

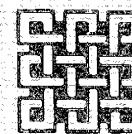
LASA FORUM

Latin American Studies Association

Volume XXVIII

Number 2

Summer 1997



FROM THE PRESIDENT

3..... *Report of Susan Eckstein*

REPORT

5..... *Area Studies and the Disciplines*
by Cynthia McClintock

ARTICLE

6..... *The U.S. Embargo and Health Care in Cuba* by Anthony F. Kirkpatrick and Harry E. Vanden

ON LASA98--CHICAGO! CHICAGO!

11..... *A Note from the LASA98 Program Committee*
by Timothy Wickham-Crowley
Program Chair

ON LASA97

12..... *Final Report from the LASA97 Program Committee* by Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward, Program Co-Chairs

17..... *Alain Touraine at LASA97*
Éxitos y límites de la democratización en América Latina
Silvert Panel Presentation

24..... *XX Congress Papers Available*

CALLING ALL MEMBERS

25..... *Call for Nominations for 1998 Slate and LASA Awards*

26..... *Proposed Changes to LASA By-Laws*

ON LASA SECTIONS

27..... *Approved LASA Sections and Their Statements*

NEWS FROM LASA

29..... *LASA Task Forces*

29..... *LASA Support Committee*

29..... *LASA Development Committee*

29..... *LASA97 Papers Available On Line*

30..... *Meeting Sites for 2000 and 2001*

LETTER

31..... *Una Carta Abierta*
por Henry Dietz y Daniel Mato

ANNOUNCEMENTS

33..... *Opportunities On-Line*

Brazilian Government Publications on the Internet, by David Block

33-44... *Employment, Research and Study, Conferences, Publications and General Announcements*

45-47... *Membership and Publications Forms*

LASA Forum

- President:** Susan Eckstein (Boston University)
Vice President: Franklin W. Knight (Johns Hopkins University)
Past President: Jane S. Jaquette (Occidental College)
- Executive Council**
For term ending October 1998: Arturo Arias (San Francisco State University)
Carlos Iván Degregori (Instituto de Estudios Peruanos)
Rose Spalding (DePaul University)
- For term ending April 2000: Manuel Antonio Garretón (Universidad de Chile)
Scott Mainwaring (Kellogg Institute, U of Notre Dame)
Marifeli Pérez-Stable (SUNY/College at Old Westbury)
- Ex officio:** Timothy Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown University)
Gilbert Merkx (University of New Mexico)
Reid Reading (University of Pittsburgh)
- Executive Director:** Reid Reading (University of Pittsburgh)
Assist. to the Executive Director: Mirna Kolbowski (University of Pittsburgh)
Assist. Director for Institutional Advancement: Sandra Klinzing (University of Pittsburgh)
Communication Specialist: Stacy Loughner (University of Pittsburgh)
- Forum Editorial Advisory Board:** Enrique Mayer (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)
Marta Morello Frosch (University of California at Santa Cruz)
Alexander W. Wilde (Ford Foundation, Chile Office)

The *LASA Forum* is published quarterly. Deadlines for receipt of copy are December 1, March 1, June 1, and September 1; articles should be submitted one month earlier. All contributions should be directed to Reid Reading, Editor, *LASA Forum*, at the address below. Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. We welcome responses to any material published in the *Forum*. Membership applications are included in this issue. Direct subscriptions to the *LASA Forum* only, without LASA membership, are \$30.00 per year. ISSN 0890-7218.

How to contact LASA

William Pitt Union, Room 946, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Telephone: (412) 648-7929 Fax: (412) 624-7145 Internet: LASA+@PITT.EDU
<http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/>

President's Report

by Susan Eckstein

Boston University

This column is my first as President of LASA. As a consequence, I wish to take the opportunity first to discuss where my presidency will be based and second to specify some of the goals I hope to achieve in office. I hope to make the Association more participatory and more inclusionary, and develop it in ways made possible by "new age" resources. I already have initiated some projects with these goals in mind, as Vice President.

The Office of My LASA Presidency

The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard is very generously hosting the LASA presidency during my term of office, from this May until November 1998. John Coatsworth, who directs the Center, as well as other Harvard faculty, offered their services when the Boston University administration and the Boston University Latin American Program refused to do so. The BU administration stance, in my view, is disturbing since universities typically encourage faculty professional involvements and facilitate such efforts. However, the Rockefeller Center affiliation is, from my vantage point, a blessing. I could not hope for a more supportive setup. In this vein, I am most appreciative of the Rockefeller Center staff, including Steve Reifenberg, the Center's Executive Director; Matthew Prince, Debra-Lee Vasques, and Timothy Stumph, Staff Assistants; and June Erlick, Publication Director. They are a delight to work with, and I suspect that they will spoil me for life!

Goals as LASA President

As we approach the year 2000 one of the projects uppermost in my mind is how LASA can best take advantage of new electronic possibilities. Should *LARR* and most papers delivered at our Congresses be put "on line"? What resources and information should be made available through the Association's website? Should there be ways that nonacademics

professionally interested in Latin America can "connect" with the scholarly community, and vice versa, through LASA electronically? What types of additional services might LASA offer in this emerging electronic era?

With such concerns in mind I have formed a committee, LASA and the 21st Century. Its task is to think of ways that the Association can creatively provide services and information in light of new electronic possibilities. I have selected committee members to represent a broad range of actual and potential users and providers of electronic resources, including persons involved with scholarly resources (libraries), publishing, U.S. and Latin American academic institutions, journalism, and the electronic news community. The committee members include David Block,

Viviane Brachet-Márquez, Michael Conroy, Jane Jaquette, Gil Merckx, John Rice, Marcia Rivera, Mark Rosenberg (Chair), Nicolas Shumway, Saúl Sosnowski, Sanford (Sandy) Thatcher, Nelson Valdés, and Stefano Varese.

Possibilities for modernizing and restructuring LASA now exist that did not just a few years ago. It is time that the Association looks to ways to take advantage of these possibilities. I am particularly interested in finding ways to build bridges between academics and nonacademics who share a common commitment to, and concern about, Latin America. Journalists, persons involved in NGOs, and scholars can all benefit from each other's expertise.

To help build bridges to the non-academic world, as well as to advise the Association as to how to enhance its fiscal base, I am expanding the work of the LASA Development Committee begun by previous LASA presidents. Carmen Diana Deere and Lars Schoultz, who were among the first to try to find external sources to bolster LASA's endowment, I am happy to say, have agreed to co-chair this committee. And Peter Cleaves has been chairing an ad hoc subcommittee, to convene a LASA Support Committee comprised largely of non-academics whom we feel could be helpful in advising the Association. The work of Cleaves' ad hoc subcommittee, which includes Cole Blasier, John Coatsworth, Michael Conroy, and Richard Fagen, will be discussed in the next issue of the *Forum*.



LASA President Susan Eckstein
(Photo by June Erlick)

Another concern of mine is to broaden opportunities for LASA members to get involved in the Association through new Sections, created around specific communities of interests. As you know from a letter I previously wrote, you may form separate Sections within the Association as long as you have the commitment of at least 25 members to become dues-paying participants. If you are interested in forming a Section but did not begin an initiative at the Congress in Mexico, feel free to request a Sections Manual from Sandy Klinzing at the LASA Secretariat, by e-mail at lasa+@pitt.edu or by phone, 412-648-1907. Sections may be organized around substantive, methodological, and theoretical concerns, and they may focus on geographical areas or specific countries. Sections already approved focus, for example, on Cuba, Central America, Haiti, Paraguay, culture and politics, business and politics, and environmental concerns. Sections can publish electronic newsletters which keep members up to date on news events, publications, and institutional activities relevant to them. They can also organize sessions at LASA Congresses, and hold their own business meetings and receptions.

Section members will elect their own officers and plan their own activities. People with shared interests can keep in contact in this way throughout the year, as well as meet formally and informally during LASA Congresses. Sections should provide

a congenial way for people with mutual interests to get to know one another—especially important for newcomers. Moreover, Sections will help to democratize access to LASA organizational life and allow for democratic leadership selection. You should know that I will oversee a full evaluation of the Section reform at the Executive Council meeting immediately preceding the LASA Congress in the year 2000. Based on Section experiences we may choose to modify policies somewhat.

A third goal of mine is to develop new opportunities for graduate students to integrate themselves into LASA. The Sections should be one such mechanism. In addition, I plan to organize a special reception for them at the LASA Congress in Chicago, in September 1998.

Finally, I plan to continue LASA's efforts to make the Association as international as possible. I will do my best to facilitate involvement by Latin Americanists the world over. This task will involve overseeing considerable fundraising and project development.

I am open to ideas people have on these initiatives. I am also happy to hear other ideas. I look forward to working with you and for you.



The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard is hosting the LASA presidency during Susan Eckstein's term of office: from May 1997 to November 1998. You can reach her as follows:

The David Rockefeller Center
for Latin American Studies
Harvard University
1737 Cambridge Street
Cambridge, MA 02138



After September 1997 at:

61 Kirkland St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
phone: 617-496-1605 (through Matt Prince)
fax: 617-496-2802
email: selasa@bu.edu
webpage: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~drclas/>

Area Studies and the Disciplines

A Report on a Recent NCASA Meeting at ACLS

by Cynthia McClintock
George Washington University

Recently, concern about the relationship between area studies and the disciplines has been mounting. In an effort to assess recent trends and to make recommendations for the future, the National Council of Area Studies Associations (NCASA) sponsored a special session, "Area Studies and the Disciplines" at the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) annual meeting in Philadelphia on May 3, 1997. The meeting was chaired by Anne H. Betteridge, Executive Director of the Middle East Studies Association. I attended the meeting as LASA's delegate to the ACLS.

One of the reasons why the NCASA session was held at the ACLS gathering was that, during the presidency of Stanley N. Katz, all the major area studies associations had become members of the ACLS; Stan Katz participated in the NCASA meeting, expressing his sense of the importance of our discussion. Especially among us representatives of the area studies associations, there is a hope that the theme for at least one regular session of next year's two-day ACLS meeting will be the relationship between area studies and the disciplines.

The factors behind the mounting concern are various. First, as Anne Betteridge pointed out in her opening remarks and as had been discussed at an NCASA meeting in Washington in September 1996, is that various foundations, in particular the Mellon and Ford Foundations, have shifted their funding away from the "area studies" to what they perceive as more innovative or more rigorous research, in particular "cross-boundary" research. Second is the perception that among the representatives of the area studies associations that not only economics and sociology, but now also political science, are disparaging area studies on false grounds.

Two of the four participants at the NCASA session were political scientists, and the question of the relationship between area studies and political science was especially salient. Ian Lustick, Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, sought to stake out a compromise position between the "theorists" and "rational choice" proponents in the discipline and "traditional" area studies. He criticized Professor Robert Bates' comments in a recent newsletter of the comparative politics section of the American Political Science Association (APSA). (The comparative politics section is the relevant one for area studies.) Professor Bates had written that "I have long regarded area programs as a problem for political science" because they offer "resistance to rigorous methods for evaluating arguments" and they have "failed to generate scientific knowledge." Professor Lustick pointed out that, without area studies research, there are no "hard facts" upon which to build theory. On the other hand, Lustick argued that area studies scholars should not study one country in isolation

from others, and should collaborate more closely with theoretically-oriented scholars in their disciplines.

Catherine Rudder, Executive Director of the American Political Science Association (APSA), addressed the relationship between area studies and the association. She also distanced herself from Robert Bates' comments, pointing out that APSA does not control the content of the newsletter or its sections. The "recent rhetoric is unfortunate," she said. She acknowledged that space both in the APSA's journal and on the program of the annual meeting is scarce, and that tensions among the various sections of APSA do erupt over space allocation. Asked about reports that only 8 percent to 15 percent of proposals to offer panels in comparative politics have been accepted for recent APSA meetings (despite the facts that comparative politics is the largest section within APSA and that its size is increasing) Cathy Rudder acknowledged the problem. An APSA Committee is apparently considering new formulas for the allocation of space at the annual meeting. Meanwhile Executive Director Rudder suggested that area studies scholars in political science form their own new sections and make their claim for space at the annual APSA meeting in that way.

Of course, this was not the first meeting that has ever addressed this theme, and many others will follow. Numerous questions could not be addressed in the two hours in Philadelphia. But, new insights were gained, a new audience became sensitive to the issue, and the possibility for more thorough discussion at the next ACLS meeting became greater. ■

THE CALL FOR PAPERS

for the

**XXI INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS**

has been issued

Please carefully note deadlines and regulations
and

JOIN US IN CHICAGO

for

LASA98

The U.S. Embargo and Health Care in Cuba
Assessing the May 1997 State Department Report
by Anthony F. Kirkpatrick
College of Medicine, University of South Florida
and Harry E. Vanden
Government and International Affairs, University of South Florida

In 1992, the United States introduced a Security Council resolution condemning the actions of the Bosnian Serbs for, among other things, violating international humanitarian law by the "deliberate impeding of the delivery of food and medical supplies to the civilian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina."¹ The Geneva Conventions of 1949 (to which the U.S. is a party) is equally clear. Even in time of war, each party to a conflict is to "allow the free passage of all consignments of medical and hospital stores ..."and "It shall likewise permit the free passage of all consignments of essential foodstuffs, clothing and tonics [for children, and expectant mothers]."²

On February 17, 1995, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS) informed the United States government that the inclusion of food and medicines in the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba was contrary to international law. The OAS called on the United States to take "effective and speedy" steps to make certain that these items of basic human need were exempted.³ No response to the letter was received.

The U.S. government remained relatively quiet on this matter until this year when three members of Congress proposed legislation to lift restrictions on the shipment of medicines to Cuba.⁴ Shortly thereafter, on May 14, 1997, the State Department released a six-page report with its evaluation of the present state of health care in Cuba. Included in the report were responses to what the State Department termed the "false accusation" that it is U.S. policy to deny medicine or medical supplies and equipment to the Cuban people.⁵ In this article we address major portions of the State Department declaration and assess their validity.

The Department made a series of statements in the May report, four of which we replicate here. Our evaluation follows.

According to the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), the Cuban Government currently devotes a smaller percentage of its budget for health care than such regional countries as Jamaica, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. [page 2]

In fact, the most recent PAHO figures (see table) show that in percentage terms, the Cuban government spends nearly thirty percent more of its budget on health care than the Dominican Republic and two times the percentage Jamaica spends. It does fall below Costa Rica on this measurement. But government expenditures in health, as a share of GDP, are higher for Cuba

than any other country in Latin America—and are 34 percent higher than for the United States.

Moreover, the portion of a country's financial resources committed to health care is not the only criterion for judging a government's performance in this area: medical outcomes and the efficiency of the overall healthcare system are also highly significant. Two of the indicators used most often by United Nations specialized agencies to access a country's overall health status are the infant mortality rate and the under-five mortality rate. According to the most recent data published by UNICEF, Cuba ranks 27th in the world for both indicators, ahead of all other Latin American countries (see table). The U.S. ranks only one notch above Cuba at 26th for both indicators.⁶

These outcomes have been achieved even though Cuba's per capita GDP is less than any of the three Latin American countries named above by the State Department, and less than one-twentieth that of the U.S. (see table). High standards have been maintained despite an embargo imposed by the U.S. which limits Cuba's access to food, medicine and medical supplies worldwide. On the basis of several recent fact-finding visits, the American Public Health Association (APHA) concluded in 1994 that "Even in the worst of economic times, Cuba has consistently made health a top priority and has allocated funds necessary to maintain the health system. While other countries throughout the world responded to global recession by cutting back on resources dedicated to health, Cuba has sustained its investment in health."⁷ In 1988, the World Health Organization awarded a medal to Cuba's President Fidel Castro for outstanding work in the health field.⁸

José Teruel, a physician who monitors Cuba for the Pan American Health Organization, stated a few months ago that Cuba has one of the best healthcare systems in Latin America. "But that doesn't mean the Cubans are in good shape", he added. "You're probably talking about a shortening of lives through the embargo, denying people medicines and care who would have better care in a normal situation".⁹

The U.S. embargo does NOT deny medicines and medical supplies to the Cuban people.
[page 4]

This is a strong statement in itself, but the tenor of the report as a whole almost makes it sound as if the U.S. Government is urging Cubans to buy—and urging U.S. pharmaceutical companies to sell—medicines to Cuba. The report indicates that all the companies have to do is to get a license, to arrange

for on-site inspections to make sure that the medicines that they sell aren't used for determined purposes, spelled out below.

But recent information demonstrates that the U.S. Government's regulations and procedures strongly deter U.S. sales of pharmaceuticals and other medical supplies to Cuba.¹⁰ Four major barriers follow.

Aggressive application of large penalties outside the judicial process

The U.S. Treasury Department stated in a press release on October 24, 1995, that it is willing to impose huge penalties against medical companies for what it calls "technical and inadvertent" violations: fines adding up to \$1 million per violation for corporations and prison terms of up to 10 years for individuals.¹¹ In addition, the Helms-Burton Act, enacted March 12, 1996, mandates full enforcement of these penalties and permits administrative fines to be levied outside court.

The U.S. government demonstrated its willingness to aggressively enforce the embargo against medical companies when it prosecuted the largest pharmaceutical company in the U.S., Merck & Co., for "technical and inadvertent" violations. The Merck case also demonstrates that the U.S. Government is willing to use the press to generate adverse publicity against a huge pharmaceutical firm in an apparent attempt to intimidate other companies that might be considering sales of medical products to Cuba. Because of the prosecution, Merck announced on December 19, 1995, that it would never again attempt to do business with Cuba while the embargo is in place.¹²

In Miami, a U.S. government hotline has been set up to encourage reporting such embargo violations. The move was praised by the U.S. Treasury Department's Director of OFAC, Richard Newcomb, who announced on May 10, 1996, that the hotline had resulted in a Treasury Department investigation into suspected "illegal shipments" to Cuba of \$40,000 in medications.¹³ Finally, the United States government has demonstrated its willingness (we might add eagerness) to solicit the press to promote adverse publicity against medical companies, even if their intent is informational exchange or to simply explore the possibility of donations to Cuba.¹⁴

License requirement

A license for sale of a medical product will not be issued unless very intricate procedures stipulated by the Departments of Treasury and Commerce are followed. First, there must be a determination that there is no reasonable likelihood that the item will be diverted to the Cuban military, used by foreigners, used in acts of torture or other human rights abuses, re-exported, or used in the production of biotechnological products. Approval of a license application takes an average of three to six months.¹⁵ Blanket licenses to cover ongoing exports to Cuba of a particular product cannot be obtained; a separate license must be obtained for each shipment. In the case involving the sale of a drug (fluspirilene) used to treat one of the most serious mental

disorders, schizophrenia, the U.S. Government delayed the approval of a license for one year. Schizophrenia can lead to severe pain and suffering and it can lead to violence and even death by suicide. After an investigation of an accusation that Cuba was abusing psychotropic drugs, the U.S. Government (in consultation with the National Institutes for Health), finally authorized the sale of fluspirilene to Cuba on January 31, 1995.*

The report by the State Department maintains that the U.S. "routinely" issues licenses to medical companies. [page 4]. It mentions that the U.S. Commerce Department rejected two applications simply by declaring that the medical companies failed to meet "legal standards". In reality, these companies were put through an extremely time-consuming and evasive application process by the Commerce Department. One of the applicants, an international supplier of medical equipment to treat blindness, wrote, "Despite a substantial expenditure of time and resources, Iris Medical was unable to establish a meaningful dialogue with the U.S. Department of Commerce in a manner consistent with standard business practice".¹⁶

On-site inspection requirement

The 1992 Cuban Democracy Act requires on-site inspections in Cuba. Since they cannot be carried out by the U.S. government, the responsibility for verifying the end use of each product sold to Cuba falls to the medical companies. The companies, in turn, must accept the increased administrative costs and, if certain procedures are not followed, risk of huge financial penalties and prison time.¹⁷ In its report the State Department announced that on-site inspections could be carried out by a medical company through "independent nongovernmental organizations, international organizations, or foreign diplomats." [page 4]. How can a non-physician (individual or organization) judge that the medical item will be "used for the purposes for which it was intended" as required by the Act? Dr. Peter Bourne, Chairman of the American Association of World Health, said the position taken by the U.S. Government on the shipment of medicines to Cuba reminds him of the civil rights movement in the South, "Where they said 'We don't stop (black) people from voting, we just want them to answer a few questions.' Then they ask them all sorts of impossible things like, 'How many bubbles does a bar of soap make?'"¹⁸

Ships and aircraft banned

Foreign vessels are banned from loading and unloading freight anywhere in the U.S. for at least six months after having stopped in Cuba. Also, the U.S. has banned all direct flights to Cuba

*On April 19, 1997, U.S. Representative Lincoln Diaz-Balart of Miami published a "Dear Colleague" letter about the use of psychotropic agents in Cuba.¹⁹ He claims that a 1991 book by Brown and Lago "details numerous examples of abuse by Castro of psychotropic drugs,"²⁰ including the torture and repression of religious leaders in Cuba. But the book does not contain a single example of such a case. Rep. Diaz-Balart's statements are part of an effort to justify and maintain the current restrictions on the sale of *all* drugs to Cuba, even if they are life-saving.

from the U.S. and aircraft carrying emergency medical supplies for Cuba are banned from landing in the U.S. So even if a U.S. medical company is able to obtain a license and arrange for on-site inspections (satisfactory to the U.S.), they are still confronted with delays and increased costs created by the transport regulations.

The deterrent effects of the U.S. embargo on the sale of

medicines to Cuba are widespread. In March 1997 the American Association for World Health published the results of a survey of 10 U.S. medical companies whose organizational structure would normally permit them to sell directly to Cuba.²¹ All 10 companies cited the U.S. embargo as either preventing or discouraging such sales. Even the World Health Organization has been hamstrung in its ability to facilitate the sale of medical products to Cuba because of the U.S. embargo.²²

HEALTH-RELATED DATA FOR FIVE COUNTRIES

	GDP PER CAPITA (US\$) 1993	GOVERNMENT HEALTH EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL GOVT. SPENDING	GOVERNMENT HEALTH EXPENDITURE AS A PERCENT OF GDP	INFANT MORTALITY		UNDER-5 MORTALITY	
				1960	1994	1960	1994
CUBA	1,170	14% (1994)	7.8% (1994)	39	9	50	10
DOMINICAN REP.	1,230	11% (1993)	2.0% (1993)	104	38	152	45
JAMAICA	1,440	7% (1993)	2.8% (1993)	58	10	76	13
COSTA RICA	2,150	20% (1994)	6.3% (1994)	80	14	112	16
USA	24,740	17% (1993)	5.8% (1993)	26	8	30	10

Source: *The State of the World's Children*, 1996, UNICEF. Data for government health expenditures as a percent of total government spending and as a percent of GDP obtained from Pan American Health Organization. (Pamela Henderson, Public Policy and Health Program, PAHO, Washington DC, USA, May 22, 1997; personal communication).

As expected, there are no records of government licenses approved for direct sales to Cuba from any U.S. parent company. (The only item on record is the denial of a license to Iris Medical Inc., as noted above). Only four companies from foreign U.S. subsidiaries have braved U.S. regulations and have managed to sell medical products to Cuba since the enactment of the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act. This number is less than four percent of the pre-CDA levels.²³

From the Cuban perspective, the U.S. embargo discourages their exploration of long-term purchases from the U.S. market, out of fear that critical pharmaceuticals and equipment would be held hostage to the decisions of the U.S. Commerce and Treasury Departments, or the inclination of a given U.S. administration or Congress.²⁴

The U.S. embargo on Cuba affects only U.S. companies and their subsidiaries. Other nations and companies are free to trade with Cuba. [page 5]

The State Department failed to mention the barriers faced by the Cubans who may wish to buy medical products from non-U.S. medical companies.

First, approximately 50 percent of the most important drugs in the world are subject to U.S. jurisdiction²⁵ and thus subject to

restrictions regardless of who markets them. Second, if a medical product from a non-U.S. company contains more than 10 percent of a U.S. component, it is subject to the same restrictions as a U.S. product. Further, an original medical product sold to Cuba may have contained less than 10 percent of a component of U.S. origin but the replacement part may be deemed by the Commerce Department to represent a higher percentage and therefore subject to same licensing and on-site requirements as a U.S. product.²⁶ Third, the Helms-Burton Law and the potential for loss of U.S. aid also serve as a disincentive to non-U.S. companies that may wish to sell medicines to Cuba.²⁷ Fourth, the restrictions on sea and air transfer noted earlier significantly hinder the movement of medical supplies even from non-U.S. companies.

Worldwide mergers among large-scale pharmaceutical companies, particularly between U.S. and foreign corporations, brings the acquired companies under the same discouraging, time-consuming, and often bewildering license requirements as U.S. companies. *Business Week* recently reported that U.S. companies are increasing their hold on drugs worldwide through such acquisitions.²⁸ There are numerous and well-documented cases in which Cuba was forced to find new suppliers of critical medical products on short notice because a U.S. company merged with or acquired a foreign medical company.²⁹

The Cuban Democracy Act encourages the donations of humanitarian supplies to the people of Cuba. The U.S. government has licensed more than \$150 million in humanitarian assistance to Cuba over the last four years.
[page 5]

The figure of \$150 million works out to \$37 million per year—even if all licenses were utilized, which they aren't.³⁰ Compare that with the \$500-600 million a year in trade with American foreign subsidiaries Cuba enjoyed before the Cuban Democracy Act went into effect—90 percent of which consisted of imports of foods and medicines.³¹

The increasing difficulty in making donations is due to a number of factors. For one, the licensing procedure involves intensive screening of the parties and the commodities. The applicant also must establish in advance what the U.S. government considers to be an independent non-government organization in Cuba to receive the goods. These requirements act to limit the number of players. A representative of the Treasury Department confirmed the difficulties, stating that "companies hate to get a denial from the government for any kind of license. When they phone and are told how difficult it is to comply with the licensing procedures, and are generally discouraged from applying, they usually do not follow up with filing a written application".³²

Accusations by some that donations are exported from Cuba or sold to ailing tourists is not consistent with the opinion of the U.S. Department of Commerce, whose latest report (1994-1995) on donations to Cuba states that such diversion is "insignificant."³³

A separate license is required for donors to travel to Cuba with their donation. Rolando Suárez, Director of the Catholic Church's CARITAS in Cuba, notes that licensing procedures have delayed donations from 6 to 8 months. "This delay costs lives", he states.³⁴

Even if the donor obtains a license to ship medicines to Cuba and finds an NGO in Cuba acceptable to the U.S., the donor faces serious obstacles in shipment. For example, Catholic Relief Services (CRS) notes that it takes one or two months to receive a license for each shipment. But since the U.S. prohibits direct flights from the U.S. to Cuba, CRS and others are forced to ship through third countries such as Canada and Mexico; this markedly delays shipment and increases freight costs as much as four-fold. Ships and aircraft from these third countries are subject to the U.S. restrictions under the embargo described previously. Recently, Catholic Relief Services had \$3.5 million in humanitarian goods (mostly medicines) waiting for weeks in Miami while they tried to locate a shipper. The shipment finally was trucked to Canada and put on a boat to Cuba. Chris Gilson, the CRS Cuba Program Director, said that, due to U.S. sanctions against the island, the cost of sending shipments to Cuba is "almost prohibitive."³⁵

Individual gift parcels are limited to \$200 per month per

individual. Here again, the U.S. ban on direct flights to Cuba increases cost and delays shipment of medicines. Many life-threatening conditions (e.g, AIDS, cancer) require well over the \$200 limit per month just for medications.

Embargo on Food

The sale of food to Cuba from U.S. companies and their foreign subsidiaries is completely blocked by the U.S. embargo—a direct violation of international law³⁶ and a subject not dealt with in the State Department report. But the U.S. blockade on food may be one of the most catastrophic consequences of the embargo, with obvious implications for public health on the island. The American Public Health Association warned the U.S. government that tightening the embargo in 1992 would lead to an abrupt cessation of shipment of food and medicines to Cuba and result in widespread "famine". Five months after the passage of the Cuban Democracy Act, Cuba experienced the worst epidemic in a century of neurological disease linked to food shortage. More than 50,000 of 11 million inhabitants were suffering from optic neuropathy, deafness, loss of sensation and pain in the extremities, and a spinal cord disorder that impaired walking and bladder control.³⁷

* * * * *

It is clear that the tightening of the embargo against Cuba has harmed the Cuban people. The way in which the embargo has been applied clearly violates fundamental principles of international law about harm to civilian populations. Between 1989 and 1994 total mortality in Cuba increased from 6.4 to 7.2 per 1000 inhabitants, prompting Richard Garfield to conclude that the embargo is an important factor in this trend because it makes scarce medicines and food much more expensive and thus forces the Cuban government to prioritize children and women for health care delivery. This is done at the particular expense of those over 65, who are quite susceptible to diseases that could be most effectively treated with many of the very medicines the embargo has made difficult or nearly impossible to obtain.³⁸ Other studies buttress the worsening of health conditions because of the embargo.³⁹ Not surprisingly, Cuban officials consider the U.S. embargo to amount to genocide.⁴⁰

By blocking access to the basic necessities of life in the midst of a severe economic depression, the U.S. government is not only violating International Law, it is contributing directly to a significant increase in suffering and premature death within a civilian population just 90 miles south of its border. The travesty is compounded by the failure of the U.S. government to honestly present the facts about the embargo. That it proceeds in this manner not only further isolates the United States from the international community and is inconsistent with international law championed by the U.S. at other times; it also undermines the very foundations of our democracy.

[Harry Vanden may be contacted by e-mail at vanden@luna.cas.usf.edu.]

Notes

¹United Nations Security Council Resolution proposed by the United States, November 13, 1992.

²*Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of August 12, 1949*. Article 23, Paragraph 1. (Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1983). See the United States Supreme Court case *The Paquete Habana, The Lola vs. United States* for an interesting variant on this area of customary law. It concerns the effects of the United States' blockade of Cuban ports. The U.S. Navy tried to stop coastal fishing which supplied food for the civilian population during the Spanish-American war. The Supreme Court sided with the Cuban fishermen. (175 U.S. 677, 1900).

³Alvaro Tirado Mejía, "Cuban Embargo: (letter to the United States). Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Organization of American States. Washington DC, February 17, 1995.

⁴Charles B. Rangel, Esteban E. Torres, and José E. Serrano, "The Unintended Consequences of the Helms-Burton Act and the Cuban Democracy Act: Should U.S. Policy Punish Cuban Civilians?" (Dear Colleague letter), U.S. House of Representatives. Washington, DC, May 14, 1997.

⁵U.S. Department of State. "The U.S. Embargo and Health Care in Cuba: Myth Versus Reality." May 14, 1997.

⁶UNICEF, *The State of the World's Children*. New York City, 1997.

⁷Diane Kuntz, "The Politics of Suffering: Impact of the U.S. Embargo on the Health of the Cuban People." *International Journal of Health Service*. Volume 24: 1994, pp. 163-164. Kuntz was a member of an APHA delegation to Cuba.

⁸As noted by the World Health Organization, Office of Library and Health Literature, Geneva, and in Julie Feinsilver, *Healing the Masses: Cuban Health Politics at Home and Abroad*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp.200-201.

⁹Tim Collie, "Doctors Attack Cuban Embargo." *Tampa Tribune*. November 29, 1996.

¹⁰See Anthony F. Kirkpatrick, "Role of U.S.A. in Shortages of Food and Medicine in Cuba." *The Lancet*. Volume 348:1489-1491, 1996, and American Association of World Health, "The Impact of the U.S. Embargo on Health and Nutrition in Cuba." Washington, DC, March, 1997.

¹¹Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 2090.

¹³Hal Harmon, U.S. Department of the Treasury, Washington, DC. Personal Communication, May 19, 1997.

¹⁴Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 1089, and American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*

¹⁵Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 1489-1490, and American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*, Executive Summary, p.16.

¹⁶Lincoln Diaz-Balart, Dear Colleague Letter. U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC, April 29, 1997.

¹⁷Charles J. Brown and Armando M. Lago, *The Politics of Psychiatry in Revolutionary Cuba*. (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1991).

¹⁸As cited in Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 1489.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰Ana Radelat, "State Department: Castro, not U.S. Embargo to Blame for Lack of Food and Medicine in Cuba." *CubaInfo*. Volume 9:5, 1997, Washington,DC.

²¹American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²²Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 1489-1490.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 1490.

²⁴American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*, Executive Summary, pp. 16-17.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁶See Kuntz and *ibid.* for numerous cases in which applications of this rule led to direct harm to the health of the Cuban people.

²⁷American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*, Executive Summary, p. 16 and Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, 1489-1490.

²⁸Joseph Weber, "Robust and Ready to Brawl: Drugmakers are Flush, So More Mergers, Even Hostile Ones, May Be on the Horizon." *Business Week*. January 8, 1996, p. 95.

²⁹Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 1490 and American Association of World Health, *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

³⁰American Association of World Health, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 12., and U.S. Senate Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Western Hemispheric and Peace Corps Affairs, Aug. 5, 1992, pps. 69 and 103 as cited in Kirkpatrick, p. 1491.

³²American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*, full report, pp. 8-9.

³³U.S. Department of Commerce Export Administration Annual Report, 1994-1995, On Foreign Policy Export Controls. Washington, DC, p. iii-19.

³⁴American Association of World Health, *loc. cit.*, full report, p. 285.

³⁵Chris Gilson, personal communication, May 23, 1997.

³⁶Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p.1491, and American Association of World Health, *ibid.*, Executive Summary, pp. 33-34.

³⁷Kirkpatrick, *ibid.*, p. 1491.

³⁸Richard Garfield, "The Impact of the Economic Crisis and the U.S. Embargo on Health in Cuba," *American Journal of Public Health*. (January, 1997) Vol 87, No. 1, pp. 17-18.

³⁹José Teruel, as cited in Collie, *op. cit.* and American Association of World Health, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰Lasarado Barredo, Deputy Chair of the Cuban National Assembly's International Relations Committee, as cited in, Michael Langan, "Cuba Calls U.S. Medical, Food Sanctions a 'Genocide,'" *Agence France Presse*, May 12, 1997.

See the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (to which the United States, Cuba, and more than 100 other nations are parties). Genocide is defined as not only the killing of a particular national, ethnic, racial or religious group, but as "causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group," or "Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part." (Article II). The Genocide Convention was adopted as a United Nations General Assembly Resolution in 1948 and went into effect in 1951. See 75 *United Nations Treaty Series* 277. The United States ratified the Convention in 1989. ■



Chicago! Chicago!

A Note from the LASA98 Program Committee

by Timothy Wickham-Crowley, Chair

Georgetown University

My shameless borrowing of my predecessors' double-exclamatory proclamation of the site for the next LASA Congress—"Chicago, Chicago"—can also be justified by a song title. For many of you Chicago needs no introduction, not even the state of its location, so well known is the place and name. For those of you who do need such an orientation, I'm sure the local arrangements committee will provide guidance and hospitality when you arrive in *fall* of next year. (I will continue to refresh my few memories by reading Sara Paretsky mysteries set in the Windy City.)

Welcome to the initial report on the next LASA Congress, LASA98, which will be held on 24-26 September 1998, at the Palmer House Hilton Hotel in Chicago, Illinois. The Call for Papers went out with the previous issue of the *Forum*, and we, the program committee, will do our best to provide a wide-ranging and stimulating scholarly event. In order to pursue those aims more effectively, I have followed the refreshing new path of my predecessors, Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward—to whom I owe many thanks for good and generous guidance—in further changing the categories under which the program is organized, so that those whose substantive (not geographical) interests never had a true "home" at previous Congresses may now have one. While I am a sociologist by training whose specialties are the study of revolution and of economic development, narrowness of vision is the last thing I want to see at a LASA Congress. Therefore, among the new topical areas that appear, sometimes in combination with older topics, are "Family," "Religion," "Crime," "Sexuality," "Revolution," "Music," and "Mass Media." Do not mistake certain topics as invitations "only" to people from certain disciplines to submit papers and panels, for we have chosen program tracks to reflect topics of interest to many people, not narrowly construed departments in universities.

In a deeper sense, however, the breadth of the next LASA Congress is more in your hands than in those of us, the program committee. Each Congress is really "driven" and determined by the range and quality of your submissions, not by our selectivity. We have a further advantage in that our Chicago site provides for an abundance of meeting rooms; if you therefore have something interesting and scholarly to say well, we can probably find a home for it. We have further tried to increase the range by assembling an exceptionally large program committee, with

many co-chairs whose interests range and vary widely, to increase the chance that they will know good, interesting work when they see it.

Finally, the theme of the Congress, "Social Justice: Past Experiences and Future Prospects," is not meant to *exclude* other topics; all topics are welcome and encouraged. We merely intended to encourage panels concentrating on that issue, and have created a separate program track where papers with a pure focus on that topic have a "home," even while any program track might well have one or more panels with a social-justice emphasis. Please note that we intend to assemble an edited volume derived from Congress papers on the topic of social justice; if you wish your paper to be considered for inclusion in that volume, please indicate thusly on your submission, at the address given in the Call for Papers.

All submissions to the Congress must be sent directly to, and registered with, my office here at Georgetown by the November 1 deadline, including those submitted by the newly formed LASA sections. Details on Congress submissions are in the "Call for Papers." Please contact the LASA Secretariat if you have not received your copy.

On behalf of the LASA Secretariat, President Susan Eckstein, and the entire Program Committee, I look forward to seeing you in Chicago in 14 months! ■

Reduced Preregistration Rates

To encourage preregistration for LASA98, there will be significantly greater differences between the fees for preregistration and on-site registrations than in the past. Please take note of that when you receive your packets, which will become available within the next few months.



Guadalajara Guadalajara!

Final Report from the LASA97 Program Committee

by Victoria Rodríguez and Peter Ward, Co-chairs

University of Texas at Austin

In the Spring *LASA Forum* we had the opportunity to offer a brief comment on the Guadalajara Congress, but that was written, quite literally, only a few days after the event and before the dust had even begun to settle. Rather than renew the now fading memories of the Congress itself, here we wish to offer LASA members a more formal report about the nature and level of participation in the XX Congress. Alongside our commentary we are providing two tables containing data that we hope will be of interest and may be useful as a benchmark for future meetings. We hope, also, that it might inform members' thinking in light of the recent innovation to introduce Sections into the Association.

Without taking into account on-site registrations and walk-in participation which was, as anticipated, very much higher in Guadalajara than in other venues (estimated to be at around 1,000 additional participants), the total number of applications and acceptances was up by 40 percent compared with the 1995 Washington Congress. Not unexpectedly, applications from Mexico doubled, and actual formal inclusion in the Program rose by 150 percent. But other countries also showed a substantial rise (most notably the US, the UK especially and Europe generally, and Brazil). The only startling decline was that of Cuban participation (Table 1).

TABLE 1. APPLICATIONS AND ACCEPTANCES FOR 1997 XX CONGRESS, GUADALAJARA

Data in Brackets for 1995 Congress, Washington DC

Minimum of Five Applicants for Inclusion in Table

	Applicants LASA97	Accepted LASA97		Applicants LASA97	Accepted LASA97
- Unique names and affiliations	3678 (2623)	2910	Paraguay	6 (17)	6
- Paper titles proposed	3246		Peru	28 (27)	26
- Men	2246 (1810)	1667	Venezuela	69 (46)	59
- Women	1963 (1390)	1569	Denmark	5	4
COUNTRY			France	17 (9)	12
Argentina	90 (83)	74	Germany	10	8
Bolivia	13 (9)	10	Italy	5	5
Brazil	277 (202)	243	Netherlands	19 (12)	15
Chile	63 (44)	50	Norway	7	5
Colombia	41 (24)	31	Portugal	5	5
Costa Rica	17 (22)	17	Spain	29 (20)	26
Cuba	70 (139)	65	Switzerland	6 (5)	3
Dominican Rep.	6 (7)	6	United Kingdom	100 (49)	69
Ecuador	18 (10)	16	Australia	7 (13)	7
El Salvador	13 (8)	13	New Zealand	5	4
Guatemala	20 (23)	18	Canada	75 (47)	61
Mexico	720 (296)	584	United States	2426 (2076)	1690
Nicaragua	19 (8)	17			

Source: LASA97 Database, UT-Austin.

It is not clear whether the rise in application from Europe was because of greater promotion among sister organizations across the pond, and the active encouragement of the three Brits on the Program Committee, or whether our European colleagues prefer to mix LASA with fieldwork—in this case in Mexico. What is clear, however, is the desirability of holding the Congress outside of the US periodically, and perhaps with greater frequency than in the past. Certainly holding the Congress in Mexico did not dissuade US or Latin American participation: quite the contrary. And it is to be hoped that the Mexico-based membership of LASA may have risen significantly. Moreover, both intellectually and socially, those of us who attended had a ball!

The sharp increase in interest in applications to the Guadalajara Congress posed a dilemma since we knew that we would have approximately the same number of meeting rooms as in Washington. Indeed, our firm impression is that as long as LASA continues to look for a Hotel/Convention Center type of venue, then the number of suitable meeting rooms will remain around the 30-35 mark. To go beyond this will require a change of policy and a move to a University campus where meeting rooms would not be a problem, but proximate and integrated (single or close-site) hotel accommodations would be a major headache. Another alternative would be to lengthen the Congress to four full days, but the general consensus is that this would be a retrogressive move, since participants would probably come only for a part of the Congress rather than for the whole duration. The short- and medium-term future (next three congresses at least) will continue to be three day intensive events at a hotel/convention center, so if LASA Congresses sustain the sort of participation rates of recent times, then Program Chairs will have to think imaginatively about how to accommodate as many people as possible within the Program.

How did we cope? In our case, the sharp increase in applications prompted us to do several things. First, we sought to exercise greater quality control and reject proposals that were incomplete or had failed to follow the instructions in the Call for Papers. We also set aside those that looked less strong intellectually, or appeared to be especially vulnerable in terms of the likelihood that they might ultimately implode due to a high number of "no-shows". Second, and in part to avoid the latter problem, we insisted upon a minimum number of paper offerings per panel (four), and urged that chairs look to accommodate five or even six panel presenters and up to two discussants. (This would allow for a little slippage at the end, and would minimize the number of late panel cancellations or two-presenter panels.) Where panel chairs kept to the low end, we encouraged our Section Chairs, where possible and appropriate, to "broker" individual paper proposals into existing panels or to create new ones. For the most part panel chairs responded cooperatively and positively to their requests, and this

helped a lot in accommodating as many participants as possible in the Program. Third, and fairly late in the process, we decided to include another session on Thursday (7:15-9:15 pm), which allowed us to include a further 35 panel sessions. Thankfully no-one complained: indeed the late Thursday sessions worked rather well, but it is probably only feasible (and desirable) to extend sessions in this way on the first day.

So, what you saw in the Final Program Book is pretty much what you got: 467 panels; 2,500+ papers presented; and a total of 582 separate sessions and events. Moreover, our strategy to minimize cancelled or imploded panels worked well, since only 15 were cancelled, and these were compensated by adding late special sessions and meetings. It was virtually unheard of for a meeting room not be used during regular session hours (8:00am-7:00pm). Not only did utilization of the excellent facilities at Guadalajara work very well, but there was general satisfaction with the intellectual quality of the Program and the papers. That so many people continued to attend sessions and participate so enthusiastically late into Saturday afternoon was, we believe, a good indication of the high quality of the Program, and we would like to thank all those who participated for their enthusiasm and contributions.

LASA is able to offer some travel support to junior scholars from Latin America to attend the Congress, and the size of the endowment has grown substantially in recent years thanks to the hard work of former LASA presidents and to the generosity of many members. Moreover, each Congress President manages to secure support from a variety of international agencies and Foundations. Jane Jaquette did a superb job in raising support for this year's Congress; of the 155 applicants for travel funding whose proposals were approved for inclusion in the Program, slightly over 100 received support. However, it is important that LASA members recognize that the possibilities of travel funding are extremely limited, and that strict criteria are used in adjudicating those awards (see the respective Call for Papers for further information). But in principle, one should not assume travel funding when making an application: it is safer to assume that funding will have to be found from one's home institution or from other sources. In any case, the actual decision about travel awards comes fairly late in the process (three or four months before the actual Congress), so please do explore every avenue to ensure your participation, and don't hold your breath.

We made several changes in the Sections for LASA97, principally in order to remove the rather anomalous "country" sections, as well as to try to break down, somewhat, the rather monolithic Literature and Arts Section. Even though we split it into two sections, applications to Literature remained high, with the largest number of applications to a single section by a considerable margin (Table 2).

Table 2. Panel Proposals by Section, XX Congress Guadalajara

SECTIONS	Total # of Panel Proposals	# of Individual Proposals	Total # applicants by Section (percent)	Total # Sessions Accommodated in the Program
Agriculture and Rural Issues	17	42	113 (4)	19
Arts & Culture	28	35	134 (5)	21
Democratization	58	87	307 (11)	51
Economic Development	34	59	210 (7)	34
Environment	12	44	95 (3)	14
Gender	54	66	266 (9)	43
History & Hist. Processes	66	55	332 (12)	52
Indigenous Groups & Issues	17	29	96 (3)	17
International Relations	22	36	107 (4)	14
Labor Studies	21	39	114 (4)	19
Latinos in the US	22	28	98 (3)	15
Law & Jurisprudence	10	21	73 (2.5)	12
Literature	87	85	437 (15)	74
Politics and Public Policy	53	68	304 (11)	51
Social Movements	18	40	110 (4)	16
Technology & Scholarly Resources	5	4	32 (1)	6
Urbanization & Demography	7	23	53 (2)	9
TOTAL	531	761	2881	467
Special Sessions*	45	--	--	54
Plenaries	--	--	--	5
Meetings	--	--	--	37
Receptions	--	--	--	19
TOTAL	576			582

*A number of special sessions were created subsequently in order to accommodate themes and issues of special interest.
 Source: LASA97 Database, UT-Austin.

Other changes were the inclusion of a new section on Law and Jurisprudence which sought to include the growing LASA constituency with research interests in this area, as well as constitutional lawyers throughout the region who have, in the past, missed out on LASA and are now encouraged to get more involved. Certainly, the Law and Jurisprudence section proved to be a considerable success with some very exciting and imaginative panels. Our thanks go especially to Teresa Caldeira and James Holston for working so hard to make this new section the success that it was. We were a little disappointed with the relatively low number of proposals for Urbanization and Demography, as well as for Technology and Scholarly Resources, but it appears that many of the panel proposals (in immigration and demography, for example) went to the Latinos in the US section. Again, these sections may require some fine tuning if they are to make sense as independent sections in the future.

There were several other major innovations in the LASA97 Program: the PC Training Center which ran sessions throughout the three days; an e-mail communications room; a

Latin American Film Festival at the CINEFORO; a Press Room; widespread press and media coverage; and a larger number of "Special Sessions". These were mostly organized in the months leading up to the Congress, and were designed to offer a forum for (non-paper) discussions on important issues (the Peruvian hostage crisis, for example); or as opportunities to bring scholars together to discuss "state-of-the-art" topics. In many cases these were convened by Section Chairs, whose review of a large number of proposals offered the opportunity to identify both clusters of leading scholars who would be participating in LASA as well as some of the leading-edge topics within disciplines. Another innovation was the LASA97 Home Page, which we hope most of you "hit" on: the page received a total of over 7,000 "hits" (only a few from the Program Office). We had a lot of fun creating the Web site, and hope that you enjoyed its contents and found them useful. A Congress Home Page will almost certainly be *de rigueur* in the future.

continued page 26

Scenes from LASA97



Jalisco State Governor Ing. Alberto Cárdenas Jiménez speaks at the Welcoming Reception. Dr. Victor Manuel González Romero, Rector General of the University of Guadalajara, is on the dais (third from left) along with several LASA officials.



Capacity crowd at the Wednesday Welcoming Reception.



LASA97 Co-chair Victoria Rodríguez at a LASA97 session.



LASA97 Co-chair Peter Ward surveying the fruits of his and Victoria Rodríguez's labor.

Alain Touraine at LASA97

Presentation at the Silvert Panel

Guadalajara, April 17, 1997

Madam President, Madam and MM. Members of the Special Committee, Dear Colleagues,

It is a great honor for me to receive the Kalman Silvert Award and to see my intellectual interest in Latin America recognized by my peers. Moreover, I know this is the first time that a non-American, a scholar who comes neither from North America nor from Central or South America receives this award. I hope it will contribute to strengthening the relationships between North and South American specialists and their European colleagues who recently met for the first time in great number in Salamanca.

It is a pleasure, too, because I received here, since I have arrived, a warm and friendly welcome, which is a moving experience.

*I want to add that it is for me of special value to receive an award which bears the name of Kalman Silvert. During my first stay on the continent, in Chile, I visited Buenos Aires where I met him. During this period, I was the host, in Santiago, of Frank Bonilla, who worked with American University Field Service as a member of a team Kalman was heading, and I was glad to see here Kalman's books: *The Conflict Society, Reaction and Revolution in Latin America*, published in 1966, and: *Expectant People, Nationalism and Development*, published in 1968, which were among the first books I read in my discovery of Latin America. So Kalman's name and works*

have always been present in my memory and my work.

I hope I can interpret your decision as an expression of your special interest for scholars who are not primarily specialists of Latin America but who, as social scientists, have constantly tried to base their general analyses on Latin American, as well as European or North American, facts and analyses. To integrate Latin American studies into general sociology has been one of my constant preoccupations. It is no longer possible to call sociologists those who study Europe or North America and Latin Americanists those who study Latin America.

But the continent has not been only part of my intellectual and professional life; it has been and is a central part of my personal life. It is because I fell in love with and married a Chilean woman here that, while she was becoming French, I tried to become, as much as I could, Chilean and Latin American. And it is because she was so attractive and perceptive that I had the opportunity to meet many Latin American intellectuals and to listen to them.

This is the reason why I want finally to express my gratitude to my Latin American friends, colleagues or former students from whom I have learned so much, not only for their insights on Latin American affairs but even more on the main problems of social sciences today.

Thank you.

Alain Touraine

Exitos y límites de la democratización en América Latina

Texto de la ponencia del Prof. Alain Touraine en la sesión plenaria del congreso de LASA, Guadalajara, 17 de Abril de 1997

La decadencia de las políticas autoritarias

1. Quisiera, como muchos de nosotros, dar elementos de respuesta a la pregunta: ¿se extiende y se fortalece o no la democracia en el continente latinoamericano? Después de un largo periodo dominado por dictaduras militares, guerrillas o partidos únicos o casi únicos, ¿ganan terreno las instituciones democráticas y está más y más aceptada la idea de democracia, tanto tiempo condenada como pequeño burguesa o como pantalla escondiendo el poder de la oligarquía, del imperialismo extranjero o del colonialismo interno? Es fácil observar que, en casi todos los países, ha desaparecido el monopolio del acceso al poder y que existen elecciones pluralistas, aunque el fraude todavía tenga gran importancia en algunos países. Pero para que estas observaciones obvias signifiquen el triunfo de la democracia, es necesario dar respuestas positivas a dos

preguntas más.

La primera es: ¿lo que observamos es el retroceso o la descomposición de fuerzas antidemocráticas o el fortalecimiento de fuerzas y procesos positivamente democráticos?

La segunda es: ¿se limita la democratización a una competencia relativamente abierta entre elites políticas o se construye un sistema político asegurando la representación de una pluralidad de intereses e ideas y capaz de limitar el poder del Estado dentro del marco de leyes votadas por representantes de la mayoría?

2. Antes de dar una respuesta elaborada a estas dos preguntas que todos tenemos constantemente en la mente, conviene precisar el punto de partida histórico del análisis, es decir el

retroceso de las políticas autoritarias que, por cierto, no puede ser identificado con la democratización pero que es, en el continente, una precondition (*prerequisite*) de la formación de un sistema político democrático. La presencia conjunta de dictaduras militares y de guerrillas, que tuvo como consecuencia la destrucción o el debilitamiento de las mediaciones políticas institucionales entre demandas sociales y decisiones estatales, resultaba en la incapacidad real de muchos países de autoregular su sistema político. Esta incapacidad podía resultar de un control social autoritario de gran parte de las demandas sociales, lo que lleva a la violencia como única forma de expresión; podía resultar también de la corrupción del sistema político o de una ruptura de la *polity* nacional, sea por luchas interregionales, sea por la imposibilidad de aplicar las leyes en ciertas partes del territorio nacional. Pero detrás de estos procesos de destrucción del sistema político, se vislumbra una causa más general de la violencia política, ampliamente analizada por el pensamiento latinoamericano: la heteronomía política de sociedades desintegradas por su heterogeneidad estructural, que fue analizada también por Celso Furtado, Anibal Pinto, Osvaldo Sunkel y otros, y que puede ir hasta el colonialismo interno críticamente analizado por Pablo González Casanova y Rodolfo Stavenhagen. Todos estos analistas indicaron claramente que la democracia es imposible o vacía de contenido real donde no existe ciudadanía, donde en particular un desarrollo desigual aumenta la distancia entre la costa y el interior, la ciudad y el campo o, más ampliamente entre lo que llamé, como título de un libro, *El universo de la palabra y el universo de la sangre, entre el mundo de los insiders y el mundo de los outsiders*.

En términos sociológicos clásicos, eso significa que sólo una parte de la población participa en el sistema social y político y que, fuera de este, existe, por un lado, una oligarquía que es más un *Stand, a status group*, (traducción corriente pero errónea del concepto alemán de *Stand*), que es una clase definida por relaciones de dominación y que depende también más de intereses extranjeros que nacionales y, por el otro lado, un mundo de los pobres, privados de hecho de derechos cívicos, marginados o excluidos. El vocabulario norteamericano actual habla en el primer caso de *hyperclass*, en el segundo caso de *underclass*, concepto desarrollado por Wilson.

Este tipo de análisis llega a la conclusión que grandes sectores de la población son de cierta manera fuera de la sociedad política o, de manera más profunda, que parte de la acción política corresponde a intereses o demandas que no encuentran expresión institucional en el sistema socio-político, lo que crea una extrema autonomía de ciertos actores políticos frente a demandas sociales que estos actores pretenden representar sin que esta representatividad sea institucionalmente reconocida. Los golpes de Estado, a través de los cuales la oligarquía argentina se opuso a las políticas populistas que favorecían a los consumidores urbanos contra los intereses de los exportadores, manifestaron los límites, en este país, del sistema político, tanto como las huelgas o las guerrillas revolucionarias en áreas rurales donde los campesinos dependían de gamonales.

El sistema democrático no puede mantenerse cuando los actores políticos se independizan de un sistema socio-económico fragmentado o en crisis. América Latina, por su tipo de evolución histórica, su dependencia del exterior, la resistencia de los caciques o caudillos, sus extremas desigualdades sociales y regionales, ha conocido tendencias revolucionarias o contrarrevolucionarias más fuertes que democráticas, con la excepción conocida, aunque no siempre cierta, de Chile, Uruguay y Costa Rica. En América Latina como, hasta cierto punto, en los países eurolatinos, el universo político desborda de lejos el universo socio-económico. Lo demuestra claramente la debilidad constante de los partidos y sindicatos de clase. Ni los partidos comunistas, ni los socialistas, en su definición europea clásica, han tenido una fuerza y una autonomía grande. En Chile mismo, el partido socialista, que se ubicó en gran parte a la izquierda del partido comunista, tuvo componentes populistas revolucionarios más que social-democráticos.

Esta situación es tan visible y tan bien conocida que los movimientos de tipo populista no se transformaron, después de la destrucción de los gobiernos oligárquicos en muchos países, en una lucha de clase, sino más bien en un desborde de los regímenes nacional-populares, en un populismo revolucionario o en una acción guerrillera cuya extrema expresión fue el foquismo, que se definió así mismo como ruptura total entre el foco y cualquiera clase social o alianza política, como se vio, en forma dramática, no solamente en Bolivia sino en muchos países. Sendero Luminoso, de manera aun más extrema, atacó el Estado peruano más que mobilizó las clases campesinas o urbanas pobres.

3. Los cambios políticos, que muchos definen de manera demasiado superficial como democratización, fueron, antes de todo, el agotamiento de los procesos políticos que eran desvinculados de instituciones incapaces de regular los cambios económicos y sociales. Los populismos revolucionarios fueron destruidos en el Cono Sur o en Brasil y Bolivia por dictaduras militares o reincorporados en un populismo militar autoritario como en el Perú, pero los regímenes autoritarios, una vez aplastados sus enemigos con mucha violencia, se pusieron inútiles cuando empezó a reorganizarse o a fortalecerse el sistema económico social, como se vio en particular en Brasil, Uruguay y Chile, donde las dictaduras prepararon y controlaron en gran medida su salida del poder.

Durante la década perdida de los años ochenta, o más recientemente cuando la situación objetiva parecía favorable a los movimientos revolucionarios y contrarrevolucionarios, la realidad política fue muy distinta a pesar de algunas tentativas de golpes militares desde Argentina hasta Venezuela o Paraguay.

Finalmente, la caída del imperio soviético, la decadencia de Cuba y también la descomposición de la economía nicaragüense y del poder sandinista agotaron los recursos materiales e ideológicos de las guerrillas hasta que acuerdos de paz fueran firmados en El Salvador y en Guatemala y que elecciones libres sean realizadas en Nicaragua. La transformación económica de

los años noventa, la vuelta a un balance positivo de los movimientos de capitales, a pesar de las crisis graves de México y Argentina, han demostrado la capacidad creciente del sistema socio-político de resistir a las fuerzas centrífugas y de aumentar su capacidad de manejo político.

Pero, en realidad, en muchos países, después de una politización extrema, predomina, por lo menos durante el período actual, una fuerte tendencia a limitar el sistema político a un mercado político abierto y a eliminar tanto temas y debates ideológicos como todas formas de violencia política. Situación semejante a la que, durante el mismo período, después del '89, fue predominante en la Europa Central post-comunista y en la misma Rusia donde, además, el sistema político ha caído en ruinas.

Algunos actores y observadores consideran esta vuelta a procesos electorales libres como una comprobación de la victoria de la democracia. No se puede aceptar esta conclusión. La decadencia de las ideas y de los movimientos revolucionarios y contra-revolucionarios significa el retroceso de la política desvinculada de la mayor parte de la sociedad, lo que es positivo, pero no indica *per se* la creación o el fortalecimiento de la democracia. El pasaje posible del todo político a un todo económico representaría otra forma de crisis del sistema político y de las instituciones democráticas, no su fortalecimiento. Pero esta observación nos obliga, después de esta introducción, a definir de manera más explícita, aunque sea brevemente, lo que es la democracia.

Procesos democráticos y crisis de la democracia

1. A pesar del sinnúmero de definiciones de la democracia que han sido propuestas, es relativamente fácil llegar a un concepto suficientemente claro del proceso democrático. Es "la transformación de una pluralidad reconocida de intereses y valores en la unidad de la ley y del gobierno a través de la libre elección, a plazos regulares, de los dirigentes políticos". La segunda parte de esta definición es muy clásica; la primera nos recuerda que el sistema político debe actuar como mediación, como *go-between*, entre la sociedad y el Estado, de tal manera que, como dice John Rawls, vivan juntos, es decir bajo las mismas leyes, gente de creencias y convicciones distintas. La democracia tiene entonces que combinar tres principios que son las condiciones básicas del proceso democrático.

- En primer lugar, *la limitación del poder del Estado* por las instituciones políticas y por la ley. La tradición política inglesa ha casi constantemente dado una importancia central a esta *procedural democracy* que va mucho más allá de una simple definición de las reglas del juego y que no se limita al Estado de derecho que puede ser y fue históricamente muchas veces antidemocrático.

- En segundo lugar, *la representatividad social* de los dirigentes políticos y entonces la subordinación de los agentes políticos a los actores sociales, auto-organizados y representables. Este elemento ha tenido una importancia central en la tradición francesa y también en los regímenes social-demócratas como en

Suecia donde todavía se habla de partidos burgueses y partidos obreros.

- En tercer lugar, *la conciencia de ciudadanía*, que tiene una importancia central en el modelo estadounidense de democracia en el cual el derecho constitucional y la Corte Suprema juegan un papel central y que tuvo la capacidad de integrar inmigrantes de orígenes muy diversos.

Estos tres elementos se definen cada uno por su papel de vinculación entre dos de los tres niveles de la organización social: la sociedad civil, el sistema político y el Estado. La *procedural democracy* mantiene el control del sistema político sobre el Estado; la idea de representatividad asegura el control de la sociedad civil sobre el sistema político; la idea de ciudadanía vincula al Estado con la sociedad y transforma ésta en Estado nacional, tal como lo hicieron las revoluciones holandesa, inglesa, norteamericana y francesa. El conjunto de estos tres elementos constituye la democracia como expresión institucional de la soberanía popular porque crea una dinámica del poder que viene desde abajo, de la sociedad y, a través del sistema político, llega al Estado.

2. Si falta uno de estos tres elementos básicos, la democracia entra en crisis. Si pueblo y Estado se juntan directamente, el populismo aparece y destruye las mediaciones políticas e intelectuales. Si Estado y sistema político dejan de lado al pueblo, se forma un régimen oligárquico que puede ser antipopular pero también democratizante como fue el caso en la primera fase de las democracias occidentales, en el tiempo de los Whigs y de los Tories en Gran Bretaña, de los Federalist Papers en los Estados Unidos y de los liberales como Tocqueville o Guizot en la monarquía de Julio en Francia y finalmente, si desaparece el concepto de ciudadanía, el campo político está invadido por los grupos de intereses.

Por supuesto existen formas más extremas de descomposición de la democracia cuando existe solamente uno de sus tres elementos. Si se mantiene solamente el sistema político, se forma una *partitocrazia* que los Italianos no fueron los únicos en conocer; si la conciencia de ciudadanía está desvinculada de las instituciones políticas y de los actores sociales, triunfa el bonapartismo que no se confunde con una dictadura; en tercer y último lugar, si la referencia al pueblo elimina a la vez el sistema político y la conciencia de ciudadanía, aparece la dictadura de una vanguardia, se crea una dictadura del proletariado o de cualquier otra definición del pueblo.

3. Estos elementos de definición de la democracia se aplican en cualquier tipo de situaciones. De la misma manera que no hay un concepto asiático o europeo de los derechos humanos, no hay una forma latinoamericana o japonesa de democracia. En todos los países y en todas circunstancias, la democracia es un cierto tipo de régimen político y la capacidad del sistema político de vincular la diversidad de los intereses con la unidad de la ley. La democracia, entonces, no es un tipo global de sociedad. El apoyo mayoritario a dirigentes políticos no constituye por sí una democracia; de la misma manera, los efectos positivos de una política para la mayoría del pueblo, el

mejoramiento del nivel de educación o de salud pública tienen consecuencias importantes y positivas y pueden explicar el apoyo popular a un gobierno, pero no permiten afirmar que tal régimen es democrático.

4. Ahora podemos volver a examinar más directamente las situaciones latinoamericanas para dar una respuesta a la pregunta formulada al comienzo: ¿después de un período revolucionario y contrarrevolucionario, entra el continente en un período de debilitación de los actores políticos y de triunfo de los actores económicos o, otra hipótesis, aparece o reaparece la democracia, definida como acabo de hacerlo a grandes rasgos? Es decir: 1) por la diferenciación del Estado, del sistema político y de la sociedad civil, lo que es la vertiente liberal de la democracia, y 2) por la dinámica desde abajo hacia arriba, que es el aspecto popular de la democracia.

Más allá de los regímenes nacional-populares

1. No es alejarse de las respuestas concretas e inmediatas a esta pregunta central echar primero una mirada atrás, porque el continente tuvo una larga tradición de regímenes parcialmente democráticos y que la construcción o reconstrucción de las democracias no puede ser entendida y realizada sin un juicio previo sobre los regímenes nacional-populares. Por eso, no necesitamos entrar en temas de gran importancia y que muchos de nosotros, y Kalman Silvert en particular, hemos contribuido a analizar y comprender. Pero conviene subrayar solamente un aspecto central de estos regímenes y sus consecuencias. Este aspecto central es la ausencia de diferenciación entre los tres niveles que acabo de separar en la definición de la democracia: Estado, sistema político y sociedad civil. La misma palabra compuesta nacional-popular indica la mezcla de lo nacional y de lo popular, del Estado y del pueblo. Esta mezcla puede llegar a un populismo autoritario, tal como existió en los comienzos del peronismo o también en largos períodos de la política mejicana y obviamente aun más en el Brasil getulista, pero no destruye siempre el sistema político, incluso a veces lo fortalece, lo que fue el caso de manera extrema en el Uruguay battlista y también en el Chile de Frei y Allende, y también en la República Dominicana en su período PRD. Pero los gobiernos nacional-populares tuvieron como rasgo común una

fuerte identificación del Estado, de un partido o movimiento y de un pueblo o de una nación. Más nacionalistas en los casos de México y Brasil, más populistas en el México de Echeverría, en el peronismo o en la ideología del APRA, como en el trienio venezolano, los regímenes nacional-populares mezclaron un papel de distribución de recursos externos con una política de sustitución de importaciones y, en el terreno social, la extensión de una amplia clase media urbana con la separación ya mencionada entre los incluidos y los excluidos.

Este breve esbozo de análisis de un tipo de sistema político que todos conocemos nos recuerda que la democratización no es solamente lo contrario del choque directo entre fuerzas revolucionarias y Estados contra-revolucionarios, sino también la ruptura con regímenes anteriores definidos por un nivel alto de confusión entre lo estatal, lo político y lo social y por una fuerte dualización o heterogeneidad de la sociedad, económica y política.



Jane Jaquette presents the Kalman Silvert Award to Alain Touraine at the Silvert Panel.

2. La situación actual en el continente se define antes de todo por una *diferenciación creciente* de los tres niveles de la vida social. Eso es el resultado de las políticas de ajuste estructural que siguieron un período de descomposición de los regímenes nacional-populares o, más concretamente, de crisis inflacionarias o hiperinflacionarias. La política económica se vuelve más liberal, los controles sociales y políticos de la economía disminuyen o son eliminados. El FMI, en muchos casos, aparece como el dueño del sistema económico y financiero. Decididas desde arriba, estas políticas destruyen la interdependencia de los niveles de intervención que caracterizaba las políticas nacional-populares. Se puede hablar de una revolución capitalista si se entiende por capitalismo, no la economía de

mercado en sí ni tampoco el papel central de los empresarios privados, sino, como ya lo indiqué, la autonomización de los actores económicos. Tal es el caso de nuestra época, cuando todos hablamos de globalización o mundialización de la economía. Es indiscutible que se vive un período de desocialización y despolitización de la economía, es decir una revolución capitalista. Las revoluciones capitalistas, la desvinculación del sistema económico y del sistema político o de las demandas sociales no acarrear por sí, en todos los países, la caída de la democracia, ya que esta no cayó ni en Inglaterra, eje del sistema económico mundial, a comienzos de siglo, ni en Alemania, Estados Unidos, Francia y Japón, elementos principales del sistema capitalista. Pero al revés

provocó, en los países dominados, revoluciones sociales y políticas, en México primero, en Rusia y otros países después. Viene entonces la pregunta: ¿por qué lado va el continente? Existen tres respuestas: 1) hacia un alianza del liberalismo económico con la democracia política o, al contrario, 2) hacia una pérdida de control político y una dualización creciente de la sociedad que destruye la ciudadanía o, 3) tercera solución, hacia un alianza del liberalismo económico con un autoritarismo político.

Para contestar estas preguntas, conviene antes de todos deshacerse del determinismo económico según el cual la democracia es un sub-producto del desarrollo económico, hipótesis que quita cualquier importancia a la democracia, especialmente para los países subdesarrollados o emergentes que tendrían que aceptar regímenes autoritarios hasta que lleguen a un nivel suficientemente alto de desarrollo económico. Esta visión tuvo gran éxito algunas décadas atrás, pero es una mezcla de análisis acertados e ideas falsas. Me parece cierto que, según la fórmula conocida de nuestro colega Maravall, antiguo ministro de educación en España, no hay democracia sin economía de mercado, pero que hay muchos países con economía de mercado sin democracia. En realidad, el mundo está lleno, en este período de globalización económica, de países dedicados a la economía de mercado y con regímenes autoritarios. El caso más importante es China, pero muchos países asiáticos aceptan también el liberalismo económico, y Marruecos, Tunisia o, en América Latina, ayer Pinochet y hoy Fujimori, demuestran que, en las economías emergentes, la alianza del liberalismo económico con el nacionalismo cultural o un régimen autoritario es una situación muy común, en realidad predominante. ¿Quién se atravesaría hoy a profetizar que todos los países llegan más o menos temprano al mismo tipo de régimen político? ¿Quien, menos de diez años después de la caída del muro de Berlín, todavía cree, como algunos analistas, que el mundo entero va adoptando un modelo único de organización social: economía de mercado, democracia parlamentaria y tolerancia cultural? Aunque la tesis opuesta no sea mucho más sólida que ésta, es más interesante escuchar políticos más profundos que las luchas culturales y étnicas y religiosos más profundos que las luchas sociales y nacionales del pasado, enfrentamientos que son dirigidos por Estados o fuerzas políticas autoritarias.

Una segunda observación, aun más crítica, es que la definición de la democracia utilizada por los autores que la vinculan estrechamente con la modernización económica, es casi tautológica porque está centrada en el pluralismo político que parece más fácil de conseguir en países con desarrollo endógeno, es decir donde los actores económicos son independientes del Estado. Pero si uno se refiere a la definición que acabo de dar, es posible llegar a conclusiones distintas porque la conciencia de ciudadanía puede ser debilitada en países ricos, no solamente porque los intereses económicos son más fuertes—por ejemplo por el papel de las empresas transnacionales—que la conciencia de participar en la vida de un Estado nacional o porque se observa una tasa baja de participación política o porque el grado de corrupción o de

dependencia de las decisiones políticas en relación con grupos de intereses o lobbies es alto.

Finalmente, algunos años atrás, la democratización parecía más visible que el crecimiento económico y, recientemente, la segunda crisis mejicana difundió de nuevo una imagen negativa de la economía latinoamericana. En realidad, su futuro próximo es alentador. Este año 1997, el PIB del continente crecerá entre 4,4 y 5 por ciento y las economías latinoamericanas parecen a los inversionistas extranjeros, según el banco de Boston, como la mejor oportunidad de inversiones, antes de todo y de lejos México y después Brasil, Argentina y Chile. Pero esta situación no tiene por sí consecuencias políticas favorables a la democratización. En especial, las excelentes perspectivas de México no nos aseguran que una democratización real progrese en este país donde, al contrario, aumentan las desigualdades, de la misma manera que el crecimiento de Colombia en el pasado no fortaleció su democracia.

Todas estas observaciones críticas nos llevan a abandonar una visión evolucionista ingenua. Conviene definir la situación política de América Latina por su nivel de participación en un proceso general de modernización sino por situaciones políticas favorables o desfavorables a la formación de la democracia como capacidad del sistema político de actuar como mediador entre la pluralidad de los grupos sociales y la unidad de la ley y del gobierno.

Las condiciones de la democratización

1. La manera más sencilla de llevar a cabo tal análisis es examinar primero las condiciones de formación de los elementos básicos del proceso político y, después, de las formas de vinculación entre ellos, es decir de los tres componentes del proceso democrático: limitación del poder estatal, representatividad de los agentes políticos y conciencia de ciudadanía.

2. En el período actual, lo que parece más urgente es la *transformación del Estado*, lo que suelo llamar la estatización del Estado. La liberalización de la economía ha separado las instituciones económicas de las políticas, según el proceso de diferenciación que es un elemento central, según los clásicos y especialmente Max Weber, de la modernización. El Estado puede dejar que disminuya su capacidad de intervención o, al contrario, puede darse nuevas metas: por un lado, la convergencia de factores más y más indirectos de producción, el fortalecimiento de lo que Fernando Fajnzylber llamó núcleos endógenos de desarrollo y, por el otro lado, la integración nacional que puede ser amenazada por la formación de nuevas enclaves. Brasil es un buen ejemplo del esfuerzo casi constante del Estado para integrar una nación segmentada por enormes desigualdades regionales. Desde Getúlio Vargas hasta el Plano Real y sus consecuencias, pasando por la formación de nuevos polos económicos en el Nordeste, el Estado brasileño ha intentado, pero no siempre con éxito, integrar mejor el territorio nacional, incluso a veces contra las demandas de São

Paulo. Es cierto que el ejemplo brasileño es casi excepcional y que, en particular, la evolución actual de México es muy diferente, con el crecimiento rápido de las maquiladoras cerca de la frontera norte, y el aumento de los desequilibrios entre el Norte y el Sur que provoca grandes migraciones hacia la capital federal y hacia los Estados Unidos. Sin embargo, México, durante las presidencias de De La Madrid y Salinas de Gortari, intentó fortalecer el Estado, pero a través de un proceso no de democratización sino de presidencialización. ¿De dónde viene que se lleve a cabo o no esta estatización del Estado que siempre fue fuerte en Chile desde Portales, débil en Argentina, más que débil en Colombia o en Ecuador, etc? Los factores principales parecen ser de tipo histórico: la homogeneidad relativa de la población o la conquista de un espacio nacional, en Brasil desde el período de los Bandeirantes o en Chile con la limitación de los Macuches al sur del río Bio Bio o el efecto unificador del movimiento revolucionario, lo que dió durante muchos años a México un Estado fuerte y con gran capacidad de integración y de represión. De manera opuesta, es débil el Estado cuando existen grupos económicos nacionales o extranjeros con mucha autonomía, tales como existen en Colombia, en Ecuador o en Argentina, por lo menos durante el gran período exportador, y también en Brasil cuando el Estado de São Paulo rompió en 1932 su participación en el sistema político nacional.

3. La construcción o reconstrucción del Estado nacional con fuerte capacidad de movilización de recursos y de integración nacional permite a su vez la autonomización del *sistema político* porque éste se encuentra entonces separado del Estado y de su política antigua de tipo clientelístico. Pero, si todos los países del continente han aceptado, más o menos tarde, con entusiasmo o desconfianza, la apertura de su economía y si muchos de ellos están fortaleciendo su Estado y por ejemplo aumentando la carga fiscal, como se ve en Argentina tanto como en Chile, pocos países han organizado un sistema político autónomo. Aquí se ve una oposición bastante tajante entre el Norte y el Sur. Los países del Sur siguen, con más o menos éxito, un proceso de institucionalización política, mientras los países del Norte se alejan de esta meta y viven o en un sistema autoritario o en un sistema caótico, y, en algunos casos, en un sistema político orientado hacia la incorporación a la economía norteamericana más que hacia la integración de la sociedad nacional, como es el caso de la República Dominicana, sin mencionar el caso especial de Panamá. Es notable la capacidad de los países del Sur de construir y mantener en circunstancias a veces difíciles un sistema político autónomo. Por supuesto, el caso extremo es el de Chile. Desde el plebiscito ganado con el tema de la reconciliación y no de la revancha, el régimen democrático, bajo el liderazgo de Patricio Aylwin, ha reconstruido un sistema parlamentario en el cual gran parte de las fuerzas pinochetistas fueron incorporadas, lo que resultó en una debilitación notable de los grupos extremistas, y en particular del partido comunista, a pesar de su política moderada durante el período de la Unidad Popular, pero como consecuencia de la actitud extremista del Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez. Esta fuerza del sistema político, el papel central de la concertación en la cual están unidos

democristianos y socialistas, explica la fuerza de la intervención del Estado en una política económica que nunca aceptó capitales a corto plazo y aseguró un flujo importante de inversiones reales. El éxito chileno no era evidente al comienzo. Después de conflictos brutales y de una represión brutal y frente a la presencia muy visible del General Pinochet apoyándose en su constitución, tensiones o rupturas políticas eran previsibles. No ocurrieron, en gran parte porque el proceso de diferenciación institucional estaba ya bastante avanzado. La política económica a partir de 1984-85 fue claramente orientada hacia afuera, pero no como en el tiempo de los Chicago Boys dedicada a construir castillos de naipes financieros. El Estado, tan fuerte en Chile, asumió sus responsabilidades nacionales. Esta doble evolución permitió la formación de un sistema político sólido. Esto no significa que la política social de Chile haya sido un éxito y que este país cumpla con todos los requerimientos del proceso democrático, pero sería injusto no reconocer el éxito excepcional del proceso político chileno.

En un país sumamente diferente de Chile, Bolivia, también el éxito político es notable, desde la vuelta al poder de Paz Estenssoro y hasta la alianza de Sánchez de Lozada con Víctor Hugo Cárdenas y los altos mandos aymara contra Banzer y los corrientes políticos de tipo populista.

Menos evidente es la autonomización del sistema político brasileño, debilitado por la ausencia de verdaderos partidos y en el cual la Cámara de diputados funciona como *clearing house* de grupos de intereses. Sin embargo, este sistema se ha mostrado capaz de resolver el caso Collor y además ha mantenido un equilibrio útil entre el gobierno federal, los Estados y los municipios. Pero el sistema político sigue siendo el elemento más débil del proceso brasileño, lo que puede ser explicado dentro del presente marco de análisis por la insuficiente reconstrucción del Estado, a pesar de las intenciones proclamadas por el nuevo Presidente.

No es paradójico decir que el sistema político argentino, a pesar de numerosos casos de corrupción y de manipulación, está recuperando una capacidad más grande de acción autónoma. Muchos observadores anunciaron, estos últimos años, una "fujimorización" de Menem, lo que no sucedió. El pacto de Olivos fue un elemento decisivo en el fortalecimiento del sistema político y se ve claramente un proceso de reconstrucción de la vida política, en particular del partido radical con su posible alianza con el Frepaso. Por supuesto, el Uruguay de Sanguinetti sigue teniendo, como Chile, un sistema político fuerte.

No es posible revisar tan detenidamente la situación de los países del Norte. La crisis permanente del Estado y del sistema político colombiano, a pesar de los esfuerzos de Samper, la extrema debilidad del sistema político venezolano, son demasiado conocidos e indican un fracaso claro del proceso democrático en estos países, lo que se observa también en el Ecuador. En México, la alianza del neoliberalismo y del corporatismo estatal ha impedido hasta la fecha la formación de un sistema de partidos.

Muy diferente de los casos mejicano, colombiano y venezolano es la evolución de los países centroamericanos que conocieron durante años una situación de guerra interna o de guerrillas. El Frente Farabundo Martí se incorpora con éxito al sistema político salvadoreño; se ha llegado por fin a un acuerdo de paz en Guatemala y Nicaragua, país en ruinas, tuvo elecciones libres. Mucho más débil es el sistema político haitiano con la división del movimiento Lavadas y una participación electoral muy débil.

4. Para que sea completo el proceso de diferenciación institucional, conviene que aumente finalmente la capacidad de acción autónoma de los *actores sociales*. Pero aquí se ven los límites actuales del proceso democrático. Sin embargo, aquí también conviene oponer el Sur y el Norte, pero de manera opuesta a lo que se observó en la formación del sistema político, porque la formación de actores sociales, especialmente populares, es difícil y limitada en el Sur, mientras es más visible y fuerte en los países del Norte.

Ni en Chile ni en Brasil ni en Argentina los sindicatos y el movimiento obrero en general, que han tenido una gran trayectoria en estos países, desempeñan un papel central en el proceso político. Se dedican en gran parte, como la UGT en España o FO en Francia, a defender a los asalariados de las empresas públicas, es decir de sectores de clase media, en lugar de luchar contra desigualdades sociales crecientes. Si bien es cierto que las CGT argentinas se lanzaron varias veces en una serie de huelgas generales contra el gobierno, es difícil hablar en este caso de un movimiento porque la participación del sindicalismo en el Estado y en el sistema institucional es demasiado fuerte. En Brasil, después de la exitosa creación de un sindicalismo libre por Lula en el ABC paulista, la CUT se ha orientado más y más hacia la defensa de los bancarios y otros empleados públicos, apoyándose en el descontento político de la clase media pública. Más recientemente, los dirigentes de la CUT han tomado una posición más negociadora, pero sin tener una capacidad de movilización muy fuerte. También en el Perú se puede observar el retroceso del sindicalismo que había obtenido, en particular en las minas y bajo liderazgo comunista, una gran capacidad de acción autónoma.

El contraste es grande con la formación de movimientos sociales a la vez autónomos y democráticos en el Norte, en particular donde existe una población indígena importante. De Marcos a Rigoberta Menchú, de los indios equatorianos a los kataristas ya mencionados o a grupos más limitados en Colombia, es importante y notable la formación de movimientos sociales en ruptura con las antiguas guerrillas y juntando de manera muy nueva la defensa de una identidad cultural con una voluntad de democratizar la sociedad nacional. El impacto internacional que consiguió el neo-zapatismo de Chiapas me parece muy legítimo, a pesar de la debilidad material de las comunidades de la selva lacandona y de las pocas posibilidades de Marcos y de sus consejeros y apoyos de influir sobre la evolución del sistema político mejicano. El movimiento encabezado por Marcos es el elemento más democratizante del sistema político mejicano. El Norte y Nordeste brasileño, más próximo al Norte que al Sur del

continente, tienen también una larga tradición de luchas campesinas que ahora toman nuevas formas, como el movimiento de los *Sem Terra* cuyo acceso es democratizante pero que crea vínculos nuevos entre demandas sociales y poder político.

5. En resumen, acabo de describir una democratización trunca, en la cual la autonomización de la economía y del Estado no fue completada por la formación de un sistema político y de actores sociales fuertes sino solamente por la formación débil del sistema político en los países del Sur (salvo en Chile y Uruguay donde está fuerte) y por la creación en los países del Norte o, a veces, en otros, de movimientos sociales en general campesinos, combinando defensa comunitaria con acción política democratizante. Esta combinación de defensa de grupos excluidos con metas democráticas se observe, en formas diferentes, en los países industriales, en los Estados Unidos o en Europa occidental, y tienen más futuro que los reivindicaciones defensivas de la clase media pública.

6. Conviene ahora considerar más directamente la situación de los tres componentes del régimen democrático: la limitación del poder estatal, la representatividad social de los agentes políticos y la conciencia de ciudadanía que vinculan la sociedad civil, el sistema político y el Estado.

a) *El poder del Estado está limitado* en general, pero no por el sistema político y por los actores sociales sino más bien por su propia debilidad o por su subordinación a las exigencias del sistema económico internacional y de las grandes instituciones financieras.

b) *La representatividad social* de los agentes políticos sigue siendo en general muy baja, especialmente en los países del Norte. Es más fuerte en Argentina que en Brasil, pero solamente en Chile alcanza un nivel muy alto, en realidad más alto que en la mayor parte de los grandes países industriales. La corrupción, el clientelismo, la inestabilidad del sistema político indican la presencia de una *partitocrazia* cuyo origen principal es la debilidad y heteronomía de los mismos actores sociales.

c) *La conciencia de ciudadanía*, a mi modo de ver, es más débil en el período actual de lo que fue en el período nacional-popular cuando existía una ideología fuerte de la mexicanidad y cuando Brasil estaba dominado y movilizado por su Estado. Otra vez, Chile aparece como un caso aislado.

En total, es difícil hablar de una dinámica democratizante que transforma demandas populares en leyes y decisión de gobierno.

Conclusiones

1. Como lo indiqué al comienzo, la democratización descansa en tres procesos siempre presente pero que no intervienen en el mismo orden. El primero es la diferenciación institucional. Le di mucha importancia porque las tradiciones políticas del continente, la nacional-popular, la revolucionaria y la

contra-revolucionaria, se habían caracterizado por un nivel bajo de diferenciación institucional e incluso con una lucha abierta contra ella. A pesar de los límites o fracasos parciales de este proceso, no cabe duda que los países latinoamericanos tienen hoy un nivel de diferenciación institucional mucho más alto que en cualquier momento del pasado. El aspecto más evidente de este proceso es la autonomización de la economía, condición necesaria pero por supuesto no suficiente de la democratización.

2. *El segundo*, que fue presentado como central en mi introducción, es la presencia de los tres principios: limitación del poder estatal, representatividad social de los agentes políticos, y ciudadanía. Aquí el balance final es mucho menos positivo. Se observa más bien la debilidad de los procesos de vinculación del Estado, del sistema político y de la sociedad civil. De tal manera que los componentes positivos del proceso democrático están mucho menos presentes en la situación actual que el componente negativo, es decir la diferenciación institucional.

3. Finalmente, *el tercero* es la dinámica global desde abajo hacia arriba que subordina los agentes políticos a las demandas de la mayoría y el Estado al control del sistema político. La dinámica política en América Latina sigue siendo desde arriba hacia abajo. Pero esta conclusión negativa tiene que ser limitada porque la situación es muy semejante en los grandes países industriales, no solamente occidentales sino también a nivel mundial. No conviene pedir más a los latinoamericanos de lo que dan los países europeos y norteamericanos. Pero la debilidad en otros países del proceso democrático, muchas veces limitado a las libertades públicas, no puede evitar que tengamos una visión inquieta del proceso latinoamericano de democratización, todavía muy incompleto y frágil. Nos preocupa en particular la evolución antidemocrática en el Perú y la ausencia permanente de principios democráticos en México.

4. América Latina casi no conoce más la presencia de proyectos políticos autoritarios; la sociedad civil está menos incorporada al Estado y dominada por él; pero su autonomía no significa que el principio democrático por excelencia, la soberanía popular, sea realmente respetada. En América Latina, como en muchas partes del mundo, acabamos de vivir una transición liberal que eliminó formas de control político y social de la economía que se habían vuelto más y más disfuncionales. Pero esta liberalización, que muchos consideran como una precondition de la democracia, no es por sí democratizante. Elimina obstáculos pero no ofrece ni la capacidad social de iniciativa ni la visión del sistema político y de sus funciones que dan vida a la democracia. Casi todos los países del mundo viven en el momento actual el mismo problema: ¿Como ir más allá de la transición liberal; como salir de ella; como evitar que la economía se vuelva salvaje más que libre; como reconstruir una sociedad dominada por principios de libertad, igualdad y justicia? En muchas partes del mundo, se sigue un camino abiertamente no democrático para vincular de nuevo, bajo regímenes autoritarios, la economía con la nación y su cultura. América Latina, al contrario, que es parte del mundo occidental, busca una solución democrática a la ruptura entre economía y sociedad. Búsqueda difícil con éxitos y fracasos en todos los países pero alentadora. Espero que este análisis del proceso democrático sea útil a los actores sociales para que tengan una conciencia más clara de su capacidad de acción y para que consigan que sus países avancen hacia nuevas etapas de la democratización.

[*Professor Touraine's paper "De la mañana de los regímenes nacional-populares a la víspera de los movimientos sociales," presented at the LASA97 Special Session entitled Theorizing Social Movements, will appear in the Fall issue of the Forum. It will soon be accessible at the LASA97 electronic papers website, also.*] ■

XX CONGRESS PAPERS AVAILABLE

Papers from LASA97 may still be ordered. See *LASA Forum*, Spring 1997, for the base list, and for instructions on how to order. Since that list was published, the following titles have become available:

Aguilar, Edwin Eloy, The Nexus Between State Policies and Worker Behavior: Nicaraguan and Costa Rican Informal Sector Workers.

De la Torre, Renée, De como las mujeres cocinan la nación: una receta de familia.

The following papers have been amended:

Blanco Gil, José and **Oliva López Arellano**, La polarización de la política de salud en México.

De la Torre, Renée, Alma Dorantes González, Patricia Fortuny Loret de Mola and **Cristina Gutiérrez Zúñiga**,

Diversidad religiosa en Guadalajara: Reflexiones sobre la encuesta.

Morayta, M., Indianization and Mestizaje: Back and Forth.

Ferman, Claudia, Transnacionalidad y escritura: literatura argentina a ambos lados del Atlántico. ■



CALLING ALL MEMBERS

NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 1998 SLATE

Deadline: *December 1, 1997*

LASA members are invited to suggest nominees for Vice President and three members of the Executive Council, for terms beginning November 1, 1998. 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 *December 1, 1997* to: Professor Arcadio Díaz-Quiflones, Chair, Nominations Committee, Princeton University, Romance Languages and Linguistics, 201 East Pyne Building, Princeton, NJ 08544-5264.

The winning candidate for Vice President will serve in that capacity until April 30, 2000, and as President for an additional eighteen months. Executive Council members will serve a three-year term from November 1, 1998 to October 31, 2001.

Members of the Nominations Committee in addition to Professor Díaz-Quiflones are: Arturo Arias (as Executive Council Liaison), San Francisco State University; Charles Hale, University of Texas; Margaret Keck, Johns Hopkins University; Larissa Lomnitz, UNAM, Mexico; and Barbara Weinstein, SUNY-Stony Brook.

CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *November 20, 1997*

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites LASA members to nominate candidates for the 1998 award. 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. Urquidi (1991), George Kubler (1992), Osvaldo Sunkel (1994), Richard Fagen (1995), and Alain Touraine (1997). The selection committee consists of Jane Jaquette (chair), immediate past president; Cynthia McClintock and Carmen Diana Deere, past presidents; and Gilbert Merckx, editor of *LARR*. Nominations should be sent to LASA Executive Director Reid Reading at the LASA Secretariat by *November 20, 1997*. Please include biographic information and a rationale for each nomination.

CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *January 15, 1998*

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. Eligible books for the September 1998 LASA International Congress in Chicago, Illinois will be those published between July 1, 1996 and December 31, 1997. 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 *January 15, 1998*. By the month preceding the International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The award will be presented during the LASA98 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 1998 is Florencia Mallon, Department of History, 3211 Humanities Building, University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706. Committee members include: Walter Goldfrank, University of California/Santa Cruz, Merrill College, Sociology, Santa Cruz, CA 95064; Kay Warren, Princeton University, Anthropology, 100 Aaron Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544-1011; Philip Oxhorn, McGill University, Political Science, 855 Sherbrooke W, Montreal ON H3A 2T7, Canada; and Julio Ramos, University of California/Berkeley, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Berkeley, CA 94720.

CALL FOR PREMIO IBEROAMERICANO BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

Deadline: *January 15, 1998*

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 or Portuguese in any country. Eligible books for this September 1998 award must have been published between July 1, 1996 and December 31, 1997. 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. All books must reach
each member of the committee by *January 15, 1998*. LASA
membership is not a requirement for receiving the award. The
award will be presented during the LASA98 business meeting
or in a special session, and the awardee will be publicly
honored. The chair of the *Premio Iberoamericano Book
Award Committee* for 1998 is Jeremy Adelman, History
Department, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544.
Other members of the Committee are Carmenza Gallo,
Sociology, CUNY, Queens College, 65-30 Kissena Blvd.,
Flushing, NY 11367; Daniel Mato, Apartado Postal 88551,
Caracas 1080, Venezuela; and Gabriela Mora, 560 Riverside
Dr., Apt. 7K, New York, NY 10027.

**CALL FOR NOMINATIONS
LASA MEDIA AWARDS
Deadline: March 15, 1998**

The Latin American Studies Association is pleased to
announce its competition for the 1998 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 breakthrough journalism. Nominations
are invited from LASA members and from journalists.
Journalists from both the print and electronic media are
eligible. The Committee will carefully review each nominee's
work and select an award recipient. The winner will be
honored at the XXI International Congress in Chicago. 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 Julio Scherer of
Proceso (Mexico City)(1997); 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). The committee consists of: Frank
Manitzas (Chair), Latacom Inc.; Elizabeth Mahan, University
of Connecticut; Kathy Hochstetler, Colorado State University;
and Ted Cordova Claire, independent editor/author. To make
a nomination, please send one copy of the journalist's portfolio
of recent relevant work, by *March 15, 1998* to: Frank
Manitzas, 1460 Mantua Ave., Coral Gables, FL 33146-1627.

■

PROPOSED CHANGES TO LASA BY-LAWS

At its meeting on April 16, 1997, the LASA Executive
Council approved the following change in the By-laws of the
Association:

That item 5. under Article VI. ["International Congress"], be
amended to read: "All votes in the Business Meeting shall
require a quorum, which shall consist of *five percent of the
number of members* registered for the Congress. (The
italicized portion presently reads "...ten percent of those
members....").

Amendments proposed by the Executive Council go into
effect 90 days after the LASA membership is notified
provided that no more than 100 persons object in writing to
the Executive Director within the interim period. Objections
can be directed to Reid Reading, Executive Director, LASA,
946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh,
PITTSBURGH PA 15260. E-mail: lasa+@pitt.edu. The
cutoff date is *November 30, 1997*. ■

Guadalajara! Guadalajara! continued

Finally, we would like to thank and congratulate last year's
president Jane Jaquette. Hers was a superb mandate, and we
greatly enjoyed working with her on the Program. Thanks,
too, to our respective staff in Austin and Occidental College,
and to the ongoing support that we received from Reid
Reading and the LASA Secretariat in Pittsburgh. They do a
marvelous job for LASA, and their professionalism and
generally happy voices were a great support. For them

LASA life goes on: for us, thankfully and wearily, it comes
to an end—in a major organizational capacity at least. In our
more normal capacity—as participants—we look forward to
seeing many of you again in September 1998 in Chicago at
the XXI LASA Congress. To Susan Eckstein, to 1998
Program Chair Timothy Wickham-Crowley, and to the
LASA Secretariat, we wish you all good luck, and great
success. ■



ON LASA SECTIONS

APPROVED LASA SECTIONS AND THEIR STATEMENTS

On May 15, 1997 the proposed change in the LASA By-laws to restructure task forces and working groups as LASA Sections—and to allow for the creation of new Sections—became official. Seventeen proposed Sections have been approved by the LASA Executive Council, contingent on verification of current LASA membership of the founding Section members. All Sections approved by August 15 will be listed on the 1998 LASA membership application/renewal form. Remember that members may join as many Sections as they choose, adding an \$8 fee per Section to their LASA dues.

The following statements reflecting the mission and planned activities of each Section have been provided by Section chairs for the benefit of prospective members. Following each statement is the name of the current chair, his/her *e-mail and fax number*. Please feel free to contact that individual directly if you have any questions or would like to be a member of the Section:

BRAZIL IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

This LASA Section aims to focus on comparative transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary studies involving Brazil and its relations with other regions of the Americas, including Spanish America, the Caribbean, and also areas of the United States where heavy populations of Brazilians and Hispanics have an impact on the local demography and culture. We believe that this Section will provide a space for bridging gaps in Latin American Studies. Chair: Lucia Costigan; lcostiga@postbox.acs.ohio-state.edu; 614-292-7726.

BUSINESS AND POLITICS

Free-market economic restructuring and democratization potentially increase the Latin American private sector's degree of economic and political power. This Section—which is not a business lobby—will be devoted to defining research agendas that clarify the role and impact of business and landowners in the construction of the societies emerging from those economic and political reforms. Co-Chairs: Eduardo Silva; sgesilv@umslvma.umsl.edu; 314-516-5268 and Francisco Durand; fdurand@lonestar.utsa.edu; 210-691-4487.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The Section seeks to promote scholarly interchange among scholars of the region through conferences and via an Internet home page; offer at least one session at each LASA Congress; offer an award for outstanding scholarly work published in the period between congresses; raise travel funds for Central Americans to attend LASA Congresses; and continue study

trips to the region. Co-chairs: Harry Vanden; vanden@luna.cas.usf.edu; 813-974-0832 and Tommie Sue Montgomery; tommiesuem@aol.com; 617-306-0669.

COLOMBIA

The LASA Section on Colombia will aim to increase communication and interaction among those who study Colombian topics; to facilitate the organization of panels on Colombia at LASA Congresses; to promote the representation of Colombianist interests within LASA; and to allow the organization of specific Colombia-related task forces, e.g. human rights. Contact: Leah Carroll; lear@music.stlawu.edu; 315-379-5803.

CUBA

The activities of this Section will be oriented by three broad goals: strengthening scholarly relations between the U.S. and Cuba; providing a structure for the association of scholars whose research focuses on Cuba and U.S.-Cuban relations; and facilitating the integration of Cuban scholars and scholarship on Cuba in LASA Congress programming. Chair: Sheryl Lutjens; sheryl.lutjens@nau.edu; 520-523-6777.

CULTURE, POWER AND POLITICS

The Culture, Power and Politics Section will promote the study of cultural politics and—in a broad way—in/of relations of power as well as the politics and power of/in culture. It will be a space for the exchange and debate among different positions, as well as for the development of collaborative relations among its members. Chair: Daniel Mato; dmato@reacciun.ve; 011-582-979-8448.

LAMA-LATINOAMERICA-MEDIOAMBIENTE

The Environment Latin America Section (LAMA/ELAS) brings together scholars and practitioners to exchange ideas, information, and to promote fuller understanding of the dynamics of the environment and its interaction with human society. It seeks to promote an awareness of environmental issues among the LASA membership and to introduce those concerns into the policy-making processes in the Hemisphere. Chair: David Barkin; barkin@cueyatl.uam.mx; 011-525-724-5235.

EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA

The Task Force for Scholarly Relations with Spain was converted into the Section, Europe and Latin America. This Section promotes scholarly relations between Latin Americanists from Europe and the Americas, and focuses on ties between Europe and Latin America, including historical

and current aspects, using a multi-disciplinary approach. Chair: Carlos Malamud; carlos.malamud@iuog.fog.es; 011-341-308-4007.

GENDER AND FEMINIST STUDIES

This Section is dedicated to promoting networking and dialogue on issues related to women and gender in Latin America and the Caribbean, incorporating different aspects of feminist studies in the social sciences and the humanities. The Section assists researchers, students, practitioners and others interested in the exchange of ideas and academic work. Co-Chairs: Regina Cortina; cortina@is4.nyu.edu; 212-995-4198 and María Luisa Tarrés; mtarres@colmex.mx; 011-525-645-0464.

HAITI

The Haiti Section encourages a broad interdisciplinary approach to the study of Haiti and promotes dialogue among scholars, professionals, policymakers and students of Haiti. The Section will accomplish these goals by organizing panels, recognizing scholarly work, increasing LASA contact with organizations focused on Haiti, and establishing contacts with grassroots organizations in Haiti. Chair: Michele Zebich-Knos; mzebich@ksuemail.kennesaw.edu; 770-423-6312.

LABOR STUDIES

The Labor Studies Section provides an interdisciplinary forum for members interested in labor issues throughout Latin America, the Caribbean, and the North American NAFTA countries. The Section maintains an active electronic discussion list, sponsors "special topics" panels at LASA, promotes the *Latin American Labor News*, and fosters communication among members on research projects, conferences, publications, and labor events throughout the Americas. Chair: Maria Cook; mlc13@cornell.edu; 607-255-0107.

LATINO STUDIES

This Section is open to LASA members interested in promoting research, teaching, advocacy, and collaborative endeavors about U.S. Latino communities and their transnational connections with the Latin American and Caribbean countries of origin. It also fosters a continuing dialogue regarding the relationships between Latino and Latin American Studies. Chair: Edna Acosta-Belén; ea180@csibm.albany.edu; 518-442-4790; tel: 518-442-4590.

LESBIAN AND GAY STUDIES

The Section exists to promote scholarship on lesbian and gay issues in the various disciplines comprising LASA, to sponsor meetings during LASA congresses, to connect LASA membership with scholars and activists in Latin America working on lesbian and gay issues, and to bring together those interested in ending discrimination against lesbians, gays,

bisexuals, and transgender people in Latin America. Chair: Juanita Díaz-Coto; diaz@binghamton.edu; 607-777-4197.

PARAGUAYAN STUDIES

The Paraguayan Studies Section brings together Latin Americanists with a scholarly interest in Paraguay. Its purpose is to advance research and teaching on Paraguayan topics and to enhance the professional development of Paraguayan scholars by promoting their inclusion and participation in LASA. The Section welcomes scholars from all disciplines. Chair: Melissa Birch; mbirch@eagle.cc.ukans.edu; 913-271-6869.

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The Political Institutions Section is dedicated to the study of the origins and effects of political parties, electoral systems, presidents, judiciaries, legislatures, the military and bureaucracies. We seek to understand how political actors—voters, elected officials, and bureaucrats—shape and are subsequently constrained by these democratic institutions. The Section seeks to develop links so that those working on similar issues can critique each other's work and collaborate on common projects. These links will also help us locate information sources and build databases. Chair: Scott Morgenstern; smorgens@acpub.duke.edu; 919-660-4330.

SCHOLARLY RESEARCH AND RESOURCES

The Section on Scholarly Research and Resources examines issues that enable scholarship through identifying, analyzing and publicizing Latin American information. Its activities will allow LASA to keep abreast of trends in print, filming and electronic publishing and advise the membership on how to incorporate new sources of information into their work. Chair: David Block; db10@cornell.edu; 607-255-9346.

VENEZUELAN STUDIES

The Section on Venezuelan Studies has two objectives: 1) to foster interdisciplinary communications and collaboration among scholars, students, and non-academics whose work considers Venezuelan culture, politics, economy, ecology, social issues and other aspects of Venezuela; and 2) to facilitate the dissemination of information among members and non-members through public events and the media. Chair: Cathy Rakowski; crakowsk@pop.service.ohio-state.edu; 614-292-7007.

To propose a Section please submit to the Secretariat 1) a statement establishing the scope of the Section and the type of activities envisioned for the Section, 2) the names of at least 25 current LASA members who commit to become dues-paying members of the Section, and 3) a brief (50 word) statement that can be published in an upcoming issue of the LASA Forum. ■



NEWS FROM LASA

TASK FORCE ON LASA AND THE 21ST CENTURY

The mission of this newly created Task Force is to explore ways in which the Association might take advantage of new-age technology. Members of the Task Force are individuals with a range of expertise who can help LASA relate to the non-academic as well as the academic community. Committee members work with library resources, publishing, journalism, production of electronic scholarship and electronic news services, NGOs, and actual as well as potential academic consumers of electronic services. The Task Force held its first meeting at the Guadalajara congress. The Chair of the Task Force is Mark Rosenberg. Other members of the Task Force are David Block, Viviane Brachet-Márquez, Michael Conroy, Susan Eckstein, Jane Jaquette, Sandy Klinzing, Gil Merckx, Reid Reading, John Rice, Marcia Rivera, Nicolas Shumway, Saúl Sosnowski, Sanford (Sandy) Thatcher, Nelson Valdés, and Stefano Varese. If you have ideas for the Task Force, please send them by e-mail to Mark Rosenberg at rosenber@servax.fiu.edu.

LASA TASK FORCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The Human Rights and Academic Freedom Task Force advises the LASA President and Executive Council on human rights and academic freedom matters that come to the attention of the Association. It also may initiate inquiries and disseminate information on abuses in these areas to the LASA membership. Members include: Jack Hammond (Chair), Jorge Dominguez, Marc Chernick, Judy Hellman, George Vickers, Biorn Maybury-Lewis, John Gitlitz, and Victor Montejo.

LASA SUPPORT COMMITTEE NAMED

The LASA Support Committee will counsel the LASA President and Executive Council on ways to expand the Association's membership, strengthen its financial base, and enrich its outreach.

The Committee's members are distinguished Latin Americanists who will draw upon their own personal experience, knowledge, and resources to advise LASA. Committee members include: William Luers, President, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Christopher Lutz, President, Plumsock Family Fund; Arturo Porzecanski, Managing Director and Chief Economist, ING Barings; William Rogers, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, now with Arnold and Porter; Richard Sinkin, Managing Director, InterAmerican Holdings Company; and Richard Weinert, President, Leslie,

Weinert and Company. Committee members serve at the invitation of the LASA President and do not form part of the association's permanent governance structure. The committee covers its own costs and meets at periodic intervals as determined by the LASA President and the committee's chairperson.

The Support Committee was established thanks to the untiring efforts of an ad hoc committee formed at the Washington 1995 meeting of the LASA Development Committee. Chaired by Peter Cleaves, University of Texas, and assisted by Cole Blasier, University of Pittsburgh, Emeritus, John Coatsworth, Harvard University, Michael Conroy, Ford Foundation, and Richard Fagen, Stanford University, Emeritus, the ad hoc committee has assembled an outstanding group of distinguished individuals who are committed to LASA's goals. The Association thanks Professor Cleaves and his committee for their efforts over these past eighteen months.

LASA DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

The LASA Development Committee was formed in 1993 to advise the Executive Council on its Endowment Campaign. The Committee is concerned with establishing diverse means to enhance the fiscal resources of the Association, through bequests, Life Memberships, foundation and other support. The Support Committee, as noted above, began under the aegis of the Development Committee. The Committee is largely comprised of past Presidents and Program Chairs of LASA. However, persons with interest and expertise in fundraising are welcome to volunteer to serve on the committee by contacting Co-chairs Carmen Diana Deere (deere@econs.umass.edu), or Economics, Thompson Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003, or Lars Schoultz (schoultz@gibbs.oit.unc.edu), or University of North Carolina, Political Science CB 3265, 314 Hamilton Hall, Chapel Hill, NC 27599.

LASA97 PAPERS AVAILABLE ON LINE

The LASA97 electronic papers website is now up and running! The site was developed with a grant from the Ford Foundation to provide easier and more widespread access to LASA97 papers. Presently the site includes about fifty papers, but we are working toward a total of 350. So visit often. The site is located at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/elecprprs.htm>, and there is also a link to the site on the LASA home page, <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/>. Please call or e-mail Stacy Loughner at the Secretariat with any comments or questions.

LASA MEETING SITES FOR 2000 AND 2001

The Association's XXII International Congress will take place in Miami, March 16-18, in the year 2000, and LASA2001 will be held in Washington, DC, September 6-8. Both cities are highly accessible to travelers from all major points on the globe.

During the last few years, all meeting planners have had to confront a "seller's market," which has allowed hotels to raise rates significantly. Moreover, the scale of LASA's gatherings, especially in light of the number of required meeting rooms, reduces the number of potential venues. We have had to do some very careful shopping to locate meeting sites, and then negotiate dates and rates with a great deal of dedication and determination.

The Miami Site

When LASA negotiated the Miami contract for LASA2000, the city was in the process of recovering from the bad publicity it received in the wake of several assaults on tourists. The image of the city has improved and people who speak for Miami are able once more to sell what the city has to offer, including the diversity of its community. In the interim, LASA was able to contract for highly favorable conditions for a Miami meeting.

Headquarters hotel is the Hyatt Regency, which includes in its "boundaries" the Miami Convention Center. This arrangement enables us to provide the thirty-plus meeting rooms LASA requires. All 615 guest rooms at the Hyatt were renovated one year ago.

LASA was able to negotiate rates of \$128 single/double and \$157 triple/quadruple occupancy. This compares to \$125 single, \$135 double, \$155 triple and \$170 quadruple for LASA98 and means that LASA2000 rates for any of these categories are less expensive in real dollars than the quite favorable 1998 Chicago prices.

Washington DC

More will be said about this meeting in 2001 in future issues of the Forum. The Sheraton Washington is the headquarters hotel. The Sheraton is heavily booked years in advance, especially over the dates traditionally scheduled for LASA meeting, so we feel fortunate to have secured it for the 2001 meeting.

Plan ahead and be with us at these congresses! ■



A family portrait at LASA97: (l-r) Charles Goff, Margaret Goff, Fred Goff, Harriet Goff Guerrero and Gabriel Guerrero commemorate the attendance of three generations of their family at the Congress. We look forward to seeing them at LASA98 through 2001!



Algunas Ideas para Mejorar la Comunicación entre los Investigadores de Estados Unidos y América Latina Una Carta Abierta

Cuando LASA celebra más de treinta años de existencia dedicada a impulsar los estudios latinoamericanos y el desarrollo de relaciones de cooperación entre los académicos del hemisferio, podría resultar provechoso mirar hacia adelante y considerar algunas formas a través de las cuales estas relaciones pueden ser profundizadas y mejoradas. Sería posible presentar numerosas consideraciones y sugerencias, pero nosotros hemos querido dedicar esta carta a comentar brevemente sólo algunos asuntos y a presentar al respecto algunas propuestas eminentemente prácticas que sería factible adoptar en lo inmediato. Presentaremos estas ideas a tres niveles: el individual, el de las universidades o centros de investigación, y el de LASA.

Pensamos que numerosos miembros de LASA, tanto del "norte" como del "sur", frecuentemente no logran compartir los resultados de sus investigaciones. Poder dar a conocer los resultados de nuestras investigaciones a través de todo el hemisferio sería mutuamente beneficioso. En realidad, ésta ha sido una de las razones fundamentales de la existencia de LASA desde sus inicios, de modo que es de esperar que el interés en este intercambio forme parte de los motivos de pertenencia a LASA de todos sus miembros.

Sin embargo, ocurre que los esfuerzos realizados por los académicos de ambos grandes segmentos de América por hacer circular a través de todo el hemisferio los resultados de sus investigaciones, frecuentemente no son suficientes. Es posible identificar al menos dos grandes expresiones de largo plazo de este problema. Una de ellas es que los investigadores "del norte" frecuentemente no publican los resultados de sus investigaciones en revistas especializadas latinoamericanas o en libros en español o portugués, o en francés cuando se tratara de investigaciones sobre Haití o involucrando poblaciones francoparlantes. La otra, relacionada con la anterior, los investigadores "del norte" frecuentemente retornan a su país con información o datos de los cuales no dejan copia en los países donde los han obtenido. Existen ciertos paralelos en "el sur". También ocurre que investigadores latinoamericanos no se muestran muy interesados por tratar de publicar sus trabajos en "el norte", ya sea debido a los costos que involucraría su traducción, o por falta de conocimiento de, o acceso a, las publicaciones especializadas apropiadas, o también por razones ideológicas.

Si bien es cierto que los obstáculos para resolver estos problemas van más allá del nivel individual, también parece serlo que

algunos de ellos podrían superarse si se pusiera mayor interés en hacerlo. Numerosos investigadores, tanto "del norte" como "del sur", podrían argumentar al respecto que ellos no poseen las habilidades lingüísticas necesarias para traducir sus propios trabajos, o que ellos no disponen de fondos para pagar por estos servicios. Adicionalmente, los académicos "del norte" podrían argumentar que intentar publicar en revistas especializadas de América Latina consume mucho tiempo y que en ocasiones la aparición de los trabajos se dilata interminablemente. Ellos podrían argumentar también que publicar un libro a través de una editorial latinoamericana (universitaria o comercial) o un artículo en una revista especializada de la región no acarrea demasiado peso en los Estados Unidos, especialmente si se trata de ser aceptados para un puesto fijo o de escalafón en la academia, o para obtener un ascenso o promoción de categoría.

Por otra parte, es posible que algunos académicos "del norte" no dejen data (cuantitativa o cualitativa) en la localidad o país donde la han obtenido argumentando que los colegas del país en cuestión no la apreciarían, o que no la utilizarían. También podrían argumentar que ellos como productores de esa data tienen prioridad para utilizarla y que sólo después de haber completado su análisis o aprovechamiento ellos podrían considerar "dársela" a una universidad, biblioteca, o centro de datos del país en cuestión.

Esta lista de argumentos podría continuar, pero estas prácticas no deberían hacerlo. Para contribuir a lograrlo, hemos querido presentar algunas propuestas prácticas a los tres niveles mencionados:

Al nivel individual, proponemos que los colegas "del norte" hagan todos los esfuerzos a su alcance para lograr que sus trabajos más importantes estén disponibles allí donde se supone que están los principales interesados en conocer los resultados de su investigación, en el país en el cual la realizaron. Estos esfuerzos deberían realizarlos independientemente de consideraciones sobre demoras, costos, o reconocimiento y prestigio académico. Para hacer más factibles o expeditas las traducciones podrían hacer esfuerzos por desarrollar relaciones de reciprocidad entre colegas, intercambiando la traducción de artículos o capítulos de libros, una práctica que muchos de nosotros ya hemos ensayado exitosamente en algunas oportunidades pero que no parece hallarse suficientemente extendida. Las traducciones de libros implican una labor mucho más ambiciosa, pero quizás una diligente búsqueda de fondos

por parte del autor podría dar buenos resultados en algunos casos.

Al nivel de universidades y centros de investigación proponemos que las instituciones que sostienen investigación en el área, así como las que editan publicaciones especializadas relevantes, adopten la política de que sus publicaciones al menos incluyan resúmenes de los textos en las otras lenguas relevantes. Posiblemente se argumente que no resultaría muy práctico, ni económicamente factible, incluir traducciones de artículos completos. Es probable incluso que se considere que por razones análogas tampoco sería posible incluir resúmenes en francés. Sin embargo, incluir resúmenes en español y portugués de los textos de artículos y libros sobre América Latina publicados en inglés no parece que pudiera constituir mayor dificultad ni generar costos adicionales inabordables. Si no fuera posible incluir resúmenes en francés en todos los casos, esto debería resolverse al menos para aquellos en que los estudios se concentren en poblaciones francoparlantes.

Proponemos que LASA y su propia revista, el *Latin American Research Review*, adopten esta política inmediatamente, y así servir de modelo y estímulo a ser emulado por otras publicaciones. De manera semejante *LASA Forum* podría convertirse de manera más completa en un vehículo trilingüe, lo cual haría su diseminación en "el sur" mas amplia y completa.

También proponemos que LASA ayude a superar en parte la escasez de recursos para traducciones estableciendo un Fondo al cual los miembros pudieran realizar donaciones voluntarias, así como postular (sobre una base competitiva) para obtener al menos ayuda parcial, o fondos-semilla, para traducciones. LASA también podría actuar como centro de datos y contactos manteniendo un banco de datos de fácil acceso a todos sus miembros con información sobre colegas dispuestos a traducir trabajos de otros colegas a cambio de la traducción de los suyos propios, así como de ofertas de servicios de colegas dispuestos a actuar como traductores.

Finalmente, proponemos que LASA como asociación podría emprender una campaña sistemática para persuadir tanto a académicos individuales como a los comités y otras instancias de promoción que los estudios publicados en cualquier lengua y en cualquier parte del mundo merecen respeto y consideración a efectos del otorgamiento de plazas en la academia y de promoción. Esta iniciativa sería particularmente importante en los Estados Unidos, ya que es posible que la política de "English only" resultará ser el principal obstáculo para que los investigadores publiquen en otros idiomas —particularmente en las ciencias sociales.

Algunas sugerencias más ambiciosas podrían tomar más tiempo y deberían ser impulsadas simultáneamente desde los tres niveles. Por ejemplo, individuos, universidades y LASA misma podrían promover el desarrollo de publicaciones periódicas bi-, tri-, o cuatrilingües. Por cierto, ya existen algunas, como por ejemplo *Sociotam*, publicada por el CRIM-Tamaulipas, de

México, la cual tras un par de volúmenes que incluyeron versiones bilingües de sólo algunos artículos, ahora desde su volumen VI ha comenzado a incluir todos los artículos en inglés y castellano.

Hasta acá nos hemos limitado a presentar propuestas relacionadas con publicaciones y traducciones. Sin embargo, existen otros asuntos y actividades que con el mismo cometido pueden abordarse en lo inmediato. Así, proponemos también que:

a) LASA comience a organizar y/o apoyar la realización de pequeños simposios y talleres (además del ya tradicional congreso internacional) a través del hemisferio que incluyan la participación tanto de colegas "del norte" como "del sur", y cuyos resultados fueran publicados luego en más de una lengua. A lo largo del tiempo, tales simposios y talleres contribuirían a fortalecer y desarrollar lazos de mancomunidad. Resultaría beneficioso incluir estudiantes en estas actividades en la medida de lo posible.

b) LASA continúe haciendo esfuerzos por realizar algunos de sus congresos en América Latina, así como por incorporar cada vez más colegas "del sur" como organizadores de secciones de los congresos, y también como presidentes de los congresos. En el pasado, algunas dificultades de comunicación constituían obstáculos casi insuperables para intentar realizar estos esfuerzos, pero hoy en día, el correo electrónico, el fax, y otras innovaciones técnicas, han dejado atrás tales dificultades.

En conclusión, el espíritu de estas sugerencias descansa en la idea de que los investigadores de y fuera de América Latina pueden y deben hacer todo lo posible para asistirse mutuamente sobre bases de reciprocidad. Esperamos que esta carta abierta pueda estimular la discusión al respecto así como el surgimiento de nuevas ideas y sugerencias acerca de qué puede ser hecho a cada uno de estos tres niveles.

Henry Dietz, University of Texas

Daniel Mato, Universidad Central de Venezuela

[Major aspects of what Professors Dietz and Mato are proposing have significant implications for the Association, including cost considerations, and will be referred to the LASA Executive Council and LARR Editorial Board.

The authors had requested that their letter appear in Spanish and in English, but the Forum is not in a position to proceed along these lines under the circumstances. Before this and other features of the proposal relevant to LASA could be implemented, the Executive Council would have to come to an agreement on the several dimensions of the issues involved, including the political and pedagogical. The Council would also have to find the necessary financial resources, which could be significant, to implement some aspects of what is being proposed here.] ■



OPPORTUNITIES ON-LINE

Brazilian Government Documents on the Internet

By David Block
Cornell University

Brazil is vast, by far the largest and most populous Latin American country. It also comprises the largest publishing industry of the region, and has the largest Internet presence, as well. Ironically, this rich mix of resources is now most visible outside the country, since so few Brazilians have access to the World Wide Web.

Statistical Sources: The National Statistical Bureau, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) maintains an award-winning site at <http://www.ibge.gov.br> where it presents a selected set of statistical compendia, an extensive ftp archive and access to a set of interactive databases (<http://www.sidra.ibge.gov.br/>). The Fundação Getúlio Vargas (<http://www.fgv.br/>) also grants anonymous users access to some of its statistical databases. Financial data appear at the Ministerio da Fazenda's website, <http://www.fazenda.gov.br/>. A full range of fiscal and monetary statistics appear at the Banco Central do Brasil's site (<http://www.bcb.gov.br/>). And the São Paulo exchange presents a daily stock ticker and historical activity series at www.bmf.com.br.

Executive and Ministerial Documents: In 1995, federal and state governments began to post directory information on the Internet. The jump-off point for government information is the Página do Governo do Brasil, (<http://www.brazil.gov.br/>), where, in addition to humming along to the Brazilian national anthem, visitors can read biographical and address information on all three branches of government. The executive branch features monthly updated information on the presidency and all 21 ministries reporting to it.

National Judicial Documents: Brazil's legal information features a mix of government, professional society and for-profit

publishers. The Supremo Tribunal Federal at <http://200.130.4.8/retahtml/institucional.html> offers information on the court and its justices and archives of its publications, *Informativo* and *Diário da Justiça*. AMATRA-X (<http://www.solar.com.br>), administered by the professional association of Brazil's tenth district (Brasília), includes directory, legislative and court decisions and an extensive collection of links (<http://www.solar.com.br/~amatra/linkjur.html?>) to national and international legal and legislative sites. Finally, *Infolegis* offers subscribers access to a service specializing in commercial and labor law at <http://www.infolegis.com.br/>.

National Legislative Documents: Legislative sites offer very different information. The Câmara dos Deputados (<http://www.radiobras.gov.br/camara.htm>) features only news summaries of recent events. The Senado Federal (<http://www.senado.gov.br>) offers biographies and political affiliations of the Senators, summaries of recent legislation, committee reports and issues of its official journals *Jornal do Senado* and *Diário do Senado Federal* in pdf format.

Subnational Documents: It is at the state and regional level that Brazil's Internet is truly different from that of any other country in Latin America. For representative sites see the Assembléia Legislativa do Estado de Minas Gerais (<http://www.almg.gov.br/>) and the Governo do Distrito Federal (<http://www.gdf.gov.br/>). But rather than producing a comprehensive list (or even a list of those sites known to the author), I will refer readers to two useful aggregators, the Latin American Documents Project's subnational documents page (<http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/lalocaldocs.html>) and the links maintained by AMATRA-X (<http://www.solar.com.br/~amatra/linkjur.html?>). ■



EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Rutgers University announces a possible appointment, one-year annual line, instructor of Spanish linguistics, for the period September 1997-June 1998. Native or near-native speaker of Spanish is needed to teach four undergraduate courses Fall 1997 (Spanish phonetics and phonology, Hispanic bilingualism, structure of modern Spanish, and introduction to linguistics in Spanish), and at least two courses in Spring 1998. Salary will be approximately \$24,000. Send

a letter of application, CV/resumé, and three letters of recommendation to Thomas M. Stephens, Acting Chair, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Rutgers University, 105 George Street, New Brunswick, NJ 08901. Email: tstephns@rci.rutgers.edu. Rutgers is an AA/EEO employer.

The Department of Foreign Languages at Ohio Northern University in Ada, Ohio has a possible opening for a

part-time Spanish instructor to teach one or two sections of Elementary Spanish during the 1997-98 academic year. Courses meet 4 days per week. Salary is \$2500 per course. We prefer someone with at least an M.A. in Spanish and excellent teaching skills. Contact Roseanna Dufault, Chair, Department of Foreign Languages, Ohio Northern University, Ada, OH 45810. Tel: 419-772-2116. E-mail: r-dufault@onu.edu.

The Department of Political Science at Bates College seeks a one year leave replacement in Latin American or Caribbean politics. We are especially interested in promising scholars who have developed innovative teaching strategies. The successful applicant will be encouraged to participate in interdisciplinary programs, such as Women's Studies, African American studies, American Cultural studies, or Environmental Studies. Salary is highly competitive. Please send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and two letters of reference to: Political Science Search Committee, c/o Secretarial Services, 2 Andrews Road, 7 Lane Hall, Bates College, Lewiston, Maine 04240. Review of materials began May 29, but applications will be accepted until the position is filled. Bates College values a diverse college community and seeks to assure equal opportunity through a continuing and effective affirmative action program. We welcome applications from women and minorities.

The Department of Modern Languages at Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, has an opening for a part-time Spanish Instructor to teach two courses of Basic Spanish during the Fall Semester 1997. Courses meet 4 times a week. Candidate should have a Masters Degree and teaching experience. Contact Fernando Valerio, Ph. D., Head of the Spanish Section, Modern Languages Department, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA 16335. Tel: 814-332-2319. E-mail: fvalerio@alleg.edu.

Applications are now being accepted for a Latin American Area Consumer Researcher. Candidates for this position must fulfill the following requirements: be trilingual English, Portuguese, Spanish (can pass for native in all 3); have lived continuously in one/more Latin American countries at least until a teen; have formal education in Portuguese and/or Spanish (secondary or higher); be a graduate of a US university; preferably have graduate-level studies in social sciences or business; have for-pay work experience in a professional/corporate environment; and have excellent English writing skills. Work for the country's leading-edge Latin American specialty consumer research organization. Enjoy a collegial multilingual/multicultural professional environment, generous salary, profit-sharing, pension and bonus plan, Latin America-wide travel and one of America's finest climates. If you believe you even remotely satisfy these requirements, contact Dr. Henry Adams. Tel: 619-232-5628.

Reitemeyer Chair in International Politics

Trinity College
Hartford, CT

Trinity College, a distinguished liberal arts institution, is looking for a senior political scientist to hold an endowed chair in international politics. The Reitemeyer Chair is one of Trinity's most distinguished endowed chairs. Candidates should have an outstanding publication record as well as a commitment to, and an outstanding record of, undergraduate teaching. We will consider applications from advanced Associate Professors and full Professors. Appointment will begin in Fall 1998. Salary and benefits are competitive. Applications from women and minority candidates are especially welcome. Trinity College is an Affirmative Action, Equal Opportunity employer. Send application, including curriculum vitae and list of references to Chair, Reitemeyer Search Committee, Department of Political Science, Trinity College, Hartford, CT 06106. The Committee will begin reviewing files after September 22, 1997.



ACLS

Vice President

American Council of Learned Societies

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) invites applications and nominations for the position of Vice President.

ACLS is the leading private organization devoted to research and teaching in the humanities and humanistic social sciences in the United States. It is composed of 58 learned societies in the humanities and social sciences representing 350,000 scholars and teachers throughout the United States and Canada. ACLS is governed by a 15-member Board of Directors and a Council composed of representatives of the member organizations.

ACLS sponsors a major fellowship program supporting humanistic scholarship, and conducts program activities in area and international studies, in education, and in scholarly communication. ACLS also has a significant publications program and sponsors scholarly projects in documentary editing and reference works.

The Council works closely with the 58 member societies and with other organizations such as the National Humanities Alliance, the Federation of State Humanities Councils, the Social Science Research Council, the Association of Research Libraries, the Association of American University Presses, the Association of American Universities, and the American Association for the Advancement of Higher Education. The Vice President has responsibility, under the President, for the day-to-day supervision of these activities.

Requirements: A Ph.D. in one of the disciplines represented by ACLS and significant administrative experience. A record of college or university teaching and distinguished scholarly accomplishment is preferred. Salary and benefits are highly competitive, commensurate with experience.

Applications: Please send two copies of *curriculum vitae* with names and addresses of three references to: Judith A. Auerbach, Consultant to ACLS, c/o Auerbach Associates, 30 Winter Street, Suite 1010, Boston, MA 02108. Review of candidates will begin May 15.

ACLS is an equal opportunity employer. Women and minorities are encouraged to apply.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization which includes people of various faiths who are committed to social and economic justice, peace, and humanitarian service. Its work is based on the Quaker belief in the worth of every person and faith in the power of love to overcome violence and injustice. The Committee is presently seeking a Director for its Maquiladora Project, one component of AFSC's Mexico-U.S. Border Program. Overall, the Border Program addresses the complex economic, social, and environmental problems that characterize the world's longest border between a developing country and an advanced industrial country. Within this complex of issues, the Maquiladora Project focuses on the negative impact of the maquiladora industry on labor rights, health and safety, and community environmental health and the exploitation of women as a cheap and vulnerable labor force. The Project works in close cooperation with a grassroots partner organization in Mexico, the Comité Fronterizo de Obreras (CFO). It is from this fundamental working relationship that the Project draws its strength, interprets worker efforts, and shares their perspectives with networks and coalitions, as well as with targeted audiences of policy makers and interested groups. The Director of the Maquiladora Project will be based at the Texas-Mexico border and will focus on supporting the ongoing development of the CFO, providing coordination and oversight to all project personnel and activities, and representing AFSC in local, regional and binational networks and coalitions concerned with maquiladora issues. Key qualifications include fluency in English and Spanish; substantial direct experience at the border; knowledge of

labor, women's, or environmental health issues (preferably at least two out of three); demonstrated capacity to work with grassroots people and organizations; experience with coalition-building and cross-border organizing; and a strong commitment to teamwork and the promotion of grassroots leadership. The salary range for this position starts at \$38,317. For more information, or to request a complete job description in English or Spanish, please contact Willa Brown, Human Resources Department, AFSC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. Voice: 215-241-7108. Fax: 215-241-7247. E-mail: wbrown@afsc.org.

The Department of Modern Languages, Muskingum College in New Concord, Ohio, has an opening for an Assistant Professor in Spanish (one-year appointment). Ph.D. preferred, A.B.D. considered. Generalized, native or near-native ability in Spanish and English. Candidate should have excellent teaching skills, and be able to teach all levels of language, culture, and literature. Strong commitment to the academic life of the department and the liberal arts college. Screening will begin immediately and continue until the position is filled. Send a letter of interest, curriculum vitae, evidence of teaching ability, and at least three current letters of reference with telephone numbers to Dr. Franz Wehage, Chair, Department of Modern Languages, Muskingum College, New Concord, OH 43762. Tel: 614-826-8220. Fax: 614-826-8229. Website: <http://www.muskingum.edu>.

[Note: Check the LASA Employment Bulletin Board at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/empl.html> for employment opportunities between Forum issues.] ■



RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Kellogg Institute is dedicated to advancing research in comparative international studies. For the 1998-99 academic year (August 25-May 15), the Kellogg Institute will offer up to six residential fellowships of up to one or two semesters at the University of Notre Dame. Normally the awards are for one semester, but exceptions will be considered. Visiting Fellows work on individual or joint research projects related to the Institute's themes: 1) democratization and the quality of democracy; 2) paths to development; 3) religion and the Catholic Church; 4) social movements and organized civil society; and 5) public policies for social justice. While the Institute has emphasized Latin American research, proposals for projects on Europe, Asia, and Africa will be considered. The Institute seeks scholars of high accomplishment and promise from any country. Candidates should hold a Ph.D. or equivalent degree in any discipline of the social sciences or history. Applications will be evaluated individually, but joint projects will be considered. Stipends vary with seniority. Visiting Fellows have faculty status within the University and may hold joint appointments in academic departments for which they may

be invited to teach a course. All Visiting Fellows receive health insurance and subsidized housing on campus; Fellows from abroad may receive one direct round-trip economy airfare. A complete application, including references and all documentation, must be received by *November 15, 1997*. Awards will be announced by January 31, 1998. Additional information and application forms are available on the Kellogg Institute Home Page (<http://www.nd.edu/~kellogg>) or by contacting Gabriela Mossi, Acting Academic Coordinator, University of Notre Dame, The Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Notre Dame, IN USA 46556-5677. Fax: 219-631-6717. E-mail: mossi.1@nd.edu.

The Globalization Project and the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Chicago invite applications and nominations for a senior post-doctoral fellow to participate in the ongoing, interdisciplinary initiative, *Regional Worlds: A New Approach to Area Studies*. Candidates from Latin America are especially encouraged to apply. The theme for 1997-98 is "Latin America: Cultural Environment and

Development Debates." Through colloquia, curriculum development discussions, and a culminating conference, the program will consider the ways in which production, consumption, cultural values, cultural expression and social identity interpenetrate in the process of development. Special attention will be paid to the politics and practice of territorial demarcation, intellectual property rights, particularly as related to the ecological knowledge and practice of indigenous and traditional peoples, and environmental ethics. The fellow will be in residence from March 30-June 13, 1998 and, pending final approval of funding, will receive a stipend of \$20,000 plus travel expenses. Nominations and applications are due *September 1, 1997*. Please direct all inquiries to Alan L. Kolata, Director, Center for Latin American Studies, 5848 S. University Ave., Chicago, IL 60637. Tel: 773-702-8420. Fax: 773-702-1755. E-mail: clas@uchicago.edu.

The Social Science Research Council announces the 1998 competition of the Sexuality Research Fellowship Program providing dissertation and postdoctoral support for social and behavioral research on sexuality conducted in the United States. Funds are provided by the Ford Foundation. The Council expects to award approximately ten dissertation and four postdoctoral fellowships in 1998. Designed to provide training experience, only joint Fellowship applications will be considered—from the applicant and a research adviser/associate who will be required to function in a mentoring capacity. Women and members of minorities are especially encouraged to apply. The Program welcomes applications which contribute to a more thorough understanding of human sexuality in order to inform programmatic/community efforts and public policy regarding current social and health issues; develop inter-disciplinary approaches, both theoretical and applied, in which researchers from different social science disciplines participate; and propose methodological diversity and innovation utilizing qualitative and/or quantitative research methods that generate new theories and test new methodologies. There are no citizenship, residency, or nationality requirements. Individuals interested in applying must submit a completed application packet to the Social Science Research Council by *December 5, 1997*. Applications received after the deadline date will not be accepted under any circumstances. Applications must be completed in English and typed. Awards are to be announced in March 1998. Fellowship support can begin anytime between June 1, 1998 and September 1, 1998. For more information or an application packet, contact the Social Science Research Council, Sexuality Research Fellowship Program, 810 Seventh Avenue, 31st Floor, New York, NY 10019. Tel: 212-377-2700. Fax: 212-377-2727. E-mail: [pitkin](mailto:pitkin@ssrc.org) or dimauro@ssrc.org. Internet: <http://www.ssrc.org>. In the administration of its Fellowship and grant programs, the Social Science Research Council does not discriminate on the basis of age, color, creed, disability, marital status, national origin, sexual orientation, race, gender, or any other characteristic protected by applicable laws.

The National Humanities Center announces its 1998-99 fellowship competition. The Center is a residential institute for advanced study in history, languages and literature, philosophy, and other fields of the humanities. Each year the Center awards approximately thirty fellowships to scholars of demonstrated achievement and to promising younger scholars. Fellows are expected to work at the Center. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional accomplishments. Younger scholars should be engaged in work significantly beyond the revision of a doctoral dissertation. Most fellowships are for the academic year (September through May), though a few may be awarded for the fall or spring semester. Scholars from any nation may apply for fellowships. In addition to scholars from fields normally associated with the humanities, representatives of the natural and social sciences, the arts, the professions, and public life may be awarded fellowships if their work has humanistic dimensions. In addition to its regular fellowships, during the years 1997-2001 the Center will award 3-4 fellowships annually for the study of religion by humanistic scholars from fields other than religion and theology. These Fellows will form the core of a monthly seminar on religion and the humanities. Eligible scholars are encouraged to submit applications through the Center's regular process. Fellowship stipends are individually determined, the amount of a stipend depending upon the needs of the Fellow, and upon the Center's ability to meet them. While the Center provides an environment for individual study, it is also designed to encourage the exchange of ideas among scholars. Each year interdisciplinary seminars are organized by Fellows, and lectures by Fellows and visitors provide further opportunities for collegial discourse. The Center also sponsors occasional conferences. The Center's web site can be found at <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us:8080>. For application material, write to Fellowship Program, National Humanities Center, Post Office Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27709-2256. Materials may also be requested via e-mail at nhc@unccecs.edu. Applicants submit the Center's forms supported by a curriculum vitae, a 1000-word project proposal, and three letters of recommendation. Applications and letters of recommendation must be postmarked by *October 15, 1997*. The National Humanities Center does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, national or ethnic origin, handicap, sexual orientation, or age.

The Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut, invites applications for research grants in the study of the world Christian movement. The Center administers the Research Enablement Program for the advancement of scholarship in the studies of the movement and of the development of Christian communities in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania. Subject to the availability of funds, grants will be awarded on a competitive basis in the following categories: postdoctoral book research and writing projects; international research for doctoral dissertations; scholarly consultations on world Christianity; and projects for establishing, preserving, and making

accessible collections of non-Western research materials. Projects that are international, cross-cultural, and collaborative, and that are interdisciplinary—involving the humanities and social sciences as well as theological disciplines—are especially welcome. The deadline for receiving 1998 grant applications is *November 14, 1997*. For further information and official application forms please contact Geoffrey A. Little, Coordinator, Research Enablement Program, Overseas Ministries Study Center, 490 Prospect Street, New Haven, CT 06511-2196, USA. Tel: 203-865-1827. Fax: 203-865-2857. E-mail: glittle.rep@OMSC.org. This program is supported by a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts.

Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project is a ten-year research undertaking to identify, locate, preserve, make accessible and publish works of primary literary sources written by Hispanics in what is now the United States, dating from the Colonial Period to 1960. The project develops and administers programs in archival preservation, curriculum, grants-in-aid for scholars, master bibliographic database, periodicals recovery, and publications. The Grants-in-Aid program is designed to provide release from Summer teaching duties to a scholar by funding expenditures such as photography, photoduplication, microfilming, travel to collections, translation, transcription, indexing, scanning, or any such expenses connected with research that would advance a project to the next stage or to a successful conclusion. Scholars at different stages of their careers and advanced graduate students are encouraged to apply for a stipend of up to \$3,000 for investigative work in one of the following areas: 1) Identification, location, and recovery of any of a wide variety of literary genres, including conventional literary prose and poetry, and such forms as letters, diaries, memoirs, testimonies, periodicals and written expressions of oral traditions, folklore and popular culture. Documents which could prove relevant to the goals of *literary recovery* promoted by this project will also be considered. The emphasis is on works by Cuban, Mexican/Chicano, Puerto Rican, Spanish and other Hispanic residents of what has become the United States, from the Colonial Period to 1960; 2) Bibliographic compilations, indexing projects pertaining to any of the above. Compilation of reference works, e.g. biographical dictionaries; Study of recovered primary source(s) for potential publication, editing and/or translation; Identification, evaluation, acquisition, cataloguing and preservation of archival materials in private and/or public collections, that meet the aforementioned criteria. We especially encourage projects recovering Hispanic women's voices. Proposals must be postmarked no later than *October 1, 1997*. For application guidelines, call or write Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage, University of Houston, 4800 Calhoun, E. Cullen Performance Hall, Room 254, Houston, TX 77204-2172. Tel: 713-743-3128. Fax: 713-743-3142. E-mail: artrec@jetson.uh.edu.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars announces its 1998-99 competition for Fellowships in the

International Faculty Development Seminars Dominican Republic/Haiti and Costa Rica January 1998

In January 1998, the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) is pleased to offer two faculty development seminars in Latin America. The seminars are designed for U.S. university faculty and administrators, in an effort to stimulate university initiatives toward internationalizing curricula. "Poverty, Race, and Participatory Democracy in the Dominican Republic and Haiti" will be offered January 11-20, 1998 (\$1,850) and is hosted by ENTRENA and the Pontificia Católica Madre y Maestra in Santiago. "Sustainable Development: Social and Environmental Consciousness in Costa Rica" will be offered January 4-14, 1998 (\$1,675) and is hosted by the Monteverde Institute. For a brochure/information, contact IFDS at CIEE, by calling 212-822-2747 or via e-mail at IFDSRegistrar@ciee.org.

Humanities and Social Sciences. Located in the heart of Washington, D.C., the Center awards approximately 35 residential fellowships each year for advanced research in the humanities and social sciences. Men and women from any country and from a wide variety of backgrounds (including government, the corporate world, the professions, and academe) may apply. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional accomplishments. Fellows are provided offices, access to the Library of Congress, computers or manuscript typing services, and research assistants. The Center publishes selected works written at the Center through the Woodrow Wilson Center Press. Fellowships are normally for an academic year. In determining stipends, the Center follows the principle of no gain/no loss in terms of a Fellow's previous year's salary. However, in no case can the Center's stipend exceed \$62,000 and the average yearly stipend is \$43,000. In addition, the Center provides travel expenses and 75 percent of health insurance premiums for Fellows and their immediate dependents. The application deadline is *October 1, 1997*. For application materials write to the Fellowships Office, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Drive S.W., SI MRC 022, Washington, DC 20560. Tel: 202-357-2841. Fax: 202-357-4439. E-mail: wcfellow@siwm.si.edu.

DIALOGUE is a scholarship program established by the International Institute of Sociology (IIS) to increase the development prospects of families, communities, and countries in the developing world through reducing the education gap between males and females. "Educating women means educating the future." DIALOGUE awards promising women in developing countries graduate scholarships to study any discipline in their choice of countries where the IIS has members. Our goal is to generate a core of professionally

trained women who will return to their own countries to act as role models and further the education of other women and girls. In turn, an ever-widening ripple effect will extend throughout society and across generations. The IIS comprises approximately 300 university professors in 40 countries. Members are encouraged to invite their university presidents to join the DIALOGUE global consortium through tuition fee bursaries. Participating universities evaluate applicants for bursaries, and the IIS further awards successful candidates with DIALOGUE scholarships for travel, accommodation, and textbooks. The DIALOGUE program can conceivably offer scholarships anywhere in the world there are IIS members. Not only does multi-university support help tremendously in funding the program, it increases choice for students, permits options on language of instruction, and facilitates location in compatible physical and cultural environments. A central IIS DIALOGUE Council administers the overall program and raises scholarship funds. For more information, please contact R. Alan Hedley, Director, IIS DIALOGUE Council, Department of Sociology, University of Victoria, P. O. Box 3050, Victoria, BC V8W 3P5 Canada. Tel: 250-721-7571. Fax: 250-721-6217. E-mail: rahedley@uvic.ca.

The American University's Washington College of Law has launched a new initiative to strengthen the legal status of women in certain target countries in Latin America by supporting and legitimating the work of legal advocates and academics writing and teaching from a gender perspective. As part of this initiative, the Washington College of Law is offering three Teaching, Research and Advocacy Fellowships to LL.M. candidates from Latin America for the 1997-1998 academic year. These full-tuition scholarships at the Washington College of Law will provide an opportunity for promising women's rights advocates from different target countries in Latin America with an interest in teaching and research to obtain advanced legal education in the United States. Qualified applicants, upon completing their LL.M. degree, will be awarded a \$15,000 stipend and be placed for one year at law schools in Latin America, where they will have the opportunity to teach and do research from a gender perspective. The Washington College of Law also is offering three additional one-year fellowships at law schools in these target countries, which include Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru. In the Fall of 1997, Teaching, Research and Advocacy Fellows will participate in a new LL.M. specialization in Gender and the Law, as part of the Washington College of Law's International Legal Studies Program. This masters' program includes a set of courses incorporating international, comparative and domestic approaches to legal issues of importance to women's lives. In addition to taking doctrinal courses, fellows will do supervised fieldwork and participate in a seminar examining how different teaching methodologies, including clinical legal education, could be effective in different legal and cultural contexts. LL.M. candidates also will play an active role in the planning and execution of the Pan American Conference

on Transforming Women's Legal Status: Overcoming the Barriers of Legal Theory and Education, scheduled to take place at the American University early next year. This seminal event will bring together academics and advocates from Latin America, the United States, and other regions, who will examine Latin American legal systems from the perspective of gender and exchange experiences regarding the challenge of integrating gender into legal doctrine and the law school curriculum. In order to encourage the integration of gender into the mainstream of legal education and legal theory in Latin America, the Washington College of Law is offering six one-year teaching fellowships at law schools in Latin America to qualified applicants from the different target countries. Two of these fellowships currently are available. The remaining four will be awarded in 1998. LL.M. candidates at the Washington College of Law will be given preferential consideration. Applicants should have a strong commitment to advancing women's human rights, a solid academic record, and some background in law school teaching and/or scholarship. Please send your request for an application form, in writing, to Lauren Gilbert, Director, Gender and Legal Education Project, Washington College of Law, American University, 4801 Massachusetts Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20016. Fax: 202-274-4130. E-mail: gilbert@wcl.american.edu. This program is made possible through the support provided by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) through the Office of Women in Development, Global Bureau, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under the terms of Cooperative Agreement No. FAO-0100-A-00-5030-00.

The Social Science Research Council and the MacArthur Foundation announce two-year dissertation and post-doctoral fellowships for training and research on peace and security in a changing world, under the direction of the Committee on International Peace and Security. These fellowships will support innovative and interdisciplinary research on the relationships among security issues and worldwide cultural, military, social, economic, environmental, and political changes, and the impact of these changes on issues of international peace and security. There are no citizenship, residency, or nationality requirements. The competition is open to researchers in the social and behavioral sciences (including history and area studies), the humanities, and the physical and biological sciences. Researchers in non-academic settings are welcome to apply. Dissertation Fellowships are open to researchers who are finishing coursework, examinations, or similar requirements for the Ph.D. or its equivalent. Applicants must complete all requirements for the doctoral degree except the dissertation by June 1, 1998. In most cases, successful applications for Postdoctoral Fellowships will hold the Ph.D. or its equivalent. However, possession of that degree is not a requirement for lawyers, public servants, journalists, or others who can demonstrate comparable research experience and an ability to contribute to the research literature. This competition is designed for researchers in the first ten years of their

postdoctoral careers. Applicants for the postdoctoral fellowship must have received their Ph.D. by March 1, 1998. The deadline for applications is *November 14, 1997*. For further information and application materials please contact the Social Science Research Council, Program on International Peace and Security, 810 7th Avenue, New York, NY 10019. Tel: 212-377-2700. Fax: 212-377-2727. Internet: <http://www.ssrc.org>.

The United States Institute of Peace invites applications for the 1998-99 Senior Fellowship and the Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowship competitions in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace. The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan institution created by Congress to strengthen the nation's capacity to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflict. Senior Fellowships are awarded annually to scholars and practitioners from a variety of professions, including college and university faculty, journalists, diplomats, writers, military officers, international negotiators and lawyers. The Institute funds projects related to preventive diplomacy, ethnic or regional conflict, peacekeeping and peace operations, peace settlements, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, democratization and the rule of law, cross-cultural negotiations, and U.S. foreign policy in the 21st century, among other topics. Senior Fellows reside at the Institute for a period of up to one year to conduct research on their project, consult with the staff and contribute to the ongoing work of the Institute. Projects which demonstrate relevance to current policy debates will be highly competitive. The fellowship

award includes stipend, an office with computer and voicemail, and a part-time research assistant. The competition is open to citizens of all nations. Women and members of minorities are especially encouraged to apply. All application materials for the senior fellowship must be received in our offices by *October 1, 1997*. The Peace Scholar awards support doctoral dissertations that explore the sources and nature of international conflict, and strategies to prevent or end conflict and to sustain peace. Dissertation research from a broad range of disciplines and interdisciplinary fields is eligible. Peace Scholars work at their universities or appropriate field research sites. Priority will be given to projects that contribute knowledge relevant to the formulation of policy on international peace and conflict issues. Doctoral students applying for support must be enrolled in an accredited college or university in the United States, but citizens of all countries are eligible. Applicants must complete all requirements for the degree except the dissertation by the commencement of the award (September 1, 1998). The dissertation fellowship award is \$14,000 for one year and may be used to support writing or field research. All application materials for the dissertation fellowship must be received in our offices by *November 17, 1997*. For more information and application forms, please contact the Jennings Randolph Program, U.S. Institute of Peace, 1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005, USA. Tel: 202-429-3886. Fax: 202-429-6063. E-mail: jrprogram@usip.org. Please visit the Institute's website at www.usip.org. ■



FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The **Sexto Congreso Internacional de Literatura Centroamericana (CILCA)** will take place February 18-20, 1998, in Ciudad de Panamá, Panamá. Submit abstracts by *November 28, 1997* to Jorge Román-Lagunas, Conference Director, Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Purdue University Calumet, Hammond, IN 46323-2094. Tel: 219-989-2632. Fax: 219-898-2581. E-mail: roman@nwi.calumet.purdue.edu.

The annual meeting of the **New England Council of Latin American Studies** will be held at Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, MA on Saturday, October 18, 1997. For more information and registration materials, please contact Kathleen E. Gauger, NECLAS Secretariat, Smith College, Seelye Hall, Room 210, Northampton, MA 01063. Tel: 413-585-3591. Fax: 413-585-3593. E-mail: kgauger@sophia.smith.edu.

The Women's History Faculty at the Graduate Center, City University of New York, invites proposals to re-examine existing paradigms and explore emerging ones in the field at a

conference to be held in New York City, Friday and Saturday, October 9-10, 1998. To ensure a wide array of current scholarship, established scholars are urged to apply in pairs with a graduate student or recent Ph.D. Graduate students and junior faculty are encouraged to apply individually if necessary. Instead of panels where papers are read and criticized, the format will be working seminars where the presenters discuss new issues and methodologies which have arisen in women's history in the 1990s. The focus will be on recent scholarship and how it has changed previous conceptions or given rise to new concerns. We are especially interested in approaches which question accepted temporal and national historical divisions. Proposals should be sent to the Ph.D. Program in History, City University of New York Graduate Center, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036, Attn. Prof. Bonnie S. Anderson, by *October 1997*. E-mail: bnabc@cunybn.cuny.edu.

La conferencia "Desarrollos actuales de la Sociología en Iberoamérica" se realizará del 26 al 28 de noviembre de 1997

en La Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba. El evento está organizado por El Departamento de Sociología de la Facultad de Filosofía e Historia de la Universidad de La Habana, II Taller Científico Internacional. Los objetivos del taller son los siguientes: 1) Propiciar un debate conceptual sobre los problemas actuales de la sociedades iberoamericanas y los desarrollos alcanzados por la Sociología y la Ciencias Sociales para dar cuenta de estos problemas; 2) Propiciar el debate e intercambio sobre los resultados de las investigaciones sobre nuestras sociedades; 3) Contribuir al intercambio de experiencias desde diferentes perspectivas teóricas y metodológicas. Para solicitar información, póngase en contacto con la Comisión Organizadora, Ernel González Mastrapa, Departamento de Sociología, Facultad De Filosofía-Historia, Universidad de la Habana, San Lázaro y L, Vedado, La Habana, C.P. 11400, Cuba. Tel.: 537-701308. Fax: 537-335774. Folletos con información más completa están disponibles en CLAS, 4E04 Forbes Quadrangle, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

The Oral History Association invites proposals for papers and presentations for its 1998 annual meeting, to be held October 15-18 in Buffalo, New York. The theme of the meeting is "Crossing the Boundary, Crossing the Line: Oral History on the Border." Proposals that relate to mediations among diverse communities; class, ethnic, racial, and gender perspectives; interdisciplinary approaches; transnational issues; migration and immigration; transgressions; new frontiers in technology; lesbian and gay history; relationships in interviewing; marginality; oral history and received historical wisdom; shifting borders in oral history; and ethical and legal boundaries are especially encouraged. Proposals on other topics are also welcomed. The Program Committee invites proposals from oral history practitioners in a wide variety of disciplines and settings, including academic institutions; museums, historical societies, archives, and libraries; community organizations; media professionals; and independent historians. We also encourage proposals from graduate students and from those involved in both precollegiate and postsecondary teaching. Sessions may address the many uses of oral history in media such as film, video, radio, exhibitions, drama, and new electronic media. Similarly, while sessions may be organized in the customary panel format, we encourage proposals for roundtables, workshops, poster sessions, media and performance-oriented presentations, off-site sessions, and other formats that go beyond the boundaries of conventional conference presentation. We welcome proposals from other professional organizations, including state and regional oral history associations affiliated with the Oral History Association, and proposals for presentations in French from French speaking Canadians. OHA policy prevents those who will present papers at the 1997 annual meeting from doing so in 1998; such individuals, however, may serve as session chairs and commentators. Applicants must submit four copies of the following: for full session proposals, a one-page description of the issues and questions the session will address and one-page abstract of each presentation; the name of the convenor;

suggested commentator(s); and short vitae, including institutional affiliation, mailing address, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses for each presenter. Individual proposals should include a title, one-page abstract of the presentation, and a short vita of the presenter. For further information or to submit proposals, contact Debra Bernhardt, Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, 70 Washington Square South, New York, NY 10012; tel: 212-998-2640 fax: 212-995-4070; e-mail (queries only): bernhardt@elmer1.bobst.nyu.edu OR Cliff Kuhn, Department of History, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA 30303; tel: 404-651-3255; fax: 404-651-1745; e-mail: hiscmk@panther.gsu.edu. The deadline for proposals is *December 15, 1997*.

The *Eleggua Project* announces "Cuba—Indigenous Legacies of the Caribbean," an Interdisciplinary Conference and Intensive Field Study to be held November 16 to 23, 1997 in Baraco, Cuba. This international encounter will explore and celebrate the legacy of indigenous peoples of the Caribbean. Participants will examine elements of indigenous culture and history through conferences, professional exchanges, workshops and field observations. The conference also features an historic opportunity for a gathering of Taino culture from the eastern region of Cuba as well as Puerto Rico and the North American diaspora. Topics include Taino Self-Interpretation; Sustainable Agriculture and Herbal Medicine; Native Studies/Anthropology /Archaeology; Music and Dance; and the Indian in Cuban Arts. Sponsors for the event are the Fundación de la Naturaleza y el Hombre, the Museo Matachin de Baracoa, *Native Americas Magazine*, and *Eleggua Project/CCS&CF*. The conference package includes round trip airfare to/from Santiago de Cuba with departures from Toronto, Santo Domingo (direct flight), Cancún, Nassau [arrive Havana with domestic connections to/from Santiago (due to undependable flight schedules forced overnights in Havana in/out may be required at additional cost)]; 7 nights accommodation double occupancy in air-conditioned rooms with private bath, breakfast and dinner daily; coordination of visits and exchanges; conference registration; translators; local facilitators; ground transportation; and a Cuban visa (delegates born in Cuba must apply directly to a Cuban consular office for their visa). The cost is \$1,150. The deadline for abstracts and suggestions for panels is *August 30, 1997*, and all registrations must be received by *October 1, 1997*. To discuss curricular issues, presentation of papers, or to suggest panels, contact José Barreiro. E-Mail: jeb23@cornell.edu. For a registration package and more information, contact the Conference Coordinator, *Eleggua Project*. Tel: 1-800-818-8840. Fax: 905-678-1421. E-mail: cancuba@pathcom.com.

The *International Academic Meeting on the Panama Canal* intends to bring together the Panamanian scholars, and academics of the rest of the world in order to talk about the most important issues relevant to the future of the Panama Canal and of Panama. The Academic Meeting will take place in Panama City on 4-5 September 1997. This way, the delegates will also have the opportunity to participate in the Universal Congress of the Panama Canal, which will be held

from the 7th to the 10th of September. The main objective of the Academic Meeting is to establish the bases for the creation of a community of academics at an international level who will be able to exchange information and studies on Panama and the situation of the Panama Canal. The Meeting also intends to bring together the best papers that have been done on the future of the Panama Canal, its operation and administration, in order to submit them to discussion and analysis. In this context, emphasis will be given to papers that deal with international relations and the insertion of Panama and the Canal in the global economy. Areas of special discussion in the commissions include: Globalization of the Panama Canal; National development and the Panama Canal; Environment and the Panama Canal; Security and the Panama Canal; Democracy, governance and the Panama Canal; and Science and technology and the future of the Canal. Each aspect will be coordinated by the national committee with representatives of the different academic centers and universities that are involved. Invitations will be extended to academics in Europe, Asia and North, Central, and South America, and Panamanian scholars. The delegates must prepare papers which will be presented to one of the six working commissions on the Meeting. The papers must be no longer than 25 pages and no shorter than 15 pages. The documents that accredit the delegates will be made effective after the organizers receive the abstracts or they have been assigned to a commission, and after the registration fee for the event has been received. With the papers, books, articles and other documents published on the topics of the Meeting, the organizers intend to create an exhibition of works on Panama and the Canal, which will be open to the participants of the Universal Congress of the Canal. There is a conference registration fee of US \$30 for participants from Europe, Asia or North America, valid until 1 August 1997. After that, the fee will be US \$40. The rest of the participants will pay US \$20 to register. For more information, please contact

CEASPA at ceaspa@sinfo.ne.

The 45th Annual Conference of the Southeastern Council of Latin Americanists (SECOLAS) is being planned for April 9-11, 1998 in Savannah, Georgia. The SECOLAS Program Committee invites proposals for papers and whole panels to be submitted by the deadline of *October 1, 1997*. One-page abstracts and brief (1-page) vitas should be sent to either one of the following co-chairs: For Literature & the Humanities: Paula R. Heusinkveld, Dept. of Languages, Clemson University, Clemson, S.C. 29634-1515. Tel: 864- 656-3393 or 6-32419. Fax: 864-656-0258. For History & Social Sciences: Pamela Murray, Dept. of History, University of Alabama at Birmingham, Birmingham, Al 35294. Tel: 205-934-5634. Fax: 205-975-8360 or Angela Thompson, History Dept., East Carolina State University, Greenville, N.C.27858-4353. Tel: 919-328-6587. Fax: 919-328-6774. For info on local arrangements (hotel, etc.) interested individuals should contact Nancy W. Shumaker, Center for International Studies, Georgia Southern University, Statesboro, GA 30460. Tel: 912-681-5929. Fax: 912-681-0824. E-mail: shumaker@gsvms2.cc.gasou.edu.

The Eleventh Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, "Breaking Boundaries," will be held June 4-6, 1999 at the University of Rochester. Submit proposals *in triplicate*, postmarked by *January 31, 1998*, in a single packet marked "Attn: Berkshire Conference" to the appropriate chair. Send proposals on U.S. and Canadian topics to Nell Painter, Department of History, Princeton University, Princeton NJ 08544-1017; on European topics to Sharon Strocchia, Department of History, Emory University, Atlanta GA 30322; on Africa, Latin America, Asia, the Pacific, and all comparative topics (U.S./non-U.S.) to Teresa Meade, Department of History, Union College, Schenectady NY 12308-2365. ■



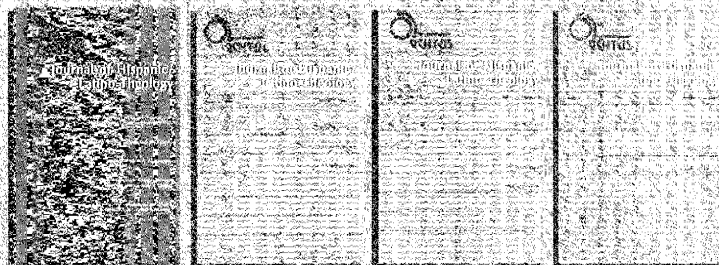
PUBLICATIONS

Guaraguano, revista de cultura latinoamericana que edita el Centro de Estudios y Cooperación para América Latina (CECAL) con auspicio de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, da cabida a la investigación interdisciplinaria, a la creación literaria contemporánea latinoamericana y a las tareas de recuperación, mediante la reedición de productos culturales de reconocido valor pero de escasa circulación. Estas conforman las tres principales secciones de la revista: ensayo, creación y recuperación. Una de las motivaciones de esta iniciativa es la de propiciar un espacio de encuentro y comunicación de los diversos enfoques de la reflexión contemporánea sobre la cultura en América Latina, y transmitir al ámbito español, europeo y norteamericano la diversidad y riqueza de los productos y manifestaciones de ese continente. Para colaboraciones, intercambios y correspondencia, dirigirse a CECAL, C/Tapióles, 34, 4o 2a,

08004 Barcelona, España. E-mail: lmartin.medrx@bcn.servicom.es.

The Latin American Monograph Series at Ohio University is currently soliciting book length scholarly works related to Latin America, in all disciplines. We are particularly, though not exclusively, interested in works on Central America, democratic transition, neoliberalism and its impact, etc. Final selection will be based on the quality of scholarship, clarity of expression, and the estimated importance of the topic to the scholarly community. Manuscripts (with self-addressed stamped envelope for return) or inquiries should be sent to Thomas W. Walker, Editor, Latin American Monograph Series, Center for International Studies, Burson House, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701.

Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology



"With the appearance of the *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology*, one of the largest and most ancient communities of the American Roman Catholic Church will have recovered their professional voices. . . . It is a hopeful sign of the maturation of the American Catholic community."

Gary Macy
Professor of Theology and Church History
University of San Diego

Following the highest standards of scholarship in professional theology, *JHLT* publishes research results and provides for the ongoing discussion of issues concerning the Christian community today. It reflects the ideas that affect and/or enrich U.S. Latino theology and welcomes non-theological scholarship that helps to further understand the religious life and expressions of U.S. Latinos.

Given the great need for Hispanic theological texts for ministerial training, *JHLT* shows sensitivity to the pastoral

agent's needs and questions without compromising the journal's academic standards.

JHLT is published quarterly in English and for a professional audience by the Academy of Catholic Hispanic Theologians of the United States (ACHTUS), thanks to a grant from the Lilly Endowment. It is our hope that the theological insights and arguments developed in the pages of each issue will contribute to the ongoing dialogue among scholars in all fields interested in the North American Hispanic/Latino religious experience.

Libraries: \$40.00, one year

Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology

St. John's Abbey, P.O. Box 7500 • Collegeville, MN 56321-7500 Call 1-800-858-5456, ext. 2223 or fax 1-800-445-5899

**Liberals, the Church,
and Indian Peasants**
Corporate Lands
and the Challenge of Reform
in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America
Edited by Robert H. Jackson
232 pages, 10 halftones
Cloth: \$47.50

**La Fiesta
de los Tastoanes**
Critical Encounters in
Mexican Festival Performance
Olga Nájera-Ramírez
Cloth: \$50.00

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO PRESS
At bookstores, or call 1-800-249-7737



LASA MEMBER DIRECTORY

NEW EDITION
SCHEDULED FOR FALL

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

Watch for the 1998 membership form to arrive soon and check off the Directory item

The Information Technology & People (*IT&P*) journal invites authors to submit papers for review on the topic of "Information Technology in Latin America" for a special issue. The Guest Editor for this issue is Ramiro Montealegre. Latin American countries have taken bold measures to open their domestic markets to international investment and competition, to encourage private initiative and reduce government intervention, and to promote trade within the region. In this environment, human intellect combined with information technology (IT) represents a new hope for achieving the flexibility, speed, and creativity that are required today for organizations not only to succeed, but to survive. The aim of this special issue of *IT&P* is to provide a forum for topics addressing such IT issues as policy, development, implementation, usage, management, infrastructure, cross-cultural aspects, transfer, and assimilation—all with a focus on the business and economic environment of the diverse and dynamic countries encompassing the emerging Americas region. The language of the journal is English. Submissions sought are both theoretical and/or practice-focused. Papers may be conceptual, empirical, or case studies. Descriptive case studies or reflective commentary on present practice are encouraged. Both comparative and single-country studies are welcome. Authors are invited to nominate up to three reviewers for their submission (authors should, however, avoid any nominations that involve a conflict of interest). Nominations should include: name, complete address, telephone, fax, and electronic address. Nominated reviewers should be knowledgeable about your topic and methods, as well as the debate about information technology in the Latin American context. Articles should be between 5,000 and 8,000 words in length. Authors should follow the standard "*IT&P* guidelines for preparation of the manuscript," which can be found at <http://www.mcb.co.uk/services/editoria/liblink/itp/notes.htm>. Inquiries and manuscript submissions (five copies of full articles) should be addressed to Ramiro Montealegre, Guest Editor, *IT&P* College of Business and Administration, Campus Box 419, University of Colorado,

Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309-0419. Tel: 303-492-0416. Fax: 303-492-5962 Email: ramiro.montealegre@colorado.edu. Manuscripts may be submitted in hard copy, on disk (MS-DOS format, either plain ASCII text, or WordPerfect for DOS or WinWord), or by electronic mail (plain ASCII text, Word Perfect 5.1 or 6.0 or WinWord). Electronic submissions will be sent to a special email address; please contact the guest editor for details. The deadline for submission is *November 28, 1997*. Initial reviews will be returned by March 2, 1998. The Special Issue will appear in Fall 1998.

The editors of *Latin American Issues* invite contributions from all social science and humanities disciplines on topics related to our forthcoming monographic issue "(De)Constructing the Mexican-American Border." Manuscripts should be typed (double-spaced and in MLA style), should range from 20 to 30 pages in length, be written in English, and be on a 3.5" disk in WordPerfect format. Each manuscript will be reviewed by the Editorial Board and by such outside referees as are deemed appropriate. Authors are requested to send two copies of their manuscript to both editors at the address below before *October 1, 1997*. Send materials to Fernando Valerio and Jaume Martí-Olivella, *Latin American Issues*, Modern Languages Department, Box 63, Allegheny College, Meadville, PA 16335.

Submissions invited for the 1997 Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz literary award. The contest is open to all women writers who have published a novel in Spanish from 1994 to 1997, inclusive. Three copies of the novel must be submitted by August 31, 1997, to SOGEM, Av. Circ. Agustín Yáñez #2389, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. In a separate envelope, include the author's name, address, telephone number, and articles or reviews about the novel submitted. Several prizes will be awarded, including publication of the novel in English and all expenses paid to participate in the Los Angeles Book Festival. Sponsors are the Guadalajara International Book Fair; Curbstone Press; Fondo de la Cultura Económica; *The Los Angeles Times*; SOGEM School of Writers, Guadalajara; and the Association of Women's Book Clubs, AC. ■



GENERAL

ContentsDirect is a new alerting service for the *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. Free to subscribers and non-subscribers alike, ContentsDirect will help all LASA members keep abreast of new work published in the *Bulletin*.

ContentsDirect is an innovative new service from Pergamon Elsevier. Approximately two to four weeks prior to the publication of each issue, subscribers to ContentsDirect will receive the contents pages of that issue directly onto their desktop computer. ContentsDirect delivers the following features: journal title, volume and issue number, issue publication date, article title, author names, page numbers,

other information listed on contents pages, plus news of editorial board changes, forthcoming special issues, etc. If you want to register to ContentsDirect, just send an e-mail message to csubsub@elsevier.co.uk, including your name and full mailing address details, together with your Internet e-mail address, and you will be registered for ContentsDirect for the *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. Don't miss out on this simple method of remaining abreast of new developments in your field. ■



LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION



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

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP for Calendar Year 1997 Renewal New Application

Dues are for the 1997 calendar year: January 1 - December 31.

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

Surname(s) _____ First name(s) _____ Initial _____

Surname under which you should be indexed on LASA database _____

Discipline _____

Mailing address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____

Business telephone _____ Home telephone _____

FAX number _____ E-mail address _____

Institutional affiliation _____

Country of interest #1 _____ Country of interest #2 _____

For statistical purposes only: Date of birth (m/d/y) _____ Gender _____

MEMBERSHIP AND SPECIAL OPTIONAL JOURNAL RATES FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1997

Regular Membership:

Under \$20,000 annual income	\$30	\$ _____
\$20,000 to \$29,999	\$38	\$ _____
\$30,000 to \$39,999	\$46	\$ _____
\$40,000 to \$49,999	\$56	\$ _____
\$50,000 to \$64,999	\$66	\$ _____
\$65,000 and over	\$78	\$ _____

Life Member: \$2,500 total, or \$1,000 first installment \$ _____

Student Member: (5-year limit) \$20 \$ _____

Latin Americanists permanently residing in Latin

America or the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico):

Under \$20,000 annual income	\$20	\$ _____
\$20,000 and over	\$30	\$ _____

Joint Membership (for two members at the same mailing address; one copy of publications will be sent.)

Choose this plus one other category. Add this rate

for the higher income of the two members: \$25 \$ _____

Optional special offers to LASA members:

Journal of Latin American Studies \$49 \$ _____

Bulletin of Latin American Research \$36 \$ _____

LASA Member Directory (*Discount for membership paid by December 31, 1996*) \$10.....(after \$15) \$ _____

Optional Air Mail of LASA Forum (international only) \$20 \$ _____

Add credit card handling fee if using VISA or MasterCard ... \$2.75 \$ _____

My contribution to the **LASA Travel Fund**..... \$ _____

My contribution to the **LASA Humanities Endowment Fund** \$ _____

My contribution to the **LASA General Endowment Fund** \$ _____

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED \$ _____

METHOD OF PAYMENT

Check payable to LASA (in U.S. dollars drawn *only* on a U.S. bank)

U.S. dollar money order

UNESCO coupon(s)

U.S. dollar Traveler's Check, *with your two signatures, to LASA*

Credit card: VISA MasterCard

VISA or MasterCard number:

Expiration date: ___/___

Signature:

(Remember to add the \$2.75 handling fee.)

If payment is by credit card, you may fax this form to (412) 624-7145. For all other forms of payment, mail to LASA at the address above.

**LASA will commit \$5 from each member's dues to the LASA Humanities Endowment Fund, in anticipation of an NEH Challenge Grant.*



LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION



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

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP for Calendar Year 1997 _____ Renewal _____ New Application
Dues are for the 1997 calendar year: January 1 - December 31

PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED.

Name of institution _____
Name of institutional representative _____
Mailing address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Country _____
Business telephone _____ FAX number _____
E-mail address _____

MEMBERSHIP RATES FOR CALENDAR YEAR 1997 Choose one of the two that follow:	Amount
Non-profit institution	_____ \$150 \$ _____
For-profit institution	_____ \$250 \$ _____

Among other benefits, LASA Institutional Members receive three issues of the *Latin American Research Review (LARR)* and four issues of the *LASA Forum* per year. Institutions outside the United States: If you wish to receive the *Forum* by air mail, please add \$20 per year for postage. If you desire air mail delivery of *LARR*, contact the *LARR* office, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; Phone (505) 277-7043.

Optional Air Mail of LASA Forum (international only) @ \$20.00 \$ _____

Optional special offers to LASA members:

Journal of Latin American Studies..... \$49 \$ _____

Bulletin of Latin American Research..... \$36 \$ _____

Our contribution to the **LASA Congress Travel Fund** \$ _____

Our contribution to the **LASA Humanities Endowment Fund**..... \$ _____

Our contribution to the **LASA General Endowment Fund** \$ _____

Add **\$2.75 credit card handling fee** if using VISA or MasterCard \$ _____

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED \$ _____

METHOD OF PAYMENT

____ Check payable to LASA (in U.S. dollars drawn *only* on a U.S. bank)
____ U.S. dollar money order
____ UNESCO coupon(s)
____ U.S. dollar Traveler's Check, with your two signatures, made out to LASA

Credit Card: ____ VISA ____ MasterCard

VISA or MasterCard number: _____ - _____ - _____ - _____ Expiration date: ____/____

Signature: _____ (Remember to add the \$2.75 handling fee.)

If payment is by credit card, you may fax this form to (412) 624-7145. For all other forms of payment, mail to LASA at the address above.

THE CALL FOR PAPERS

for the

**XXI
INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS**

has been issued

Please carefully note deadlines
and regulations

and

**JOIN US IN
CHICAGO**

for

LASA98

Latin American Studies Association
946 William Pitt Union
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

**Nonprofit Org.
US POSTAGE
PAID
Pittsburgh, PA
Permit No. 511**