALAS '95, was a remarkable intellectual happening. Held October 2-6 in the *centro histórico* of Mexico City, this "Congreso de la esperanza," as it was dubbed, brought together 2,000 Latin American scholars. From the opening Inauguration in the Palacio de Bellas Artes to the closing resolution, Congress organizers and participants from very diverse perspectives expressed agreement on one common goal: the reconstruction of a counter-vision for the hemisphere in the 21st century. In the process, they rediscovered themselves—or, I should say, we rediscovered ourselves.

In this age of NAFTA and hemispheric integration in its various forms, intellectual border-crossing is a necessity and increasingly a reality in the Americas. The week before ALAS, the LASA Congress in Washington was greatly enriched by the participation of over 650 Latin American panelists. The decision to hold LASA97 in Guadalajara, Mexico is another recognition of our cross-border future. Nevertheless, it is a qualitatively different experience to participate with our Latin American colleagues in their own Congress.

México D.F. was an especially appropriate and symbolic site for ALAS '95. Even while becoming a mega-city of questionable viability for millions of its working-class inhabitants, Mexico has long been the hemisphere's cultural answer to Paris. It has served as a kind of "protected area" for Latin American intellectuals (often in exile) to come together and from which their ideas have been beamed North, as if by a powerful transmitter. Since the 1960s, many of us in the U.S. have become Latin Americanists through the "Mexico connection." Today's world makes the exchange of ideas across borders more important than ever. To put it another way, all of us who are concerned about the future of the Americas need to be thinking together.

ALAS is central to this exchange of ideas because Latin American sociology has always been very broadly interdisciplinary. (Symbolizing this reality was the broad array of Mexican institutions sponsoring and organizing ALAS '95, which included research institutes in the fields of economics, politics, anthropology, demography, philosophy and other humanities, and even biology, as well as sociology.) What happens at ALAS is really an affair of the social sciences in general and a barometer of Latin American intellectual life. A major implicit concern of this year's ALAS, broadly interpreted, was paradigm redefinition or reconstruction for the social sciences.

These brief reflections on ALAS '95 are of relevance to LASA

members because paradigm redefinition discussions that affect us are also occurring at various levels of the social sciences in the U.S. The rationale for Latin American Studies and other "area studies" founded during the Cold War is changing during this post-Cold War era. According to currently prevailing wisdom and discourse in the U.S., priorities that used to be shaped by Cold War "security" concerns will now be market- and trade-driven. But ALAS '95 opens the window to a different post-Cold War alternative.

"Adiós al modelo neoliberal"

The importance of this particular ALAS Congress needs to be contextualized. ALAS has been part of the long tradition of the "committed intellectual"—committed, primarily, to left and popular struggles for social justice. A few years ago (1993), Jorge Castañeda described the collective identity crisis of the Latin American Left, and of committed intellectuals as part of that Left, in his monumental "adiós a las armas", *Utopia Unarmed*. With the end of the armed struggle model for Latin America (though not of all armed struggles) and the collapse of "really existing" socialism in the world, many Latin Americans were left without the traditional organizations or theories to sustain a social justice agenda.

The vacuum led to an end-of-history demoralization in some quarters, which took the theoretical form of minimalism (espousing *only* very limited goals) and even flirtation with "democratization" theories that relegated social justice issues to the sidelines. (I could certainly sense this identity crisis in some ALAS Congresses of recent years.) Perhaps it was necessary to go through that experience in order to come out on the other side. In any case, when a keynote speaker at ALAS '95 referred to "the loss of intellectual certainties," everyone knew what he meant. No one is proposing to go back to having those certainties in the old, often dogmatic ways.

But things have changed since the publication of Castañeda's book. ALAS '95 was part of a new stage, post-depression, post-minimalist, post-"neo." This time we know more about what doesn't work for Latin America. No less misplaced than the Left's triumphalism about armed struggle and socialism during the 1960's and '70's has been the neoliberal capitalist triumphalism of the '80's and early '90's. The poverty statistics of the "lost decade," the drastic decline in living standards for the majority of Latin Americans, speak for themselves. This ALAS Congress resurrected half-forgotten words such as "poverty," "marginalization," "exclusion." As Pablo González Casanova put it, people's rights and social justice as well as

democracy “must be at the center, not the periphery” of our sociology.

But the collective message from ALAS '95 went beyond a substantive critique of neoliberal structural adjustment policies. It was an answer to the more insidious ideological claim by the neoliberals that theirs are the *only* possible policies. From this broader perspective, the main element of *esperanza* offered by the Congress was the reassertion that alternative, critical thinking is possible. In fact, it is more relevant and even more realistic than ever at a moment when social movements throughout Latin America are challenging neoliberalism and waging concrete struggles over the future of their countries.

This reassertion of its mission made ALAS '95 a moment of epistemological re-creation, a re-awakening of the “sociological imagination.” The process was reinforced by Immanuel Wallerstein, president of the International Sociological Association (ISA) and a keynote speaker, in his tribute to Latin America’s significant contributions to world sociology. He also announced that ISA has decided to make Spanish its third official language, an important step toward overcoming Eurocentric academic traditions.

Challenges and Unresolved Issues

But all of the above left an enormous space at ALAS '95 for debate about what could or should be progressive solutions to Latin America’s monumental social/economic crises. Overcoming minimalism and undertaking the search to give new content to social justice values are only the first steps. Judging from both formal presentations and discussions over *tragos* with friends and colleagues about their actual experiences back home, we are on the road, so to speak, but without knowing precisely *hacia dónde*. From Brazil to Haiti to Mexico to El Salvador to the *barrios* of Los Angeles and Miami, we have no “solutions,” no coherent alternatives to neoliberalism. Together with millions of people in a vast array of social organizations and movements, we are still experimenting with what social equality can mean in the context of the world-economy of the 21st century.

The same applies, I should add, to Cuba. In fact, these dilemmas (and others) emerged clearly and poignantly at the Congress in the large public round-table on Cuba. ALAS members remain vitally concerned about Cuba because, as Emir Sader once observed, there are ways in which Latin America sees itself when it looks at Cuba. Whether and how Cuba resolves its current crises in a sovereign manner will be part of the larger search for viable alternatives for Latin America.

A constant theme throughout the Congress was the importance of being connected to (and learning from) the daily, concrete

struggles of popular movements. But here, I think, we inadvertently ran into something of a gap between theory and practice. The “new social actors” and social/political movements that most participants referred to are heavily organized by women. Yet the really existing gender balance of ALAS left something to be desired. The main organizer of this Congress and incoming president of ALAS is a woman, Dr. Raquel Sosa Elizaga, and there was a high level of women participants in the Congress. However, all of the keynote plenary speakers were male, and women were noticeably under-represented in the high-profile public round-tables. This year’s female prominence rating was definitely higher than previous ALAS Congresses, but one still gets the sense that Latin American social science recognizes primarily its “founding fathers.”

A similar anomaly emerged in regard to *América indígena*. There was no shortage of sharp ideological critiques of Eurocentric or ethnocentric ideas. There were numerous presentations and daily videos about the indigenous uprising in Chiapas. The final resolution of the Congress condemned the massacre of returned indigenous refugees in Xamán, Guatemala, which occurred during the Congress. But the prominence of indigenous issues made even more obvious the absence of indigenous intellectuals among featured speakers. Maybe next time (Brazil, 1997)...

Immigrants, Latinos and Border-Crossing

Let me close the circle by returning briefly to the subject of intellectual border-crossing. I participated in the working commission (one of 17 such commissions) on Migrations and Borders. This commission had nearly 70 presentations, many of them about Latin American immigration to the U.S. and Latino issues. The Latin American participants showed a strikingly high level of interest in the situation of Latin American immigrants in the U.S., especially in “war zones” such as California and Florida; they also recognized the strategic role of Latinos as agents of change in the Americas from within the U.S. There were various initiatives for cross-border collaboration on immigrant and refugee issues—“*equipos sin fronteras*,” as one such effort is being called.

This example (immigration) has special resonance because it is about the “periphery within the core.” It also highlights the centrality of cross-border movements of people as well as commodities in the hemisphere. Finally, it is worth emphasizing because it so clearly illustrates the opportunities to develop new coalitions for study and action across borders. These are among the emerging issues that should inform research, theories, and paradigm redefinitions by scholars throughout the Americas if we wish to be fully relevant as well as visionary in the 21st century. ■

Guatemalan Elections '95

On the Path to Peace?

by John D. Abell

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Note: *The author was in Guatemala for the November 12 general elections as a member of the United States Citizen Independent Election Observer Mission (USCIEOM) team, organized by the Center for Global Education, Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean (EPICA), The Network in Solidarity with the Peoples of Guatemala (NISGUA), the Guatemala News and Information Bureau, and Global Exchange. The observer team was stationed in six departments throughout the country: Alta Verapaz, Chimaltenango, Sololá, Quetzaltenango, Quiché and Guatemala City. The following examines some of the background issues pertinent to the elections and provides eyewitness coverage and analysis of election day events.*

Historical Significance of the Elections

Early on Sunday, November 12, voters in Guatemala began casting ballots in an historic general election. At stake was nearly every elected position in the country: president and vice president, every seat in the legislature, representation in the Central American Parliament and mayoral heads of 300 municipalities.

Of particular interest to the U.S. is the fact that these were the first general elections to take place since the signing of the NAFTA accords on January 1, 1994, which effectively shifted the southern boundary for north-south trade from the Rio Grande to the Mexico-Guatemala border. They were also the first elections since the signing in March and April of 1994 of three separate accords that are part of ongoing peace negotiations between the government and the rebel forces of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG).

The problems of Guatemala, especially those of the Mayan communities, are much the same as the ones prevalent in much of the Mexican state of Chiapas, just across the border: land, food, jobs, human rights, and democracy, or more specifically, the lack of those things. Over the years, nearly 440 Mayan villages have simply been eliminated from the Guatemalan map, approximately 200,000 individuals (mostly indigenous and *ladino* poor) have been killed or "disappeared" at the hands of the military or extrajudicial death squads (though the military would say otherwise), and over one million people have been displaced, either internally or externally, as access to the above rights have been contested.¹

Such a situation is unacceptable not only for moral reasons, but for economic and political reasons, as well. An extended NAFTA, envisioned by President Clinton and the business community as incorporating the rest of Latin America into a powerful trading block, is unworkable as long as there is violence and impunity in Guatemala and other countries of the region.

Hence, there is more at stake in the peace negotiations in Guatemala than merely lifting the yolk of oppression to which the Mayans have been subjected for nearly 500 years. A more cynical view would suggest that were it not for the pressure that international economic interests have brought to bear on the military of Guatemala, the peace process would never have gotten off the ground.

Regardless, negotiations *are* under way and the top two vote-getters in the November 12 elections, Alvaro Arzú of the PAN (Party of National Advancement, with 36 percent of the vote) and Alfonso Portillo of the FRG party (Guatemalan Republican Front, with 22 percent of the vote), have each declared that they will comply with the peace accords.² The winner of the January run-off election will have a chance to put words into actions.

The Participation of the Democratic Left

Another important aspect of the elections was that for the first time since the CIA-led coup in 1954, the democratic left participated in the electoral process. Primarily because of fear of brutal repression under the military governments of the 1970s and 1980s and even after the civilian elections of 1985, popular movements and the URNG have generally seen many risks, but few gains to be had from open political participation. However, the hint of a political opening under current President Ramiro de León Carpio (former Human Rights Ombudsman under president Jorge Serrano), coupled with UN observers on the ground to facilitate the peace process, seem to have given Guatemalans the confidence to politically organize on a scale not seen in nearly half a century.

A political party calling itself the New Guatemala Democratic Front (FDNG), appeared on the scene for the first time. It has the support of those who have never before had a political voice in Guatemala: unions, Mayan organizations, human rights groups, women's groups, marginal communities and other popular groups. It also has the support of the URNG, though the two groups have denied any formal linkages. The FDNG admits to having had discussions with the guerrillas, but as General Coordinator of the Front, Antonio Móvil has pointed out, so have the military and other political parties. In spite of the obvious overlapping constituencies, he emphasizes that there is *no* formal alliance.³

The FDNG was organized partly out of concern of the strong FRG (Guatemalan Republican Front) showing in the special congressional elections in 1994, following President Ramiro de León Carpio's political house-cleaning. The FRG is the party of former general Ríos Montt who assumed the presidency in a military coup from 1982-83 and, whose months in office were

among the bloodiest in the country's history. The party won 40 percent of the seats in congress on the basis of support of only 6 percent of the electorate, and Montt himself used the victory to propel himself into the presidency of the congress. When Montt announced his formal candidacy for president this year, the speed of organization of the FDNG was accelerated. The Supreme Electoral Council (TSE) later determined that his candidacy was illegal under the Guatemalan constitution (Article 186), which bars former coup leaders from running for president.⁴

His formal departure might have been viewed with relief by many, but his indirect presence at the top of the FRG ticket was evidenced by the roadside campaign posters showing a grim-faced Ríos Montt, standing in the middle of (official) presidential candidate Portillo and his vice-presidential candidate, (retired) Colonel Carlos Anibal Méndez. Other campaign literature was even less subtle: "*Portillo a la presidencia, Ríos Montt al poder!*" ("Portillo to the presidency, Ríos Montt to power!") the slogans read. The message seemed clear: with or without constitutional sanction, a vote for the FRG was a vote for Montt.⁵ Furthermore, that in the congressional elections the FRG assumed so much power on the basis of such a low voter turnout was a clear indicator to the URNG and other groups that their former policy of abstentionism, while conceivably earning them a position on the high moral ground, was doing nothing to promote any of their causes. In fact, a success by the FRG in the general elections might prove to be a disaster.

A common misperception is that the new FDNG party represents a unified voice of the left. Indeed, its program "based on respect for human rights, promotion of gender equality, respect for multicultural practices, demilitarization, devolution of state power to local governments, efforts to address the roots of poverty, environmental protection, and support for the peace process," was the most progressive platform available to the electorate in decades.⁶ Nevertheless, it proved to be quite difficult to consolidate all of the disparate groups into a "rainbow coalition." Just because indigenous groups, labor unions and members of the progressive business community, for example, all felt disaffected and disenfranchised by the system, did not mean that they would easily coalesce into a unified political front. In fact, many went their separate ways, even before the party officially submitted its paperwork to the TSE on July 1. A number went on to form their own civic committees (*comités cívicos*) and ran independent candidates in the mayoral races.⁷

On the other hand, the difficulties of the FDNG points to the obvious strength of the more established parties, and even more importantly, to the existent strength of some indigenous groups. For example, in Santiago Atitlán, a community with an indigenous population of 95 percent, there were no mayoral candidates from either the FDNG or a civic committee. Rather, the DCG (Christian Democracy of Guatemala) won at

all levels—president, congressional deputy, and mayor. A community leader we spoke with suggested that the DCG remains a strong influence there because this was the party of Vinicio Cerezo, the president who ordered the closing of the military base at the edge of town following the infamous 1990 massacre. For the community, this was a bold move that will forever be appreciated. The DCG mayor-elect, Manuel Sisay, a Cakchiquel man, is the latest in a long line of indigenous mayors. Santiago's last *ladino* mayor was in 1982.

Across the country on election day the FDNG won only four mayoral seats while various civic committees won only 14 out of 176 mayoral races in which there were civic committees registered—evidence of the difficulty in competing with the

entrenched national parties and perhaps evidence that indeed, the FDNG was not the only voice of all the previously disenfranchised voters. One explanation for the FDNG's poor showing (and perhaps for some of the committees as well) is that the late date at which the FDNG entered the race meant that it had less than two months before the registration deadline (August 12) and less than four months before the actual elections (November 12) to organize and educate its

constituency. Seen in this way, one could argue that these results were evidence of a fairly respectable showing. There are now going to be 18 communities which will be represented by leaders whose base of political support was locally determined and truly representative.

In spite of its failure to unite all of the formerly disenfranchised groups, the FDNG was nevertheless a serious contender for the *national* offices. A carefully selected ticket offered the widest possible appeal to progressive voters of all political stripes. The presidential candidate, an economist by the name of Jorge González del Valle, had vast experience in the world of international finance, having served as Latin American director of the IMF and, interestingly, as president of Guatemala's central bank under Ríos Montt. He sharply disagrees with the neoliberal policies of the institutions he once served and suggested in an interview that he felt that it was possible for Guatemala to become a participant in the global economy without having to adopt harsh trickle-down economic policies.⁸

In order to encourage support from the indigenous communities, Juan León was chosen for the vice-presidential ticket. A teacher and activist from Quiché, León has worked for years in various organizations (most recently with *Defensoría Maya*) to promote the rights of the indigenous population. In accepting his party's nomination, he was quick to acknowledge gratitude that for "the first time a political front has adopted the aspirations of the indigenous peoples." Nevertheless, he doesn't have much faith in the overall political

Just because indigenous groups, labor unions and members of the progressive business community, for example, all felt disaffected and disenfranchised by the system, did not mean that they would easily coalesce into a unified political front. In fact, many went their separate ways....

process: "This system is not ours, it's not our way of choosing authorities," he said, "but by entering this system and fighting for space within it, we create the possibility that, in the future, the Mayan peoples can choose their authorities in the manner they wish."⁹

Pre-Election Problems: Significant or Inconsequential?

The electoral process, overall, had the appearance of a relatively healthy democratic affair, the Ríos Montt campaign notwithstanding. However, there were significant problems along the way, such as the unfortunate massacre at Cobán in which 11 villagers were killed and 20 others were wounded just two weeks before the election. This may not have been an attempt at electoral intimidation—just another in a long line of misunderstandings that occur when teenagers are given automatic weapons and military indoctrination instead of schoolbooks and education. Even so, it was bound to create fear among at least some in the electorate.

For its part, the URNG called a cease-fire for the two-week period leading up to (and through) the election. The kidnapping of Rigoberta Menchú's nephew might have been the political intimidation story of the election (probably of the whole year) but, as it turned out, the abduction was simply the result of a domestic monetary squabble. The pace of extrajudicial killings did not slacken noticeably in honor of the election—if anything, there was an acceleration in the latter part of the year. Through June of this year there had been nearly 800 killings, yet by November, the total had grown to 1400 (an increase from 133/month to 150/month).¹⁰

Election Day: Analysis and Observations

On election day, things were relatively calm by Guatemalan standards. A particular concern centered on whether the military or civilian defense patrols would play a visible and perhaps threatening role, especially given the declarations of the FDNG vice-presidential candidate Juan León that such groups had been quite active in the weeks leading up to the elections, trying to discourage voters from casting ballots for the FDNG.¹¹ For the most part, the military had been confined to its barracks, and there were few instances of overt polling station intimidation. However, some members of the United Nations Human Rights verification team stationed in Cobán reported to us that they had seen plainclothes armed men (non-locals) patrolling nearby—something which would not have been comforting to the villagers, given the recent massacre.

The irregularities our observation team encountered were probably "minor" given the potentially volatile nature of the event; however, if such incidents were replicated across polling stations around the country, they could have been of significance. We saw an elderly indigenous man who was turned away from the voting table at five minutes before the polls closed. One of our team members pointed out to the

officials that according to his watch, it was only 5:55 PM. They were not impressed. When my colleague noticed that one of the officials' watches said the exact same time, and pointed it out to him, he just shrugged and turned the old man away. Or, there was the case of the young mother (a Cakchiquel woman) who had waited for over an hour beyond the closing time to cast her vote, only to be told that she was at the wrong table. The correct table, because it had not experienced such long lines, had closed promptly at 6:00 PM, and would not allow her to vote, in spite of our entreaties. She reacted quite stoically, just as her people have done for nearly 500 years in the face of such indignities. She gathered herself, her belongings and her child and quietly walked out of the polling station.

A potentially more serious incident involved a man, dressed in military style clothing, who voted.¹² We were not in a position to be able to ask for his I.D., but one of our observers who attempted to move in for a closer look had her line of vision blocked by a couple of *fiscales* (paid political poll watchers) who tried to distract her attention and then stood directly in front of her. She could see that the man did not dip the end of his finger into the inkwell (which would have identified him as having already cast a vote), enabling him, of course, to cast other votes at other locations.

Of greater impact than a series of such incidents were preexisting structural problems that could have significantly limited access to the polls. For example, according to Guatemalan law, registration and voting must take place where your *cédula* (national I.D. card) was issued. Unlike in the U.S., where residency can be established in a new community with relative ease, voters in Guatemala must travel, often long distances, usually to their place of birth to register and vote—*two separate trips* for new voters. For those without transportation or money, or for those who have families and work that cannot wait, such travel is nearly impossible. A related problem is that many Guatemalans simply remain undocumented because of the 34 years of war and are hesitant to come forward out of fear of reprisal.

Secondly, some voters who appeared at the proper table and had valid voting cards were not allowed to cast ballots because their names were not on the *padrón electoral* (official roll). TSE officials later told us that this was a problem limited primarily to those who had registered prior to 1984. For those registering after that date, this was "less of a problem." We failed to understand this nonchalant view, as well as why this situation had not been corrected if officials were well aware of it prior to the election. At a minimum, public notices could have been issued encouraging individuals who registered before 1984 to check with local officials to confirm their status.

A third "built-in" constraint was produced by the rules for marking ballots. For this election there were 19 candidates for national office from which to choose. The party emblems all appeared in little 1x2 inch rectangular boxes on a regular-sized sheet of paper that must be carefully marked with an X. If the

X were to accidentally stray beyond the border of the intended box, the ballot could be declared null by the officials at that voting table. For seasoned voters this was an inconsequential concern, but for the thousands of indigenous people who were participating for the first time and who had never before held a writing implement of any kind in their hand, the thick black crayon (like we all used in kindergarten) was quite unwieldy and strayed beyond the borders with alarming frequency. At one table in Sololá, over half of all ballots were ruled invalid, the majority of which had been cast for FDNG or the indigenous civic committee candidates, for the most part by the indigenous newcomers.

The actual vote counting and determination of whether a ballot was legitimate or not (as in the case of stray Xs) fell to the Junta Receptora de Votación (JRV—the group of officials at each voting table). The JRV consisted of a president, secretary and *vocal* (member at large) and was assisted by an *alguacil* (an official poll watcher appointed by the TSE—presumably not affiliated with any particular party). As noted, each table had paid political representatives of each party, *fiscales*, on hand to observe the proceedings. In a world without bias, this arrangement should have been adequate to ensure an election free from fraud and irregularities. In fact, the presence of international observers would have been something of a redundancy, because the presence of all of the various party *fiscales* would have helped to assure that no one was going to cheat their candidate in any way. Unfortunately, not all 23 parties¹³ had the personnel or finances to place *fiscales* at all the many individual tables around the country. The better organized parties, PAN, FRG, the National Alliance and even the FDNG to some extent, were well represented; others were not.

During the actual vote counting, the utility of the *fiscales* became most apparent. When the JRV president pulled a ballot from the bag and presented it for consideration, if the X was clean and within the boundaries, then everyone would quickly acknowledge this fact and the ballot would be placed in the “clean” stack. If there was a questionable marking, such as a stray X, then the discussions among the JRV and the *fiscales* might become quite lively. My impression of the table where I spent most of the evening (at a gymnasium in Sololá) during the vote counting was that both the officials and the *fiscales* were well intentioned and honest. Even the slightest stray marking was debated to the point of exhaustion, but amazingly few ballots were declared null. The majority of stray marks came from individuals having cast a vote for the indigenous candidate, not surprisingly, and when these ballots came up for consideration, the civic committee *fiscal*, a local Cakchiquel woman, would defend with great spirit and eloquence the validity of those ballots based on the obvious intent of the voter. Amazingly, her arguments seemed to prevail most of the time.

At the table mentioned above, where over half of the ballots were rejected, the civic committee *fiscal* was not nearly so assertive and thus the major parties tended to prevail.¹⁴

Other campaign literature was even less subtle: “Portillo a la presidencia, Ríos Montt al poder,” the slogans read. The message seemed clear: with or without constitutional sanction, the vote for the FRG was a vote for Ríos Montt.

The remaining incident of note was the power outage that occurred shortly past midnight, right in the middle of the vote counting. Ninety percent of the country was affected, and some locations were without electricity for three hours. A few areas including Jutiapa, Cobán, and eastern portions of the state of Quiché experienced temporary outages as early as 10:30 PM. A number of groups including the FDNG and some of the smaller

political parties have cried foul. Interestingly, the PAN party, which had over 65 percent of the vote prior to the blackout, yet emerged from the blackout with only 36 percent of the vote, was not among those expressing concern. Since they fared so well overall, apparently they were not interested in contributing to the discussions regarding the power outage or other electoral problems that might cast doubt as to the legitimacy of the results.¹⁵

The Fairness Issue

The *Tribunal Supremo Electoral* (TSE) and President de León Carpio have declared the elections a success. They admitted that there were isolated irregularities, but none were of such magnitude as to necessitate a recount of the votes. Their view of the power outage seems to be that this is something that happens frequently in a developing country and thus are treating it as a non-issue. According to reports on Guatemalan television, the final results had the approval of the Organization of American States (OAS) which had election observers stationed around the country; there was, however, no mention of the questions raised by observers from the European Union (EU) and the United States Citizen Independent Election Observer Mission (USIEOM)—as though these groups didn't even participate. In fact, a government official we spoke with didn't attempt to hide from us his feelings that all of the observer groups were likely to be biased, with the possible exception of the OAS. It is not hard to imagine that to entrenched sectors of Guatemalan society, like the oligarchy (as represented by groups like CACIF—Chambers of Agriculture, Commerce, Industry and Finance), the military and the government, our mere presence (overseeing *their* elections) represented a serious challenge to their generally unquestioned authority.

In its press conference on November 15, the OAS delegation reported that the elections took place “in an atmosphere of tranquility, transparency, liberty and security.” To the extent it had any concerns at all, they were focused in a limited way on the issue of “significant distances separating voters from the polling stations.”¹⁶ EU used nearly identical language to

describe the elections—that they were carried out “with serenity, transparency and liberty”—but went on to note several problems: many people declined to travel long distances to vote; the transportation system was inadequate for those who made the attempt to travel; officials at the tables were occasionally poorly informed as to logistics and simply not helpful. In its press release it noted “isolated acts of proselytization and intimidation” at the polling stations. As for the power outage, EU stopped short of claiming that it affected the “scrutiny” of the vote.¹⁷

The official statement of the USIEOM regarding the elections applauded “the majority of Guatemalans for their participation in this transition election, the TSE for a smoothly run voting process, and the non-governmental organizations for their efforts at civic education.” It was especially impressed by the relatively high levels of participation of indigenous and women's groups. “Observers were concerned, however,” the statement continued, “by the atmosphere in which the electoral contest took place, some of the irregularities noticed on voting day, and the serious disturbances that ensued afterward.”¹⁸

The ensuing disturbances include a number of denunciations, turned violent (tire burning, ballot burning and attacks on municipal buildings), in at least eleven communities in which the legitimacy of the municipal election results was challenged. For example, in Mixco, just outside of Guatemala City, fourteen political parties joined forces to denounce that the PAN party had not legitimately won the municipal race. Among the complaints was that PAN had prior knowledge of the blackout and was prepared to quickly deliver flashlights and candles to their *fiscales* the minute the darkness struck.¹⁹

Still To Come

The outcome of the presidential race will not be settled until the runoff election on January 7. It is generally acknowledged that the U.S. has strongly supported the candidacy of Arzú and PAN, the party of the so-called “modernizing right.”²⁰ Arzú, the former mayor of Guatemala City, supports Guatemala's integration into the global economy through the adoption of neoliberal policies. He favors a “smaller, but stronger and more agile, civilian government, capable of directing infrastructure projects favoring export-oriented development.”²¹

What may come back to haunt him in the face-off with the FRG “hard-liners” is that he has dared to suggest that income taxes may need to be raised (currently among the lowest in this hemisphere) on the wealthiest Guatemalans in order to pay for social investment programs as required by the World Bank. It is a rare instance indeed, when a country is actually doing *less* than what the World Bank suggests is necessary in the social arena. Such reformist tendencies, along with his attempts to reach out to the center-left portion of the electorate (for example, by including in his campaign structure, advisors from the

independent think tank ASIES), may have alienated the party from the powerful business community. On the other hand, he is thought to be the favorite of the “institutionalist” wing of the military, the faction that tends to support the ongoing peace process and favors civilian-led democratic institutions of government as “necessary instruments for preserving stability.”²²

The tradition in Guatemala is that the second place finisher (the FRG in this case) is typically able to form coalitions with the smaller parties and overcome the first-round deficit in the run-off elections. If Ríos Montt's legacy is so tainted, then why would anyone throw their support behind him? First of all, he has the support of the “hard-line” military (those who feel that the ongoing peace talks are impediments in the way of the military's efforts to once and for all eliminate the last vestiges of communist subversion in the country), as well as the evangelical Christian right (given his membership in the California-based Church of the Word).²³ The former can deliver the political clout needed to overcome the opposition forces and the latter can provide a pipeline of financial support.²⁴ Furthermore, he has a reputation as being a crusader against crime and corruption, items which are of real concern to every citizen of Guatemala City right now. Since the city is where the majority of the total vote will come from, and since the indigenous population will not likely mobilize for another election to the extent they did in November, especially given their choices, Ríos Montt's FRG party has a realistic chance in the run-off.²⁵ However, it is entirely possible that the city vote could work against the FRG because this is where PAN has its greatest support, given that Arzú was the mayor of the city for a number of years. The runoffs will definitely be as interesting as the November elections.

The presidential winner will face a PAN working majority in the new congress (with 43 out of 80 seats), based on the latest results. The FRG will have the second largest number of seats (20 out of 80) and perhaps most interesting of all, the FDNG will have the third largest number of seats (6 out of 80). In one sense, the three party National Alliance (consisting of the DCG-Christian Democrats, UCN-Union of the National Center and PSD-Social Democrats) has more seats than the FDNG (10 out of 80), but they are actually split up among the three parties—the alliance structure was created primarily to improve the chances of their presidential candidate.²⁶ So while the FDNG only garnered four mayoral victories, its accomplishments at the national level are nothing short of miraculous. It had been projected early on that the party could not win more than one-half of one percent of the vote, yet it won over 6 percent—not enough to change the course of Guatemalan history, but enough to give the indigenous peoples, *ladino* poor and others a voice within the establishment that has never been there before. The political opening thus continues to widen in Guatemala. In that sense, the elections can be seen as a victory for all. One can only hope that nothing will happen following the January run-off elections that might return Guatemala to the dark days of fear and oppression of an earlier generation.

Notes

¹For more on this, see Susanne Jonas, *The Battle for Guatemala* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 1991), pp. 2, 155 and 182.

²"Rosada cree que PAN o FRG cumplirán acuerdos de paz," *Siglo Veintiuno*, Nov. 15, 1995, p. 5.

³Steve Stewart and David Loeb, "Elections 1995: The Democratic Left Enters the Ring," *Report on Guatemala* (Volume 16 No. 3, September 1995), pp. 5, 14.

⁴*Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

⁵Lest there be any doubt as to whether Portillo has disavowed his leftist past (as a former supporter of the EGP—Guerrilla Army of the Poor), and as further evidence that a vote for the FRG is a vote for Montt, in response to a question about "how he could reconcile his leftist past and his current embrace of the right he do not," Portillo replied, "The terms left and right have disappeared. We should no longer base ourselves in ideologies, but rather in principles. I believe that there is a coincidence of principles between what the General and I believe in." *Infopress Centroamericana*, "Guatemala, elecciones '95," p. 3.

⁶Stewart and Loeb, p. 4.

⁷It should be noted that not all civic committees waited until July to put forth their candidates—many were acting in advance of the formation of the FDNG and the debate that ensued, and many were formed who had their own separate agendas, irrespective of the FDNG debate. Guatemalan law is rather progressive on this issue. While it takes 3,000 signatures to initiate a new political party, it only takes 100 in a town to organize a civic committee. To some extent, this grants a degree of autonomy to local communities not always seen in other countries. In this election there were a total of 176 such committees sponsoring candidates for local office.

⁸Private interview, 10/8/95.

⁹Stewart and Loeb, p. 5.

¹⁰Source: Guatemalan Archdiocesan Human Rights Office.

¹¹Stewart and Loeb, p. 14.

¹²This begs an additional line of inquiry, as to whether the fact that military personnel can't vote represents (what is labeled below as) structural fraud or not. Given that most of the conscripted soldiers are indigenous, there is a case that can be made that this exclusion simply prevents a sizable portion of the (indigenous) electorate from participating. On the other hand, there are those who might claim that if the military were allowed to vote, the conscripts would be given specific instructions as to which candidates they should support, and that those candidates would not necessarily represent the best interests of the young soldiers.

¹³There were three cases of parties which consolidated their support behind a common candidate, most notably the National Alliance, consisting of the DCG (Christian Democracy of Guatemala), UCN (Union of the National Center), and the PSD (Social Democratic Party). There was also the PID (Party of Institutional Democracy)—FUN (National Unity Front) union and the PCN (Party of National Conciliation)—MPL (Patriotic Liberty Movement) union. Thus, there were 23 parties, but only 19 candidates appearing on the ballots.

¹⁴Bear in mind that the fiscales do not have an actual vote regarding the validity of a ballot, should the debate reach such a point. The JRV officials have the final say.

¹⁵There are two official versions of the power outage story. One, is that a tree fell on a power line, an account that was quickly discounted by the majority of the population, needless to say. An electrician working for the country's power company (INDE) explained that there were simply no trees near the main power lines and that, at any rate, there existed an automatic back-up system to compensate for any losses. The other version is that with so many buildings using electricity that late at night, it put a strain on the generating capacity of the nation's electric utility. However, the fact that Guatemala is a net exporter of electricity to El Salvador casts a bit of doubt on that theory. Besides, the country relies primarily on hydroelectric power and with the rainy season just ended, the reservoirs were filled with enough water to provide sufficient capacity.

¹⁶Comunicado de Prensa, *Misión de Observación Electoral de la Organización de los Estados Americanos* (Nov. 13, 1995).

¹⁷Comunicado de Prensa, *Misión de Observación Electoral de la Unión Europea* (Nov. 13, 1995).

¹⁸Official Press Release of the *U.S. Citizen Election Observation Mission* (Nov. 13, 1995).

¹⁹*Ibid*.

²⁰*Infopress Centroamericana*, "Guatemala, elecciones '95," p. 2.

²¹*Ibid*, p. 1.

²²*Ibid*, p. 7.

²³Jonas, p. 153.

²⁴Tom Barry, *Guatemala: A Country Guide* (Albuquerque, N.M.: The Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, 1989), p. 103.

²⁵Another factor at work here is that the FDNG has announced that it does not plan to participate in alliances for the runoff election. Regarding the issue of the mobilization of the indigenous vote, the following statistics on abstention are revealing. The overall abstention rate was 53.5 percent. Guatemala City was above this rate, at 55.5 percent, while many of the indigenous states were below, such as Sololá with 42.7 percent (the lowest rate in the country) or Alta Verapaz (where Cobán is located) with 48.4 percent. Source: *Siglo Veintiuno*, Nov. 15, 1995, p. 3. The TSE has announced the expectation of a 65 percent abstention rate for the runoffs.

²⁶The FDNG also came in third in the presidential balloting with nearly 8 percent of the vote, if one distributes the National Alliance's 13 percent vote equally among the three individual parties (DCG, UCN and PSD). ■

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LASA and Travel to Cuba: Academic Exchanges, Lobbying and Civil Disobedience

by Jean Weisman

City College of New York and member of the
LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba

Synopsis

In July, 1963, the Federal Government issued regulations under the Trading with The Enemy Act which made it illegal for almost all U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba. Many of these restrictions were relaxed under the Carter administration but restored under the Reagan administration in 1982. Prior to August, 1994, the regulations granted an exception for full-time professionals who were engaged in research in their areas of expertise where there was a likelihood that their research would be disseminated.

Many LASA members were outraged when the Clinton Administration, in response to the Cuban government's decision to permit 30,000 Cubans to leave Cuba by rafts and boats, decided in August, 1994, to require scholars to apply for licenses before we could travel to Cuba. Some people had to wait for months to get licenses, and other fully qualified scholars were arbitrarily denied licenses. On September 27, 1995, the first day of the LASA Washington, DC Congress, five members of LASA met with three members of the National Security Council staff to express our views concerning the travel restrictions. We were told that although there would be measures taken to make the embargo more "user friendly," we could expect no major changes in U.S. policy. We were therefore pleasantly surprised to read in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* on October 6, 1995 that the Clinton administration had signed an executive order which included easing restrictions on travel to Cuba by academics. The new regulations allow us to apply for licenses for undergraduates to travel to Cuba and for transactions related to academic exchanges, and there are more categories of individuals who are eligible to receive licenses; but there are no fundamental changes in the policy: *we still are required to apply to the Treasury Department for permission to travel to Cuba.*

Academic Exchanges: A Brief History

In September, 1983, at the LASA Congress in Mexico City, the association signed an exchange agreement with the Centro de Estudios Sobre America (CEA) in Havana. With generous support from the Ford Foundation, the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba and CEA organized research groups composed of scholars from both countries who studied topics such as Economic Factors in U.S.-Cuban Relations; Cuba, the U.S. and Latin America into the 21st Century; Gender Issues in Contemporary Cuba; and the Cuban-American Community. Over 120 Cuban and U.S. scholars participated in these exchanges, which have resulted in numerous publications and workshops at LASA conventions.

Several members of LASA have established exchange programs at their universities, and LASA has provided an important support network. Johns Hopkins University has been sending 15 to 20 students and faculty to Cuba each year since 1979. The Smith College/MacArthur Exchange Program supports the travel of Smith economists to Cuba. Political science faculty from Indiana State University make regular visits to Cuba. Florida International University received funding from the Ford Foundation for travel grants to faculty for research-related travel to Cuba.

The most extensive program is the City University of New York (CUNY)-Caribbean Exchange Program, which has supported research projects in Cuba for over 300 CUNY faculty and graduate students since 1986. These projects have been in the areas of biology, political science, education, law, health sciences, performing arts, sociology, literature, architecture, marine sciences, communications and environmental psychology. For eight summers, the City College School of Architecture conducted a design seminar in Havana with the Cuban Polytechnic Institute. The CUNY Law School sponsored seven comparative law seminars with the University of Havana, in which faculty-student groups compared the U.S. and Cuban legal systems, family codes, property, and international law. Other graduate student groups have done research on worker education; community planning; and race and gender issues in Cuba.

For over 17 years, approximately 18 graduate students from Boston College Graduate School of Social Work have been going to Cuba each year as part of a three-credit course entitled "Comparative Policy Analysis." Students enroll in the course in the fall semester and then do field work for 15 days in Cuba in January. They are usually accompanied by two or three faculty members.

Numerous universities also hosted visits to the United States by scholars from Cuba. The Latin American Studies Department at Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore hosts research visits from four to six weeks by five Cubans per year. The Smith College/MacArthur Exchange Program hosts two or three Cuban economists per year who usually stay from two to three weeks. The CUNY-Caribbean Exchange Program provided support for over 70 scholars from Cuba to do research and provide lectures. Graduate students from Cuba who are doing research about the slave trade and about women spoke about their work to students at various colleges, and law students from Cuba visited the CUNY Law School. Other institutions that have hosted visits from Cuban scholars are Columbia University, Harvard University, Indiana State University, Florida International University, the University of Southern Florida, DePaul University, the University of Pittsburgh, and the University of Florida at Gainesville.

Many of these programs are having problems due to lack of stable funding and budget cuts. Others face problems because of difficulties in communication with Cuba, restrictions by the U.S. government on the development of exchange programs, and denials of visas by the Cuban government. Faculty involved in these programs would like to be able to bring undergraduates and graduates from Cuba to study without being required to apply for licenses. Some have expressed interest in hiring Cubans to teach in the United States as visiting professors and establishing study programs in Cuba.

Lobbying

For many years LASA passed resolutions at its congresses calling for an end to the U.S. embargo against Cuba. The resolutions stated that the embargo is a violation of the principles of free speech and civil liberties. They called for diplomatic relations with Cuba and expressed concern about the human suffering that the embargo has caused for the Cuban people. Except for passing resolutions, LASA members were not involved in political action against the embargo prior to 1993.

It was after the passage of the so-called Cuban Democracy Act (or the Torricelli Law) in 1992, that significant numbers of LASA members got involved in political action against the embargo. Many individuals worked with Cuban-American, religious, and solidarity organizations opposed to the embargo. In the fall of 1993, I volunteered to represent LASA in Washington, and spent two months visiting members of the House and the Senate, having extensive discussions with congressional aides and distributing copies of the LASA resolution against the embargo as well as various articles by LASA members. Carmen Diana Deere, President of LASA from 1992 to 1994 and Andy Zimbalist, chair of the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba from 1992 to 1994, met with staff in the State Department, the Senate and the House. In one meeting, we met with Jamie Houten, an aide to Senator John Kerry (D-Mass). We kept in touch with Senator Kerry, who introduced a non-binding resolution urging President Clinton to allow travel to Cuba for informational, educational, religious or humanitarian purposes and for public performances. This resolution, which was attached to the 1994 State Department authorization bill, passed the Senate in February, 1994.

In June of 1994, several of us participated in a National Lobby Day with numerous religious, Cuban-American, and solidarity organizations, visiting 150 members of the House and Senate and staff at the State Department, urging them to support legislation designed to end the embargo.

The Helms-Burton Bill

In February 1995, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC), the chair of the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee, introduced the so-called "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (*Libertad*) Act" which was designed to intensify the embargo by:

- 1) permitting U.S. citizens who are former owners of nationalized properties in Cuba (who were not U.S. citizens at the time that they owned the property) to sue the current foreign owners of these properties in U.S. courts;
- 2) making it illegal to import sugar products from countries that purchase sugar from Cuba;
- 3) instructing the President to withhold aid to Russia equal to the amount that Russia provides Cuba in military aid;
- 4) banning the entry into the U.S. of anyone who uses, manages or profits from property that was expropriated from U. S. citizens;
- 5) Instructing representatives of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund against admitting Cuba and reducing U.S. contributions by the amount that of aid they give to Cuba; and
- 6) strengthening penalties against those who travel to Cuba illegally.

A similar bill was introduced by Congressman Dan Burton (R-IN) in the House. The governments of Canada, Mexico, Great Britain, France, Germany, the European Union, and the Rio Group in Latin America issued strong statements opposing this bill on the grounds

that it violates international law and free trade. In May, the administration issued a letter from the State Department opposing key sections of this bill on the grounds that it would anger allies of the U.S. and violate international trade agreements. This bill passed the House in September of 1995, with most of the original provisions still in place.

Congressman Howard Berman (D-CA) proposed an amendment to eliminate the provision imposing civil penalties on Americans who fail to obtain proper licenses for travel to Cuba and his amendment passed. The evening before the vote, Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced that the administration would veto the bill passed by the House. The bill passed by a vote of 294-130, more than the 2/3 vote needed to override a veto.

The bill, with major differences from the House version, passed the Senate with a vote of 74-24, after a filibuster, and after opponents of the bill twice prevented supporters from getting the 60 votes needed for cloture. In order to obtain cloture, Helms finally dropped Title III of the bill, which would have allowed current U.S. citizens who were not U.S. citizens when their property was confiscated to sue the current foreign owners of the property in U.S. courts.

Since different versions of the bill passed by the Senate and the House, the next step is a conference committee to work on a compromise. Although the House has selected members of the conference committee, as of November 28, 1995, the Senate had not selected its members. Senator Christopher Dodd (D-CT) has put a hold on the appointment of the members of the committee until Senator Helms releases his hold on the nominations of ambassadors in the Foreign Relations Committee.¹

...there are no fundamental changes in the policy. We still are required to apply to the Treasury Department for permission to travel to Cuba.

LASA Members at the National Security Council

As noted, on Wednesday, September 27, the first day of the 1995 LASA meeting in Washington, five LASA members, representing the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba, went to the National Security Council Offices, next door to the White House to meet with three members of the staff of the National Security Council. Philip Brenner, John Finan, Yolanda Prieto, Helen Safa, and Jean Weisman represented LASA and Richard Nuccio, Richard Feinberg and Morton Halperin represented the National Security Council (NSC). Richard Nuccio, a former aide to Congressman Torricelli and author of the Torricelli Law, is the White House Special Advisor for Cuban Affairs. Richard Feinberg, former President of the Inter-American Dialogue, is the Senior Director for Latin America at the NSC. Morton Halperin, former Director of the Washington Office of the American Civil Liberties Union, is a Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Democracy at the NSC.

We stated our opposition to the embargo, and urged the Administration to end all travel restrictions to Cuba and to oppose the Helms-Burton bill. We explained how we are involved in organizing research trips to Cuba and described the difficulties many academics have had in getting licenses to go to Cuba. Mr. Nuccio stated that they were considering changes in the regulations to make the embargo structure more "user friendly" and make it easier for people to go to Cuba who choose to go legally. He explained how Cuban-Americans with a doctor's certificate had to wait for 6 to 12 weeks to get a license to visit relatives who were critically ill and, since they couldn't get the licenses soon enough, they would then return with requests to attend the funerals. We emphasized the importance of student exchanges involving undergraduate and graduate students. We discussed the diversity of views in the Cuban-American community and amongst members of Congress about the Torricelli law. For example, whereas the three Cuban American members of the House of Representatives are vocal in their support of the embargo, all the Black members of the House (except for one) voted against the Torricelli law.

We distributed copies of the resolution against the embargo on Cuba that was passed at the 1994 LASA congress and emphasized that LASA has consistently passed resolutions against the embargo. We were asked what resolution would be passed at the LASA convention this year, and Mr. Nuccio urged us to take action concerning the matter of four Cubans who he stated were denied permission to attend LASA by the Cuban government for political reasons.

At the meeting we were provided with no encouraging information about any *fundamental* changes. It was also clear that the government was planning to increase efforts to prosecute those who travel to Cuba illegally.

The New Regulations

On October 6, 1995 President Clinton announced the new regulations concerning travel to Cuba. While the initial reports in

the media gave the impression that restrictions on academic travel to Cuba were being relaxed, academics still are required to obtain a license for all research trips. This means that a professor who may have gotten a sabbatical to do research, or a grant from his or her university or a foundation, or who has published extensively about Cuba, must apply for a license, wait for a response (which frequently comes at the last minute), and face the possibility of being denied for no apparent reason and with no appeal available. It is very unclear who makes the decisions and how they are made.

As previously mentioned, one important change is that now we can apply for licenses for undergraduate educational travel to Cuba, which was illegal in the past. The regulations state that "transactions related to travel and maintenance in Cuba...will be licensed upon submission of an adequate written application" for "activities related to study for an undergraduate or graduate degree sponsored by a college or university located in the United States."

The new regulations also allow for licenses to be granted for financial transactions involving educational exchanges. Specific licenses may be issued for:

- a) Transactions related to teaching at a Cuban academic institution by an individual regularly employed in a teaching capacity at a college or university located in the United States, provided the activities are related to a college or university academic program;
- b) Transactions related to the sponsorship of a Cuban scholar to teach or engage in other scholarly activity at a college or university located in the United States;
- c) Transactions related to participation in a formal course of study at a Cuban academic institution by a graduate or undergraduate student."

New categories of individuals may apply for permission to travel. Licenses will be issued "upon submission of an adequate written application" for "attendance at a meeting or conference held in Cuba by a person with an established interest in the subject of the meeting or conference provided that the meeting is organized by an international institution or association that regularly sponsors meetings or conferences in other countries and the purpose of the meeting or conference is not the promotion of tourism in Cuba or other commercial activities involving Cuba..." Licenses may be issued to people who are "acting on behalf of an organization with an established interest in international relations to collect information related to Cuba."² Recent reports indicate that the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the U.S. Department of the Treasury is processing licenses somewhat more quickly.

The new rules also allow Cuban-Americans to visit their families once a year in humanitarian cases without requesting a specific license. The new measures also provide for an increase in funding for offices in Florida to monitor illegal travel to Cuba (from Miami and third countries) and cash flow by U.S. citizens to Cuba. Non-governmental organizations in the U. S. may now apply for funds to support non-governmental organizations in Cuba. (President Clinton announced that Freedom House will receive \$500,000

from the Agency for International Development [AID] for this purpose).

The Cuban Committee for Democracy

Cuban-American LASA members Marifeli Pérez-Stable, María Cristina Herrera, Mauricio Font and Alejandro Portes have played a crucial role in the formation of the Cuban Committee for Democracy (CCD), which was founded in August, 1993, and defines itself as a "not-for profit organization of moderate and progressive Cuban-Americans." They oppose punitive economic measures against Cuba such as the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992 and the Helms-Burton bill of 1995. They also call for "an end to authoritarian rule and a peaceful transition to democracy in Cuba; and the democratization of politics on the island and within the Cuban-American communities of the United States."³

The CCD has established an office in Washington, D.C. and a Miami-based radio program. In December, 1993, in Washington D. C., they convened a symposium on U.S.-Cuba Relations and a banquet for Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica and a Nobel Peace Prize winner. They have had numerous meetings with members of the House, the Senate, and the Administration, and have organized numerous educational activities. Their work has been very important in persuading members of the Administration and Congress that there is a diversity of views in the Cuban-American community and that there is significant support for improved economic and diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The 1995 LASA International Congress in Washington

LASA95 in Washington included numerous panels on Cuba, with 42 invited Cuban participants. Two resolutions dealing with Cuba were passed at the business meeting. One resolution, stating that LASA calls for "Presidential and legislative action to bring about an immediate cessation of the economic embargo and the associated measures that together constitute a blockade," was passed with 96 percent of the members who voted at the meeting in favor. Another resolution which opposed controls on travel to Cuba and affirmed the right of LASA members to "travel to Cuba in violation of these measures, i. e. to travel without licenses, until the administration does lift them" was passed with 94 percent of the members who voted at the meeting in favor. A resolution concerning violations of human rights in Cuba, urging LASA to encourage the government of Cuba to "respond to the concerns expressed by many different groups and organizations about its human rights policy, and that it remind that government that respect for human rights cannot be subordinated to political expedience," was defeated, with 62 percent of the voting members voting against the resolution. Among the arguments that appeared to produce this result was that a judgement on human rights in Cuba should await "normalization."

Over 150 people participated in the meeting of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba. Major questions were raised about why several Cubans who were invited did not attend the conference. Some speakers at the meeting stated that Cubans were denied exit visas by the Cuban government. Others stated that the Cubans were not given permission by their deans or department chairs to take a leave from their jobs. The Task Force decided to write a letter to the Rector of the University of Havana asking for clarification. A letter was also written to the Department of State concerning the denial of a visa by the U. S. government to Carlos Batista, a Cuban scholar. Finally, LASA members were encouraged to call members of the House and Senate to ask them to oppose the Helms-Burton bill.

Civil Disobedience

In September, 1994, Cynthia McClintock, President of LASA from 1994 to 1995 and Wayne Smith, who was the head of the U. S. Interests Section in Cuba from 1978 to 1982 under the Carter Administration, and is now a professor at Johns Hopkins University and chair of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba, wrote a letter to Morton Halperin at the National Security Council which stated:

"This is to express our outrage over and rejection of the new measures taken by the Clinton administration in the matter of travel to Cuba. The Latin American Studies Association, which we represent, has long believed controls on travel to Cuba were unconstitutional. The Cold War is over and it can no longer be argued that national security needs override the rights of citizens to travel.

The new measures go further; they impede the travel of academics, academic research and expanded contacts in cultural and intellectual circles. They thus represent a blatant infringement of academic freedoms. Indeed in our view, they are only one step up from book burning. LASA rejects them and has so advised our more than 3000 members. A number of those members are already planning to travel in defiance of these unjust, arbitrary regulations."

Thus far, ten LASA members, knowing that they were risking fines of \$250,000 and jail sentences of up to ten years, have traveled to Cuba without licenses in defiance of the rules. The purpose of their courageous action is to challenge the constitutionality of the restrictions

on travel. The first three traveled in December 1994. When they returned to Miami, they were called off the plane and interrogated, but they were not arrested and they have not been prosecuted. Wayne Smith wrote an article in the *Miami Herald* of January 4, 1995 in which he stated:

"We made it clear to Treasury officials before leaving and after our return that we would not submit to the new regulations, which we consider to be a blatant violation of the First Amendment and a

Since the U.S. government has not taken action against the LASA members participating in [the travel] challenge, those individuals have not been afforded the opportunity to file a lawsuit on constitutional grounds.

shameful infringement of academic freedom. American scholars should never have to ask permission of the Treasury Department to travel to Cuba or anywhere else. Certainly they should not be required to get research projects approved by the government before traveling. That is state censorship...

One cannot add to the rights of Cuban citizens on the island by reducing the rights of our own citizens. One does not encourage a democratic system in Cuba by circumscribing democracy here."

The second and third travel challenges took place in January and March of 1995. One group was detained for nearly four hours, but no one has been arrested or prosecuted. Since the U.S. government has not taken action against the LASA members participating in this challenge, those individuals have not been able to file a lawsuit on constitutional grounds. Since the government *has* taken action against the Freedom to Travel Campaign, a coalition of organizations which has organized numerous trips to Cuba to challenge the travel restrictions, the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba is supporting the lawsuit filed by the Campaign. A new challenge by LASA members is being planned for January 1996.

Conclusion

The Free Cuba Political Action Committee (PAC), the political arm of the right-wing Cuban-American Foundation (CANF), has had a significant impact on U. S. policy towards Cuba through its donations to candidates for President of the United States, and for the House and the Senate. Jorge Mas Canosa, the leader of the CANF, met with President Clinton during the rafter crisis of August 1994, and confirmed his support for new restrictions on travel to Cuba. CANF's influence now is in decline, however, due to a number of practical problems⁴ and the growing number of moderates in the Cuban-American community.

We have learned that we can have some influence through our collective knowledge about Cuba and the U.S. political system and through political action. Although we have not seen fundamental changes in government policy toward travel to the island, the decision to allow undergraduates to apply for licenses to travel to Cuba is an important step forward. Many members of the House, Senate and the Administration are interested in reading our research and hearing our views. We provide an important voice in encouraging dialogue and a new policy toward Cuba.

What You Can Do If You Are Concerned

1. Express your opposition to the Helms-Burton Bill and all travel restrictions by calling members of the House and Senate and the Clinton Administration. Perhaps, in some cases, they were your students, your professors, your colleagues or they thanked you in the preface to their books. Even if you don't know them, try to get to know them by calling them up, asking for a meeting with them or their aides, and sending them journal articles, faxes, e-mail, etc.

Write to Morton Halperin, Richard Nuccio or Richard Feinberg at the National Security Council, Executive Office Building, 17th and Pennsylvania Avenues, Washington D.C. 20501. Write to your senator at U. S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510 or your representative at U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

2. Keep track of the current status of US/Cuba Relations. A good source for summaries and excerpts of media coverage and governmental hearings on Cuba, is *CubaINFO*, published by the Cuba Exchange Program of the Johns Hopkins University, at the School of Advanced International Studies, 1740 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

3. If you would like current information about the status of legislation on Cuba, contact the Center for International Policy at 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N. W. Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: 202-232-3317.

4. If you are interested in organizing a research trip to Cuba or a trip for undergraduate or graduate students, contact Marazul Tours, Inc. Tower Plaza Mall, 4100 Park Ave, Weehawken, NJ 07087. Tel: 201-319-9670 or outside NJ 800-223-5334.

5. If you would like information on travel restrictions for Cuba, contact the Office of Foreign Assets Control, U.S. Department of the Treasury, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20220. Tel: 202-622-2520.

6. If you are interested in more information about travel challenges to Cuba contact Wayne Smith, Latin American Studies Program, Johns Hopkins/Cuba Exchange, 312 Gilman Hall, 3400 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218. Tel: 410-516-7586.

Notes

¹*CubaINFO*, published by the Johns Hopkins University Cuba Exchange Program in Washington D. C., was a major source of information for the section on the Helms-Burton bill.

²All quotations in this section are from *Rules and Regulations*, published by the Federal Register, October 20, 1995. Available from the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

³*Toward a Peaceful Transition to Democracy in Cuba*, published by the Cuban Committee for Democracy, Inc. Washington, D. C.

⁴In the wake of the rafter crisis, the administration had to find a way to deal with thousands of angry Cubans at Guantanamo who were costing U.S. taxpayers millions of dollars. The administration therefore negotiated an agreement with Cuba, in which the Cubans at Guantanamo were allowed to go to the U.S. and in turn Cuba agreed to prevent further illegal immigration. Over two thousand Cuban-Americans were waiting for visas to visit critically ill relatives and were returning to the Treasury Department with death certificates. Something had to be done, so the administration agreed to allow Cuban-Americans to visit seriously ill relatives once a year without requesting a specific license and decided to increase the number of staff members at the Office of Foreign Assets Control. ■

Guadalajara! Guadalajara! A Note from the LASA97 Program Committee by Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward, Co-chairs University of Texas at Austin

The 1997 XX Congress of LASA will be held April 17-19, 1997 in Guadalajara, Mexico. The primary Congress theme is "Latin America Towards the *Fin de Siècle*" and LASA President Jane Jaquette will be inviting some of the plenary speakers to reflect upon this particular *fin de siglo*, coinciding as it does with the end of a millennium. Panel organizers and paper presenters are also welcome to address this theme from an issue or disciplinary-oriented perspective. The secondary theme "The Local in the National in the Global" is also especially appropriate given Guadalajara's status as a major metropolitan regional center and state capital, governed by the opposition National Action Party.

The Call for Papers for the XX Congress, distributed last Fall, has already begun to generate many exciting proposals. The deadline for submission fast approaches—May 1, 1996—so procrastinate no longer; organize a panel, or offer a paper directly. See the Call for Papers for details.

Several innovations have been adopted by the Program Chairs and the new LASA President. First, the sections have been reorganized and no longer include geographical areas. However, any panel with a substantial single country focus will be additionally indexed by area. Second, there are three *new* sections (Law and Jurisprudence, Urbanization and Demography, and Social Movements), while several other sections have been recast or separated from their previous pairings (e.g. Arts and Culture from Literature, and Indigenous Groups from Agrarian Issues). It is

Landsberger Continued

should be and was being deliberately exaggerated because it was a good tactic to gain wide-spread support for protests. In the light of my beliefs, I became extremely active during the subsequent year and more in helping purged Chilean academics find jobs in the U.S. But I sensed a good deal of coolness from the LASA powers-that-then-were: no more committee assignments, no intimate telephone consultations—you know what I mean. It was the end of that segment of my life which was located in the stratospheric regions of LASA committees, task-forces and all that!

What about the implications of all this for LASA's future? I'm not prepared to altogether rule out resolutions against political events *per se* as distinct from protesting offenses against academic freedom and basic human rights especially where bodily integrity is concerned. But clearly, passing too many such resolutions diminishes their value (and I believe it is widely accepted that this devaluation has taken place), especially if those who passed them are known to have been few, and possibly not well informed about

especially hoped that the Law and Jurisprudence section may encourage new memberships and greater participation from that disciplinary area. Similarly, it is hoped that the two European-based section chairs may encourage additional participation in LASA from colleagues in Europe. A third innovation is the LASA97 link to LASA's home page, which we hope will be built up gradually over the next twelve months, and eventually will contain exciting information about Guadalajara and the region, as well as regular updates on the Congress preparation itself.

Any member of the LASA community who might have missed the original mailing or who needs a duplicate set of the Call for Papers and accompanying forms may request the packet directly from the LASA Secretariat, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh PA 15260 (e-mail: lasa+@pitt.edu). Alternatively, these may be downloaded from the LASA97 link located on the LASA home page at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa>.

Please read and follow the Call for Papers instructions carefully. Incorrectly submitted or incomplete proposals will not be accepted. All proposals and enquiries may be directed to LASA97, Sid Richardson Hall 3230, University of Texas at Austin, Austin TX 78713-8925 USA (e-mail: LASA97@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

We look forward to seeing you in Guadalajara in April 1997. ■

the specifics of the case. My preference then was, and it continues to be, that positions on political events be left to those who satisfy two criteria: that they have expertise in that particular issue, and that they are sufficiently committed to select themselves into an *ad hoc* group to do something beyond formulating and passing resolutions—a rather undemanding activity. Being committed, they will have the energy to be convincing advocates: writing to, and going around to the offices of their senators and representatives, as I have done recently on another foreign policy issue. And that's a lot more effective—and requires more commitment—than passing dozens of resolutions which their recipients pretty well write off by now.

'Presentation at the Plenary Session on "Secrets from LASA's Past: Keys to the Future," XIXth International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, September 29, 1995 in Washington D.C. The author is a professor in—and in the process of retiring from—the Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill N.C. ■

ON LASA95

XIX CONGRESS PAPERS AVAILABLE

Papers from LASA95 may still be ordered. See *LASA Forum*, Fall 1995, for the base list, and for instructions on how to order. Since that list was published, the following titles have become available:

- Chinchilla, Norma Stoltz**, Sojourners, Settlers or Returners: Factors in Decisions of Central Americans to Remain or Return.
- Eakin, Marshall C.**, From Planters to Industrialists: Textile Manufacturing and the Origins of Industrialization in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, 1890s—1940s.
- Ensalaco, Mark**, Accounting for the Past: Human Rights in Democratic Chile.
- Espíndola, Roberto**, Problems of Democratic Governance: Elections and Democracy in Latin America.
- Ferrándiz, Francisco**, Trance y delincuencia: El caso de los *espíritus malandros* en el culto de María Lionza.
- Glass, David A.**, Administering Abundance: Bureaucratic Conflict in the 1970s and Implications for Presidential Power and Politics.
- González, Rosa Amelia**, La reforma impositiva en Venezuela: La fuerza de la necesidad.
- Graham, Pamela M.**, Nationality and Political Participation in the Transnational Context of Dominican Migration.
- Gurdián Fernández, Alicia**, La acreditación universitaria en Centroamérica y el Caribe en el contexto mundial.
- Hansen, João Adolfo**, Modelos Culturais da Formação do Letrado Colonial: Brasil—1580-1750.

- Hermann, Jacqueline**, O Sistema Judiciário Brasileiro e a Violência Contra a Mulher: A Ordem Legal e a (Des)Ordem Familiar.
- Matland, Richard E. and Michelle M. Taylor**, Electoral System Effects on Women's Representation: Theoretical Arguments and Evidence from Costa Rica.
- Montoya, Rosario**, Clashes of Gender in a Sandinista Village: Utopian Ideologies, Revolutionary Organizations, and Peasant Gender Hegemonies in Nicaragua, 1979-1990.
- Núñez Madrazo, Cristina**, Nuevos liderazgos en el campo cañero mexicano? Las organizaciones de productores cañeros frente a la reestructuración privada del complejo agroindustrial azucarero.
- Pisa, Rosario Angela**, The Agrarian Law and Neo-Paternalism in Mexico: Views from Ejidos and Agrarian Communities in Oaxaca.
- Reyes del Campillo L., Juan**, La transformación del sistema de partidos y los cambios en la cultura política en México.
- Rivas, Darlene**, Developing Venezuela: The Role of Nelson Rockefeller, 1945-1960.
- Weisman, Jean**, Transformations in the Lives of Former Domestic Workers in Cuba: Class, Race and Gender Relationships.
- Wright, Charles L.**, Urban Transport Policies in Latin America.

The following papers have been amended:

- Bary, Leslie and Nilda Villalta**, Utópias televisadas: *Corazón salvaje* entre el conformismo y la transgresión.
- Costantino, Roselyn**, Through their Eyes and Bodies: Mexican Women Performance Artists, Feminism, and Mexican Society: Astrid Hadad.
- Dugan, William E. and Henry A. Dietz**, Urban Social Classes and

- Voting Behavior in Lima: An Aggregate Data Analysis.
- Fowler, Will**, The Mexican Press and the Collapse of Representative Government During the Presidential Elections of 1828.
- Howell, Katrina**, Politicized Justice? Judicial Review in Democratizing Brazil. (No longer available)

CALLING ALL MEMBERS

NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 1997 SLATE Deadline: July 1, 1996

LASA members are invited to suggest nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning May 1, 1997. Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and previous service to LASA. Candidates must have been a member of the Association in good standing for at least one year prior to nomination. Biographic data and the rationale for nomination must be sent by July 1, 1996 to: Professor Francine Masiello, Chair, Nominations Committee, Department of Spanish and

Portuguese, University of California, Berkeley CA 94720. Tel: 510-642-0471. Fax: 510-642-6957. E-mail: frm@uclinkberkeley.edu.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until October 31, 1998, and as President for an additional eighteen months. Executive Council members will serve a three-year term from May 1, 1997 to April 30, 2000.

Members of the Nominations Committee in addition to Professor Masiello are: Gilbert W. Merx (as Executive Committee liaison), University of New Mexico; Efraín Barradas, University of Massachusetts at Boston; Michael Coppedge, University of Notre

Dame; Margaret E. Crahan, Hunter College/CUNY; and Joanna O'Connell, University of Minnesota. ■

**TWELFTH ANNUAL LASA
RESEARCH SEMINAR IN NICARAGUA**
June 18-28, 1996

The principal focus of this year's seminar will be on the upcoming general elections. There will be a wide spectrum of interviews with central participants, institutions, interest group leaders, etc. concerning that dramatic contest. An effort will also be made to help participants—professors and graduate students—to make contacts useful in the pursuit of future research activities in Nicaragua. The seminar will be designed not only for Latin Americanists in general who desire an initial exposure to Nicaragua, but also for veteran Nicaraguanists who wish to have a rich, intensive updating on current Nicaraguan reality. In the past, a fairly even draw of both types has participated. The mix works well. The only major requirements are that participants be LASA members and have a good comprehension of Spanish. No translation will be provided. Thomas Walker, who co-founded the seminars in 1985 and has led the majority of them in subsequent years, will act as coordinator. Alice McGrath, who has worked with all of the seminars since 1990, will be the facilitator. The group will meet in Managua on June 18 and depart on June 28. All accommodations, meals, in-country bus transportation and program will be covered by a fee of \$950.00. Bona fide students are entitled to a 10 percent discount. Flights to and from Managua are not included. For applications/more information contact Thomas Walker, Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701-2979. Tel: (614) 593-1339. Fax: (614) 593-0394. E-mail: walker@ouvaxa.cats.ohiou.edu OR Alice McGrath, P.O. Box 1782, Ventura, CA 93002. Tel: (805) 648-4560. Fax: (805) 653-6359. ■

WOMEN'S TASK FORCE SEEKS PROPOSALS

Deadline: *March 1, 1996* 399

The Women's Task Force is soliciting proposals for group sessions (panels, symposia) and individual papers to be recommended to the Program Committee of LASA's XX International Congress. The Women's Task Force is interested in panels that deepen our understanding of women's economic rights and poverty; women's education and gender identity; social development policies such as population or health and their effects on women; public policies and their effects on gender, sexuality and democratization of family and private lives; women's empowerment; women and the redefinition of the concept of democracy; and conclusions of recent international conferences in Beijing and Cairo. Of special interest to the Women's Task Force are panels that integrate women actively involved in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and social movements into the academic discussions of the meeting. Proposals for group sessions should include the title; name of chairperson and discussant; names and institutional affiliations of all panelists; a 200-word abstract explaining the importance of the panel's topic and how the individual presentations will fit together; a 100-word abstract

for each panelist's presentation; and contact information, including address, phone and e-mail, for each person. For individual papers, submit the name, institutional affiliation, and contact information for the presenter; title of the paper; and a 100-word abstract of the paper. Proposals are due *March 1, 1996*. Please send submissions and inquiries to Co-Chairs, LASA Women's Task Force: Regina Cortina (rcortina@brownvm.brown.edu), Center for Latin American Studies, Brown University, Box 1866, Providence, RI 02906; or Beatriz Schmukler (bschmukler@laneta.apc.org), Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, Plaza Valentín Gómez Farias No. 12, Mixcoac C.P. 03720 México D.F., México. ■

**CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD
NOMINATIONS**

Deadline: *May 20, 1996*

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites LASA members to nominate candidates for the 1997 award, to be made at the XX International Congress in Guadalajara, Mexico. The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made distinguished lifetime contributions to the study of Latin America. Past recipients of the Award were John J. Johnson (1983), Federico Gil (1985), Albert O. Hirschman (1986), Charles Wagley (1988), Lewis Hanke (1989), Victor L. Urquidí (1991), George Kubler (1992), Osvaldo Sunkel (1994) and Richard Fagen (1995). The selection committee consists of Cynthia McClintock (chair), immediate past president; Carmen Diana Deere and Lars Schoultz, past presidents; and Gilbert Merckx, editor of *LARR*. Nominations should be sent to LASA Executive Director Reid Reading at the LASA Secretariat by *May 20, 1996*. Please include biographic information and a rationale for each nomination. ■

**PRELIMINARY CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD
BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS**

Deadline: *July 15, 1996*

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association presents the Bryce Wood Book Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English in the United States. Eligible books for the April 1997 LASA International Congress in Guadalajara, Mexico will be those published between January 1, 1995 and June 30, 1996. Although no book may compete more than once, translations may be considered. Anthologies of selections by several authors or re-editions of works published previously normally are not in contention for the award. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Those nominating books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. All books nominated must reach *each member* of the Award Committee by *July 15, 1996*. Since the entire committee has not yet been constituted, please look for an announcement in the

Spring edition of the *LASA Forum* to find out to whom copies of candidate books must be sent. One month before the International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The award will be presented during the LASA97 business meeting or in a special session, and the awardee will be publicly honored. LASA membership is not a requirement to receive the award. The chair of the Bryce Wood Book Award Committee for 1997 is Daniel H. Levine, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor MI 48109. Tel: 313-763-4397. Fax: 313-764-3522. E-mail: daniel_h_levine@um.cc.umich.edu. ■

**PRELIMINARY CALL
FOR PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO
BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS**

Deadline: *July 15, 1996*

The *Premio Iberoamericano* is presented at each of LASA's international congresses for the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in Spanish and Portuguese in any country. Eligible books for this April 1997 award must have been published between December 1, 1994 and June 30, 1996. No book may compete more than once. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies. Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Those nominating books are responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to *each member* of the award committee, at the expense of those submitting the books. Since the entire committee has not yet been constituted, please look for an announcement in the Spring edition of the *LASA Forum* to find out to whom copies of candidate books must be sent. All books must reach each member of the committee by *July 15, 1996*. LASA membership is not a requirement for receiving the award. The award will be presented during the LASA97 business meeting or in a special

session, and the awardee will be publicly honored. The chair of the *Premio Iberoamericano* Book Award Committee for 1997 is Marjorie Agosin, Department of Spanish, Wellesley College, Wellesley MA 02181. ■

**CALL FOR NOMINATIONS
LASA MEDIA AWARDS**

Deadline: *September 15, 1996*

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to announce its competition for the 1997 LASA Media Awards for outstanding media coverage of Latin America. These awards are made every eighteen months to recognize long-term journalistic contributions to analysis and public debate about Latin America in the United States and in Latin America, as well as for breakthrough journalism. Nominations are invited from LASA members and from journalists. Journalists from both the print and electronic media are eligible. A screening committee from the Award Committee will carefully review each nominee's work and select the top candidates in each category. The entire Award Committee will then vote to determine the winners, who will be honored at the XX International Congress in Guadalajara, Mexico. LASA will invite the awardee to speak at a session and to submit materials for possible publication in the *LASA Forum*. Recent recipients of the awards have included Horacio Verbitsky of *Página 12*, Buenos Aires, and David Welna of National Public Radio (1995); Kathy Ellison of the *Miami Herald* and *Caretas*, Lima, Peru, Enrique Zileri, editor (1994); Alma Guillermoprieto of the *New Yorker* (1992); John Dinges of National Public Radio (1991); and Pamela Constable of *The Boston Globe* (1989). Watch for an announcement in the Spring 1996 issue of the *LASA Forum*, which will carry the names of the entire committee. To make a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's portfolio of recent relevant work, by *September 15, 1996* to: Kenneth Maxwell, Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021. Tel: 212-734-0400. Fax: 212-535-0917. ■

**CALL FOR RECOMMENDATIONS ON LASA RESOLUTIONS
AND BUSINESS MEETING**

At its September 27 meeting, the LASA Executive Council formed a subcommittee to reexamine LASA's resolutions procedures and the structure and format of the LASA business meeting. **The subcommittee welcomes your suggestions.** Send them to one of the members of the subcommittee: Jane Jaquette, LASA President, Department of Politics, Occidental College, 1600 Campus Road, Los Angeles CA 90041; Cynthia McClintock, LASA Immediate Past President, Department of Political Science, George Washington University, Washington DC 20052; Charles Hale, c/o CIRMA A-0022, P.O. Box 669004, Miami Spring FL 33266; or Gilbert Merckx, Editor, *Latin American Research Review*, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NW, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque NM 87131.

NEWS FROM LASA

REPORT ON LASA MEMBERSHIP

We recently shared with you some of the demographics of current (1995) LASA membership as of mid June, 1995. This follow-up report reflects membership status as of December 1:

Individual members: 4,398 (increase of 30 percent)
Institutional members: 109 (increase of 49 percent)
New members for 1995: 1,174 (27 percent of current membership)

Student members: 898 (20 percent of current membership)
Members residing in the United States: 3,398 (77 percent)
Members residing in Latin America: 737 (17 percent)
Women members: 1,978 (45 percent)

Approximately 90 percent of current members indicated their affiliation. Of those responding, a little over 95 percent are associated with an academic institution, two percent with government, one percent with the private sector and one percent with a non-profit.

Not all members indicated their discipline, but among those who did (about 92 percent), the following fields are the most strongly represented:

Political science: 21 percent
History: 19 percent
Literature: 13 percent
Sociology/social sciences: 10 percent

Anthropology, archeology, architecture: 9 percent
Economics: 7 percent
Latin American Studies: 3 percent

For information about individual colleagues you may refer to the *LASA Member Directory*. To order, see check-off item on the LASA membership form, page 39 this issue.

LASA ENDOWMENT FUND SUPPORT

As LASA enters its 30th year we have an additional reason to celebrate--three new **Founding Life Members** since our last report:

Rolena Adorno
Ivan Jaksic

Robin King
Tommie Sue Montgomery

Through their Life Memberships these members have shown their commitment to the future of LASA and have helped to advance the goals of the endowment campaign. We thank them for their generosity and for the opportunity to demonstrate to other potential funders that LASA members are truly behind this effort. In addition, we thank these donors who have made gifts to the **Humanities Endowment Fund** since our last report to you:

Rolena Adorno
Dain Borges
Fred Bronner
Daniel Cox
Arcadio Díaz-Quifones
Michael Doudoroff
Liria Evangelista
Joan Font
Ricardo Ffrench-Davis
William Garner
Gustavo Gatti

Joseph Grunwald
Sarah Hautzinger
Gilbert Joseph
Eileen Keremitsis
Edmond Konrad
Erick Langer
Linda Ledford-Miller
Elizabeth Lira Kornfeld
Martha Manier
Daniel Mato
Roy May Jr.

Enrique Mayer
Magnus Morner
James Oehrig
Mary Pauline Stickles
Nancy Powers
Mary Louise Pratt
Miles Richardson
Charles Tatum
Thomas Walker
Cliff Welch
Alvaro Zini Jr.

And these donors to the **General Endowment Fund**:

George Avelino Filho
Werner Baer
Roland Blasini

Atilio Borón
Susan Bourque
Alejandro Corbacho

Daniel Cox
Margaret Crahan
Theo Crevenna

Ralph Della Cava
Arcadio Díaz Quiñones
Rosario Espinal
Jeffrey Goodwin
Howard Handelman
Judith Adler Hellman

Daniel Mato
Deborah Meadows Steketee
Marisela Montoliu Muñoz
James Oehrig
Guillermo O'Donnell
Rubén Perina

Martin Poblete
Alejandro Portes
Russell Smith
Jack Spence
Rosemary Thorp
Thomas Walker

LASA's leaders recognized early that the campaign would be truly successful only with the full support of the membership. Current and former presidents and Executive Council members were the first to be asked for their support, followed by appeals to top dues paying members. They have been generous in their response, and their contributions have already been reported in earlier issues of the *LASA Forum*. **But now the assistance of each and every LASA member is needed.**

Members recently received a letter from President Jane Jaquette, in which she reiterated the purposes for the campaign and asked each member to consider a contribution of at least \$30 in honor of LASA's 30th birthday year. We hope that members will give careful consideration to her appeal and then respond generously.

LETTERS

To the Editor:

On Thursday, October 26, 1995, in what was a simple excursion in broad daylight I was raped and sodomized by three armed men in what was supposedly a tourist attraction, the Lakes of Montebello in the state of Chiapas, Mexico.

On the advice of a human rights worker, and because of the suspicious circumstances of the assault, I left San Cristobal the next day. I filed a complaint with the U.S. embassy on October 31, 1995 in Mexico City. When I presented the complaint, I asked vice-consul Nicholas J. Manning for information. Who or what offices should I file the complaint with in Mexico City? He told me that as far as he knew, 1) I should file a police report in the municipality where the crimes occurred; 2) that he would not recommend that I return to the state of Chiapas. My husband then asked him to forward the report to appropriate police authorities. He assured us he would and then commented "they never prosecute here in Mexico."

The United States likes to say it is a defender of democracy and justice. I am an American citizen, and I will be interested to see whether any American authority will see fit to challenge the state of impunity in Mexico since the only thing they seem to care about is a "stable" environment able to protect high-powered investors.

I firmly believe that the Mexican as well as the U.S. government will at best busy themselves with bureaucratic procedures and at worst, and more than likely accuse me, as they do all women, of hysteria, of lying, exaggerating, and demand details that I am unable to remember.

Mine is not the first sexual crime to be committed in that area, and unless the low-intensity war being conducted against the people of Chiapas ends, there is little hope that it will be the last. I know there were three Tzeltal women raped at a military check point, and three nurses raped and almost killed at the site of the peace talks, San Andrés Larrainzer. How many other women whose stories we do not know have suffered through this hell?

Women who have never said anything publicly because they fear for their lives?

I have decided to make a public statement, because I hope my experience will illustrate the brutal nature of the low-intensity war being waged in Chiapas. I am one more piece of evidence of the use of sexual violence as a weapon specifically directed against women in this war.

It is very humiliating to make this public statement. My pain and stigma will be material for public speculation and mockery, the pain of my husband, my parents, my brothers and sisters and my three children will be part of the public domain. If my public humiliation can serve no other purpose than to expose to the general public the horror being endured in Mexico then it will be worth it.

I ask for justice, not from the governments of the United States and Mexico because they are complicit in this war, but from the people of Mexico and the United States. Look into my suffering and multiply that by the hundreds of women, men and children whose voices you do not seem to hear, who suffer on a daily basis the humiliation and terror of a military presence which intends to suffocate the very human aspirations for democracy, liberty and justice.

I am a casualty of a low-intensity war sanctioned and more likely facilitated by the government of the United States. I am a victim of a state of social deterioration in which journalists, opposition party members, and any unarmed civilian no longer enjoy safety and tranquillity, even in broad daylight and in which those in power have no more recourse than to use assassination, terror, and conspiracy even in the settling of their own differences. As citizens of the United States, we cannot also be complicit in this war. We cannot abandon the indigenous communities trapped behind a military barricade.

I ask you to remember always the women of Mexico, to fight for their right to be safe and secure and to live in a country where

the Zapatista demands for democracy, liberty, and justice are a reality.

I have a question of those men who raped me. Why did you not kill me? It was a mistake to spare my life. I will not "shut up", I will not stop my work or travel to Chiapas or my work in the United States as a representative of the Zapatistas; this has not traumatized me to the point of paralysis. I will follow the example of the other thousands of Mexicans who continue to work for a true democracy in Mexico in spite of the danger to themselves and their loved ones, who tell the truth in spite of physical and mental suffering. You have left me my life and from this will come the strength to continue to work.

Cecilia Rodríguez
National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, USA
601 N. Cotton Street #A103
El Paso, Texas 79902
November 3, 1995



To the Editor:

Because an untimely quorum call aborted the LASA business meeting on September 29, the resolution originally proposed by the Guatemala Scholars Network was not acted upon and thus could not be sent to the membership for a mail ballot. We are therefore asking LASA members to take some individual responsibility and action to see that the message in this resolution reaches your congressional representatives and administration officials. If you would like a copy of the resolution on GSN letterhead, please contact me.

The situation in Guatemala has not improved. On October 5, the Guatemalan army massacred ten men, women and children, all returning refugees, in the village of Xamal, Alta Verapaz. This is the first massacre to be immediately documented by the United Nations. And the Guatemalan military recently spent \$450,000 to hire a Washington lobbying firm to prevent the passage of legislation which would take some of the measures outlined in the resolution. Your letters (faxes, phone calls, etc.) are the only tools we have to counter that spending. The time is critical. Please take action.

**Proposed Resolution on Guatemala
September 1995**

WHEREAS, the people of Guatemala continue to suffer human rights violations which are objectionable in themselves and which hinder the development of a true democratic process in that country; and

WHEREAS, two consecutive United Nations Monitoring Group Reports show inadequate improvement in the human rights situation in that country; and

WHEREAS, many Guatemalan military personnel involved in

human rights abuses, including kidnaping, torture and disappearances, have received training under United States Department of Defense programs; and

WHEREAS, newspaper accounts beginning in April 1995 have revealed a continuing United States Central Intelligence Agency connection to Guatemalan personnel involved in human rights abuses which have affected United States citizens as well as Guatemalan citizens;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BE CALLED UPON TO

- 1) Sever all connections between the United States military and intelligence institutions and the Guatemalan military establishment;
- 2) Terminate International Military Education and Training (IMET) program funds for Guatemalan military personnel;
- 3) Discontinue the sale of United States arms and military equipment to Guatemala;
- 4) Stop joint military training exercises (such as *Caminos Fuertes*) which have taken place in Guatemala each year;
- 5) Declassify documents pertaining to relations between the United States and Guatemala relating to human rights violations by Guatemalan military and intelligence services;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the United States, as a member of the Group of Friends of the Guatemalan Peace Negotiations, work for the demilitarization and the democratization of Guatemalan society; AND THAT this process include the reformation of the Guatemalan military, the purging and prosecution of human rights abusers, a reduction in the size of the military establishment and the control of the military by civilian authorities;

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, the State Department Desk Officer for Guatemala, the Human Rights Office of the Department of Defense and the Chairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Marilyn M. Moors
National Coordinator
Guatemala Scholars Network
1014 Buffalo Run Road, Friendsville, MD 21531
(301) 746-4057
October 27, 1995 ■

To the Editor:

Guatemalan human rights leader Amílcar Méndez has been harassed and intimidated by army soldiers. On October 16 at approximately 3:00 pm, his house in Santa Cruz, Quiché, was surrounded by a number of soldiers with blackened faces. The following night, soldiers again surrounded the house. The United Nations Verification Mission arrived to verify the presence of the soldiers.

On October 19, Méndez's Guatemala City home was ransacked while his young adopted daughter was inside. Around 9:00 am, Méndez left the house. An hour later, a man in civilian dress arrived. Méndez's twelve year-old adopted daughter, who was alone in the house, allowed the man to enter after he said he was a friend of Méndez's and mentioned the names of all the family members. Once inside, the man began to search the house, dumping out drawers and opening closets. He left everything strewn about—even valuable items such as cameras—and took only a copy of a speech Méndez had delivered at the recent Latin American Studies Association conference in Washington, D.C. It was verified that the house had been ransacked and the Guatemalan government was asked to provide the household with security officers. As of October 20, no security had been provided.

These incidents of harassment followed on another which occurred in San Pedro Jocopilas on October 13, when Méndez and Rosalina Tuyuc (the leader of the National Coordinating Committee of Guatemalan Widows) were participating in a political meeting. Alfonso Ixcoy Mejía, a suspect in the death of politician and journalist Jorge Carpio Nicolle, arrived and said he had been ordered by the military commander to tape the meeting, especially what Méndez was saying. Three people in civilian clothes, armed with Galil rifles (the type used by the army) also arrived and intimidated the people attending the meeting. Five days later, a member of Méndez's human rights group (known as the Runujel Junam Ethnic Communities Council) was intimidated by soldiers and prevented from putting up a campaign poster. Méndez, like many other human rights leaders in Guatemala, is supporting a new democratic party known as the New Guatemalan Democratic Front. Since the party was formed in the spring, twenty-seven members have been intimidated, attacked, or killed.

ACTION REQUESTED: Please contact the following Guatemalan government officials, expressing concern for Amílcar Méndez and his family. Ask the Guatemalan government to provide Mr. Méndez with the promised security; urge the government to take special measures to protect all human rights workers, as promised in the Comprehensive Human Rights Accord; and ask that members and supporters of the New Guatemala Democratic Front be allowed to exercise their political freedoms without reprisal.

Send messages to:

President of the Republic

S.E. Ramiro de León Carpio
Presidente de la República de Guatemala
Palacio Nacional, Guatemala, GUATEMALA
Faxes: + 502-2-537-472.

Minister of Defense

Grl. Marcos Antonio González Taracena
Ministro de Defensa
Ministerio de Defensa
Palacio Nacional, Guatemala, GUATEMALA
Faxes: + 502-2-537472.

Human Rights Procurator

Lic. Jorge García Laguardia
Procurador de los Derechos Humanos
12 Avenida 12-72, Zona 1, Guatemala, GUATEMALA

Human Rights Organization

Señores CERJ
5a. Avenida 3-13
Santa Cruz del Quiché, El Quiché, GUATEMALA

Commander of El Quiché Military Base

Sr. Comandante
Base Militar No. 20
Santa Cruz del Quiché, El Quiché, Guatemala

Meredith Larson
mlarson@igc.apc.org
October 24, 1995 ■

**TIME TO RENEW FOR
1996**
RENEWING NOW HELPS THE ASSOCIATION
and
assures on-time receipt of *LARR*, the *LASA Forum* and
important LASA business
**YOU MAY USE THE FORMS INSIDE
OR THE CUSTOMIZED INVOICES SENT YOU!**

OPPORTUNITIES ON-LINE

CHANGES IN ELECTRONIC ACCESS TO THE HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES (HLAS)

The *Handbook of Latin American Studies (HLAS)* is currently available from the Library of Congress catalog on the Internet. This working file contains bibliographic records corresponding to *HLAS* vols. 50-58, in various stages of the editorial process. The *Handbook* data is contained in the Library of Congress' generalized bibliographies (GenBib) file, a shared file available via the Internet by telnetting to locis.loc.gov. Once you are connected, select the "Library of Congress Catalog" and then select "Books Cataloged since 1968" (i.e., the LOCI file). Type in your search, being sure to append ;f=gb at the end of each search string. (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" for the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, which can be accessed by pointing your gopher client to marvel.loc.gov, port=70. Select "Library of Congress Online System," then "LOCIS Search Guides," and then select the guide for the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. Note: Due to security concerns, in October 1995 the Library of Congress eliminated public telnet access to LC MARVEL.

If you have difficulty accessing either LOCIS or LC MARVEL, please contact your system administrator. If you are still unable to access *HLAS Online*, please contact Sue Mundell at smun@loc.gov. Be sure to include your platform type (DOS, Windows, OS/2, or Mac) and type of telnet emulation (3270, VT100, etc).

A new CD-ROM containing all *Handbook* volumes published to date (volumes 1-53, dating from 1936-1994) is now available for \$150. This one-disc title contains approximately 20 million words in 250,000 records—corresponding to all annotated bibliographic entries and scholars' introductory essays in the print edition of the *Handbook*. Published by the Fundación MAPFRE América (Madrid), with additional financial support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the *HLAS/CD* features context-sensitive help in both English and Spanish, as well as both novice and expert search capabilities. Both the *HLAS/CD* and the print volumes may be purchased from the University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin,

TX 78713-7819. Toll free: (800) 252-3206. Tel: (512) 471-7233. Fax: (512) 320-0668.

The Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress is currently working to provide a more user-friendly Internet version of the *Handbook*. Once completed, this project will provide a *Handbook* home page on the World Wide Web, which will enable cumulative searches of all existing *HLAS* data, both current and retrospective. This project, generously supported by the family of Lewis U. Hanke, the *Handbook's* late founder, is expected to be completed by Spring 1996. Tax-deductible donations are being accepted by the Hispanic Division to help defray additional costs of development. We are currently seeking beta-testers for the *Handbook's* home page. If you have a basic understanding of your own computer's configuration and its access to the Web, and would like to volunteer, please contact Tracy North at tnor@loc.gov. ■

NEW HOME PAGE FROM THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (IDB)

As a result of a recent policy passed and implemented on January 1, 1995, IDB's Public Information Center is required to make available to the general public certain categories of documents and information about loans and projects. The page contains such items as background information about the Bank; the IDB publications catalogue; the full text of *IDB Projects*, a new publication; and the text of proposed projects by sector or country, environmental appraisals, approved loans, and project summaries by sector or country. You can also point to "News Services", where you will find such things as IDB Press Releases, a Calendar of Events, and speeches. The location of the site is <http://www.iadb.org/>, and it is necessary to have a Web browser such as Mosaic or Netscape to access it. ■

CORRECTIONS TO LASA ELECTRONIC ADDRESSES

The addresses listed in the Fall '95 *Forum* for LASA's home page on the World Wide Web and for its employment page were in error. The correct addresses are as follows: the home page is located at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/>, and the employment bulletin board can be found at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/empl.html>. Happy hunting! ■

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of London invites applications for the post of Lecturer in Environmental Studies, to begin September 1, 1996. The successful candidate will participate in the Institute's Masters

program, and will be responsible for coordinating the Institute's MSc in Environmental Issues in Latin America, will be required to teach a course on "Environment and Society in Latin America" and to teach environmental assessment in the

course "Global Environmental Issues." The appointee will be expected to supervise Ph.D. students and to participate in the Institute's research training program. He or she will be required to carry out research and will be expected to take a responsible part in the organization and administration of the Institute's program of workshops, seminars, conferences and study groups. Applicants will be expected to have a strong research record or be able to demonstrate research potential. In recognition of the role of the Institute as a focus and coordinating organization for research on Latin America, applicants should be able to demonstrate an ability to facilitate and collaborate in the research of others. The post is full-time, and appointment will be for three years in the first instance. Salary will be on the Lecturer A scale, equivalent to \$26,796 to \$34,072. Applications should include a full c.v. as well as a research profile with expected publications up to the end of 1996, and the names and addresses of three referees, and be sent no later than *February 16, 1996*. Interviews are expected to be held on Monday, March 11, 1996. Send materials to Professor Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Director, Institute of Latin American Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London, WC1H 9HA, UK. Tel: + 44 171-387-5671. Fax: + 44 171-388-5024.

The Associated Colleges of the Midwest, a consortium of fourteen private liberal arts colleges, may have an opening for the **directorship of its undergraduate program in Costa Rica**. The fall program focuses on interdisciplinary Latin American Studies, the spring on independent field research in the natural and social sciences. The Director manages the academic, financial, and administrative aspects of the two programs and teaches one course per year. An applicant should have a Ph.D. in a discipline related to Latin American Studies, extensive experience in Latin America, and fluency in Spanish. Teaching experience, preferably at a small liberal arts college, is also required. Renewable one-year appointment. Will consider a two-year commitment but prefer four to five. The position would begin July 1, 1996. Salary commensurate with experience. If interested, please send a cover letter, resume, and names of three references to Susan Solberg, Program Officer, Associated Colleges of the Midwest, 205 W. Wacker Drive, Suite 1300, Chicago, IL 60606.

The Inter-American Corporation for Grassroots Development (CIDB) seeks a qualified individual to manage its operation in Latin America as **Executive Director**. The CIDB, with headquarters in Quito, Ecuador, seeks to increase the scale and quality of financial, technical, and policy support for grassroots development via new alliances among non-governmental organizations, the public sector, national and international donor agencies and the business community. The Executive Director will be based in Quito, Ecuador, and will travel frequently. Qualifications include demonstrated ability to create and sustain new initiatives; a minimum of five years experience in organizational management as well as six years experience working with social and economic development programs; demonstrated ability to conceive, develop and execute strategic plans; demonstrated ability to lead and to motivate others to work creatively toward a common objective;

demonstrated ability to relate well to a variety of social sectors and to communicate effectively; citizenship of a Latin American country; and fluency in English. A list of specific responsibilities is available on request. To apply, mail or fax a cover letter and c.v. to Steven Pierce, CIDB, 901 N. Stuart St., Arlington, VA 22203. Fax: (703) 841-1605.

The International Women's Health Coalition seeks an individual to **assist the Senior Program Officer for Latin America** in program assessment/development, grant making, writing, etc. The program supports projects primarily in Brazil and Chile. The position is based in New York City, and serves as an opportunity to help make an impact on policy and services for women's reproductive health. Requirements include advanced training in health and/or social sciences or equivalent experience, with particular emphasis on women's reproductive health and rights; knowledge of/experience in Latin America; strong analytic and writing abilities; and fluent written and oral Spanish and/or Portuguese. Send a resume and cover letter to G. Angela Flemister, IWHC, 24 East 21st Street, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10010. E-mail/Internet: iwhc@igc.apc.org. No calls, please.

The University of Florida invites applications from senior scholars for the position of **Director of the Center for Latin American Studies**. Applicants must have a publication and teaching record related to Latin America to qualify for tenure and a full professor appointment in home discipline. The field is open; administrative experience, fundraising ability and demonstrated academic leadership are all desirable. The Center is a U.S. Department of Education National Resource Center with 130 faculty affiliates in 43 departments of 12 colleges. It awards an interdisciplinary M.A., administers a large portfolio of research projects and operates an active outreach program. The search closes on *February 15, 1996*. Send nominations and letters of application (with c.v. and the names of three referees) to Chair, Search Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, P.O. Box 115530, Gainesville, FL 32611-5530. The University of Florida is an EOE/AA/ADA employer.

Eastern Connecticut State University invites applications for a tenure-track position in **Latin American history**, at the Assistant Professor level. Area of specialization is open. Candidates should have Ph.D. by August 1996. If interested, send a letter of application, curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation to Ann R. Higginbotham, Chair, Department of History, Eastern Connecticut State University, Willimantic, CT 06226. AA/EOE.

Montclair State University announces the availability of an **assistant professorship in its Spanish/Italian Department**. This position, to begin September 18, 1996, requires expertise in teaching Spanish and foreign language methodology using innovative approaches and computer skills. A background in linguistics and translation theory is highly desirable, and a Ph.D. is required. Excellent bilingual skills are also necessary, and computer expertise for interfacing with new programs is also helpful. Salary range is dependent upon

qualifications. To apply, send a resume and letter (including V number) to Dr. Ana Rambaldo, Chair, Spanish/Italian Dept., Montclair State University, Box C316-V 7, Upper Montclair, NJ 07043. Screening begins immediately and continues until position is filled.

The University of Texas at El Paso seeks applications for the position of **Director of its Center for Inter-American and Border Studies (CIABS)**, with a joint appointment at the rank of Professor or Associate Professor in an academic department. Rank and salary are open and commensurate with qualifications and experience. CIABS has developed a strong capacity to promote, support, and coordinate educational programs, research, and community educational activities pertaining to Mexico, the U.S.—Mexico border, and Latin America. The CIABS also coordinates the development and implementation of cooperative exchange programs between UTEP and institutions of higher education in Mexico and Latin America. Required qualifications include an earned doctorate

in an appropriate academic discipline; strong record of successful extramural funding, particularly with those sources involved with Mexico and Latin America; excellent record of scholarly work and administrative experience; ability to function in both Spanish and English; and demonstrated leadership ability. A major responsibility of the CIABS Director will be to develop institutional programs and to identify appropriate sources to increase institutional and extramural funding. The position is available after September 1, 1996. Review of applications will continue until the position is filled. A letter of application, curriculum vitae and the names of three references must be submitted to CIABS Director's Search Committee, Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs, The University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX 79968-0501. The University of Texas at El Paso does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, religion, age, or disability in employment or the provision of services. ■

RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of London (ILAS) wishes to appoint a **Research Fellow on Argentina** in 1996-97. The Fellow will be appointed for six months during the ten-month period September 1, 1996 to June 30, 1997. The Research Fellowship is open to candidates in any field of the social sciences and history. Candidates must have a good command of both English and Spanish. The Fellow is required to carry out a research project on Argentina while based at the Institute. Research should lead to the preparation of a research paper or a monograph suitable for publication by the Institute. He or she is required to contribute to the academic program of the Institute and may also be invited to contribute to the teaching of the Master's programs organized by the Institute. Candidates should have already obtained a doctoral degree in a discipline of the humanities and social sciences relevant to the work of the Institute. Consideration may, however, be given to applicants who can demonstrate that they reasonably expect to submit their thesis by September 1996. Fellows are expected to give full-time effort, and live within reasonable distance of the Institute, such as will permit their active participation in its activities. Office accommodation will be provided at the Institute. Salary will be on the scale for Research Staff (1A), equivalent to \$25,500 to \$36,660. Persons wishing to apply should write to the Director, Professor Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Institute of Latin American Studies, 31 Tavistock Square, London, WC1H 9HA, with a brief c.v. and the names of two referees, and an outline of their proposed research project. The closing date for the receipt of applications is *February 16, 1996*.

For 1996-97 and 1997-98, the **Latin American and Caribbean Center at Florida International University (FIU)** is offering a limited number of **Mellon Foundation Doctoral Fellowships in Caribbean Studies**. Candidates

must be successful applicants to FIU doctoral programs in economics, international relations, comparative sociology or history, and must demonstrate graduate research potential in Caribbean area studies. Fellowships include a stipend and full tuition, and are renewable for a second year. Applicants with M.A. degrees will be given priority. For more information and application contact Lidia V. Tuttle, Assistant Director, LACC, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33199. Tel: (305) 348-2894. Fax: (305) 348-3593.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego announces a competition for **small grants for graduate student field research** on the transformation of rural Mexico. In association with the Guadalajara unit of the Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS-Occidente), the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies has established a research project to examine 1) the future role of the ejido in rural economy, politics, and society; 2) institution building in support of sustainable rural development; and 3) strategies to improve resource use and promote new forms of agricultural production and marketing. Drawing on funds awarded to the Center by the Ford Foundation, the project supports students in the social sciences who are conducting fieldwork in the Mexican countryside on one of the above three topics of priority concern. Successful applicants will use the funding to carry out field research in one locality or region in rural Mexico for their Master's theses, dissertation proposals, or doctoral dissertations. The grants are available to students in accredited Master's and Doctoral programs at Mexican, U.S., and Canadian educational institutions. Approximately five to eight grants ranging from U.S. \$1,000 to U.S. \$1,500 will be available to support four to ten weeks of fieldwork in rural Mexico during the period May 1, 1996 to October 31, 1996.

Funding from other sources may be used concurrently. The deadline for receipt of applications is *February 29, 1996*. To obtain additional information and a grant application packet, please contact David Mhyre, Coordinator, Rural Mexico Project, by mail: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093-0510. Fax: (619) 534-6447. E-mail: ejido@weber.ucsd.edu. You may also obtain a packet (in WordPerfect 6.0) via anonymous FTP (ftp to weber.ucsd.edu, go to the directory/pub/usmex/rural/grad96, and retrieve the file "gradengl.pak"), or via the WorldWide Web (<http://weber.ucsd.edu/Depts/USMex/rural.htm>).

The Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars announces the opening of competition for the 1996-97 academic year's **Junior Scholars Training Program**. The program provides an opportunity for Latin American junior or mid-level scholars or practitioners, residing in Latin America and involved in public policy issues, to enhance their research and analytic skills through study at a public policy research or academic center in the United States. The objective of this program is to contribute to the design and practice of public policy in Latin America. Individuals at private research institutions, universities, or public institutions are invited to apply. Priority will be given to projects involving research on the themes of 1) governance and the formation of citizenship; 2) the social consequences of

economic restructuring under democratic regimes, with a special focus on urban poverty; or 3) the redefinition of national interests and security after the Cold War. Grantees will spend approximately one month at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C. They will then spend one academic semester at a major university in the United States, where they will continue their research under the guidance of a mentor known for his or her excellence in the field of study. At the conclusion of their University stay, grantees will return briefly to the Woodrow Wilson Center. Candidates should have at least one university degree (but not a Ph.D. from a U.S. or European university); should be between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five; and should be capable of conducting research and participating in seminars in English. Affiliation with a research center or university, or explicit support from a government agency in Latin America is required. Currently enrolled students are not eligible. Completed applications, including all supporting material, must arrive at the Latin American Program by *May 1, 1996*. For application requirements, contact the Center: Latin American Program, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 1000 Jefferson Drive SW, Washington, DC 20560 Tel: (202) 357-1446. Fax: (202) 357-4918. No faxed applications will be accepted. Six fellowships will be awarded. Grantees must be available to reside in the United States for five months from January to May 1997. ■

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Department of Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures of Texas Tech University announces a call for papers for its **Conference on Women Writers of the Spanish Golden Age and Latin American Colonial Period**, to be held on October 10-12, 1996 at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Texas. In addition to affording a venue for sharing research, the conference will address the following concerns: 1) the recovery and publication of women's texts; 2) the incorporation of these writers into the Canon; 3) the revision/ing of Spanish literary history; and 4) the promotion of the works beyond Hispanism. One-page abstracts for 20-minute papers and proposals for special sessions should be submitted by *May 1, 1996* to one of the following: Prof. Maria Castro de Moux, Language Studies, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD 21402. E-mail: demoux@nadn.navy.mil. Fax: (410) 293-2729; OR Prof. Valerie Hegstrom Oakey, Spanish and Portuguese, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602. E-mail: valerie_hegstrom@byu.edu. Fax: (801) 378-4649; OR Prof. Ted E. McVay, Jr., Classical and Modern Languages and Literatures, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX 79409-2071. E-mail: t-mcvay@ttu.edu. Fax: (806) 742-3306. An effort will be made to publish selected proceedings.

The Mexican Center of ILAS at the University of Texas at Austin is pleased to announce the following international conferences on Mexico to be held at UT-Austin through

September 1996. These meetings are open to LASA members without registration charge. For further details contact the Mexican Center. Fax: (512) 475-6778. E-mail: mexctr@uts.cc.utexas.edu. The topics and sessions are as follows: February 2-3, 1996—"The *Corrido* as Contemporary Narrative in Mexico and the U.S." (Organizers: Profs. James Nicolopolus and Manuel Peña); April 12-13, 1996—"Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics" (organizer, Prof. Victoria Rodríguez); September 13-14, 1996—"New Federalism and Local Government in Mexico" (organizers—Profs. Peter Ward and Victoria Rodríguez).

The XVII Annual Conference of the Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS) will be held on Friday, March 29, and Saturday, March 30, 1996, on the campus of Bucknell University. Chair of Local Arrangements is John Peeler, Political Science Department at Bucknell University. His address is 129 Pine Street, Lewisburg, PA 17837. Millicent Bolden is in charge of the program. If you would like to present a paper or are willing to be a discussant on a panel, contact Dr. Bolden at the Department of Language and Literature, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19716. Papers presented at the annual conference may then be submitted to the Editor, *MACLAS Latin American Essays* for possible inclusion in this annual refereed journal publication of the Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies.

Participants in the annual conference must be members of MACLAS. To become a member contact Dr. Frank Gunter, Secretary/Treasurer, Lehigh University, Rauch Business Center #37, 621 Taylor Street, Bethlehem, PA 18015-3117, or use the membership application form published in this issue of the *LASA Forum*.

La Trobe University announces a Call for Papers and Participation in its second annual **Conference on Pacific Rim History**, sponsored by La Trobe University and the University of the Pacific. The event will take place at La Trobe, in Melbourne, Australia, from July 5-7, 1996. Many Westerners have been frightened into the protectionist camp by the perception that Pacific Rim expansion is an abrupt, post-World War II phenomenon. The historical fact, however, is that the Pacific Rim economy has already entered its fifth century. It began with a huge swap of Spanish-American silver for Asian products during the late sixteenth century, and has slowly evolved to include today's complex exchange of people, products, and ideas. The purpose of this conference is to encourage academics of all disciplines to gain a better understanding of the evolution of Pacific Rim relationships, with trade and commerce only one component of a long-term international exchange. Three days of academic sessions are open to presenters and participants from all relevant disciplines, including those in agriculture, anthropology, communication, demography, ecology, economics, ethnic studies, geography, geology, health, history, law, linguistics, literature, oceanography and other fields. For additional information, contact Dr. Lionel Frost, School of Economics, Faculty of Social Sciences, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria, Australia 3083. Tel: 61 3 479 2719. Fax: 61 3 471 0592. E-mail: lfrost@ecstaff1.com.latrobe.edu.au; or Professor Dennis O. Flynn, Department of Economics, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211 USA. Tel: (209) 946-2913. Fax: (209) 464-5950. E-mail: doflynn@frodi.cs.uop.edu. The participation of Latin Americanists is strongly encouraged.

Proposals for individual papers, complete panels, session chairpersons and commentators in all fields of study are sought for an **inter-disciplinary conference on inter-American relations**, to be held October 12-14, 1996 in Jacksonville,

Florida. The deadline for submissions is *April 30, 1996*. Send materials to Tom Leonard, Conference Coordinator, International Studies Program, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32224. Tel: (904) 646-2886.

Visit Cuba for the **Eighth Conference of North American and Cuban Philosophers and Social Scientists**, to be held in Havana, Cuba, June 7-21, 1996. A call for papers is announced, and commissions are being organized on the following thematic areas: Renovation of Marxism; Global Capitalism; Models of Socialism; Problems of Socialism; Markets and Socialism; Democracy and Social Justice; Post-Modernism and Marxism; Ethics and Society; Education and Society; Popular Culture; Ecology; Class, Race, Gender and Sexuality; and more. Applications are due *April 1, 1996*. For more information, write Cuba Conference, 1443 Gorsuch Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218. Tel: (410) 243-3118. Fax: (410) 235-5325. E-mail: durand@moe.morgan.edu.

The International Affairs Center at Howard University announces a conference on U.S. -Caribbean political, economic and cultural relations entitled "From CBI to ACS: The Repositioning of U.S.-Caribbean Relations", to be held on April 19 and 20, 1996 at the university. Please address inquiries to Dr. Ransford W. Palmer, U.S.-Caribbean Conference, International Affairs Center, Howard University, P.O. Box HU-232, Washington, D.C. 20059. Tel: (202) 806-4363. Fax: (202) 387-6951.

For the upcoming meetings of the American Anthropological Association (San Francisco, November 1996) and the Latin American Studies Association (Guadalajara, Mexico, April 1997), the **Guatemala Scholars Network** is looking for colleagues to arrange comparative panels on political violence, peacemaking, solidarity or human rights in Chiapas, Peru, Colombia or any other situation where such issues can be compared to similar ones in Guatemala. Papers can focus on just one such situation so long as it has wider relevance. Please contact David Stoll at the Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Dr., SW, Washington, DC 20560. Tel: (202) 357-2645. ■

PUBLICATIONS

The Center for Latino, Latin American, and Caribbean Studies (CELAC) at the University of Albany, State University of New York (SUNY) has initiated the publication of the *Latino Review of Books: A Publication for Critical Thought and Dialogue*. This publication will attempt to play a leadership role in keeping academics and other professionals abreast of research, publications and issues that are shaping the field of Latino Studies. The main focus of *LRB* is the Latino population in the United States and its transnational connections between the diverse (im)migrant groups and their

Latin American and Caribbean countries of origin. *LRB* will include scholarly articles and reviews of research and publications in the field. The journal, which will be published three times a year, will draw on the expertise of a wide network of scholars and activists in the United States and internationally. The first issue of *LRB* appeared in the Spring of 1995. The Fall 1995 issue appeared in mid-October. We would like to encourage Latino/Latin American Studies specialists to submit scholarly articles about relevant issues in the field, reviews or review essays of recent publications, and

also to urge their publishers to send us review copies of their new book publications. All correspondence should be sent to LRB, CELAC, SS-247, SUNY-Albany, Albany, NY 12222.

Tel: (518) 442-4890. Fax: (518) 442-4790. E-mail: lrb@cnsvox.albany.edu. ■

GENERAL

On February 1, 1996 the inaugural meeting of the **Netherlands Association of Latin American and Caribbean Studies (NALACS)** will be held in Amsterdam. NALACS' main goal is to promote Latin American and Caribbean Studies in the Netherlands. In October 1995 the first NALACS *Newsletter* was published. Twice a year, in April and October, the *Newsletter* will provide information about the Association, its members, scholarly activities, research projects, grants and funding, and international relations. Even though English is the official language, contributions in Spanish and Portuguese will be accepted. NALACS members will also receive the bi-annual publication *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* (published by CEDLA, Amsterdam). Current NALACS board members are Dirk Kruijt (Utrecht University) president; Ineke van Halsema (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague) secretary; Rosemarijn Hoefte (KITLV/ Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden); Kees Koonings (Utrecht University); and Alex van Stipriaan (Erasmus University, Rotterdam). NALACS hopes to encourage contacts between scholars in the Netherlands and abroad and is very pleased about the contacts and collaboration with the Latin American Studies Association. LASA members who wish to obtain more information or become a member of NALACS may contact the secretariat: CEDLA, Keizersgracht 395-397, 1016 EK Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Membership dues are approximately \$20.

Scholars and students whose work concerns the history and society of the state of Chiapas, Mexico are invited to join the "**Red de Investigadores sobre Chiapas**," which is currently in the process of formation. The purposes of the network are to promote contacts among Chiapas scholars across national and discipline boundaries; to develop seminars, panels at scholarly meetings, and other kinds of encounters among those whose research concerns Chiapas; to encourage the return of the results of scholarly studies to institutions in Chiapas; and to seek ways to communicate the results of investigations of Chiapas' socio-cultural reality to the general public. As first steps, the members of the network are 1) compiling a directory of Chiapas scholars to facilitate academic contacts and exchanges; and 2) requesting that colleagues who plan to visit Chiapas advise the network's Secretary of the dates of their stays so that they can be included in seminars and conferences. Those who wish to participate are requested to send their addresses and a brief summary of their research interests to

María Elena Fernández Galán, Secretary, Red de Investigadores sobre Chiapas, A.P. 297, San Cristóbal de las Casas 29200, Chiapas, México. Tel\Fax: (967) 8-35-34. E-mail: mfernand@montebello.unach.mx.

The Ferreira Penna Research Station (FPRS) is the result of joint efforts between the governments of Brazil and Great Britain to understand and conserve the remaining tropical forests and their inhabitants. The FPRS is located in one of the largest areas of pristine forest exclusively dedicated for research in the Amazon Basin. With 33,100 hectares of natural ecosystems, the FPRS encompasses primary tropical rain forest (85 percent) and flooded forest (*várzea* and *igapó*) (12 percent), along with non-forest and secondary growth vegetation (3 percent). The Station is located at 400 km southwest of Belém, in an area accessible only by boat. An enormous diversity of plants and other animals are native to the area. There are seven Caboclo families living within FPRS, based on collection of natural products and fishing. There are also 100 other Caboclo families living in areas adjacent to the FPRS. The FPRS provides boats for transportation to and from the Station, lodging and cooking facilities with capacity to receive 64 people at any time of the year, laboratories, a computer room, library, and a 45-meter observation tower. All facilities were built using an environmentally sound project, designed to modify minimally the surrounding ecosystem. Currently, 39 projects are being conducted at the FPRS. These range from fauna and flora biodiversity and conservation biology to human adaptability and Caboclo social systems. Since the FPRS was opened only two years ago, and relatively little is known about the eastern Amazonia and its biodiversity, and also since the maintenance costs of the facilities are considerable, it is important that the station be used to its fullest potential. With this in mind, the Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi (MPEG) is inviting researchers and scholars to visit the station, and to submit research and education projects to be conducted in the FPRS. For further information and details about application procedures please contact the following people: in the USA—Hilton P. Silva at the Department of Anthropology, Ohio State University, 244 Lord Hall, 124 W. 17th Ave., Columbus, OH 43210. Tel: (614) 294-5874. Fax: (614) 292-4155. E-mail: hsilva@magnus.acs.ohio_state.edu. In Brazil—Dr. Pedro Lisboa at Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Campus de Pesquisa, Caixa Postal 399, CEP 66000, Belém, Pará, Brazil. Tel: 55(91)228-2341. Fax: 55(91)226-3824. E-mail: samuel@marajo.ufpa.br (c/o Samuel Almeida). ■

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 Redemocratization. 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). \$ _____

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

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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) \$ _____

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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. Nonmembers add \$5.00 to the base price of any of the above items.

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MULTILATERAL APPROACHES TO PEACEMAKING AND DEMOCRATIZATION IN THE HEMISPHERE

How successful have multilateral efforts been in achieving the desired outcomes of peace and democracy? In bringing together the best scholarship and practitioners of the day, the conference will evaluate hemispheric missions, explore what works and what does not, and analyze the prospects for improved international cooperation. Perhaps most significantly, the conference will assess the future of peacemaking by exploring possible scenarios for multilateral approaches to the defense of human rights and to political transitions.

THURSDAY, APRIL 11

6:00 p.m. Reception

7:00 p.m. Dinner/Keynote I - International Missions and the Promotion of Peace and Democracy:

Alvaro de Soto, Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs, UN, New York

FRIDAY, APRIL 12

8:30 a.m. Challenging Sovereignty: The UN, the OAS, and Peacemaking in the Hemisphere

Papers: *ONUCA/CIAV*: Jennie K. Lincoln, Georgia Tech
ONUSAL: William Stanley, University of New Mexico, and David Holiday, Americas Watch; *MINUGUA*: Susanne Jonas, UC-Santa Cruz; *Haiti, 1994-1996*: Johanna Mendelson Forman, The American University; *The Peru-Ecuador Conflict*: David Scott Palmer, Boston University

The Military Role in Peacemaking

Papers: Colonel Glenn R. Weidner, former commander, USA, U.S. contingent MOMEF; General Victor Suanzes Pardo, Spain, former ONUCA, ONUSAL military commander; Colonel Cees P.M. Van Egmond, UN Secretariat; General Carlos María Zabala, Argentina, former UNPROFOR battalion commander

12:30 p.m. Lunch

Observing Elections: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly

Papers: *1990 Nicaragua and the UN*: Shelley McConnell, Bard College; *The OAS and the UN in El Salvador*: Tommie Sue Montgomery, North-South Center; *The UN in Haiti, 1991*: Nicole Lannegrace, UNNY (invited); *The UN in Mexico, 1994*: Raul Benítez Manaut, UNAM, Mexico City; *The Dominican Republic, 1991, 1994*: Rosario Espinal, Temple University

Keynote II - Building International Cooperation:

Ambassador Emilio Cárdenas, Permanent Representative of Argentina to the UN

SATURDAY, APRIL 13

8:30 a.m. Development Cooperation for Reconstruction

Papers: *International Agencies*: Anders Kompass, Vice Director for Latin America, UNDP, New York; *Prodere/CIREFCA*: Peter Sollis, Washington, D.C.; *National Civilian Police in El Salvador*: Gino Costa,

Lima, Peru; *The Role of NGOs*: Ilse Sherer-Warren, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brazil (invited)

International Institutions and Development of Civil Society

Papers: *Challenges to UN-OAS Cooperation*: Cristina Cerna, OAS; *The OAS in the Next Decade*: Michael Shifter, Inter-American Dialogue; *Challenges to Sovereignty*: Charles Reilly, IDB

12:00 p.m. Lunch; Keynote III - Looking to the Future:
Patricia Weiss Fagen, UNRISD, Geneva

Scenarios for Multilateral Approaches to Defense of Human Rights

Papers: *Human Rights and Security*: David Forsythe, University of Nebraska; *Non-Governmental Actors*: Kathryn Sikking, University of Minnesota; *Multilateral Approaches to the Promotion of Human Rights in the Present and Future*: Diego García Sayan, Former Director, Human Rights Division, ONUSAL

Scenarios for Multilateral Approaches to Political Transitions

Papers: *Cuba*: John Kirk, Dalhousie University; Rafael Hernández, Center for the Study of the Americas, Havana; *Other Scenarios*: Virginia Gamba, UNIDIR, Geneva

6:00 p.m. Conference adjourns

The conference will be held at the Hotel Inter-Continental. Rooms are \$99 single or \$115 double occupancy. Reservations are made by calling the hotel at 800-327-0200 and **must be made before March 11**; the conference rate will be honored after that date pending availability. The conference **registration deadline is March 29, 1996.**

Full registration for the conference is \$135 until February 15, \$150 thereafter. Includes 2 continental breakfasts, 2 lunches, and 1 dinner, but not hotel accommodations. Student registration is \$25, does not include meals or hotel. Please make check payable to the University of Miami.

Name: _____

Organization: _____

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Telephone: _____ fax: _____

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Diet specifications: kosher no meat no fish no dairy.
Send registration form with your check to Conference Co-ordinator Dr. Tommie Sue Montgomery, North-South Center, University of Miami, P.O. Box 248205, Coral Gables, FL 33124. For more information, please call (305) 284-8981.

**MIDDLE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF
LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES
(MACLAS)**

HISTORY AND PURPOSE

The Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS) is comprised of Mid-Atlantic region scholars, researchers, teachers, students, and interested professionals in all disciplines and pursuits. This region is comprised of Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. MACLAS has as its objectives promoting and developing interest in Latin American studies and affairs. The organization was founded in Pittsburgh in 1979 and is one of the Latin American Studies Associations' (LASA) affiliated regional organizations.

ACTIVITIES

The MACLAS annual spring meeting features research-based panels and a business meeting. The association publishes a NEWSLETTER three times a year and LATIN AMERICAN ESSAYS once each year. NEWSLETTER editor is John Inledon (Albright). The ESSAYS are a selection of papers presented at the annual meeting. The inclusion of a paper in the ESSAYS is considered a publication in a refereed journal. The Associate Editors of the ESSAYS are: Harold Sims; Vera Reber; and, Juan Espadas. MACLAS also awards, annually, its Whitaker Prize for the best book, the Davis Prize for the best journal article, and the Street Prize for the best article in the ESSAYS.

ORGANIZATION

The affairs of MACLAS are governed by its Executive Committee. The Committee is composed of: President and Vice President, elected for one year terms; Secretary/Treasurer, appointed for a two-year term; and four additional members, elected for two-year terms. The Vice-President is President-elect. The Committee must meet at least twice a year.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership is open to persons interested in the purposes and undertakings of MACLAS. The current dues schedule appears on the membership application or renewal form printed below.

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| Program: | Millicent Bolden (Delaware) | Local Arrangements: | John Peeler (Bucknell) |
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