

# LASA FORUM

## Latin American Studies Association

Volume XXVIII

Number 3

Fall 1997

### FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

### IN MEMORIAM

4..... *Enrique A. Baloyra*

5..... *Martin Diskin*

### ARTICLE

6..... *De la mañana de los regimenes nacional-populares a la víspera de los movimientos sociales*  
by **Alain Touraine**

### FOCUS—MEXICO

FOCUS



10..... *Mexico's New Politics*  
by **Luis Rublo**

12..... *Labor Politics and Democratization in Mexico* by **Kevin J. Middlebrook**

16..... *Fidel Velázquez Dies at 97*  
by **Francisco Zapata**

### REPORTS



18..... *On LASA's 21st Century Task Force or Shape the Web Before it Shapes Us*  
by **Mark B. Rosenberg**



20..... *The Crisis of Human Rights in Colombia: It's Time to Internationalize the Peace Process*  
by **Marc Chernick**

### ON TEACHING AND LEARNING

24..... *Coffee and the U.S. Campus: The Investigative & Teaching Opportunity*  
by **Eldon Kenworthy**

### ON LASA98—CHICAGO! CHICAGO

27..... *A Program Committee Note*  
by **Timothy Wickham-Crowley**

### ON LASA SECTIONS

29..... *Newly Approved Sections*

### CALLING ALL MEMBERS

29..... *Gender Award Initiated*

### NEWS FROM LASA

30..... *Voluntary Support*

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

32..... *Opportunities On-Line, Employment, Research and Study, Conferences, and General*

43-45, 47... *Membership and Publications Forms*

# LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

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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.

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# President's Report

by Susan Eckstein

Boston University

At this writing LASA is moving into high gear. Plans both for the next Congress, in September 1998 in Chicago, and for LASA reforms are under way that should make the Association more participatory and democratic, more responsive to member interests, needs, and concerns, and more intellectually and politically engaging.

## The Sections Reform

The reform to allow for Sections has been approved by the LASA membership. The following Sections have conformed with requirements specified in the *Manual on Sections* (available through the Secretariat), which allows them to appear on the 1998 membership form included in this issue of the *Forum*: **Brazil in Comparative Perspective; Business and Politics; Central America; Colombia; Cuba; Culture, Power and Politics; Europe & Latin America; Gender & Feminist Studies; Haiti; Higher Education; Labor Studies; LAMA-LatinoAmerica-MedioAmbiente; Latino Studies; Law & Society in Latin America; Lesbian & Gay Studies; Paraguayan Studies; Political Institutions; Scholarly Research & Resources; Social Studies of Medicine; and Venezuelan Studies.**

To appear on the membership form a Section Organizer must obtain Executive Council approval of the mission statement. The Section also must have 25 paid members to become official and entitled to Congress-related rights. LASA members may join as many Sections as they like, whether or not they have been a founding Section signator. Sections may organize special guaranteed program sessions, the number depending on how many persons have become dues-paying Section members. Ideally, Sections will use their guaranteed sessions in interesting and innovative ways. Sections also are allotted Congress space for a business meeting and reception, and they may publish electronic newsletters, which keep members up to date on events, publications, and institutional activities relevant to them.

While no more Sections may be added to this year's LASA membership form it is not too late to form Sections. If you would like to help organize a new Section you should feel free to contact Sandy Klinzing at the LASA Secretariat for a copy of the *Manual*, as well as other assistance. Sandy is the Section "point person" at the Secretariat. She has done an *outstanding* job of helping to get underway the Sections initiated for 1998.

## New in the Forum

Aside from the Section initiative, I am introducing several changes in the *Forum*. The *Forum* is a wonderful asset to the

LASA membership, but I think that it can be more "user friendly." With this goal in mind, I am proposing a number of modifications.

For one, beginning with this issue, obituaries will appear more frequently in the *Forum*. I do not wish death on any of us, but you now can count on a small memorial essay appearing in the publication. If you are interested in writing an obituary you should contact Reid Reading at the Secretariat to make sure that the memorial has not already been commissioned. Until this issue the *Forum* typically received and published obits only on past presidents and major LASA award winners. In essence, obituaries will be democratized!

Second, beginning with this issue there will appear regular columns prepared by the two remaining task forces: **Human Rights/Academic Freedom** and the newly formed **LASA and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**. The Human Rights/Academic Freedom Task Force, under the leadership of Jack Hammond, plans to focus on a different human rights concern in each edition of the *Forum*. The first column, in this issue, focuses on conditions in Colombia, the Latin American country with perhaps the worst current human rights record in the region. Marc Chernick, a member of the Task Force, has taken it upon himself to launch the column. Mark Rosenberg, chair of the LASA and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force, will oversee that task force column.

Third, the *Forum* will run a new column "Sections Update." Chairs and organizers of Sections can use this space to inform the general LASA membership briefly of their activities. This space can also be used to publicize Sections you might seek to form. You can announce a "call for interested joiners." The statements of three Sections that met the requirements since the last *Forum* was published are featured in this issue. If you are interested in joining the Sections posted you should communicate with the listed contact persons. They will be more than happy to hear from you.

Fourth, I am introducing a column "FOCUS." It will center on a different topical theme in each issue. Ideally, it will include brief op-ed type pieces written by members of the Association worldwide. The essays can be written in the language of author's choice. In this *Forum* the focus is on Mexico: on the political and social significance of the recent elections and the death of the longtime labor leader, Fidel Velázquez. Please send me suggestions for "FOCUS" themes that you would like covered in other *Forum* issues (and suggestions for contributors). My e-mail address is [selasa@bu.edu](mailto:selasa@bu.edu).

Last but not least, each issue of the *Forum* will have, starting with

the Winter issue, several brief personal news columns: "People," "Awards," and "New Books." Please submit short statements for these columns to the Secretariat. The *Forum* deadlines are March, June, September, and December 1. These columns will be as engaging and fun to read as you make them! Do not hesitate to send in relevant information—starting NOW!

### Upcoming Congress

I hope and trust that you are thinking ahead, to the 1998 Congress in Chicago. The deadline for receipt of paper and panel proposals is November 1, *in the office of the Program Chair, Timothy Wickham-Crowley*. Submissions may not be

accepted after that date, nor may submissions be received other than by Tim's office. Please abide by these rules, because we want to see you at the Congress. Tim and I particularly welcome papers /panels that speak to *Social Justice*, the theme of the Congress and, we hope, an edited volume. A major Congress innovation will be the activities organized by the newly formed Sections. All Sections that appear on the 1998 LASA membership form may organize one or more sessions of their choosing, the number depending on how many LASA members become Section dues-paying members. So sign on now! Through Section activity I hope that members of the Association will find new ways to "connect," personally and intellectually, with others sharing mutual interests and concerns.



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:

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## IN MEMORIAM

### *Enrique A. Baloyra* 1942-1997

*If it is true that the measure of one's life are a commitment to and love of family; respect for and veneration of one's God; belief in immanent principles and tolerance for those of others; and fulfilling the promise of one's talent(s), then Enrique A. Baloyra lived an exemplary life. During his short, intense 54 years of life, Baloyra came to be much more than an outstanding and admired scholar, or a prudent and articulate political activist and leader; rather, his legacy reaffirms the need to continue the search for supreme values in a world that is increasingly distant from that.*

*It was my privilege to have known and worked with him for 25 years, and to call him teacher, mentor, and most importantly, friend. Under Baloyra's guidance and advice, many of us sharpened our critical faculties and learned to think in a mature way of complex and contradictory political processes that subsequently became understandable. Under his rigorous tutoring at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill during the late 1970s and early 1980s, many of us approached*

*the study of Latin America with academic discipline punctured by cultural witticisms, acquiring some understanding of the intricate paths through which diverse societies move toward national development. A second generation of students benefitted from his wisdom and professionalism once he moved to the University of Miami to assume academic and administrative responsibilities.*

*His work on transitions to democracy opened up new ways of thinking about regime change, and his thinking on Cuba was shaped by a commitment to its need for democracy. Yet he understood the forces that make that prospect seem distant and difficult en su primera patria, to whose future he would surely have made immense contributions. Finally, through this inexplicable and painful passing, Enrique A. Baloyra reminds us that the integrity of scholarship should stand the test of time and criticism, thus becoming an intrinsic part of a larger intellectual journey that fathoms the essence of one's existence.*

*Juan M. del Aguila  
Emory University  
Atlanta, Georgia  
August 1997*

## IN MEMORIAM

### *Martin Diskin*

1934-1997

*Martin Diskin was Professor of Anthropology at MIT, a specialist on peasant political economies in Latin America, and a deeply committed activist scholar. He began his career with the study of indigenous marketing systems in the Mexican state of Oaxaca, and from the late '70s on became a leading expert on Central America. In the days before his death on August 3, he was hard at work to complete his book-length study of land reform, peasant politics and the state in El Salvador.*

*Martin was both a dedicated anthropologist and a sharp critic of his own discipline. Especially with the shift in emphasis from Mexico to Central America, Martin grew increasingly interested in topics that fell outside the repertoire of traditional anthropological training: the systemic character of rural poverty, human rights, the consciousness and practice of Central American elites, the cultural logic and impact of U.S. policy in the region. Although such interests coincide with what later became fashionable topics of theoretical discourse, Martin was neither deeply influenced by such trends, nor especially engaged in that level of academic exchange. The main impetus for developing this expertise was outrage over social injustice that could be otherwise, and visceral distaste for the arrogance of power that stands in the way of change.*

*Martin actively pursued alternatives to conventional anthropological practice, combining rigorous analysis with political action in a range of settings: giving expert testimony at Congressional hearings, public speaking, participating in fact-finding missions to Central America, advising the Salvadoran peace negotiations, and advancing the work of OXFAM-America and other grassroots development initiatives. Much of Martin's scholarship that accompanied this work was carried out collectively. He played a leading role in the 20-person research team that produced *El Salvador: Background to the Crisis* in 1982; and in LASA-sponsored delegations that resulted in two influential research reports: *"Peace and Autonomy on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua"* in 1986, and the *"Final report on the 1990 Nicaraguan Elections."* In recognition of this creative,*

*visionary activist scholarship, the Martín Baró Fund for Mental Health and Human Rights honored Martin with its outstanding achievement award for 1996.*

*Martin's politically engaged research in Central America also yielded a methodological innovation, which became an important facet of his later work. Using the legitimacy of a U.S. academic position, and the access created by "foreign observer" status, he turned elites into subjects of systematic analysis. This focus is evident in his co-edited volume, *Trouble in our Backyard* (1984), and even more so in his later research on agrarian politics in El Salvador, in which U.S. embassy spokespeople, Salvadoran government officials, and coffee finqueros—as well as peasants—are subjected to anthropological scrutiny.*

*Martin always managed to keep his life in balance. He was a devoted husband and father, an avid sailor, a gardener and a cook; he played Mexican folk music, studied Yiddish, and in later years, practiced yoga. Martin and his wife Vilyuna formed part of a community of colleagues, friends, and activists who cared deeply about the world, who learned, laughed, and took strength from being together.*

*Martin battled chronic leukemia, and the complications that followed, with extraordinary courage and resolve. Characteristically, he subjected his own experience with the health care system to analysis and critique: insisting on full knowledge of his condition, protesting indecencies that at times come with the management of serious illness, actively exploring alternatives to standard medical treatments.*

*Martin Diskin was a man with passion for his work, an impressive mastery of his research topics, and a clear vision of their broader importance; a man of strong convictions and a great ability to advance the principles of social justice in which he believed; he was an eloquent speaker and sharp critic of opposing positions, yet well-endowed with a disarming humility and a wry sense of humor that kept it all in perspective. May these qualities live on to inspire and guide those of us who were touched by him.*

—Charles R. Hale, University of Texas at Austin

*LASA extends its deepest sympathies to the family and friends of these two gifted scholars of Latin America.*

# De la mañana de los regímenes nacional-populares a la víspera de los movimientos sociales

by Alain Touraine

ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES, PARIS

[Professor Touraine, Silvert Award winner for 1997, presented this paper at LASA's XX International Congress in Guadalajara, Mexico.]

## Introducción

Antes de todo, se necesita definir en pocas palabras lo que uno entiende por movimientos sociales. Si la noción incluye todas clases de acción colectiva—*collective behavior*—no sirve de nada porque corresponde a realidades muy diversas.

Entonces, hay que escoger entre tres definiciones precisas.

La primera es la defensa colectiva de intereses personales. Concepto económico, que supone que los actores sean definidos por su situación en el mercado. Hipótesis muy lejos de la realidad en países donde la intervención del Estado y los caminos políticos de acción son más visibles y tienen más influencia que las relaciones propiamente económicas. En muchos países, el sindicalismo fue creado o es controlado por el aparato estatal, de tal manera que no tienen mucha autonomía los procesos de *collective bargaining*.

La segunda considera los movimientos sociales como efectos de una crisis de las instituciones que se vuelven incapaces de contestar demandas sociales. Tal situación es muy frecuente en América Latina. Se puede hablar, como lo hizo J. Matos Mar, de desborde popular. En general, este tipo de conductas es heterónomo, porque corresponde a una crisis institucional más que a un movimiento como tal. Por eso, no parece adecuado hablar aquí de movimientos sociales aunque, como lo veremos, esta clase de protestas sea más frecuente que las que se pueden definir como movimientos sociales.

Porque la tercera definición corresponde solamente a acciones colectivas que oponen actores sociales entre sí, 1) por el control de los recursos más importantes de una sociedad, o 2) por el control del proceso histórico de transformación de esta sociedad. En ambos casos, un movimiento social es un conflicto entre grupos sociales, pero que va más allá de una lucha de intereses y pone en tela de juicio un sistema de poder. Lo que también supone una referencia positiva a las orientaciones culturales de una sociedad. Cuando los obreros ingleses o franceses, a comienzos del siglo XIX, destruyen máquinas, su acción era un *riot*, no un movimiento social. El movimiento obrero se formó cuando la industrialización fue aceptada, pero el control social de la economía industrial rechazado.

Es importante tener en mente la diferencia entre dos tipos de movimientos sociales: aquellos que se definen dentro de un tipo de sociedad, que se trate de movimientos campesinos, obreros o de otras categorías, y aquellos que se oponen a un tipo de

desarrollo, por ejemplo a una situación de dependencia, a un Estado corrupto o a una dominación de los mercados internacionales.

## Tema general

1. Estas definiciones eran necesarias para contestar la pregunta más general: ¿Es América Latina una tierra de movimientos sociales o no? La respuesta, dada primero en una forma brutal, es no. El continente se caracteriza por un déficit de movimientos sociales y, más ampliamente, de actores sociales. En realidad, los movimientos estructurales son los más débiles; los movimientos vinculados con el proceso de desarrollo y que llamo yo *movimientos históricos* son mucho más importantes pero poco autónomos.

2. La razón bien conocida que explica esta situación es la ausencia general de desarrollo endógeno, de *self-sustaining growth*, lo que significa la debilidad de las clases dirigentes, de los grupos o clases sociales dominados o definidos por su papel en el proceso productivo.

En América Latina, el concepto de clases sociales es de poca utilidad; las luchas de clases son escasas y limitadas. El sistema productivo es constantemente desbordado por arriba y por abajo.

Por arriba, de tres maneras.

a) *Por la dependencia*; si bien no comparto la tesis de los dependentistas más radicales, reconocí completamente en mi libro, *Las sociedades dependientes*, en particular, el carácter en gran parte exógeno del desarrollo económico y del sistema de control político. Los foquistas, especialmente de influencia cubana, dieron a esta teoría una forma extrema: el foco debe ser móvil, desvincularse de fuerzas populares organizadas y concentrarse en su lucha no social, sino más bien política, contra un Estado dependiente del imperialismo y que representa el eslabón más débil de la dominación extranjera.

b) *Por la naturaleza de una clase dirigente* que es más bien una oligarquía que un grupo empresarial, sea porque es un *stand* más que una clase, como fue el caso de los gamonales peruanos, o sea porque se trata de un capitalismo financiero más que de inversionistas.

c) *Por la intervención del Estado nacional popular*, que ha redistribuido parte de los recursos producidos por el capital extranjero para ampliar una clase media amplia, en gran parte vinculada con el Estado y no con el mercado internacional alejado por barreras proteccionistas.

Por abajo, porque una parte importante de la población está marginada, en el sector informal urbano o rural o en la desocupación abierta o en servicios domésticos u otras clases de peones al servicio de los ricos. Parte de esta población marginada es además reprimida por el gobierno, los latifundistas, el ejército o la policía.

En conclusión, la oposición de intereses y la formación de conflictos estructurales son limitadas, a la vez por la dependencia y la violencia y por fuertes procesos de integración social. Las "clases populares" son debilitadas, a la vez por la miseria y por la formación de una clase media, amplia y sostenida por el Estado.

3. En América Latina, como en muchos otros países, incluso europeos, los actores sociales son en general más débiles que los actores políticos y los movimientos heterónomos más frecuentes que los autónomos. Eso no significa que no existan movimientos sociales de tipo clásico, pero no ocupan un lugar central en la historia social y política del continente. Entre los más importantes existen en particular movimientos campesinos, como el movimiento zapatista durante la revolución mexicana, el movimiento boliviano, especialmente en la región de Cochabamba, que fue un elemento decisivo de la revolución de 1952, las luchas de los *poseiros* y de los *sem terra* brasileños y muchos más. Menos numerosos y más débiles son los movimientos obreros, porque fue muy frecuente el control estatal de los sindicatos. Es en las minas, en Chile, en el Perú, en México y también en Bolivia—a pesar de la orientación básicamente política de la COB en el tiempo de Lechín—que se observan los movimientos obreros más importantes.

4. Estas primeras conclusiones, más bien negativas, nos conducen a dos temas más específicos.

¿Es solamente esta debilidad de los movimientos estructurales la contrapartida de movimientos más directamente movilizados contra el proceso de *desarrollo* o son los dos tipos de movimientos igualmente débiles?

El segundo tema es más histórico y actual: ¿resulta o no la ruptura de los regímenes nacional-populares y el triunfo de las políticas liberales en un fortalecimiento de la sociedad civil y entonces de los actores y de los movimientos sociales?

#### Desarrollo y movimientos sociales

1. El primer interrogante es clásico y nos lleva fácilmente a una conclusión importante: en América Latina, los movimientos no son subordinados a la acción política, porque son más bien fuerzas a la vez sociales y políticas en conflicto, negociación o alianza con un Estado a la vez poder político, fuerza social y agente de integración nacional. Eso transforma profundamente la conclusión negativa anterior. Si no hay movimientos sociales puros, es porque en general en América Latina no hubo ni Estado puro ni clases sociales claramente definidas ni sociedad civil independiente del Estado, sino una mezcla e integración de tres dimensiones de la vida social: socio-económica, política y nacional. No hubo en América Latina ni fuerzas sociales ni fuerzas políticas importantes que no hayan sido tridimensionales,

luchando a la vez por la defensa de intereses, por una mayor influencia política y por la integración e independencia de la nación.

2. Este principio central de análisis acarrea gran número de consecuencias. La más importante aquí es que los movimientos dirigidos contra la dependencia y el imperialismo, entonces *unidimensionales*, han sido tan débiles como los movimientos de tipo sindical o los partidos políticos definidos en términos puramente políticos. Si bien es cierto que durante los treinta últimos años, las guerrillas han tenido gran visibilidad en el continente, especialmente después de la victoria castrista, el fracaso de todas, fuera de Cuba, de Venezuela a Guatemala, de las guerrillas rurales del Perú a comienzos de los años '60, pasando por la guerrilla del Che en Bolivia hasta las guerrillas urbanas de los Tupamaros, de los Montoneros, del MIR chileno, es un hecho innegable. Aún menos relevancia tienen los ejércitos revolucionarios populares, sea de tipo colombiano—muy distinto del tipo foquista—o del tipo peruano.

Conviene, por el contrario, subrayar la gran importancia de las *revoluciones nacional-populares*, desde Battle en Uruguay y la revolución mexicana hasta la victoria del MNR en 1952, la breve existencia del movimiento dominicano con Bosch o el movimiento armado sandinista en Nicaragua. En estos casos, el anti-imperialismo fue el eje central de movimientos más globales, en los cuales temas políticos y temas sociales se vincularon fuertemente contra la lucha contra una dependencia externa o contra un Estado imponiendo a la sociedad una dominación extranjera.

Reitero entonces la conclusión central de esta parte del análisis que corresponde al largo período nacional-popular. Son limitados, débiles y heterónomos todos los movimientos sociales estructurales, y los movimientos antiimperialistas o antiliberales fueron fuertes en la medida en la cual se vincularon al Estado de manera heterónoma.

#### Neo-liberalismo y movimientos sociales

1. Conviene ahora considerar la situación pos-nacional-popular y también posterior a las dictaduras militares del Cono Sur que destruyeron a los movimientos sociales socio-políticos anteriores. ¿Se observa o no una autonomización de la sociedad civil y la formación de conflictos estructurales que se acercarían al tipo de conflicto de clase?

2. En el período final de la dictadura del Cono Sur—pero en otros países también—se formaron movimientos urbanos, movimientos de barrios en Buenos Aires, de *bairros* en Brasil, movimientos de pobladores en Chile y después del '85 en México, otros en Venezuela, etc., a veces vinculados con la Teología de la Liberación, especialmente en el Perú. Estos movimientos pueden ser interpretados como movimientos sociales, pero con un contenido político dirigido contra la represión o la corrupción. Serían entonces formas de transición entre movimientos nacional-populares en los cuales la dimensión política era predominante, por ejemplo en el peronismo, y movimientos sociales preparando una liberación de la sociedad civil. Pero la vuelta a la democracia debilitó rápidamente estos



movimientos que fueron utilizados por líderes neopopulistas o reintegrados dentro de los cuadros políticos institucionales.

3. ¿Es favorable o no el proceso actual a la formación de movimientos sociales? Para contestar esta pregunta, necesitamos volver a la hipótesis general. Si la característica central de América Latina es la mezcla constante de tres dimensiones: reivindicaciones sociales, integración nacional, lucha contra la independencia exterior, la evolución actual puede ser definida con un proceso de descomposición del *pattern* multidimensional de la acción colectiva.

Esta descomposición viene de afuera, de la apertura de los mercados. Frente a esta liberalización económica, la transformación prioritaria es la reorientación del Estado hacia tareas propiamente políticas o estatales y antes de todo hacia un fortalecimiento de su capacidad de decisión. Una vez llevadas a cabo estas dos transformaciones, es decir la separación del área económica y del área política, puede realizarse, o por lo menos se vuelve prioritaria, la construcción o reconstrucción del sistema político. Lo que nos lleva a la conclusión que la formación de actores sociales autónomos, y entonces de movimientos sociales, es posible solamente como última etapa de este proceso de diferenciación de funciones, hasta entonces combinadas en el Estado nacional-popular.

4. Esta hipótesis parece sorprendente frente al aumento de las desigualdades sociales en la mayoría de los países, del peso enorme del subempleo, de la pobreza, de lo que los economistas de PREALC llamaron justamente la deuda social, es decir el hecho de que son los pobres los que pagaron la crisis económica de los años '80. Pero otra vez, se demuestra la imposibilidad de deducir las formas de la acción colectiva de una definición económica de la situación. América Latina casi constantemente estuvo y está en una situación que se puede definir como revolucionaria o prerevolucionaria. Sin embargo, fueron pocos los movimientos revolucionarios—México, Bolivia, Nicaragua—porque la capacidad de acción social autónoma es débil, a la vez por la participación política dependiente y por la marginación, exclusión y represión social que sufren muchos.

América Latina sigue teniendo un déficit de actores sociales. Conclusión que sale claramente de los grandes debates organizados por CLACSO sobre los posibles escenarios de evolución del continente.

Por un lado, aumenta la violencia y en algunas áreas el caos creado por el narcotráfico y el contrabando; por el otro, el crecimiento total fuerte de la economía crea expectativas positivas. Así puede mantenerse o reconstituirse la doble lógica de integración y exclusión que siempre ha caracterizado al continente y que explica la debilidad relativa de los actores sociales, y especialmente de los movimientos de clase. En el mundo urbano, el descontento más visible se ve en la clase media vinculada al Estado y más ampliamente en el sector público tan importante en países como Brasil. La urbanización creciente quita gran parte de su fuerza a los movimientos campesinos aunque en Brasil crezcan, (en particular en el Norte), los movimientos de Sem Terra apoyados por una opinión escandalizada por la violencia utilizada por los latifundistas, por

ejemplo en la región del Tocantins.

Al contrario, en las ciudades, donde también ha aumentado la violencia, se mantiene o se reorganiza el populismo clásico, por ejemplo en el gran Buenos Aires donde el desempleo ha alcanzado un nivel desconocido hasta la fecha.

5. Estas observaciones nos llevan a la hipótesis que nuevos movimientos sociales pueden formarse hoy, pero no en situaciones de clases bien definidas sino al contrario en la frontera entre actores sociales integrados pero dominados, como lo es la clásica clase obrera, y otros que son marginados y víctimas de una dualización creciente, es decir por una combinación entre una lucha económico-social y una defensa más global dirigida contra el Estado y el sistema económico internacional, más que contra un grupo social dominante. Lo que significa que no hay movimientos sociales puros sino una combinación de protesta social y en ciertos casos de defensa de una identidad con una demanda de participación política y social mayor, pero muchas veces heterónoma. Los movimientos urbanos, movimientos de barrios o de *bairros* o de pobladores en Chile, y la defensa de los pobres, tal como la definió el Padre Gutiérrez en Lima, a pesar de su debilidad y de su recuperación fácil en la mayoría de los casos por el sistema político, eran y son realmente movimientos sociales, combinando una reacción global contra la dualización con la defensa de intereses económicos. Eso corresponde a la situación del continente, caracterizada por un desarrollo dependiente, es decir a la vez por un proceso importante de modernización económica y por una heterogeneidad estructural aun más fuerte que en el período anterior, como consecuencia del retroceso económico y social de los años '80. Pero, a partir de este argumento general, conviene separar por lo menos dos situaciones distintas según la presencia o la ausencia de un sistema político abierto de representación.

6. En el norte del continente, donde existe un fuerte problema indígena, se forman movimientos socio-políticos con base étnica. En Bolivia, donde el sistema político se ha fortalecido, el khatarismo radical se ha transformado en un proceso de democratización a través de la incorporación de los órganos de mando aymara en el sistema político local. Pero en otros países, y especialmente en México, Guatemala o Ecuador, se han formado verdaderos movimientos sociales que unen la defensa de una identidad con una lucha democrática. La formación de tales movimientos es en gran parte la consecuencia de la caída del sistema soviético y entonces de la influencia de Cuba y del agotamiento de las guerrillas. Pero los nuevos movimientos sociales están mucho más vinculados con las comunidades indígenas que las guerrillas, incluso en Guatemala donde la fusión de la guerrilla urbana con el movimiento quiché preparada por misioneros e intelectuales no se realizó y tuvo como consecuencia el etnocidio que sufrieron los quichés. La figura de Rigoberta Menchú se ha vuelto emblemática de este cambio profundo de orientación del movimiento indígena, que, lejos de las guerrillas y aún más lejos del indianismo ideológico de los años '70, intenta defender los intereses de la comunidad a través de la renovación del sistema político nacional. Es por supuesto el movimiento neozapatista de Chiapas que, a pesar de su debilidad material, ha expresado con más fuerza y con un impacto mundial la unión nueva de la defensa de una identidad



con un programa de democratización nacional. Aunque las posibilidades estratégicas de Marcos sean muy limitadas y que el proceso de cambio político de México sea poco influenciado por su acción, el pensamiento del sub-comandante, desde la selva lacandona, tiene una importancia teórica muy grande porque indica el camino más lógico de formación de movimientos sociales en la América Latina del fin del siglo: la alianza de una lucha cultural-social con un proceso democratizante y dentro del marco más amplio de la resistencia al modelo neo-liberal triunfante.

En los países del Sur, que tienen un sistema político más abierto, los movimientos son más políticos que sociales, pero con un fuerte contenido social de algunas fuerzas políticas, desde el Frepaso argentino hasta el PT brasileño, con el peligro, en varios países, de volver a un neopopulismo.

En Chile, el país que tiene la capacidad más grande de integración social por su éxito económico y la fuerza de su sistema político, empieza también a manifestarse una coalición política que una los defensores de un capitalismo más industrial que financiero y más dirigido hacia dentro que hacia afuera con los grupos que critican una gestión económica que mantiene un nivel alto de desigualdad social.

7. En total, me parece que el continente, en formas diferentes donde el sistema político es fuerte o al contrario desorganizado y cerrado, vive las etapas finales del proceso de reorganización política y social que intenté definir al comienzo de esta tercera parte de mi ponencia. En todas partes, después de la liberalización de la economía y de lo que llamo la estatización del Estado, el proceso central es la formación de un sistema político que permita y casi requiera la formación de movimientos sociales, o, en el caso de los países del norte, de movimientos que estimulen el proceso atrasado de democratización. Durante el largo período nacional-popular, fueron muy escasas las posibilidades de formación de movimientos sociales. El Estado nacional-popular dominaba el escenario social, incluso en el México de Cárdenas o en la Bolivia de Paz Estenssoro. Los populistas revolucionarios desbordaron los gobiernos populistas, pero sin crear movimientos sociales autónomos y fueron violentemente destruidos por las dictaduras militares. En la nueva situación económica, los movimientos sociales populares no pudieron jugar al comienzo un papel decisivo, a pesar de las inmensas desigualdades y de la gran pobreza rural y urbana en la mayoría de los países del continente.

Las nuevas sociedades se construyen en parte a través de un proceso de diferenciación institucional semejante a lo que sucedió en los países de desarrollo endógeno, pero con un *social lag* muy largo y fuerte.

En conclusión, el proceso liberal de diferenciación institucional y entonces de los actores sociales y de los agentes políticos, por importante que sea, queda limitado. Por eso, frente a la dependencia de los mercados internacionales y a la dualización interna, defensa económica y protesta política se juntan. Pero no hay una tendencia fuerte hacia el renacimiento del populismo; se forma, al contrario, una acción predominantemente social, pero

que también tiene metas nacionales más globales, más políticas, para incorporar a los sectores marginados en una *mobilización social*. En América Latina, siguen predominantes las categorías *populares* sobre las *clasistas* y los movimientos socio-populares sobre formas de acción enteramente ubicadas en la sociedad civil. Pero en la sociedad liberal y desigual actual, los actores sociales, si bien es cierto que todavía se vinculan con el sistema político, tienen más y más una orientación social más que nacional o anti-imperialista. Es una forma, particular y frágil pero eficiente, de formación de movimientos socio-populares.

Esta hipótesis se opone a otra que tuvieron, tiempo atrás, muchos seguidores. Entre la decadencia y destrucción de los regímenes nacional-populares y la formación lenta y parcial de sociedades diferenciadas, América Latina pareció a muchos actores y observadores lista para seguir un camino revolucionario. La dependencia, la dualización social y finalmente una década perdida, con consecuencias sociales brutales, aparecieron como condiciones objetivas favorables para una ruptura revolucionaria. Pero eso no ocurrió y el continente conoce actores sociales limitados más que fuerzas revolucionarias globales. Este necesario cambio de análisis indica claramente que la formación de movimientos sociales depende menos de condiciones objetivas que de los factores de formación de actores definidos a la vez por un conflicto social y por una voluntad de participación social y por consecuencia de las relaciones entre demandas sociales y sistema político. En el pasado, la debilidad de los movimientos sociales pudo ser explicada por la dominación de las fuerzas políticas sobre las fuerzas sociales, sea cuando la capacidad de integración social a través del Estado era muy grande o sea donde era débil o casi nula. En un caso triunfó el populismo, en el otro una violencia sin contenido social claro. En la situación actual, la autonomía de los actores sociales va creciendo.

Esa conclusión reconoce entonces una cierta validez al segundo enfoque que describí al comienzo de mi *paper*: la capacidad de respuesta del sistema institucional a las demandas sociales es un factor decisivo en América Latina de la formación y de la fuerza de la acción colectiva. Lo que, por vía de consecuencia, explica la debilidad constante de los movimientos de clase que corresponden a una subordinación de los agentes políticos a los actores sociales. Entre estos dos casos opuestos, se observa una vinculación más y más fuerte entre movimientos sociales y democratización, es decir una prioridad de las demandas sociales autónomas que buscan y consiguen una representación política, directa o dentro de coaliciones políticas. Alejándose de la separación entre el hiperconsumo político y económico de una clase media ampliada por el Estado y la pobreza o miseria de grupos excluidos por la heterogeneidad estructural de la sociedad, se extiende ahora un espacio donde se pueden desarrollar movimientos sociales autónomos, combinando la defensa de un grupo social bien identificado con un conflicto contra un grupo social dominante y con la voluntad de utilizar y transformar a la vez el sistema político. Ha llegado el momento en que las condiciones de formación de movimientos sociales son más concretamente reunidas en América Latina que en cualquier momento de su pasado. Está saliendo el continente de la prehistoria de los movimientos sociales. ■



# Mexico's New Politics

by Luis Rubio

CIDAC

Three factors made Mexico's recent electoral season an event worth watching. First, the economic crisis of 1995 that suddenly derailed the rapidly growing expectations Mexicans had harbored through the Salinas era. Second, the corruption that has become public, evident and profoundly disturbing, particularly in the face of an economic depression and rapidly growing levels of unemployment. Finally, Mexicans were upset and wanted to show their disgust. In a way, this election was largely about the many faces of the Salinas administration: the economic revolution, the corruption, the widening income gap, the old industry and the new, and, above all, PRI's unsustainable credibility gap.

Few of these circumstances were new. Economic crises have been the rule, rather than the exception since 1973, when the Echeverría administration first used inflation as a means to induce economic growth. Corruption is an inherent component of the political system; in fact, it was the cement that held the system together for decades—and Mexicans were keenly aware of it, to the point of being permanently cynical. Until Salinas, few Mexicans had expected either economic recessions or corruption to truly disappear. Salinas was controversial from the outset, but he succeeded in altering the way Mexicans had perceived reality in a very fundamental way: he convinced Mexicans to see outward and towards the future, rather than inwards and towards the past. Whatever the merits of that accomplishment, the 1991 election evidenced a very popular Salinas (PRI won all of Mexico city's assembly seats by direct representation and 290 of the 300 seats by direct representation in the Congress). When the dream was shattered in 1995—whether out of a very shaky economy or utter incompetence by the incoming Zedillo administration or, more likely, both—Mexicans got really upset. A majority of them had voted for PRI (Zedillo) in 1994 because they accepted the proposition that the economic policy espoused by de la Madrid and Salinas needed consolidation—and because they expected things to be different in the future.

## The Change in the Country's Politics

Mexico's politics changed quite radically from 1994 to 1997. The economic crisis shattered the expectations of a better future that Salinas had nursed, and the new administration proved less than skillful at governing. Both of these factors transformed the country's politics. Two of the political parties understood the change, but only one developed the appropriate strategy to capitalize on the new circumstances. While the members of PRI were too busy not knowing how to deal with the "healthy distance" that Zedillo had promised to maintain from the party

while in the presidency, both PAN and PRD realized that a growing number of Mexicans, perhaps a large majority, was unwilling to tolerate PRI, its corruption and the impunity of its politics. But while PAN sat and waited for the voters to get them to office, the PRD, now led by an exceptional strategist in the person of Andrés Manuel López Obrador, organized a winning campaign.

PAN failed to capitalize on the discontent of the people largely because its leaders could not imagine a scenario whereby Mexicans, traditionally very conservative, would vote for PRD in large numbers. PAN expected Mexicans in large numbers to

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abandon PRI and, inevitably, end up voting for its candidates on the assumption that it would be seen as a reasonable alternative to PRI, in comparison with PRD's radicalism. However, they did not factor into their assumptions the impact that PAN's cooperation with both Salinas and Zedillo would have on the population (essentially because the members of PAN found it unnecessary to explain to the voters what they cooperated with and why). Also,

and critical, they never imagined PRD would be able to convince the electorate that it had abandoned its radicalism or that voters could be as fed up with PAN as they were with PRI.

## Economic Change

Deep beneath the political changes that came to a head in July of 1997 lie the economic changes that Mexico has been experiencing since the late 1960s. For some twenty years, from 1948 to 1969, the Mexican economy experienced unprecedented growth. By the mid 1960s, however, the economy was beginning to show serious difficulties: the market was too small for a highly protected industry to grow and develop, and, most important, the country's traditional exports—mining and grains—were no longer sufficient to pay for ever-growing industrial imports. The whole structure of the economy would have collapsed in the early 1970s, had it not been for a sudden change in the world economy, brought about by three exogenous circumstances: the dollar's devaluation; the Arab oil embargo of 1973; and the sudden appearance of the so-called petro-dollars. For Mexico, these factors made it possible to acquire an apparently endless level of debt (against recently discovered oil fields), with which to finance a growing balance of payments deficit. When the oil bonanza ran out, ten years and 82 billion dollars later, Mexico entered into one recession after another. Worst of all, its economy was the same in structure and very low level of competitiveness vis-à-vis the rest of the world as that of the 1960s. More important, it was still incapable of producing growth, jobs or incomes for a rapidly growing population.

The economic reforms launched by de la Madrid and deepened by Salinas were all conceived as a means to modernize the country's industry and to make it possible for the economy to grow in the midst of the so-called global economy of the 1990s. Contrary to the fairly generalized notion that those reforms were driven by economic, as opposed to political, considerations, the reforms were largely political in nature. The reforms were thought of largely as a means to revitalize the economy in order to preserve PRI's hold on power. The administrations that followed the populist era of the 1970s were well aware that, in the absence of rapid economic growth, the PRI would lose power by one means or another. Nobody ever acknowledged, however, that by reforming the economy, the federal government would end up being weaker, power more decentralized, and that PRI would lose its main sources of power.

Despite the fact that not all reforms have been consistent, they have altered the structure of the economy and transformed the country, for both good and ill. The economic results of the last twelve years of reforms are telling. Exports have skyrocketed: manufactured exports rose from less than four billion dollars in 1986 to almost seventy billion in 1996. The modern side of Mexico's industry has transformed the economy. And it generates jobs, though many times less than those coming into the labor force every year. But the old industry, with plants set up in the 1940s and 1950s under import substitution, keeps losing ground and jobs. Almost two million jobs were lost in 1995. That old component of Mexico's economy probably will never recover. But the contrast between the winners and losers shows the limits of the policies that have been pursued over the last decade. Faced with the need to secure success for their policies, the conglomerates bet on the country's large conglomerates. It was they that bought the privatized companies and the ones that have made the largest investments. By the same token, those large companies will never be able to produce the growth and the jobs that the country needs as a whole. And the reforms of the last few years do virtually nothing to help the smaller firms help themselves. Those that know what to do have mostly joined the ranks of the winners. But the majority has not. In fact, there are 15,000 firms that export, but only 400 that are large. Hence, a large number of exporters are small companies.

The economic reforms have introduced extraordinary economic as well as political change. They have forced the rapid development of true entrepreneurs; they have decentralized decisions; they have redistributed political power; and they have reduced the power of the bureaucracy. But they have hardly helped create more jobs in net terms (winners minus losers). Following current trends, the reforms of the 1980s and early 1990s are likely to improve the lot of most Mexicans, albeit within the limits imposed by extremely poor educational standards. In any event, the economic reforms have had effects well beyond the scope originally envisioned by the government.

Whether the PRI would be able to hold on to power with the

reforms is today a moot issue. The reforms have had an enormous impact on the economic structure of the country and have changed its reality altogether. But, by failing to bring about rapid economic growth, at least so far, the reforms have also failed their original political objectives. The assumption held by many members of PRI that dramatic economic changes would have no impact on the country's politics was certainly ludicrous. But the government's (particularly Salinas') view was less trivial: he assumed that rapid economic growth would give PRI the upper hand in any future political negotiation. That made it convenient not to engage in any political reforms during his term.

#### Zedillo Adds the Last Nail to the Coffin

From the day of his inauguration, Ernesto Zedillo made it plain that he not only realized that the country's politics demanded profound reform, but also that he agreed with the need to introduce checks on the government. His actions and decisions eventually led to the electoral reform that brought into the game both PRD and PAN. Up until Zedillo, only PAN had been willing to negotiate with the government (Salinas) on reforming the country's electoral laws. Zedillo knew that without engaging PRD, the elections would end up being disputed.

The electoral reforms of 1996 set the stage for the election of July 1997. The Federal Electoral Institute was composed mostly of independent academics, the organization of the elections was made thoroughly professional, the parties were financed by the government, and access to the media was made equitable and seriously monitored. Whether PRI

would have lost other elections with the new rules is anybody's guess. But the issue today is that PRI failed to maintain its traditional hold of the Congress, lost two key states (Querétaro and Nuevo León), a constitutional majority in the Senate, the Mexico City Legislative Assembly (where it failed to win even one seat by direct representation) and the first ever election of mayor of Mexico City.

The election itself was not so much about the immediate future as about the next presidential term. The results of this election have altered the country's politics immediately, but every politician and party is bracing itself for the run up to the presidential race in 2000. Everything will be geared towards that. In fact, two individuals, PAN's governor in Guanajuato and Cárdenas in Mexico City, all but announced that they will be running, a new wrinkle for Mexican secretive politics. But the immediate effects of the election will be equally relevant.

The immediate impact of the election is that the focus of the country's politics has suddenly moved away from the PRI and towards the Congress. All negotiations are taking place in and around the Congress. The president has begun to reorganize his team in order to address the new political reality; the members of PRI are now engaged in discussions about their own future; and the elected members of Congress are stealing the light from the political parties, even from the big names, such as Cárdenas'.

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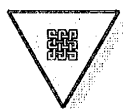
The euphoria that followed the election has not diminished. The fact that PRI will no longer hold an absolute majority in Congress has both symbolic as well as real implications. Even without an absolute majority, PRI will still enjoy the enormous benefits of incumbency. But the very fact that it does not have a congressional majority has lifted the veil of invincibility that was the trait of PRI for more than six decades. Everybody knows now that PRI can be beat and, therefore, that there's a chance that it will.

The major political parties engaged in the key debate for the first session of Congress, even before the new legislature was inaugurated on September 1: the 1998 budget. The budget is critical to the government in order to maintain the course of its economic policy. Both PAN and PRD promised during their campaigns to lower the unpopular Value Added Tax to the level that it had been before the devaluation of 1994. So far, it appears that it will be possible to reach an agreement for 1998 and that the "new" politicians will be capable of negotiating and

compromising. But the 1998 budget looks within reach largely because the federal government has very valuable bargaining chips—such as the appointment of the head of police and the attorney general for Mexico City—that it can use to exchange for support from opposition parties. Similar chips may not be as easily available come the 1999 budget.

The new issue in Mexican politics is the fact that all political institutions were either controlled by the president or built to represent interests before him. This created a very powerful presidency, but no independent institutions of any sort, which will be critical in the future. The pervasive institutional weakness of the country is easy to explain historically. But today it has become a major potential obstacle for democratic politics to take root. This is likely to be the single most important factor in the country's politics as it focuses on the big issue looming in all of the political parties' radar: the 2000 election. The question is whether the political parties will read the voters' minds as sharply as PRD did on this occasion. ■

FOCUS



MEXICO

## Labor Politics and Democratization in Mexico

by Kevin J. Middlebrook

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A new political era has opened in Mexico, where intersecting transitions in national politics and in the organized labor movement hold significant implications both for labor and the future course of democratization. For the first time since the late 1940s, organized labor's coalitional alignment and its broader place in national politics are open for renegotiation. With opposition parties now playing a vigorous role in national legislative affairs, it is possible that future labor law reforms will eliminate long-established state administrative controls on workplace organization and strikes. Moreover, economic integration among Canada, Mexico, and the United States and new institutional arrangements created in association with the North American Free Trade Agreement may stimulate cross-border union cooperation in support of worker rights and union democracy in Mexico. In the twilight of Mexico's postrevolutionary authoritarian regime, labor politics and democratization in Mexico are closely linked subjects.

Mexico's recent mid-term elections marked a watershed in the country's political history. Mexican voters, still suffering the recessionary effects of the 1994-1996 economic crisis and disgusted by evidence of high-level governmental corruption during the presidency of now-exiled Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), on July 6, 1997 handed the long-ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Revolutionary Institutional Party, PRI) its worst electoral defeat ever. In what was the single most important political outcome, the PRI lost its absolute majority in the federal Chamber of Deputies, opening the way for a substantial shift in the balance of executive-legislative power in coming years. In Mexico City, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and the center-left Partido de la Revolución Democrática (Party of the

Democratic Revolution, PRD) won a resounding victory in the first election since 1928 to choose the head of the Federal District government. Although governing Mexico City will be a truly formidable challenge, Cárdenas and the PRD now have a strong base from which to compete for the presidency in the year 2000. These outcomes, combined with very substantial opposition gains elsewhere in the country, are likely to alter permanently the dynamics of regime transition in Mexico, making political change a much more open-ended process in which opposition forces play a central part.

The opposition's electoral victories came just two weeks after the death of Fidel Velázquez Sánchez, long-reigning patriarch of Mexico's government-allied labor movement. Velázquez, who died on June 21 at age 97, was the last nationally prominent link to Mexico's revolutionary past. He helped found the PRI-affiliated Confederación de Trabajadores de México (Confederation of Mexican Workers, CTM) in 1936, and except for an interim period between 1947 and 1950, he served as its secretary-general from 1941 until his death. Velázquez's passing has unleashed a struggle for control of the Mexican labor movement. It may also significantly alter the balance of political forces as Mexico negotiates a difficult transition to a more open, democratic future.

The post-Velázquez transition is fundamentally important for the future of Mexican politics because "official" labor organizations such as the CTM have been pillars of the state-labor alliance that for decades helped sustain one-party rule in Mexico. In the decades after Mexico's 1910-1920 social revolution, the successful consolidation of a governing coalition in which

organized labor was a major partner infused Mexico's postrevolutionary authoritarian regime with remarkable resilience. Organized workers received representation in major elective and administrative positions and such social benefits as a legally mandated share of enterprise profits, low-cost consumer goods, and publicly financed housing and health care. In exchange, government-allied unions loyally supported the ruling PRI's candidates and government economic policies, even when these policies led to sharp cuts in workers' real wages. Indeed, the principal value that state-subsidized labor organizations such as the CTM have had historically for Mexico's political elite is their capacity to constrain workers' economic demands and block worker mobilization during periods of actual or potential economic and political instability.

The future course of state-labor relations and organized labor's role in Mexico's slow, uneven process of democratic regime change will be shaped by developments in three overlapping arenas: the coalitional arena, where organized workers' ties to (and influence within) political parties will depend in part on the extent to which the labor movement fragments in the aftermath of Velázquez's death; the institutional arena, where reforms in Mexican federal labor law may redefine important aspects of state-labor relations; and the international arena, where Canadian, Mexican, and U.S. unions may yet forge stronger cross-border alliances to defend labor rights in a more integrated North American economy.

#### **The Coalitional Arena: Party-Labor Ties and Labor Movement Unity**

Since the defeat of major labor opposition movements in the late 1940s and early 1950s and the subsequent consolidation of CTM hegemony over the "official," state-subsidized labor movement, organized labor has been a reliable partner in the PRI-coordinated governing coalition. The wave of union democratization movements that swept Mexico in the 1970s temporarily gave rise to new ties between dissident labor groups and emergent opposition movements on the Left. However, during the 1980s many of the most prominent independent labor organizations lost strength (or collapsed altogether) under the combined weight of prolonged economic crisis, the large-scale privatization of state-owned enterprises, and industrial restructuring in the private sector. Moreover, the most important leftist opposition parties, including the PRD, dedicated more effort and resources during the late 1980s and early 1990s to electoral activity than to building strong ties to worker organizations.

Opposition parties' recent electoral victories have, however, significantly increased both their interest in building stronger labor bases and their capacity to do so. The PRD in particular has expressed a new interest in strengthening ties to unions, and the party's leadership is publicly committed to using its expanded representation in the federal Chamber of Deputies to

enact wage increases and undertake social policy initiatives of direct interest to urban and industrial workers. A long history of hegemonic party rule has often made politically independent unions reluctant to form alliances with partisan organizations, but opposition parties now have a substantially greater ability to serve as effective interlocutors with government officials. In particular, PRD control of the Federal District government's administrative agencies and patronage resources will significantly increase the party's capacity to attract union backing, a development which might well precipitate the unraveling of the PRI-labor alliance. One challenge facing both opposition parties such as the PRD and labor organizations will be to negotiate new coalitional ties without reproducing the discredited "corporatist" relationships that in the past empowered labor leaders while limiting participation of rank-and-file workers.

Organized workers' capacity to define on favorable terms their future relations with political parties will depend in part on the degree of organizational unity or fragmentation that characterizes the labor movement. Fidel Velázquez left

behind a sclerotic but formally unified labor movement. Because the CTM and other "official" unions have long relied on government financial subsidies and political support to maintain their privileged position, many of them lack the organizational strength necessary to meet workplace challenges in an increasingly competitive, internationalized economy. Nor are many "official" labor organizations structured to permit active rank-and-file participation in union governance or the definition of union strategies vis-à-vis employers and the government. Nevertheless, in what was perhaps his greatest historical achievement, Velázquez did bequeath a labor movement formally united under the umbrella of the Congreso del Trabajo (Labor Congress, CT, formed in 1966 at Velázquez's initiative). Despite the notable absence of forward-looking policy initiatives in recent years and its deepening organizational paralysis, at least through the late 1980s the Labor Congress had permitted the organized labor movement to speak with a single voice on crucial legislative and economic policy issues.

Discussions concerning the future political orientation of the labor movement are currently linked to debate about the fate of the Labor Congress. In 1995, two important groups of more democratic and politically autonomous labor organizations—the Foro El Sindicalismo ante la Nación (The "Union Movement and the Nation" Forum) and the Coordinadora Intersindical Primero de Mayo (May 1 Inter-Union Coordinating Committee)—emerged to press for more assertive labor action to address workers' critical economic and social problems. Although their discontent with the increasingly moribund CT grew as inflation-adjusted wages plummeted and unemployment rose during Mexico's 1994-1996 economic crisis, it was no coincidence that CT dissidents waited until after Velázquez's death to move forward with their plans to form a rival national labor confederation, tentatively called the Unión Nacional de

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Trabajadores (National Workers' Union). Yet as planning for the August 1997 founding convention went forward, the so-called *foristas* split between those groups committed to seceding from the CT and immediately forming a new confederation (led by Francisco Hernández Juárez, long-time secretary-general of the Mexican Telephone Workers' Union and, since 1990, leader of the Federación de Sindicatos de Empresas de Bienes y Servicios (FESEBES), a diverse coalition of unions representing telecommunications, electrical power generation, tramway, airline, and some automobile workers) and those elements which wished to postpone such a potentially momentous decision (led by Elba Esther Gordillo, former secretary-general of the influential National Education Workers' Union and currently a PRI federal senator and leader of the PRI's National Confederation of Popular Organizations).

Whether Velázquez's successors in the CTM and their rivals in other major labor organizations can transform the Labor Congress into a more representative and assertive body and simultaneously preserve a significant degree of labor movement unity remains to be seen. Given the CTM's continued power at the national level and in many key states (it is still Mexico's largest and most influential labor confederation, and there is some evidence that it actually increased its strength relative to rival labor groups during the difficult decade of the 1980s), it is unlikely that meaningful reform can occur in either the labor movement's organizational structure or its political strategy without CTM support. The risk is that jockeying for political position and organizational advantage among different labor groups—some seeking to preserve their privileged relationship with state authorities and their traditional position within a weakened PRI, others attempting to establish a politically autonomous and assertive alternative to the CT—will seriously fragment the labor movement and further undermine its already weakened bargaining position in national politics.

### **The Institutional Arena: Labor Law Reform and State-Labor Relations**

Looming on labor's political horizon is the prospect of significant labor law reform. Mexico's Ley Federal del Trabajo, first enacted in 1931 and last revised in 1970, defines the legal parameters of worker-employer and state-labor interactions in such crucial areas as union formation, contract terms and working conditions, individual and collective grievance resolution, and strikes. The future terms of federal labor legislation will thus have broad importance both for workers' political and economic participation and the overall character of state-labor relations in Mexico.

The Confederation of Mexican Workers lobbied vigorously in 1987-1988 for labor law reform. Among other things, the CTM sought to loosen state administrative controls regulating strikes. However, the Salinas administration's demonstrated intention to limit or eliminate many established labor prerogatives and

the rising political influence of business interests made the CTM fear it would have little influence over the final terms of new national labor legislation. For this reason, despite intense pressure from leading business associations calling for changes in labor law that would increase the economic competitiveness of Mexican firms, the CTM has since the late 1980s tenaciously (and successfully) opposed major revisions in federal labor law.

Although President Ernesto Zedillo (1994-2000) has not made labor code reform an immediate legislative priority, the subject remains the focus of extensive public debate. Business interests are intently committed to winning legal recognition of more flexible workplace relations and revisions in the procedural rules regulating strikes. Moreover, pro-democratic labor coalitions such as the May 1 Inter-Union Coordinating Committee and FESEBES seek to abolish legal provisions which require government registration of unions (as well as notification to state labor authorities of all changes in their statutes and leadership) and permit "exclusion clauses" (*cláusula de exclusión*) in collective contracts. The so-called entry exclusion clause (*cláusula de exclusión de ingreso*) in a contract creates either a closed or a union shop because workers are in practice compelled to become union members as a condition of employment, while the separation exclusion clause (*cláusula de exclusión de separación*) requires employers to dismiss any worker who loses her or his union membership. The latter clause in particular provides incumbent union leaders with a powerful means of preserving their position against challenges by rival factions within a union: if incumbent labor leaders successfully employ internal union procedures to deprive their rivals of union membership, the challengers lose their jobs as well. This has historically constituted a major disincentive to internal union dissidence, especially in economic conditions in which replacement workers are readily available.

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*Organized workers' capacity to define on favorable terms their future relations with political parties will depend in part on the degree of organizational unity or fragmentation that characterizes the labor movement.*

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What is difficult to predict is the trajectory of the reform process once it begins. Although PRD legislators and even some PRI congressional representatives might support measures that raise wages, enhance workplace health and safety, facilitate the right to strike, and generally protect workers' rights as citizens and union members, the center-right Partido Acción Nacional (National Action Party, PAN) and its influential business supporters are likely to lobby hard for legal recognition of the more flexible contract terms and work rules that many companies have adopted de facto since rapid industrial restructuring began in the late 1980s. It is no doubt true that some provisions in the 1970 federal labor law pose obstacles to economic efficiency. These include industry-wide collective bargaining agreements (the *contrato-ley*), permanent employee (*planta*) status and other legal regulations governing the length and terms of employment, the requirement that workers be compensated for the forty-eight-hour legal workweek rather than the actual time worked, an employer's obligation to



sign a collective contract when requested to do so by a legally recognized union, and mandatory compensation for workers who are illegally fired. However, because future economic trends may further weaken market-based bargaining leverage of Mexican workers, labor law provisions such as these are crucial instruments through which unions might safeguard their status as significant social actors.

One risk that labor law reform holds for organized labor's long-term interests is that—in the name of promoting union democracy and preventing abuses like those frequently committed by union officials under authoritarian rule—a revised federal labor code may eliminate basic legal provisions underpinning the bargaining strength of workers vis-à-vis employers. For example, even though the separation exclusion clause in contracts has often been abused, it provides union officials with an important legal defense against employers' efforts to co-opt workers and thereby undermine union discipline. The challenge of labor law reform will be, therefore, to remove onerous state administrative controls on unions without vitiating the institutional bases for effective labor action in the workplace.

#### **The International Arena: Transnational Labor Alliances and the Defense of Worker Rights**

One of the most intriguing arenas for future labor action is the political space created by the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), the parallel agreement negotiated in conjunction with approval of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993. Although the overriding presumption in the NAALC is that labor issues will continue to be addressed primarily through the national institutions of each signatory country, the agreement both formally recognized significant political and social rights for workers and established separate national administrative offices and a trinational secretariat to examine labor issues.

These new labor institutions operate under significant jurisdictional and budgetary constraints. For example, Canadian, Mexican, and U.S. national administrative offices (NAOs) have authority only to sanction abuses involving workers' health and safety, the employment of minors, and minimum wage violations. Even within these narrow limits, the offices can only impose sanctions when such violations have a proven effect on international trade—that is, when violations of minimum rights in a particular country give it an unfair advantage in trade with its NAFTA partners. Although NAO personnel have energetically sought to expand their authority, in practice much of their activity has been restricted to promoting technical and training exchanges among the NAFTA countries on such subjects as labor law, workplace health and safety standards, social security, and so forth. Similarly, the North American Commission for Labor Cooperation (established in Dallas, Texas in 1996) has focused its activities primarily on promoting better understanding of national labor laws, publishing reliable labor statistics for the three NAFTA countries, and staffing ad hoc

advisory groups and arbitration panels.

Nevertheless, the existence of these NAFTA-related labor institutions may create new opportunities for Mexican workers to advance their interests. For example, NAALC recognition of broad political and social rights for North American workers (particularly the rights to organize, bargain collectively, and strike) may offer Mexican unions a strategic redoubt from which to defend established legal rights during future debates over labor law reform. Equally important, cross-border union cooperation in specific grievance proceedings brought before the Mexican and U.S. national administrative offices may lay long-term bases for stronger international labor solidarity. The Frente Auténtico del Trabajo (Authentic Labor Front), the Sindicato de Telefonistas de la República Mexicana (Mexican Telephone Workers' Union), the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the Communications Workers of America, and the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America have at different times all been involved in such proceedings. Several of these unions have, moreover, collaborated in efforts to organize U.S.-owned *maquiladora* (in-bond assembly) plants in northern Mexico.

Cross-border solidarity initiatives have to date faced a number of significant obstacles. They range from such elemental matters as language differences and resource constraints, to strong employer opposition, to the preoccupation of U.S. labor organizations with rebuilding their own membership, to the staunch opposition of many Mexican "official" unions to organizational ties that might undermine the position of entrenched, undemocratic union leaders. Over time, however, the workplace imperatives created by highly mobile capital and North American economic integration will encourage labor activists in Canada, Mexico, and the United States to identify new areas of potential cooperation and search for collaborative strategies that might effectively address their common problems.

Viewed across all three of these arenas, the prospects for preserving the role of organized labor in the workplace, increasing its influence in national policymaking, and promoting democratic regime change in Mexico would all be enhanced if the removal of major state administrative controls on labor participation occurred in conjunction with the democratization of the labor movement. In practice, some significant liberalization of state controls on non-electoral mass participation must come first. The labor movement is unlikely to have the organizational strength or political clout to initiate this process, but substantial changes in this area might quickly win significant labor support for democratic reformers, greater freedom for worker organization and mobilization, and increased opportunities for labor organizations to forge new alliances with other sociopolitical actors nationally and perhaps internationally. Just as a state-subsidized labor movement long supported authoritarian rule in Mexico, organized labor's future actions and coalitional alignment will be major factors influencing the social character and stability of a future democratic regime. ■



## Fidel Velázquez Dies at 97

by Francisco Zapata

El Colegio de México

In the early hours of Saturday, June 21, 1997, Fidel Velázquez, secretary general of the Mexican Labor Confederation (Confederación de Trabajadores de México-CTM), died at the age of 97.

The importance of Fidel Velázquez in Mexican labor politics cannot be overestimated.<sup>\*</sup> For a period of 47 years (1950-1997), Velázquez and Arsenio Farell Cubillas, Minister of Labor during both the De La Madrid and Salinas terms (1982-1994) played key roles as guarantors of the labor peace that prevailed in Mexico since the 1940s. Both men contributed to the formulation and implementation of the *Pactos de Estabilidad y Crecimiento Económico* initiated in December 1987 by the three actors in Mexico's corporative system: labor, the state and business. These *Pactos* were designed to confront 100 percent inflation, real minimum salary decreases of at least 75 percent, median salary decreases to levels at least half of what they were in 1987, and underemployment that reached at least half of Mexico's economically active population.

Velázquez's role as a consensus builder was notable. He succeeded in maintaining labor peace during very different phases of Mexico's economic development. In the '50s, the systematic six percent rate of growth in the GDP, which led to the expansion of the internal market and to important increases in employment levels, was associated with the absence of labor conflict. As a result of the politics of president Echeverría (1970-1976), designed to correct some of the causes that had led to the 1968 student movement, tensions arose out of measures taken by the ministry of labor to recognize unions that did not belong to the CTM nor to other official confederations. The development of so-called "independent unions" during this period angered Velázquez, who did not have good relations with the president. But, overall, discipline prevailed within the PRI structures so that the process of nomination of Echeverría's successor was well established in 1975.

In recent years, the CTM under Velázquez's leadership had to face technological modernization, massive lay-offs in privatized companies such as steel, and liberalization of the internal market that led to bankruptcies of the import substitution industries such as textiles. In these sectors, labor was willing to accept drastic modifications to collective contracts in exchange for free social security, health care and education. The official labor leadership under Velázquez supported these changes and appeared more supportive of neoliberal policies than many managers of corporations.

Surprisingly, this did not produce sufficient discontent among

rank and file workers to cause strikes, but opposition to the changes did impact the electoral arena, where many labor leaders lost their candidacies in the 1991, 1994 and 1997 parliamentary elections. This means that the present status of the official labor leadership is very ambiguous: while it has not lost its credibility among workers, it is losing its ability to deliver the votes to the PRI.

In light of all these elements, the question of Velázquez's succession involved much more than strictly labor-related matters. Given that the political relationship between the Mexican State and the labor movement has more weight than collective bargaining in the traditional way, it is possible to ask if this arrangement can survive his death. Indeed, in the wake of Velázquez's disappearance from the scene, it is possible to imagine a scenario in which labor would act outside corporatist control. Important political elements of trade-offs between labor and the State that were not modified because of Velázquez's opposition—the reform of the federal labor law or the direct participation of labor leaders on the boards of entities such as the

housing authority (Instituto de Fomento de la Vivienda para los Trabajadores-INFONAVIT), or on the minimum salary commission (Comisión Nacional de Salarios Mínimos)—could experience changes now. While Velázquez lived, no Mexican president was able to obtain his support for

modifications in these elements of the corporative arrangement. Again, that could now change.

Velázquez did not block profound changes in collective contracts that were implemented to restrict a series of concessions to labor at the factory level, often to make state companies attractive for private buyers. Thus, in Velázquez's strategy during the '80s and '90s, elements central to the national articulation between labor and the State were privileged while he agreed to reforms at the level of the enterprise.

Reforms at the factory level involved loss of control by unions of hiring and firing authority, promotion procedures, horizontal and vertical mobility, size of supervisory personnel, as well as loss of influence in the negotiation of salary increases, given that national limits for salary increases (*topes salariales*) were set. Reforms also involved the strengthening of unilateral decision-making by companies on technological modernization and

<sup>\*</sup>The main source on Velázquez's career is Javier Aguilar García (coordinator), *Historia de la CTM: 1936-1990*, Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales, Facultad de Economía, Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1990. Two volumes.

layoffs, rules about flexible work hours, vacation days, shift work flexibility, rest periods during working hours, the elimination of payments that the company made to social security, and the elimination of clauses offering preferential retirement or voluntary retirement.

All these features were surrendered by national industrial unions and by local unions in exchange for the maintenance of those dimensions of access to the political system not related to production in the factories. In some parts of the productive system, such as in the *maquiladora* industry of the northern border, this meant that workers were not even aware of the existence of so-called *contratos de protección* (whereby business and labor sign contracts under the authority of the State without the workers knowing of their existence) nor of the very existence of unions.

Velázquez exerted constant pressure to maintain political privileges for the national labor leadership in exchange for the considerable powers that local unions had at the level of the factory through collective contracts. Also, his weight in the internal politics of the PRI, which resulted in an important voice for labor among the federal deputies in the Chamber of Deputies, was part of his considerable power during electoral periods. Last but not least, in the process that led to the selection of the presidential candidate, his presence was always felt either through his own voice or through that of governors, ministers and other politicians who responded to his instructions.

In his absence, pressures at the level of the factory could become stronger without the centralized control that Velázquez and CTM were able to provide. Business will have to deal directly with local unions' demands that would not be repressed by national organizations and perhaps will have to reestablish some of the traditional labor rights at the factory level. But, at the same time, the State will be in a better position to reform the national labor law and modify the way in which labor relations have operated until now.

In the wake of Velázquez's disappearance, the battle for the hegemony within the Mexican labor movement has begun. There are old heirs such as Leonardo Rodríguez Alcaine (presently the leader of the National Union of Electrical Workers

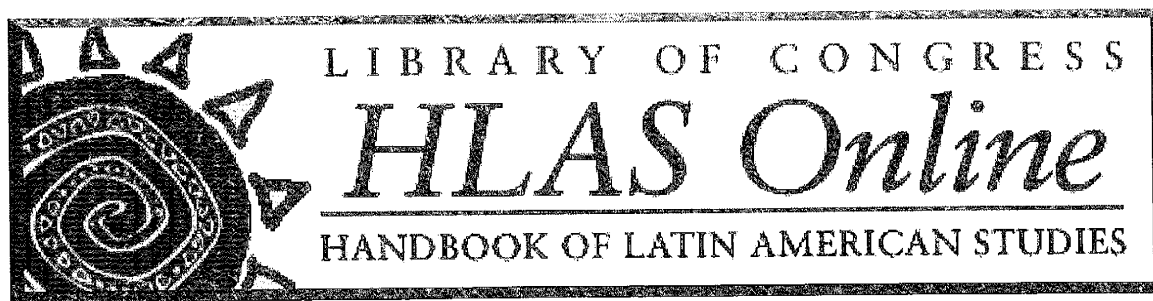
and secretary general of CTM) and younger and modernistic leaders, such as Francisco Hernández Juárez (leader of the Sindicato de Telefonistas de la República Mexicana-STRM) and Elba Esther Gordillo (a powerful presence in the Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación-SNTE, where she was the secretary general until 1994). Both of the latter have been behind the development of the Foro Sindicalismo ante la Nación (FORO), an ad-hoc group of labor organizations belonging both to official and non-official confederations. Starting in 1995, this group has organized regular meetings to discuss economic and social policies with the participation of academics, labor leaders, lawyers and politicians. This activity has been instrumental for challenging governmental decisions, especially concerning social security policy.

In March 1997, the FORO organized an international meeting on educational matters to discuss neoliberal policies in a Latin American framework. Unionists from many countries of the region came to Mexico at the invitation of the FORO to fulfill that purpose.

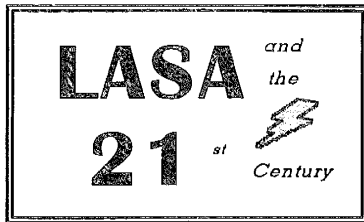
FORO also was able to project its message during the 1997 electoral process, maintaining open communication with candidates at all levels. The election culminated in the loss of an absolute majority for the PRI in the Congress and in the elevation of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to the mayoralty of Mexico City.

The taking of the initiative by Hernández Juárez and Gordillo cornered CTM and the other official confederations. In the last months of his life, Velázquez had tried to discredit them, unsuccessfully. After Velázquez's death, Rodríguez Alcaine, after suggesting the possibility of joint talks between CTM and FORO, stepped back and decided to wait until CTM convenes its national congress in March 1998 to see what will be its position with regard to such a dialogue.

On his deathbed Fidel Velázquez demonstrated that he was still very much in control of events at CTM: a few weeks before his death he named a very reliable successor, who since taking office has shown that he will provide strong continuity to Velázquez's historic leadership. ■



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# A Review and Some Thoughts on LASA's 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force: or Shape the Web Before it Shapes Us

by Mark B. Rosenberg, Task Force Chair  
Florida International University

*[The views expressed here are those of the author. They do not reflect the views of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force, which has not yet begun its work. Comments welcomed at [rosenber@fiu.edu](mailto:rosenber@fiu.edu).]*

During the 1980s, I spent a great deal of time watching and studying the work of John D. Negroponete, who was U.S. ambassador to Honduras. The forceful U.S. envoy was one of the leading proponents of a polarized world view that contributed to years of conflict in Central America. Today, another Negroponete is making his mark as we edge into the last years of this century. It is John's brother, Nicholas, who has written a handy little text—*Being Digital* (New York: Vintage, 1995). Listen to this Director of MIT's Media Lab as he outlines his vision of the future: "The change from atoms to bits is irrevocable and unstoppable." He predicts that we will "socialize in digital neighborhoods in which physical space will be irrelevant."

LASA's 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force (TF) has been convened by LASA President Susan Eckstein to examine many of the issues suggested by the MIT visionary and she has asked me to chair the TF. The task is made easier by the appointment of a diverse committee—David Block, Viviane Brachet-Márquez, Michael Conroy, Jane Jaquette, Gil Joseph, Gil Merkx, John Rice, Marcia Rivera, Nicolas Shumway, Saúl Sosnowski, Sandy Thatcher, Nelson Valdez and Stefano Varese.

At our very first meeting, convened by President Eckstein in Guadalajara at LASA's XX Congress in April 1997, the TF covered a great deal of ground. We reviewed the progress of LASA to date in the development of an Internet capability. We identified a range of issues that might be considered if LASA is to keep pace with new developments in electronic communication. These issues can be grouped into three categories:

1) Membership services: what specific electronic services can be offered to LASA members, LASA Sections, and LASA Task Forces. In this regard, it was noted that LASA already makes available to its members and others much useful information, including many LASA Congress papers.

2) Pedagogy and research: consensus seemed to emerge that LASA can and should be doing more to foster information-age pedagogy, with perhaps promotion of demonstration World Wide Web (Web) sites that would specialize in the development of certain kinds of information about Latin America and the Caribbean. To foster research, it was suggested that LASA

could be developing a research directory similar to that developed by CLACSO for the social sciences. Gil Merkx, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, indicated that the publication is now moving to post abstracts and possibly back issues for on-line access.

3) Access and quality control: During the Guadalajara meeting, other questions were raised that must be answered if the TF is to be successful in its mission: who should actually get access to enhanced LASA electronic services? How can any additional services be financed? As the amount of information grows, how will quality be maintained?

During the next few months, our task force will explore in depth these questions and others. We will develop a strategic plan and with the grace of LASA's leadership begin the implementation of this plan prior to the September 1998 Congress in Chicago. What we might do and when of course will be the subject of the TF's deliberation during the next few months. We will keep you informed through the *LASA Forum*.

## Some Personal Thoughts

Since I have been asked to chair our TF, I have forced myself to think through the issues that we will be addressing. I would like to share some of my ideas with you as a means to move our deliberations along. These views are of course personal and do not reflect the work of the TF.

First, let me share a few assumptions that might guide our thinking and then outline some specific options for LASA.

1. The Web presents us with a great opportunity because it will become a major force in information gathering and dissemination during the next few years. The Web is now transforming the manner in which information is gathered, archived, and delivered. In turn, the nature of knowledge and its use will reflect these changes. Among "Generation X-ers" it already has shifted the paradigm for how research is conducted. As an example, in response to the question about how her research was proceeding for her master's thesis, one of my best young students replied, "not very well—my computer is down and I have not been able to get on the Web lately." As if research were dependent upon access to the Internet!

2. The convergence of voice, video and data on the Web, now within reach, will enable the Web to become an even more powerful academic instrument. The dilemma is that most of us

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*The crude consumerist images and impulses that now characterize the production values of commercial television could come to dominate over the enduring academic values that shape our profession.*

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have little interest in the development of Web-specific pedagogy that is relevant to our particular disciplines, in part because tenure and promotion structures have other orientations. But even if we did, the transaction costs (learning a new program language, covering the costs of equipment, finding the right materials and adapting them to digital format) immediately undermine all but the most determined (and then we may find that our classrooms are not wired!). Indeed, most of us are still wedded to flipping pages of books—a technology that was invented 500 years ago. But Negroponte warns us that “the art of bookmaking is not only less than perfect but will probably be as relevant in 2020 as blacksmithing today.” ( See his website at <http://nicholas.www.media.mit.edu/people/nicholas/WIRED4-02.html>).

3. But there is another convergence that is now occurring. Even as the stock of knowledge about the region expands across time, information technology is evolving in such a fashion that we are now witnessing the incipient stages of a convergence between knowledge and technology. This concern is not new—after all, Marshall McLuhan warned us several decades ago that “the medium is the message.” Again, listen to Negroponte. For him, all libraries are “dumpsters full of atoms,” a place where books and other materials “check in but almost never check out.” The best example is the U.S. Library of Congress, a place where according to Negroponte, few people ever use the library because “in reality, almost no one can.” In this era of convergence, libraries could become “retrievatories” rather than “depositories.” All of us as Latin Americanists can understand how our field could grow and prosper in this scenario.

How the convergence is managed and what we have to say about it could indeed structure a whole generation and beyond of learning. For us as academicians and Latin Americanists, the challenge will be to understand this convergence and make it work for us—the reason for the task force. However, there is another challenge that is more practical. How will the convergence actually be managed? Who will determine the priorities? What will be lost and what will be gained? The transition from bits to bytes is a large scale implementation issue that will need guidance and determination.

4. Although limited today, access to the Web in Latin America will grow rapidly over the next few years. While the gap between information “haves” and “have nots” will inevitably expand (this will be generational as well as class and region-based), the use of the Web by academics and other specialists in

Latin America is spawning the growth of boundaryless multidisciplinary “on-line communities.” As the spectrum of opportunities expands, our teaching and collaborative research can be seriously enhanced. The Web has already become a major resource for NGOs seeking to share information, learn about new techniques, and understand the latest developments in grassroots issues. But we have just begin to understand the utility of networking developments in the Hemisphere and we do not really take advantage of the institutional and non-institutional sites that link us on a 24-hour seven-day-a-week basis to others with similar interests.

We in academe will be fundamentally challenged as a result. Our role as teachers about, and interpreters of, the many realities of Latin America and the Caribbean will remain. However, I am worried that the real power to tell the story will devolve into the hands of the technology packagers and consolidators, who will selectively manipulate voice, video and data. The crude consumerist images and impulses that now characterize the production values of commercial television could come to dominate over the enduring academic values that shape our profession. Organizations that do not think through the impact of the Internet and the Web may be left behind. In sum, we need to shape the Web before it shapes us!

What then should be done?

1. The Latin American Studies Association should promote use of the World Wide Web for research and teaching. Important steps were taken at our last LASA97 Congress in Guadalajara (April 1997) that featured a PC Training Center focusing on Internet use and resources. However, LASA can accelerate its promotion of the World Wide Web because of the significant economies in communication with our colleagues throughout Latin

America and the Caribbean and worldwide.

2. LASA should identify and promote a pilot project on the convergence of voice, video and data for pedagogy and/or research. This project could bring together under the LASA umbrella the major Latin American studies centers that could collaborate in introductory course development on Latin America and/or pool resources and talents to consolidate and refine Latin America and Caribbean related Internet search engines. A first step in this process might be oriented at LASA directly. I have the sense that there are too many senior scholars amongst us who have not taken the time to understand the promise and perils of this new technology. If our leadership



*LASA and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century  
Task Force Chair Mark Rosenberg.*

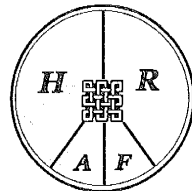
does not fully comprehend the technology revolution that is before us, and the consequent implications for pedagogy and research, then it will be much more difficult for us as an Association to provide the services that our membership expects, and to preserve and enhance our unique roles as specialists on the region.

3. LASA should promote North-South integration of functional groups and promote Web-based activities for those groups. Clearly, LASA should be about responding to membership needs. But there are numerous issues that might lend themselves to the new technology that LASA should focus upon—particularly on an experimental basis as a catalyst. In this regard, the Secretariat's efforts to place select papers on the LASA Secretariat Web site are commendable and a step in the right direction. But digitizing that which we already have and do is one thing (and a necessary first step); going beyond to innovative linkages and communication modes is quite another. It may be time to plan a "virtual mini-Congress," particularly to

facilitate the work of on-going Sections of the Association.

4. LASA needs to assist the *Latin American Research Review* in its efforts to modernize. My fear is that the excellent back issues of *LARR* will not be known to the next generation of researchers because they are not archived on the Web and therefore not retrievable by Web-based search engines. Whether we like it or not, if our research is not on line, it will not exist in a virtual sense.

Of course, there is a range of larger implications of the diffusion of Web technology that others will need to grapple with. Our purpose as a Task Force will be to take the first steps in a plan that will take years to implement. In thinking about these larger issues, Nicholas Negroponte is a good place to start. And certainly it's better than thinking about his brother and the earlier and grimmer decade of issues that the early 1980s brought us! ■



## The Crisis of Human Rights in Colombia

### It's Time to Internationalize the Peace Process

by Marc Chernick

Georgetown University

[*Marc Chernick is a member of the LASA Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom. The Human Rights Task Force will be providing comments on current human rights issues in the Forum. Articles represent the author's opinion only. Comments can be sent to: [chernicm@gunet.georgetown.edu](mailto:chernicm@gunet.georgetown.edu).]*

The guerrilla war in Colombia is more widespread and more violent now than at any point in the last thirty years. Today the conflict is no longer fought principally between guerrillas and the armed forces. The most striking transformation of political violence in the last decade is the rapid expansion of local private armies or paramilitary forces, many with only loose ties to the state. The violence amounts to a new kind of dirty war—different from the state-directed terrorism of the Southern Cone in the 1970s. In Colombia, although there is overwhelming and well-documented evidence of official human rights violations by the military and other state actors, the chief source of terror now comes from groups with roots in Colombia's fractured and deeply-conflicted civil society.

For fifteen years, government negotiators have attempted to reach a negotiated settlement to the decades-long insurgency. There have been some successes with certain groups—most notably with the April 19th Movement, M-19. However, the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC) and the *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN), Colombia's principal

guerrilla movements, have remained outside the legal political system. Failure to reach peace in the 1980s has led to a more atomized society, a weaker state and several new armed challengers, all of which make the goal of reaching a durable peace immensely more complicated. It has also led to an explosion of violence and human rights violations. The official impulse by the government has been first to deny responsibility for the human rights violations, and then to plead for special understanding of the complex social and political conditions of the country. Today, however, denial amounts to less than a finger blocking out the sun.

The figures on violence alarm and overwhelm. In 1996, there were 26,664 murders in Colombia, according to the National Police. Such figures place Colombia among the most violent places on earth, with a per capita homicide rate only surpassed recently by El Salvador and South Africa. Yet while homicides due to crime and social violence in the other two countries have spiralled upwards in post-conflict situations, political violence and human rights violations have dramatically receded. Not so in Colombia, where the political conflict endures together with very high levels of social violence and crime.

Of the total number of murders last year in Colombia, 3,086 or 13 percent of these were committed for political reasons. These include 1,106 persons killed as a result of combat between



government and guerrillas. Keep in mind that during the 17-year Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, 2,994 persons are believed to have been killed or "disappeared" for political reasons.

Who is responsible for the killings? The Colombian Commission of Jurists has identified, where possible, the authors of politically-motivated murders and massacres, dividing up responsibility among the military (which includes the police and special units), paramilitary and guerrillas. For 1996, where it was possible to attribute authorship, they concluded: the armed forces were responsible for 10.9 percent of all political deaths; paramilitaries and rural security cooperatives were responsible for 61.7 percent (60.5 percent and 1.2 percent respectively); the guerrillas were responsible for 27.4 percent. The figures highlight just how decisively the paramilitary groups have moved to the forefront of Colombia's political violence. The paramilitary groups can be divided into three sub-groups: those with connections to the armed forces; those organized by local officials and landholders (who are increasingly drug traffickers); new state-sponsored self-defense groups; and various combinations of all of these. Some operate directly with the support of the Colombian armed forces. Others are more independent, but nonetheless operate in zones patrolled by the military.

### Paramilitary Violence

There is a long tradition of paramilitary violence in Colombia. The Colombian military has possessed the right to arm civilians since 1965. In 1987, then Minister of Government César Gaviria publicly identified 128 paramilitary groups. Two years later, the government suspended the military's right to arm civilians. Yet the attempts to dismantle the paramilitaries were limited and unsuccessful. Today the groups have multiplied and the scope of their operations is increasingly national. The paramilitaries have prospered for a simple reason: they have proven to be a more successful counter-insurgency strategy in certain zones than the official military strategy, which has been unable to defeat or even arrest the growth of the guerrillas.

In the last three years, a new form of paramilitarism has appeared. In what can only be deemed a bizarre misreading and mishandling of Colombian politics and society, the government of President Samper began a new policy of arming civilians in rural security cooperatives, now named Convivir. The Convivir groups have become one more armed band, responsible for some

killings, though now openly and directly linked to the state. One observer likened the act of creating Convivir groups to dousing a fire with gasoline.

The rise of paramilitary violence has led to the spread of dirty war. The list of victims is mind-numbingly long. Amnestied guerrillas, leftist political activists, human rights groups, labor leaders and others are all targeted. Impunity for all crimes in Colombia is about 97 percent. Last year, impunity for political assassinations was 100 percent. The violence of the guerrillas on one side and the paramilitaries on another continues to obstruct the space for a democratic opposition; a sizable percentage of those individuals who have attempted to create a democratic opposition have faced a premature death. Such was the fate recently of two researchers from the Jesuit institute, CINEP, in Bogotá, who were killed in their home at 2:00 am on May 19, 1997, as part of a larger campaign by paramilitary groups to silence human rights groups and NGOs.

Victims of the dirty war include the leftist political party, the Union Patriótica, which has witnessed the assassination since its founding in 1985 of thousands of its officials and followers, including two presidential candidates, three senators, three members of the house of representatives, six departmental deputies, 89 town councilmen, and nine mayors and many more local candidates. *Esperanza, Paz y Libertad* that grew out of the peace accords with the *Ejército Popular de Liberación* (EPL) in 1990 also have faced a campaign of extermination, this time primarily by members of the guerrillas that refused to accept the peace process—but also by paramilitary bands in Urabá.



*Human Rights and Academic Freedom  
Task Force member Marc Chernick*

### The Guerrilla War and the Drug War

Central to an understanding of Colombia's political violence is the guerrilla war. Direct casualties from combat in action are relatively low, as we have seen. But the guerrilla war lays the foundation on which many other forms of violence have been built. The guerrilla war justifies steadily increasing military spending. The war has prevented a reorganization of the armed forces away from its strategic orientation of counter-insurgency and internal security. Because of the war, the government has created special security zones throughout the country—thus suspending democracy in these areas—and can appoint military officials to local political office in these areas as the Samper government recently did in preparation for local elections in October 1997. The war criminalizes most protest and dissent

and provides the principal justification for the continued violation of human rights. The guerrilla war is the principal justification for the paramilitary armies.

In Colombia's degenerating conflict, where the military has ceded its legitimate monopoly on arms to the paramilitaries, the guerrillas too have been transformed. No longer able to receive logistical, financial or military support from the outside, the guerrillas have vastly increased their involvement in criminal and terrorist activities, such as kidnapping, murder and extortion of productive and commercial activity in the coca/cocaine, petroleum, cattle and other agrarian sectors. The FARC maintains extensive political control in the coca-growing regions in the Amazonian region east of the Andes. The ELN has targeted the petroleum sector in the northern part of the Eastern Plains. Some have argued that the guerrillas are now little more than organized criminal syndicates, or that they are "narco-guerrillas." Yet both the FARC and the ELN still maintain a political agenda, recruit and train followers, assert political control, organize and administer services to local populations and use their power to influence local, regional and national politics. As Samper's first Peace Commissioner declared, the guerrillas still are primarily political actors with whom the government can negotiate, even as they have increased their involvement in criminal activities.

During the last decade, officials have continually asserted that the country is a victim of the illegal drug trade in cocaine and heroin. It is true that the drug trade has contributed to the violence. It has funneled new resources—both financial and military—to old adversaries. It has created new social sectors, particularly the drug entrepreneurial *nouveau riche* who have invested so heavily in the Colombian countryside and in developing Colombia's paramilitary infrastructure. But the roots of the contemporary violence are much deeper than the current drug export boom; they tap into long-festered political conflicts whose resolution has been deferred for decades. The drug trade may have heightened and accelerated the violence; it did not cause it.

Perhaps the most significant impact of the drug trade is that it has internationalized the conflict, not only through the massive inflow of foreign capital, but through the U.S.-sponsored anti-narcotics war. Since 1989, Colombia has become the largest recipient of U.S. military aid. In the early 1990s, there was some concern over whether U.S. drug monies were being redirected to the counterinsurgency war, in violation of U.S. military assistance requirements authorized by Congress. As a result, for several years funding was allocated exclusively to the police and to special anti-narcotics units. However, in the last two years, notwithstanding the official crisis in U.S.-Colombian relations as a result of allegations of drug monies in the Colombian presidential campaign, the U.S. has once again begun to provide military assistance to the armed forces in its anti-narcotics

campaign. The United States officially "decertified" Colombia in 1996 and 1997, declaring that the government is not sufficiently cooperating in the "War on Drugs." Yet despite decertification, the United States has begun to bypass the Colombian presidency and to work directly with the Colombian armed forces. This year, Colombia is scheduled to receive approximately 100 million dollars in anti-narcotics assistance, the highest in the hemisphere. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have charged that U.S. military aid and equipment have been provided to units accused of gross violations of human rights. Moreover, they cite evidence of a clear relationship between U.S.-trained officials and several paramilitary groups.\*

Partly as a result of the above accusations, which were based on an exhaustive investigation and good documentation, the U.S. Congress passed the Leahy

Amendment, which denies military aid to any foreign military unit involved in human rights violations. The amendment is a step forward but remains incomplete. The amendment raises a fundamental, almost philosophical question. Can individual units be distinguished from the military institution as a whole? Further, there are logistical issues such as, can end use of military equipment be adequately monitored? Most troubling, the Leahy Amendment did not prevent a large increase of military aid to Colombia for 1996 and 1997, despite the continued violations of human rights.

Beyond the murky relationship between the drug war, anti-guerrilla operations and the dirty war, the U.S. has begun pressuring Colombia to step up coca eradication efforts, although there is clear evidence from Peru, Bolivia and Colombia that targeting poor coca farmers has only temporary or negligible effects in reducing the flow of drugs. Moreover, in Peru and Colombia, forced crop eradication policies have repeatedly driven farmers into the arms of guerrillas, or in the case of Bolivia, militant peasant unions. After backing off from such efforts in the mid-1990s and redirecting anti-narcotics efforts to dismantling the large cartels, the United States has begun to focus once again on the small farmer. The strategy failed in Peru and Bolivia precisely because it threatened the very livelihood of peasants and displaced entire families and communities. The effect in Colombia was similar. In August and September of last year, 241,000 people marched in the coca-growing zones of Colombia to protest the government's forced eradication policies. After a standoff and several violent confrontations resulting in a number of deaths, the government formally backed down—though the military continued some operations. After the marches ended, several of the peasant leaders were subsequently "disappeared," accused of being guerrilla collaborators.

\*See *Colombia's Killer Networks: The Military Paramilitary Partnership and the United States*. New York and Washington: Human Rights Watch/Americas and Human Rights Watch Arms Project, 1996.

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*In what can only be deemed a bizarre misreading and mishandling of Colombian politics and society, the government of President Samper began a new policy of arming civilians in rural security cooperatives, now named Convivir.*

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## Grassroots Support for the Peace Process

In recent years, there has been a movement to "humanize" the conflict and to support the application of international humanitarian law. After much clamor, the Samper government finally signed Protocol II of the Geneva Convention that protects the rights of civilian populations in cases of internal war. If all sides—guerrilla, paramilitary, government—were to respect Protocol II, many human rights violations throughout the country would diminish. But Colombia's war is not a conventional irregular war. The principal site of conflict is not the battlefield. Nor is it primarily among armed combatants. Colombia's guerrilla war is largely a dirty war. Its modus operandi is human rights violations, by actors from all sides. The only solution is a formal suspension of the armed conflict through a negotiated peace. The question, then, is: Who should be invited to sit at the negotiating table? At the least, the government and the guerrillas should be invited. Yet one should not rule out the military and the paramilitaries, particularly within regional negotiations.

If the past fifteen years of peace negotiations are any indication, Colombia cannot reach a viable peace agreement without international mediation. The conflict is too widespread and encompasses too many actors and interests to be managed by the Colombian government, or the government and guerrillas alone. Now is the time for international involvement, from the NGOs to foreign governments and international organizations. Colombian politics have coexisted with violence for the last 50 years. For most of those years, the violence has been a steady, low-intensity burn on the body politic. Today Colombian

violence is no longer a low-intensity conflict. The first time the violence heated up, from 1948 to 1953 at the height of the civil war known as *la violencia*, the combatants found a way to make peace. As levels of violence begin to rival those of the 1940s and 50s, there is an urgent need to seize the initiative and begin a national and international campaign to search for a viable peace.

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*Now is the time for international involvement,  
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international organizations.*

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Unlike in previous eras, there are now international precedents for peacemaking, from Central America to Southern Africa. Already, the United Nations has opened a permanent office to monitor human rights in Colombia. The European

Union has become something of a counterweight to the United States' anti-narcotics policies, keeping the issue of human rights violations high on the agenda. Colombian and international NGOs, the church, and some foreign donors are already very active in working with grassroots initiatives for peace. There is currently a move to call a plebiscite for peace. The Education for Peace Project, supported by Catholic Relief Services and the Colombian Bishops Conference, is supporting mobile human rights training teams. The Intercongregational Commission of Justice and Peace has been carefully constructing a record of the violence, serving as an unofficial Truth Commission before the conflict is brought to an end. Only a comprehensive peace process can unravel the complex maze of violence that is inundating the country. A peace process will not end all the violence. It will not stop the flow of drugs northward. But it will substantially reduce the human rights violations where men and women are murdered for their political beliefs or because they were simply suspected of supporting one side or another.

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*Many LASA sites,  
including the home page,  
will soon be renovated, so  
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# Coffee and the U.S. Campus

## The Investigative and Teaching Opportunity

by Eldon Kenworthy  
Whitman College

*"Wake up and smell the coffee." (U.S. saying)*  
*"Ir al grano." (Latin American idiom)*

If only to judge by the number of panels at LASA congresses that deal with it, "globalization" concerns many of us who study and teach about Latin America. At the simplest level, "globalization" means that more of what people consume comes from distant regions through complex transactions that are hidden from ordinary view. To illuminate such flows, scholars trace "commodity chains": following one product from inception to sale, be it running shoes or winter vegetables. While most of us cannot escape participating in these commodity chains, we can participate with greater or less insight and responsibility.

To transform participation in global commodity chains from a mindless to a mindful activity requires descriptions of the overall system, to be sure, but it also invites interrogation of products in daily use. Coffee is widely used by college and university administrators, faculty, students and staff, yet the conditions of its production and sale remain a mystery to most. If developing insight and responsibility is what higher education is about, coffee is a product worth investigating.

Coffee grown under one set of conditions makes a major contribution to species biodiversity and to the well-being of growers and workers. Coffee grown under another set of conditions contributes to species loss, land erosion, poisoning of aquifers, and major health risks to workers. So coffee seems as good a site as any for exploring how value and price interact and how consumer choices in one corner of the globe impact working conditions and environmental goods in another.

### About Coffee and Its Environment

Coffee is among the top four agricultural commodities traded in the world, as measured monetarily. In a typical year the United States buys a third of all the coffee traded while no other country buys more than a tenth. The average U.S. coffee drinker consumes three cups a day, which over the year adds up to the production of some twenty to thirty coffee plants. Coffee consumption is up among U.S. college-bound youth who, just a few years ago, were written off as soft drink and beer consumers. At a high school in an affluent Seattle suburb, an espresso bar rings up a hundred dollars in sales each morning before school starts. A new high school about to open nearby will incorporate espresso into its lunchroom (*Associated Press* 1997, 1).

Three-fifths of the world's traded coffee comes from Latin America. The recent trend among northern consumers toward arabica over robusta (the two basic types of coffee) means that more coffee will come from small Caribbean and Central American nations along with Andean Colombia and Peru.

Unlike sugar or bananas, coffee is not marketed as generic. Within the United States, a third of consumption is of "specialty coffees" sold at higher prices because they (purportedly) possess qualities of taste or of being grown under certain social or environmental conditions. At the supermarket and the cafe, consumers are offered options under the labels "gourmet," "organic," "ecofriendly," "fair traded," etc. The same range of choice is available to institutional purchasers.

Secondly, the variation in the social and environmental conditions under which coffee is produced and processed makes for interesting analysis and awareness-raising. At one extreme, "traditional" coffee is cultivated as one of several crops by holders of small parcels of land, grown under shade trees that yield valuable fruit and wood and that help stem land erosion and nutrient loss. If cultivated with high inputs of manual labor and human attention and low inputs of commercial fertilizers and pesticides, such coffee acreage will support as much biodiversity as a natural forest would in its place. Research suggests that coffee will support even more biodiversity than the forest in certain life forms and less in others. Insects do better than reptiles, migratory birds better than resident ones. And small size is not a problem: "On shade-coffee plantations of less than five hectares, the team counted as many as 150 bird species, most of them forest-dependent migrants from North America" (Tangley 1996, 1299).

An important social benefit of such "traditional" coffee is that it profits small holders by valorizing their existing strengths. Most indigenous and *campesino* farmers are used to visiting their crops regularly, are likely to understand the soils and climate of their particular site, and are able to alter labor input flexibly by drawing on family members. Unlike sugar or cotton, coffee is a crop that benefits from close attention, quick response to changing conditions, and hand harvesting and pruning.

At the other end of the continuum is "conventional" or "industrial" coffee grown as a monoculture with little or no shade on large plantations that use up to fifty different commercial herbicides, insecticides, fungicides, nematicides, and fertilizers. Here the result is wildlife destruction, health risks for workers and their families, and soil, river and aquifer contamination. In Mexico, Central America and Colombia, half the land devoted to coffee has moved toward this end of the continuum over recent decades, and the trend shows no sign of abating.

To be profitable a coffee tree must be kept for a decade, so the pests and diseases that monoculture invites in the subtropics (where there is no killing freeze) cannot be controlled by

plowing the plant under after each harvest. Pests and weeds are controlled with human oversight and labor or with large amounts of toxic chemicals. For a variety of reasons, including encouragement from "development" agencies and experts, over the past quarter century Latin American countries dependent on coffee exports have promoted this "industrial," high-chemical model of producing coffee.

### Costa Rica and the Industrial Model

Costa Rica is a country with higher environmental awareness than most but it is also a country that has bought into the industrial model. Half its coffee is grown in the Central Valley, where half the population resides and where most of the drinking water is drawn from two aquifers. Costa Rica has the world's highest incidence of gastric cancer, a disease that has been linked to the commercial pesticides and fertilizers used in coffee production. More directly linked to coffee cultivation are the 14 deaths and 33 hospitalizations a year due to immediate toxic poisonings, the majority of these from paraquat, one of the "dirty dozen" of agricultural chemicals used worldwide. Costa Rican studies show that coffee plants there absorb only a third of the commercial nitrates applied to them, with most of the remainder flowing through the volcanic soils into the aquifers beneath. (Boyce, *et al.* 1994, ch. 4).

These significant differences in how coffee is grown extend to differences in processing, although the alignment is not perfect. Because they possess more capital, sometimes industrial firms rectify processing practices at the *beneficio* more effectively than smaller operations, once both are nudged by governments. Traditional coffee is solar dried and sorted by hand. Wastes may be recycled as fertilizer by incorporating other crop and animal wastes. Most industrial coffee still uses wood or petroleum to dry the bean and, unless regulated by the state, discharges wastes into rivers. (Half the coffee fruit or "cherry" ends up as waste.) Until recently, for example, 80 percent of the pollution of rivers in Costa Rica's Central Valley came from wastes discharged by coffee *beneficios* (Harris 1996, 15).

### Production, Profit, and Responsibility

A quality cup of coffee, judged by taste, can be produced under either the traditional or industrial model, since flavor largely depends on factors beyond those discussed here, including plant genetics, field location, care in selecting beans, and roasting skills. It is also likely that a safe cup of coffee emerges from both systems. While residues of toxic chemicals have been found by the U.S. Department of Agriculture on unroasted beans arriving in the United States, it is unlikely that those residues survive the high temperatures of roasting.

Coffee can be grown and processed more responsibly at each and every point along a continuum from the traditional to industrial, but socially as well as environmentally responsible

coffee is more likely to come from minor modifications in traditional production than from the extensive changes required to bring industrial production to that standard. With most traditional producers, all it takes is the incorporation of a few biological controls and perhaps somewhat more sophisticated composting to arrive at organic standards. Combine organic methods with the crop diversity and use of shade trees that long have been features of traditional coffee and the social and environmental outcomes are far better than anything the industrial model can achieve no matter how much it is modified.

What may surprise readers is that organic, small-scale production is more profitable per unit of land or unit of coffee produced than the industrial alternative. Also, because it is more labor intensive, organic coffee creates jobs in the countryside and rewards country people for applying existing skills. One study found that it cost 85 cents to produce a kilogram of coffee the traditional way and \$1.24 the industrial way (Perfecto, *et al.* 1996, 599). A study of Costa Rican coffee of the early 1990s, when world prices were low, calculated the net private utility of coffee production per hectare in thousands of *colones*. For industrial coffee the figure was a minus 20; for organic coffee plus 17, resulting in a spread of 34 thousand *colones* per hectare. Adding the social costs of pesticide use and land erosion, these figures change to minus 50 for industrial coffee and plus 16 for organic. The spread now is 66 thousand *colones* per hectare. (Boyce *et al.* 1994, ch. 5.)

The industrial model dominates the market because it offers international brokers and northern roasters large volumes of beans under familiar arrangements, and because social and environmental costs are not internalized. "Because coffee plantations are managed primarily for export commodity production, the motivating force behind their existence is a powerful international market" (Perfecto, *et al.* 1996, 606). "Now, the market is basically controlled by the hedging and speculative strategies of transnational trading corporations on the futures and spot markets" (Llambi 1994, 190). In other words, as long as northern consumers ignore the social and environmental dimensions of coffee production and concentrate solely on taste, producers of industrial coffee will await an upturn in world prices—as now seems to be occurring—rather than alter their methods.

The organic option embraced by small farmers remains open to large, conventional growers, although it would require a major change in their labor relations. Indeed, by adopting organic practices on some of their land while keeping conventional practices on the rest, such producers could transition toward organic with less risk than those who can't divide their parcels because they are too small. To be certified as organic, coffee must be grown on soils free of commercial chemical additives for three years. Where many chemicals have been used, this transition invariably occasions a temporary drop in production. Phasing organic in, parcel by parcel, softens that transition, as

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*...a message from consumers... would encourage diverse, ecologically sound production systems and greatly clarify many issues related to sustainability: environmental, economic and social.*

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does the ability to market transitional crops as "ecologically friendly." Large-scale conventional growers could do all of these things, but it is doubtful that they will do so until large numbers of northern consumers demand it.

### Signposts for the Consumer

As consumers we have the tools we need. Organizations exist that responsibly certify the conditions under which coffee is grown, giving operational meaning to "organic," "environmentally friendly," and "fair-traded." Responsible roasters and distributors in the United States sell coffee that is so certified. There is hardly a region of the U.S. without one of these distributors, and several offer considerable information through newsletters and websites. A website has been created that provides an initial dose of this information: <http://www.greenbuilder.com/mader/ecotravel/coffeeag/campaign.html>.

LASA members may be interested to learn of ELAN (Environment in Latin America Network), the Internet site of LAMA, the LASA Section "Latinoamérica y MedioAmbiente." In a May 1997 ELAN discussion which I initiated, the opportunity before us was stated by Ronald Nigh, who works with small-scale organic coffee growers in Chiapas: "Coffee could be the first major world crop to be 100 percent organically grown and this could occur within a decade or two. All it takes is consumer demand. Such a message from consumers would empower growers to face pressures from governments and corporations to adopt chemical agriculture, it would encourage diverse, ecologically sound production systems and greatly clarify many issues related to sustainability: environmental, economic and social."

\* \* \*

Eight families who grow coffee near Matagalpa, Nicaragua, constitute the *Comité Matasano*. They produce organic coffee on 24 acres, out of the 75 they have in crops, and clear 50 percent more profit than they did selling coffee the old way. They also have pasture. Wastes from processing coffee cherries by hand with antiquated equipment are converted into compost through the addition of chicken manure, with the compost then used on all crops. In addition to small check dams built to halt erosion along gullies, short trenches (*cajuelas asequías*) have been dug by every third to fifth coffee plant to trap runoff from rains and nutrients from fallen leaves. Tree cover for the coffee is varied and includes bananas. With the help of a U.S. NGO, these campesinos now use a biological control (a wasp) against their major coffee pest, *la broca*. They also distill pest repellents from the leaves of native trees. Weeds are controlled manually, no attempt being made to eliminate them all. The adoption of these methods required some changes in their traditional practices, but not many. Prior to this, these farmers lacked the money to purchase expensive commercial inputs.

As with campesinos elsewhere, those of El Matasano understand the larger picture. "We're not just doing this for ourselves," Antonio Ramos Rivas told me, "but for this land that will pass

to our children. If we don't take care of it, it will wash away. If the land dies with us, the next generation will have major problems." Antonio added that the shift to organic production has meant fewer purchases in town and more employment for family members. "Many things that we used to go out to buy we now make here."

When I asked the Nicaraguans who were providing technical assistance to *Comité Matasano* what risks they saw in promoting organic coffee among poor campesinos, they replied "none other than the international market." So far all the organic coffee grown in Nicaragua has been marketed, much of it through Thanksgiving Coffee of Fort Bragg, California. But questions remain. Will the small U.S. market for organic (around three percent of current sales) expand? Will U.S. consumers insist on organic gourmet when their tastes could be satisfied with gourmet alone? Is all this discussion about migratory birds and Central American coffee just the latest issue du jour?

Whether in Takoma Park, Maryland, or Ithaca, New York, Americans with disposable incomes and too-little time (they say) actually "waste" a lot of time buying food at farmers' markets. Why? Partly to obtain quality products but also (I think) to rehumanize their connection with producers and other consumers. Why did my brief contact with the farmers of *Comité Matasano* spur me to initiate the ELAN discussion, then write this appeal? That two-hour conversation gave me something that globalization denies me: a human connection. Some alternative coffee distributors fill in this void with their newsletters, Equal Exchange being a case in point. I think we need to deepen, not dismiss, this search for consumption "with a human face," the face of the producer. Who better to facilitate this than Latin Americanists?

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## ON LASA98

### Chicago! Chicago! A Note on Behalf of the LASA98 Program Committee by Timothy Wickham-Crowley, Chair Georgetown University

Strange as it may seem, with the Guadalajara Congress seemingly just over, and our airline ticket stubs still cluttering our desks, the deadline comes on apace for submissions to the *next* and twenty-first LASA Congress, 24-26 September at the Palmer House Hilton in Chicago. Aren't you glad we don't do this every year, rather than our sensible year-and-a-half? The November 1 deadline will be uncomfortably near at hand by the time you read this message, and its proximity only made more urgent if you are, as am I, swamped with the concerns of term and teaching. Even so, don't wait until the last minute to send in your panel and paper and workshop submissions. While it is reasonable to contact us and even send us forms by e-mail—[lasa98@gunet.georgetown.edu](mailto:lasa98@gunet.georgetown.edu)—please remember that, while you can make such cyber-submissions to us, they do *not* take the place of two hard copies supplied to us on paper *by November 1* to: LASA98 Program Office, Dept. of Sociology, PO Box 571037, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057, USA.

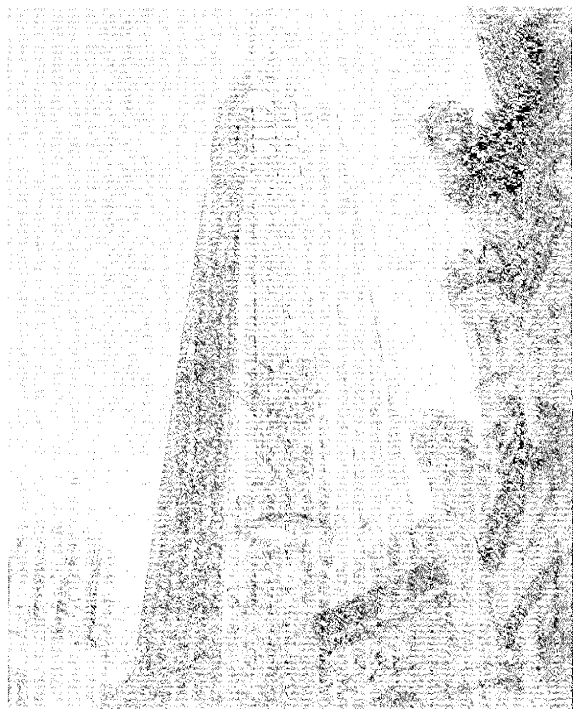
Due to the periodic nature of *LASA Forum*, and the prohibitive costs of regular mass-mailings to all members of LASA, we want to provide an alternative avenue for basic and ongoing information, news, and updates about the Chicago congress. Therefore we have followed our predecessors' lead and

established a website to provide such information, including future ways of contacting us at the program office via phone. The Worldwide Web site for the LASA98 Congress can be found at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/lasa98.htm>. For those of you who, like me, rarely venture beyond your e-mail, and never say "dub, dub, dub," don't be afraid: this really doesn't hurt that much once you find the darn thing. And for those of you who never received or have misplaced your copies of the Congress forms that make up the "Call for Papers"—they came with your Spring 1997 copy of *LASA Forum*—you can download such copies from the website, just as you have been able to do all along from the website for the LASA Secretariat itself, which is at <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/>. Or you can simply ask for them by e-mail, mail, or phone from the LASA Secretariat (see all these contact numbers on the inside cover of each issue of the *LASA Forum*).

Once again let me urge you to submit paper and panel proposals on a wide variety to topics to LASA98, for our mansion has many rooms, we have the most varied and exhaustive set of program tracks yet on offer, and we would like to have the most diverse, exciting, and challenging program yet. See you in Chicago! ■



*Old Comiskey Park, 1913.  
(Chicago Historical Society)*



*John Hancock Center, 1972.  
(Chicago Historical Society)*

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## ON LASA SECTIONS

### APPROVED LASA SECTIONS AND THEIR STATEMENTS

As of August 31, a total of 20 LASA Sections had met the criteria for Section formation and were approved by the LASA Executive Council. Their names are included on the 1998 membership form, mailed to all LASA members in September.

Brief descriptions of 17 Sections appeared in the Summer issue of the *LASA Forum*; three other Sections have since been approved and their descriptions follow, along with the names of the current Section chairs and their contact information. [The chair of the Section on Political Institutions was previously identified as Scott Morgenstern; the chair is Barry Ames; [barrya+@pitt.edu](mailto:barrya+@pitt.edu); fax: 412-638-7277.]

#### HIGHER EDUCATION

Higher education in Latin America has recently become a key issue in emerging development models and their new political-economic foci. The Section on Higher Education will strive to widen the discussion about the characteristics, conditions, influences and situations of higher education in Latin America. Chair: Virgilio Alvarez; [viralara@tba.com.br](mailto:viralara@tba.com.br); fax: (Brazil) 55-61-242-5000.

#### LAW AND SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA

This Section seeks to deepen ongoing international collaborations among social scientists, legal scholars, and cultural critics regarding the complex relationships that articulate law, society, and culture in Latin America. Among the themes under discussion are: forms of the state and their influence on the justice system; the historical development of

legal institutions; the relationship between crime and social conflict; the actions of popular sectors before the court system; official discourses about crime; the experience of imprisonment across time and region; cultural resonances of crime and repression; the history of policing; sexually-related offenses and forms of "deviance"; and the advancement of cross-disciplinary strategies of research. Co-chairs: Carlos Aguirre; [caguirre@oregon.uoregon.edu](mailto:caguirre@oregon.uoregon.edu); fax: 541-346-4895 and Gil Joseph; [latin.america@yale.edu](mailto:latin.america@yale.edu); fax: 203-432-9381.

#### SOCIAL STUDIES OF MEDICINE

The Section on Medicine and Society will promote the study of disease, health, and medicine in social context, including: the social construction and historical development of disease, health, medicine, and medical ideologies; metaphors in scientific and medical thought; treatment (shamanism, *curanderos*, folk healers, and bio-medicists); the body, gender, race; social and political movements relating to public health; and related subjects. Chair: Donald Stevens; [stevens@post.drexel.edu](mailto:stevens@post.drexel.edu); fax: 215-895-6614.

*New Sections may be proposed by submitting to the Secretariat 1) a statement establishing the scope and the type of activities envisioned for the Section, 2) the names of a least 25 current (1998) 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. Sections approved by the LASA Executive Council before August 31, 1998 will be listed on the 1999 membership form. ■*



## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

#### GENDER AWARD INITIATED THE LASA98 ELSA CHANEY PRIZE

The Gender and Feminism Section of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) has created a committee charged with selecting the best two articles on gender issues written after April 1997. The selection committee is comprised of Narda Henríquez (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú); Alicia Martínez (FLACSO-México); Sara Poggio (University of Maryland-Baltimore) and Helen Safa (University of Florida-Gainesville).

The two selected articles will receive the LASA98 Gender Award, which this year will be titled the Elsa Chaney Award in recognition of Elsa's pioneering research on Latin

American Women.

The Award is being given to promote, stimulate and contribute to the diffusion of studies on women's conditions and gender-related topics in the Latin American and Caribbean region. The papers are expected to follow the general perspective of the XXI International Congress, which is *Social Justice*.

In order to promote broad participation, one article will be selected from those submitted by newer authors and one from pieces sent by more established writers. Additional articles may receive honorable mention.

Both awardees will receive a monetary reward (to be determined) in U.S. dollars, and guaranteed publication of the article.

## Instructions

- 1) The competition is open to all members of LASA.
- 2) Published articles and articles that have received previous awards are excluded from the competition.
- 3) Articles may be written in Spanish, English, Portuguese or French.
- 4) Articles should be no more than 40 pages in length. Submit papers on 8 ½ by 11 (letter-size) paper, double-spaced, 25 lines and 60 characters per line. Pages, including bibliography, tables and appendices, should be numbered.
- 5) The papers must include an abstract not exceeding 150 words on a separate page preceding the text of the paper, and all author identification, including institutional affiliation, must be removed from the papers and supplied in a cover

letter. Authors must send five printed copies of the paper. A computer disk with a file containing the paper will be required for the two selected papers.

6) Papers to be considered for this award will be accepted by the Committee between the dates *April 1, 1998* and *June 30, 1998*. Papers received after June 30, 1998 will not be accepted.

Papers should be sent to:

Dr. Sara Poggio, Coordinator of the GENDER LASA98 Award Committee  
Department of Modern Language and Linguistics  
University of Maryland Baltimore County  
1000 Hilltop Circle  
Baltimore, MD, 21333 USA  
Phone: (410) 455-2133/2109  
E-mail: [poggio@umbc7.umbc.edu](mailto:poggio@umbc7.umbc.edu) ■



## NEWS FROM LASA

### LASA VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

We are delighted to acknowledge LASA's 36th Life Member, **Paul John Rich**. In making this commitment to the Association, Professor Rich joins other Life Members in demonstrating the value he places on the Association's special programs and initiatives which will ultimately benefit from the Endowment Fund. We are deeply grateful to Professor Rich and to all LASA Life Members.

Support for all three LASA funds continues strong. For LASA97 in Guadalajara, LASA members contributed \$3,700 to the LASA Congress Travel Fund to help finance travel for participants from Latin America. Since our last report to you in the Spring issue of the *LASA Forum*, these individuals have made donations to the **Congress Travel Fund**:

Mary K. Addis  
Regina Cele Bodstein  
Arcadio Díaz-Quifones  
Joanne Engelbert  
Jan Flora

Maria Antonia Garces  
Julio Ramos  
Gloria Rudolf  
Jeni Vaitsman

With support from LASA members and friends the LASA Endowment Fund continues to grow as well. As of August 7, 1997 the total value of the Fund was \$495,151. These individuals have contributed to the **General Endowment Fund** since our last report:

B. W. Aston  
Bradford Barham  
Martin Bingham  
Edward M. Dew  
Kathleen DeWalt  
Arcadio Díaz-Quifones

Juan González-Mendoza  
Johanna Looye  
Patricia McRae  
David H. Popper  
Jeffrey Rubin  
Silvio Torres-Saillant

And these have provided support for the **Humanities Endowment Fund**:

Peter M. Beattie  
Jorge Céspedes-Estévez  
Luis Díaz

Arcadio Díaz-Quifones  
María Patricia Pensado-Leglise  
Jeffrey Rubin

Thanks to all!

*For information on any of the funds mentioned above or to inquire about a LASA Life Membership please contact the membership office at 412-648-1907.*

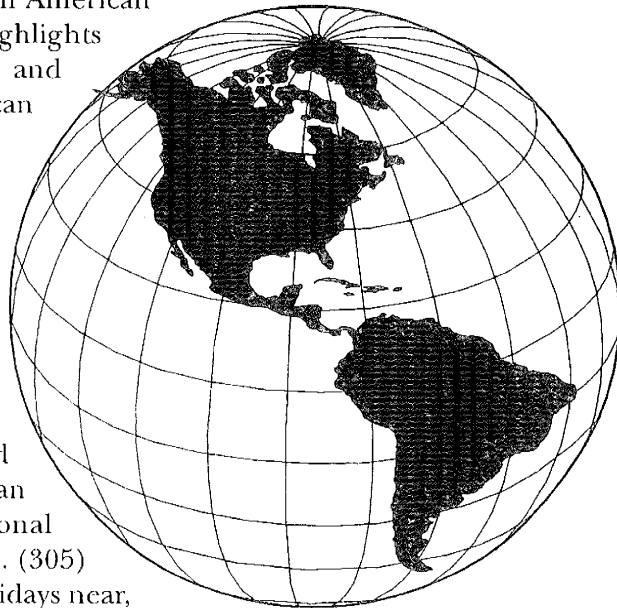
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## OPPORTUNITIES ON-LINE

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[elsevier.co.uk](http://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* (754). Also include any other titles for which you would like to be registered. To receive a list of other titles available through *ContentsDirect*, send an e-mail message to [cdhelp@elsevier.co.uk](mailto:cdhelp@elsevier.co.uk). Don't miss out on this simple method of remaining abreast of new developments in your field. Reply today. It's quick, direct and free. ■



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

**Georgetown University**, Department of Sociology, invites applications for an assistant professor (tenure-track) position in cultural anthropology beginning in August 1998. Priority is given to candidates with area specializations in Asia, the Caribbean, or the Middle East, and with substantive interest in comparative belief systems. The position is open to candidates with the Ph.D. already in hand, a strong field research and theoretical background, and evidence of successful teaching and publication. Primary teaching responsibilities include courses such as introduction to anthropology, anthropological theory and methodology, and other courses relevant to the candidate's areas of specialization. The deadline for applications is *Friday, December 5, 1997*. Applications with vita, one writing sample and syllabus sample, and names, addresses, phone and e-mail of three references should be sent to the Chair, Anthropology Search Committee, Department of Sociology, Georgetown University, Washington, DC 20057. Minorities and women are encouraged to apply. EOE/AEE.

**Oglethorpe University** is seeking to make a tenure-track appointment in U.S. history at the rank of assistant professor, beginning in the Fall of 1998. Field of specialization is open. Responsibilities include upper-level courses in all periods of U.S. history as well as teaching in and contributing to the development of the University's interdisciplinary core curriculum; ability to offer upper-level courses in Latin American history is highly desirable but not a requirement. Salary is competitive; excellent benefits, including TIAA/CRF. Applicants should demonstrate a strong commitment to teaching and scholarship in an environment of small classes, close student-faculty contact, and collaboration among students and faculty across disciplinary boundaries. Applicants must have the Ph.D. by the end of August 1998. Independent teaching experience is desirable. Please send resume, cover letter, graduate transcripts, writing sample, evidence of teaching effectiveness, and three letters of recommendation to Dr. Alexander M. Martin, History Search

Committee, Oglethorpe University, 4484 Peachtree Road, NE, Atlanta, GA 30319-2797 by *November 30, 1997*. Our Web address is <http://www.oglethorpe.edu>. Please indicate whether you plan to attend the upcoming AHA convention in Seattle. EOE

The College of Arts and Sciences at **Indiana University at Bloomington** is seeking to fill a tenure-track assistant professor position with an environmental social scientist with skills in the analysis of land use and land cover change. The appointment may be made in anthropology, geography or Latin American studies. The person appointed to the position would hold a research appointment in the NSF-funded Center for the Study of Institutions, Population, and Environmental Change, which focuses on understanding the social and environmental dimensions of change in forest ecosystems of the Western Hemisphere. Research at the Center is multidisciplinary, comparative, and quantitative. Team-based field research funds are available through the Center for work in several countries in the Americas. Faculty are expected to maintain an active research program as part of the Center and to teach two courses per semester at the undergraduate and graduate level. Preference will be given to applicants with previous experience in Latin America, with fluency in Spanish and/or Portuguese, and with a set of skills that contribute to the development of theory and method on the human dimensions of global environmental change (e.g. demography, GIS, remote sensing, survey research, statistical analysis, and social/cultural analysis). Applicants must have the Ph.D. in hand at the time of application. Please send a letter of application describing research and teaching interests, a c.v., three letters of reference, copies of reprints and recent manuscripts to Emilio F. Moran, Co-director, Center for the Study of Institutions, Population, and Environmental Change, Indiana University, 408 N. Indiana, Bloomington, IN 47405. To ensure consideration, please send applications by *December 15, 1997*. Indiana University is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action employer.



**THE DEPARTMENT OF SPANISH AND  
PORTUGUESE  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
announces a  
TENURE-TRACK POSITION IN  
BRAZILIAN LITERATURE AND LUSO-  
BRAZILIAN STUDIES**

Tenure track position at the level of Assistant Professor in the area of **Brazilian Literature and Luso-Brazilian Studies**. Additional expertise desirable in a related field such as critical theory, media studies, Spanish American literature, lusophone literature, or popular culture. Appointee will teach undergraduate and graduate courses as one of 10 faculty in a diverse department with a strong interdisciplinary focus and a healthy Portuguese language program. Ability to teach in both Portuguese and English essential. Course load, salary and benefits are excellent. Stanford is an affirmative action, equal opportunity employer. Women and minority candidates are especially encouraged to apply.

Interested parties should send a CV and cover letter to M.L. Pratt, Chair, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2014. **Deadline: November 14, 1997.** For further information, e-mail [mpratt@leland.stanford.edu](mailto:mpratt@leland.stanford.edu), or call (415) 723-2175.

**O Departamento de Espanhol e Português  
de Stanford University  
Concurso para Professor Assistente de Literatura  
Brasileira e Estudos Luso-Brasileiros**

Com estabilidade empregatícia progressiva ("tenure track"). Prefere-se candidato/a com conhecimento e experiência adicionais em uma área próxima, tal como teoria e crítica literárias, em uma área próxima, literatura hispano-americana, portuguesa, ou luso africana, ou cultura popular. O candidato ou candidata selecionado lecionará cursos de graduação e pós-graduação como membro de uma equipe de 10 professores, em um departamento que possui um forte enfoque interdisciplinar e um sólido programa de Língua Portuguesa. É essencial ser capaz de lecionar tanto em português como em inglês. Excelente carga horária, salário e benefícios. Stanford é uma instituição regida pelos princípios de ação afirmativa e igualdade de oportunidades. Convida-se de maneira especial a candidatas de mulheres e membros de étnias minoritárias. Primeiro contrato de 3 anos com possibilidade de renovação ("tenure track").

Os interessados devem enviar um curriculum vitae e apresentarem-se através de uma carta, dirigida a M.L. Pratt, Chefe de Departamento, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Stanford, CA 94305-2014 E.U.A. **Data-limite: 14 de novembro de 1997.** Para obter maiores informações, envie uma mensagem por e-mail para [mpratt@leland.edu](mailto:mpratt@leland.edu), por fax para 650-725-9255, ou telefone para 650-723-2175.

El Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, CIRMA, ubicado en antigua Guatemala, busca un director para su Programa de Investigación. El centro se ha conocido por su compromiso con la investigación científica y reflexión intelectual de alta calidad y por su amplitud en cuanto a corrientes teóricas y conceptuales. En el contexto de una nueva etapa en Guatemala y el resto de Centroamérica, de construcción en la posguerra, CIRMA se ha propuesto desde el año pasado ampliar sus actividades. Como parte de este nuevo perfil, CIRMA ha creado un programa de investigación que contempla no sólo proyectos de investigación, los cuales se enfocarán inicialmente en cuestiones de identidad y etnia, así como también un proyecto de becas para investigadores centroamericanos y varias actividades de formación y debate, tales como cursos, coloquios y conferencias. El puesto de director del programa de investigación implica las siguientes responsabilidades, entre otras: 1) desarrollar, en consulta con un grupo de asesores del programa, las líneas del programa de investigaciones descritos en el plan de largo plazo, y seguir renovando este plan cada año; 2) buscar los fondos necesarios para el programa; y 3) contratar, coordinar y supervisar al personal para implementar los proyectos. Se busca que los candidatos tengan: 1) amplia experiencia e intereses interdisciplinarios; 2) demostrado interés en la vinculación del proceso de investigación con la realidad social de la región; 3) amplia experiencia en Guatemala y/o en otros países de la región centroamericana; 4) experiencia en

recaudación de fondos para proyectos de investigación y otras actividades relacionadas; 5) experiencia en manejo de personal; 6) buena red de contactos con intelectuales y académicos vinculados con Guatemala y Centroamérica; 7) experiencia en docencia. Salario negociable. Favor mandar carta de solicitud, tres cartas de referencia, y tres escritos profesionales a CIRMA A-0022, P.O. Box 669004, Miami Springs, FL 33266.

Tulane University is seeking applications for the position of Director of the Roger Thayer Stone Center for Latin American Studies, at the full professor rank. The Center is one of fourteen federally-funded Title VI Programs on Latin America. It has 80 affiliated faculty members in associated departments, runs seven overseas academic programs, serves as a teaching materials resource center nationwide, and offers baccalaureate majors and minors, M.A.s and Ph.D.s. The successful candidate must be a proven scholar and an accomplished administrator, skilled in fund-raising. Please send a letter of application, c.v., and names of three references to Dr. J. M. Maxwell, Chair of the Search Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118. Application review will begin on December 15 and continue until the position is filled. For further information, please contact Dr. Maxwell as above, or by e-mail: [maxwell@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu](mailto:maxwell@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu). Tulane University is AA/EOE.

**ALBRIGHT COLLEGE  
LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES**

Albright College announces the establishment of the Christian A. Johnson Center for Interdisciplinary Studies, which includes a tenure-track position in Latin American Studies to begin in August 1998. Responsibilities include teaching 3 courses/semester, advising students in the context of quality, teaching-centered, undergraduate education and participating in the activities of the center. The successful candidate will be a gifted individual who will bring leadership and vision to define and coordinate a new combined concentration in Latin American Studies in cooperation with other departments. A person of broad training and sympathies willing to work flexibly across disciplines in the context of a liberal arts institution is essential. Requirements: Ph.D. in Latin American Studies, Anthropology, Sociology, Political Economy, or International Studies with evidence of scholarly promise. Teaching experience preferred, fluency in Spanish or Portuguese and English required. Send cover letter detailing research interests and teaching philosophy, CV, and three recommendation letters to: Office of Human Resources, Johnson Center for Interdisciplinary Studies search, P.O. Box 15234, Reading, PA 19612-5234. Review of applications will begin November 7, 1997. Albright College is a private four-year liberal arts college of 1,100 students located in eastern Pa, 70 minutes from Philadelphia, 3 hours from New York and Washington, D.C. Albright College is an AA/EEO/ADA employer and is actively committed to diversity within its community.

The History Department and the Latin American and Caribbean Area Studies Program at **Binghamton University** invite applications for a tenure-track, assistant professorship in the history of modern Latin America, preferably the long 20th century, region open, not excluding Brazil. Specializations might include urban history, the new rural history, and the intersections of race, gender and class. The Ph.D. is required. The position will remain open until filled, and review of applications will begin December 1, 1997. Applicants should send a letter of application, c.v., three letters of reference, and evidence of outstanding teaching and publication to Latin American Search Committee, Department of History, Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY 13902-6000. Strongly committed to AA. Recruitment conducted without regard to race, color, sex, religion, age, disability, marital status, sexual orientation, or national origin.

The Department of Anthropology at the **University of California, Irvine** seeks a sociocultural anthropologist with strong quantitative skills for a tenure-track assistant or tenured associate professor position beginning July 1, 1998. Geographic and topical area open. Strengths in the development or innovative application of quantitative methods for sociocultural anthropology are required. Preferred fields of specialization include but are not limited to cognitive anthropology, human ecology, demography, population

biology, social networks, international migration, social inequality, economic anthropology, medical anthropology, or biological anthropology. Fieldwork experience preferred. Successful candidate will have demonstrated ability to address current theoretical issues through rigorous empirical research. Full consideration will be given to all applications received by *December 1, 1997*. Applications sent earlier will be appreciated. The University of California is an AA/EO employer and particularly welcomes the applications of minorities and women. Please send letter (in the first paragraph include a summary of your quantitative skills and other specialties), vita, names/addresses of three references, and two articles, chapters, or papers to Frank Cancian, Chair, Quantitative Search Committee, Department of Anthropology, School of Social Sciences, UC Irvine, Irvine, CA 92697. Fax: 714-824-4717.

The Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the **University of Maryland, College Park** is accepting applications for two assistant professorships beginning Fall 1998 with the following specializations:

• Tenure-track assistant professor in Hispanic Atlantic literatures and cultures. Specialization in Trans-Atlantic literary and cultural exchanges between Latin America/Caribbean and the Iberian Peninsula and/or Africa. Send materials to Professor Phyllis Peres, Search Committee Chair.

• Tenure-track assistant professor in US-Latino literatures and cultures. Ability to also teach courses in Latin American literatures and courses preferred. Send materials to Professor Jorge Aguilar-Mora, Search Committee Chair.

Both positions require native or near-native fluency in both Spanish and English, teaching experience and recognized potential of excellence in scholarship, and the Ph.D. in hand by the time of appointment. For best consideration, send complete dossier (including at least three letters of recommendation) and application to the respective Search Committee Chairs, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, 2215 Jimenez Hall, College Park, MD 20742 by *November 25, 1997*. Tel: 301-405-6441. Women and minorities are strongly encouraged to apply. The University of Maryland is an AA/EO Title IX Employer.

The **University of Kentucky** invites applications for a tenure-track position at the rank of assistant professor in colonial Latin American history (to 1830) starting August 1998. Specialization and regional focus are open. The Ph.D. should be completed by September 1, 1998. Duties include teaching the first semester of a two-semester Latin American survey and other undergraduate and graduate courses. A strong commitment to teaching and publication is required. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation to Latin American Search Committee, Department of History, 1715 Patterson Office Tower, University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY 40506-0027. The University of Kentucky is an AA/EOE and strongly encourages applications from women and minorities. Deadline for application is *December 1, 1997*. Interviews at the AHA Meeting in Seattle, January 1998.

The University of Notre Dame invites applications for its Endowed Chair in Mexican Studies. Candidates must be a scholar/teacher with an outstanding scholarly and teaching record who has made major contributions to understanding Mexico. The Chairholder will hold an appointment in social science department or history and should participate in the intellectual life of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies at Notre Dame. Scholars/teachers working on any subject will be considered, but the committee particularly welcomes applications from those working on the five priority themes of the Kellogg Institute: democratization and the quality of democracy, paths to development, religion and the Catholic Church, social movements and organized civil society, and public policies for social justice. Notre Dame is an AA/EO employer. The deadline for applications is *January 15, 1998*. Please send a C.V., two writing samples, teaching evaluations and three letters of recommendation to the Mexican Studies Chair Search Committee, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556-5677.

California State University, Sacramento, Department of Government invites applications for an entry-level assistant professorship, tenure track, beginning Fall 1998. Ph.D., political science, with a concentration in international relations/comparative politics, focusing on Latin America, AND political science research methods. Strong commitment to college teaching and potential for scholarly achievement expected. Candidates must have sufficiently broad background and flexibility to adjust in teaching assignments to present and future

needs. All else equal, preference to candidates who can teach a course in the political economy of development and can bring interdisciplinary approach to the Department. Duties include teaching, developing curriculum and advising at undergraduate and graduate levels, as well as department, school and university committee work as well as scholarly and professional activities. For more information contact Jean Torcom, Chair, Department of Government, CSU Sacramento, 6000 J Street, Sacramento, CA 95819-6089. Tel: 916-278-6202. E-Mail: [torcomje@csus.edu](mailto:torcomje@csus.edu). Deadline for receipt of applications is January 10, 1998 or until position is filled.

The University of Connecticut invites applications for an assistant professor, tenure-track, specializing in the Spanish Caribbean and Central America of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Preference will be given to candidates with research and/or teaching interests in Puerto Rican history but others will be seriously considered. Teaching the Latin American and other survey courses is expected. Ph.D. and publications preferred. Starting date is August 1998. The Search Committee is headed by Karen Spalding; e-mail [spalding@uconnvm.uconn.edu](mailto:spalding@uconnvm.uconn.edu). Screening of applicants will begin November 1, 1997 and continue until the position is filled. (Search #98A47). To apply, send letter of application, curriculum vitae and three letters of reference to: Altina Waller, Chair, Department of History, 241 Glenbrook Road, The University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269-2103. Tel: 860-486-3718. Fax 860-486-0641. We encourage applications from under-represented groups including minorities, women and people with disabilities. ☐

## TIME TO RENEW FOR 1998

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## LASA97 PAPERS

Nearly 1,000 panel and workshop papers from the Guadalajara Congress are still available from the Secretariat.

See the Spring 1997 issue of the *LASA Forum* for the base list and order information, and the Summer issue for additions and corrections.

Nearly 200 of these papers are now online at LASA's Online Papers Project website, <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/elecpapers.htm>. More are being added each week, so check back often.



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The **Rio Branco Scholarship Program** is offered to graduate students residing outside Brazil who are pursuing a doctoral degree in economics; political science, including international relations; law; or in the study of Latin America. The program envisages the granting of scholarships to students from Europe, all of North America and South America. At this time as many as 14 scholarships are available to doctoral-level students with U.S. citizenship. Applicants must submit a proposal to prepare a paper of approximately 60 pages on a topic of current and significant interest for Brazilian foreign policy—preferably, but not necessarily, with economic content. The Rio Branco Institute may publish selected papers. Each selected applicant will receive a \$6,000 (U.S. dollars) scholarship and will travel to Brazil twice: first for a discussion of the work plan, and second for an oral defense of the completed paper. Each trip is expected to be for five days, with \$213 per day granted for expenses and airfare paid for by the Program. Interested students should contact the Brazilian Embassy in the United States for more information and/or an application form. Send requests to: Brazilian Embassy, Cultural Section, André Corrêa do Lago, Head, 3006 Massachusetts Avenue NW, WASHINGTON DC 20008. Tel: 202-238-2796. Fax: 202-238-2827. Applications are due by *November 14, 1997.*

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego announces its 1998 Competition for the Tenth Summer Seminar in U.S. Studies for Latin American Social Scientists and Non-Academic Professionals, to be held June 22-July 31, 1998. The Summer Seminar in U.S. Studies is designed for Latin American scholars and non-academic professionals who want to understand, teach, and do research on the United States. The Seminar immerses participants in the most recent research on U.S. political and economic history, the U.S. Constitution and judiciary, Congress, the presidency, political parties and elections, the mass media, the economy, organized labor, environmental and other non-governmental organizations, foreign policy making, and the U.S. role in the global economy. Citizens of any Latin American or Caribbean country may apply. All instruction is in English. A limited number of financial awards will be available to participants. We encourage applicants to seek support from their home institutions or from other sources. The selection of all participants is based on merit. For further information and application materials, please contact the Center. Tel: 619-534-4503. Fax: 619-534-6447. E-mail: [usmex@ucsd.edu](mailto:usmex@ucsd.edu). Application forms can be downloaded from the Center's web page: <http://weber.ucsd.edu/Depts/USMex/welcome.htm>. The deadline to submit applications for this competition is *March 13, 1998.*

THE JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T.

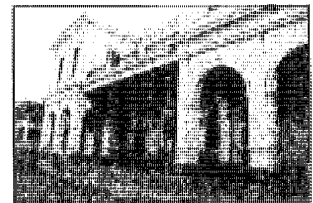
### MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

The Foundation's Program on Global Security and Sustainability announces an annual competition for grants for Research and Writing. Grants are available for projects in any discipline or profession that promise to illuminate the dynamics of international security or multilateral cooperation. Applicants may request up to \$75,000 for individual projects, or \$100,000 for two-person collaborations. Projects related to the research or writing of the doctoral dissertation are not eligible. Awards will be announced in September. Projects may be scheduled to begin as early as October 1, 1998. For further information about these grants and a brochure describing how to apply, please contact the Program on Global Security and Sustainability at:

The John D. and Catherine T.  
MacArthur Foundation  
140 South Dearborn Street  
Chicago, IL 60603 US  
(312)726-8000  
e-mail: [4answers@macfdn.org](mailto:4answers@macfdn.org)  
<http://www.macfdn.org>

**Application Deadline: February 2, 1998**

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#### **RUTGERS CENTER FOR HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

invites applications for senior and post-doctoral fellowships from individuals engaged in research on topics related to

#### **The Black Atlantic: Race, Nation, and Gender**

In the academic year 1998-1999, the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis will enter the second year of its 1997-1999 project on the Black Atlantic. Designed to map the comparative and international history of the modern black experience, this project welcomes applications from all disciplines and regional specializations. While individual projects need not be explicitly comparative, weekly seminars and annual conferences will explore a variety of broad themes common to the Black Atlantic world. Applicants need not be US citizens. AA/EOE. For further information and fellowship applications, write to:

**Professors Deborah Gray White and Mia Elisabeth Bay,  
Project Directors**

**Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis  
Rutgers--The State University of New Jersey  
88 College Avenue  
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901 USA**

Closing date for applications for 1998-1999 fellowships is **December 15, 1997**. Those interested in giving a paper in 1998-1999 should also write to Professors White and Bay.

**The State University of New Jersey  
RUTGERS**

The **Social Science Research Council** announces two-year dissertation and postdoctoral 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. These 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 applicants 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. For further information and application materials, contact the Social Science Research Council, Program on International Peace and Security, 810 Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10019. Tel: 212-377-2700. Fax: 212-377-2727. Website: <http://www.ssrc.org>. The deadline for receipt of fellowship applications is *Friday, November 14, 1998*.

The **Society of Architectural Historians** announces the Edilia and François-Auguste de Montéquin Fellowship, for travel costs associated with research on Iberian and Latin American architecture. The award consists of a \$1,000 stipend and a citation. Both will be presented at the Society's 51<sup>st</sup> Annual Meeting business luncheon on April 17, 1998 in Los Angeles, CA. The award will be announced in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* and the *Newsletter* of the Society after presentation. This fellowship is intended to support the research of junior scholars, including graduate students, but senior scholars may also apply. The research to be supported must focus on Spanish, Portuguese, or Ibero-American architecture, including colonial architecture produced by the Spaniards in the Philippines and what is today the United States. For an application form, please write the Society of Architectural Historians, 1365 North Astor St., Chicago, IL 60610-2144. Tel: 312-573-1365. E-mail: [l-torrance@nwu.edu](mailto:l-torrance@nwu.edu). Applications are due by *December 15, 1997*.

The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies at the **University of California, San Diego** invites applications for visiting research fellowships and for non-stipend guest scholar affiliations as part of its Researcher-in-Residence Program competition for the 1998-99 academic year. Awards support the write-up stage of research on any aspect of contemporary Mexico (except literature and the arts), Mexican history, and U.S.-Mexican relations. Comparative studies with a substantial Mexico component will also be considered. Special emphasis will be given to research examining the political transition in Mexico; the political and social consequences of economic restructuring in Mexico; Mexican environmental policy and sustainable development in the border region; the economic and political consequences of North American integration; and Mexican labor migration to the United States. The deadline for receipt of applications is *January 9, 1998*. For further information and application materials, please contact the Center. Tel: 619-534-4503. Fax: 619-534-6447. E-mail: [usmex@ucsd.edu](mailto:usmex@ucsd.edu). Application forms can be downloaded from the Center's web page at: <http://weber.ucsd.edu/Depts/USMex/welcome.htm>.

#### **SHARE A MEMBERSHIP FORM WITH A COLLEAGUE!**

The Association can grow even faster if more members discuss LASA with others in our profession.

*This issue contains an individual form on pages 43-44. Please make a copy available to a potential new member.*

The University of Wisconsin-Madison announces its Summer 1998 Institute in Ecuadorian Quichua, an intensive instruction in Ecuadorian Quichua language and culture organized by the University's Latin American and Iberian Studies Program. The eight-week Title VI on-campus Summer Intensive Quechua Institute will run June 15-August 6, 1998. Quichua, or Runa Shimi as its speakers call it, is the northern or Ecuadorian dialect of Quechua. Quechua is the most widely spoken Native American tongue, with speakers estimated at 11 million residing in five countries. The Institute will offer a limited number of FLAS fellowships to highly qualified applicants. Graduate students and persons whose professional development requires Andean expertise

are encouraged to apply. The instructors will be Drs. Carmen Chuquín, a native speaker of Imbabura Quichua, and Frank Salomon, of the Anthropology Department. Instruction will be based on materials developed at UW-Madison. Please request applications by faxing, e-mailing, or writing to Frank Salomon, 5240 Social Sciences, 1180 Observatory Drive, Madison, WI 53706-1393. Fax: 608-265-4216. E-mail: [fsalomon@facstaff.wisc.edu](mailto:fsalomon@facstaff.wisc.edu). The application has two parts: admission and fellowship. The deadline for applications for admission is *April 1, 1998* and notifications will be sent by late April. The deadline for fellowship applications is *February 16, 1998*. Application forms can be sent by fax within the U.S. ■



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The eleventh **Berkshire Conference on the History of Women**, "Breaking Boundaries," will be held on June 4-6, 1999 at the University of Rochester, New York, USA. The Program Committee welcomes proposals that transcend regional, disciplinary, and cultural boundaries; that break traditional boundaries of academic presentation and explore innovative ways of presenting material and involving the audience. The Committee also seeks proposals that discuss pedagogy, public history, collaborative research, and feminist activism. The Committee encourages international participation and panels that represent a diversity of participants. We prefer proposals for complete panels (normally two papers, one commentator, and a chair) or roundtables, especially those with cross-national and comparative themes. Individual papers will also be considered. The Program Committee may rearrange panels; submission of a proposal will be taken as agreement with this proviso. No one may appear more than once on the program in any capacity. Please submit proposals, in triplicate, postmarked by *January 31, 1998*, in a single packet marked "ATTN: Berkshire Conference" to the appropriate co-chair. Each proposal must include: 1) panel title or roundtable theme; 2) title and one-page abstract of each paper or presentation; 3) name and address of contact person; 4) one-page vita for each participant, including current address, telephone number, fax number, and e-mail address; 5) a self-addressed, stamped postcard for return upon receipt of packet. 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. For more information see our website at [www-berks.aas.duke.edu](http://www-berks.aas.duke.edu).

The V **Latin American Congress of History of Science and Technology**, "Gender, Science and Technology in Latin American History," will be held in Rio de Janeiro, July 28-31, 1998. Contact Silvia Figueroa, IG/Unicamp, C.P. 6152, Campinas-SP 13081-970, Brazil, for more information. E-mail: [velahct@ige.unicamp.br](mailto:velahct@ige.unicamp.br).

**World History Association of Texas  
Spring Conference  
3-4 April 1998  
Texas Lutheran University  
Seguin, Texas**

The World History Association of Texas will hold its spring meeting April 3-4, 1998, at Texas Lutheran University in Seguin, Texas.

The Organizing Committee invites proposals to: 1) present a paper, or 2) organize a teaching workshop. All topics invited, including proposals dealing with historical issues or developments from another disciplinary perspective, e.g. geography, sociology, art, or literature.

For further information or to submit proposals:

Dr. Richard Milk  
Department of History and Geography  
Texas Lutheran University  
1000 W. Court St.  
Seguin, TX 78155  
E-mail: [milk\\_r@txlutheran.edu](mailto:milk_r@txlutheran.edu)

**Preference given to proposals  
received as close to October 31<sup>st</sup> as possible.**



## CALL FOR PAPERS

National Association of Hispanic and Latino Studies  
National Conference  
February 10-14, 1998 Houston, Texas

Abstracts, not to exceed two pages, should be submitted which relate to any aspect of the Hispanic and Latino experience. Subjects may include, but are not limited to literature, demographics, history, politics, economics, education, health care, and many other subjects. Please indicate the time required for presentation of your paper (25 minutes/45 minutes).

Abstracts must be postmarked by: December 5, 1997

SEND ABSTRACTS TO:

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Dr. Lemuel Berry, Jr.  
Executive Director, NAHLS  
Morehead State University  
212 Rader Hall  
Morehead, KY 40351-1689

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Telephone: 606-783-2650 Fax: 606-783-5046

La XVIII Asamblea General de CLACSO, "Balance y perspectivas de las ciencias sociales en América Latina y el Caribe" y la conmemoración de los treinta años de fundación de CLACSO se llevará a cabo el 24 al 26 de noviembre de 1997 en Buenos Aires, Argentina. Bajo el mismo tema, el seminario internacional y conmemoración de los cuarenta años de FLACSO y los treinta de CLACSO, con el auspicio de UNESCO tendrá lugar el 27 y 28 de noviembre. Para informes e inscripciones, ponerse en contacto con el Secretario Ejecutivo de CLACSO, Callao 875, 3ro-E, 1023 Buenos Aires, Argentina. Tels: 541-811-6588 o 814-2301. Fax: 541-812-8459. E-mail: [aniverso@clacso.edu.ar](mailto:aniverso@clacso.edu.ar). Web: <http://www.webcom.com/clacso>.

The Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies (PCCLAS) Regional Conference will take place at California State University, Fullerton, on February 12-14, 1998. Accommodations are available at the campus Marriott Hotel. The theme for the conference is "From the Macro to the Micro: Latin American Studies in a Global and Local Context." Panel proposals and proposals for papers are due November 1, 1997 or soon after. Please send materials or direct inquiries to the PCCLAS Secretariat, Latin American Studies Program, H&SS Dean's Office, California State University/Fullerton, Fullerton, California 92634-9480. Tel: 714-278-3526. Fax: 714-278-5898. E-mail: [dscastro@fullerton.edu](mailto:dscastro@fullerton.edu).

The conference **Ethics and the Culture of Development: Building a Sustainable Economy—A Dialogue Among Theoreticians and Practitioners of the Sustainable Economy** will be held in Havana, Cuba, May 31-June 5, 1998. Important theoreticians, practitioners, and examples of the sustainable economy from around the world as well as leaders from business, finance, government, non-governmental organizations, and popular movements concerned with sustainable development will be featured. The official languages of the Conference will be English and Spanish. Due to limited spaces, early registration is strongly recommended in order to ensure participation. Given the restrictions imposed by the U.S. embargo of Cuba, American Friends Service Committee will arrange for the necessary licenses for travel of U.S. participants. U.S. citizens and permanent residents can also register through the Sustainable Economy conference website, noted below. The registration deadline for U.S. citizens and permanent residents is *February 15, 1998*. Citizens of all other countries who wish to participate may register for the conference through Sol y Son travel. A list of locations for travel agencies is available on the conference website or contact the American Friends Service Committee or Centro Félix Varela. To facilitate discussion, the conference will be organized around four main themes: 1) Building a Sustainable Economy: The Role of Enterprises and the Market; 2) Ethics and Sustainable Development: The Role of Science and Technology; 3) Education and Culture for a Sustainable Civilization; and

4) Social Movements, Government Initiatives and the Right to Sustainable Development. For additional information, please contact one of the following: American Friends Service Committee, Latin America and Caribbean Programs, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. Tel: 215-241-7159. Fax: 215-241-7026. E-mail: [idlac@afsc.org](mailto:idlac@afsc.org) or Centro Félix Varela, Calle 5ta, esq. 10, No. 720, Vedado, Apdo. Postal 4041, La Habana, Cuba. Tel: 537-33-7731. Fax: 537-33-7732. E-mail: [cfv@ceniai.cu](mailto:cfv@ceniai.cu). Please visit the Sustainable Economy Conference website, featuring an extensive resource packet as well as registration materials online: <http://www.afsc.org/cubahome.htm>.

The **Third Latin American Popular Culture Congress and Congress of the Americas** will take place on the campus of the University of the Americas at Cholula, Mexico, from Wednesday, March 18 through Saturday, March 21, 1998. Panels and papers are accepted on any popular or American cultural topic. Details of past congresses and of the general history of the congress as it has been developing are available from <http://info.pue.udlap.mx/udla/congresos/congress/>. General arrangements are handled by Dr. Paul Rich, Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, one of the co-sponsors. He can be reached at [rich@hoover.stanford.edu](mailto:rich@hoover.stanford.edu). Papers should be suggested to Ray Browne—who will work up the program with Dr. Rich. If you have a presentation in mind or have questions about the Mexico meeting, please contact him at the following address: Ray B. Browne, Popular Culture Center, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, OH 43403. Tel: 419-372-7861. Fax: 419-372-8095. E-mail: [rbrowne@bgnet.bgsu.edu](mailto:rbrowne@bgnet.bgsu.edu). Details are also available on our website: [h-net.msu.edu/~pcaaca/](http://h-net.msu.edu/~pcaaca/). Click on "Dates to Remember."

The **Princeton University Program in Latin American Studies** and the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures will hold a conference entitled "1898: War, Literature and the Question of Pan-Americanism" from March 27-29, 1998. The purpose of the Princeton conference is to study the literary and intellectual implications of the Spanish-Cuban-American War for cultural and literary practices in Spain, the United States,

the Philippines, and Latin America. In Latin America, the question of Pan-Americanism as a new political identity—and as an attempt to remap cultural boundaries—became a central issue at the end of the century. The Colloquium is intended to stimulate new inquiry on the questions of culture and imperialism. Since scholars throughout the hemisphere are in the process of studying the meanings of regional integration and transnational migration, the 1998 centennial marks an especially favorable occasion to come to a new understanding of the issues, authors and texts involved. Several highly regarded historians are confirmed as participants. All sessions are free and open to the public. Conference organizers include Arcadio Díaz-Quifones, Paul Kramer, Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel (Princeton) and Julio Ramos (Berkeley). For more information, you can e-mail to [plas@pucc.princeton.edu](mailto:plas@pucc.princeton.edu) or fax at 609-258-0113.

The **University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee** will convene a conference entitled "The 1898 Spanish-American War and Twentieth Century Hispanic and American Cultures," September 17-19, 1998. The conference organizers have as a purpose to examine the momentous effects on Spain, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the United States of the 1898 war, as a result of which Spain lost its last colonies and the United States became a world power. The effects of the war may be examined from a variety of perspectives, including the historical, literary, artistic, sociological, economic and the political. Keynote speakers include José Luis Abellán (Spain; Universidad Complutense); Arcadio Díaz Quifones (Puerto Rico; Princeton University) and Manuel Moreno Fraginals (Cuba; Florida International University). The conference has several sponsors. If interested in participating in the conference as a presenter, please send a one-page abstract, in English or in Spanish, by *February 15, 1998*, to 1898 Conference, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee WI 53201, or by email to [jrluis@csd.uwm.edu](mailto:jrluis@csd.uwm.edu). Prospective presenters will be contacted by the Organizing Committee by March 15, 1998. If interested in attending the conference, write after March 1, 1998 to the address above for information. ■

### Attention LASA Members:

For questions regarding delivery of the *Latin American Research Review*, including missed or delayed issues, please contact Nita Daly, Subscription Manager, LARR, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone: (505) 277-7043.

Questions regarding delivery of the *Journal of Latin American Studies* should be directed to Joseph Hranek, Journals Fulfillment Manager, Cambridge University Press, 110 Midland Ave., Post Chester, NY 10573-4930.

To inquire about delivery of the *Bulletin of Latin American Research* please contact Carol Bagnall, Circulation Manager, Journal Circulation Dept., Elsevier Science Ltd., The Blvd. Langford Lane, Kidlington Oxford OX5 1GB, ENGLAND.

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

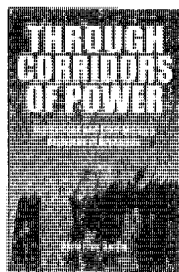
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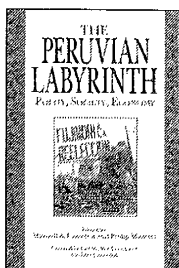
## The Peruvian Labyrinth *Polity, Society, Economy*

EDITED BY MAXWELL A. CAMERON AND PHILIP MAUCERI

WITH A FOREWORD BY CYNTHIA MCCLINTOCK AND ABRAHAM LOWENTHAL

*The Peruvian Labyrinth* brings together a new generation of scholars to explore the multifaceted Peruvian "experiment" as it has evolved further, in often dramatic ways, in the 1980s and 1990s. Contributors are Carmen Rosa Balbi, Maxwell A. Cameron, Carlos Ivan Degregori, Francisco Durand, Christine Hunefeldt, Philip Mauceri, Kenneth Roberts and Mark Peceny, and Carol Wise.

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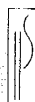
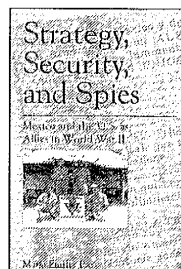
## Strategy, Security, and Spies

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MARÍA EMILIA PAZ

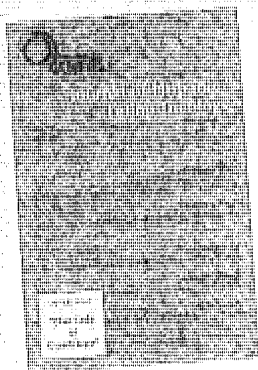
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## GENERAL

The Modern Language Association has published a list of annual prizes with competitions in 1998 for books published in 1997. The following are MLA prizes which may be of interest to LASA members (MLA membership not required):

1) **MLA Prize for Independent Scholars.** *Deadline: May 1, 1998.* For a scholarly book in the field of English or other modern languages and literatures. Books published in 1997 are eligible. At the time of publication of the book, author must not be enrolled in a program leading to an academic degree or hold a tenured, tenure-accruing, or tenure-track position in postsecondary education. Authors or publishers must request an application form from the MLA. Authors need not be members of the MLA. Return completed application with six copies of the book.

2) **Katherine Singer Kovacs Prize.** *Deadline: May 1, 1998.* For an outstanding book published in English in the field of Latin American and Spanish literatures and cultures. Competing books should be broadly interpretive works that enhance understanding of the interrelations among literature, the other arts, and society. Books published in 1997 are eligible; authors need not be members of the MLA. Six copies of the book must be sent.

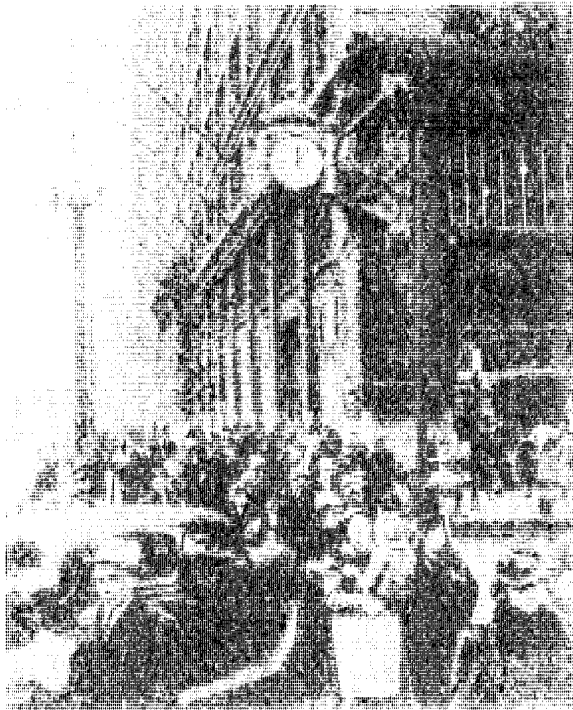
3) **Kenneth W. Mildener Prize.** *Deadline: May 1, 1998.* For a research publication (book or article) in the field of

teaching foreign languages or literatures. Books published in 1997 are eligible; authors need not be members of the MLA. Four copies should be sent.

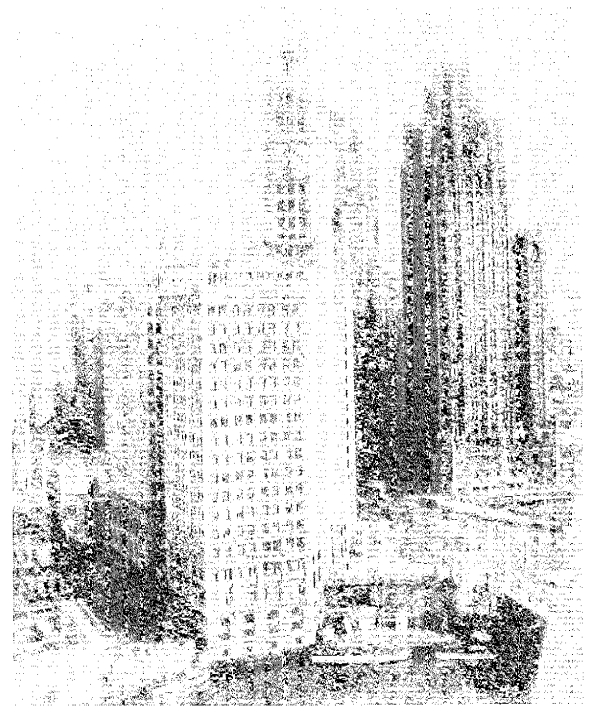
4) **Aldo and Jeanne Scaglione Prize for a Translation of a Literary Work.** *Deadline: April 1, 1998.* For an outstanding translation into English of a book-length literary work. Books published in 1996 or 1997 are eligible; translators need not be members of the MLA. Five copies required. *Note:* As of 1999 the Lois Roth Award for a Translation of a Literary Work will be given each odd-numbered year, complementing this prize. Definitions and criteria will be the same for both awards.

5) **MLA Prize for a Distinguished Bibliography.** *Deadline: May 1, 1998.* For an enumerative or descriptive bibliography published in print or electronic format. Bibliographies published from 1993 through 1997 are eligible for the initial award; editors or compilers need not be members of the MLA. Four copies must be sent.

As of 1998, the cash awards for all MLA book prizes are \$1,000 each. For detailed information about specific prizes, write or call the Office of Special Projects, MLA, 10 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003-6981. Tel: 212-614-6406. Fax: 212-533-0680 or 212-477-9863. E-mail: [awards@mla.org](mailto:awards@mla.org).



*Marshall Field & Company Store, 1930s.  
(Chicago Historical Society)*



*Wrigley Building, 1959.  
(Chicago Historical Society)*



# 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 1998        Renewal        New Application

*Dues are for the 1998 calendar year: January 1—December 31.*

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 Institutional affiliation \_\_\_\_\_  
 Countries of Interest: Country #1 \_\_\_\_\_ Country of interest #2 \_\_\_\_\_  
 For statistical purposes only: Date of Birth (m/d/y): \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_

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Under \$20,000	\$30 _____		Under \$20,000
\$20,000 to \$29,999	\$38 _____	\$25 _____	\$20 _____
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\$50,000 to \$64,999	\$66 _____		
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TOTAL SECTION DUES

*See note about Sections on other side.*

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Contributions to the LASA Congress Travel Fund provide travel assistance to L.A. scholars specifically for the next congress. For tax purposes, gifts to any of the three funds may be fully deducted as a contribution to a non-profit organization.

**A Note about Sections**

In May, 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 – went into effect. The Sections listed on the front of the form were approved by the LASA Executive Council on or before August 31, 1997. Sections approved after this date will be added to the 1999 membership form. New Sections for 1999 may be proposed by submitting a statement of purpose, a brief statement, (approx. 50 words) for the *LASA Forum*, and the names of at least 25 founding Section members. LASA members may join as many Sections as they choose, by indicating their choice on the membership form and including the \$8 fee per Section.

Student members, members with low incomes and members residing permanently in Latin America and the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico) may be entitled to a \$5 rebate of the Section dues. Life members may be entitled to a \$3 rebate. These rebates are at the discretion of the leadership of each Section. The LASA Secretariat will act on the instructions of authorized representatives of the Sections, and rebate accordingly. *Meanwhile, every member, regardless of category, must include with this form a payment of \$8 for every Section chosen.*

LASA Task Forces, unlike Sections, are appointed to fulfill specific tasks. Currently there are two, Human Rights and Academic Freedom and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force. (For information on the Task Forces or any of the Sections please contact the LASA membership office at 412-648-1907.)





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FAX: (412) 624-7145 INTERNET: LASA+@PITT.EDU

INSTITUTIONAL MEMBERSHIP for Calendar Year 1998  Renewal  New Application  
*Dues are for the 1998 calendar year: January 1–December 31.*

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