

# LASA FORUM

## Latin American Studies Association

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# LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

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# Richard N. Adams

## Recipient of Silvert Award for 1998

Richard Newbold Adams, noted anthropologist, is the 1998 recipient of the LASA Kalman Silvert Award. LASA Past President Jane Jaquette, 1998 chair of the Silvert Award Selection Committee, will present the award at the XXI International Congress in Chicago. Professor Adams will also participate in the Kalman Silvert Award Panel.

*Human Society as the Self Organization of Energy Processes* (1988). There were also co-edited volumes on *Human Organization Research* (with Jack J. Preiss, 1960), *Contemporary Cultures and Societies in Latin America* (with Dwight Heath, 1965), and *The Anthropology of Power* (with Raymond Fogelson, 1977). He produced a pride of papers, mostly on Latin America.

Professor Adams was born in 1924 in Ann Arbor, Michigan. After a stint in the U.S. Navy he took his B.A. at the University of Michigan (1947) and Ph.D. at Yale University (1951). His work in Latin America began with a year of research in the Mantaro Valley of Peru, and continued with the Smithsonian Institution's Institute of Social Anthropology in 1950 in Guatemala. From 1950 until 1956 he did research and applied anthropology with the Instituto Indigenista Nacional, the Instituto de Nutrición de Centroamérica y Panamá and the Pan American Sanitary Bureau, and completed cultural surveys of five Central American countries. He pursued an academic career from 1956 until 1962 at Michigan State University, and then at the University of Texas at Austin where he chaired the Department of Anthropology and on various occasions administered the Institute of Latin American Studies.



1998 Kalman Silvert Award winner Richard N. Adams

As the Rapaport Centennial Professor of Liberal Arts Emeritus, he fled academics in 1991 and found refuge with the Patzitsotz History Company, near Panajachel, Guatemala, where he is currently CEO, director of research, and custodian.

Adams burst on the literary community with a penetrating volume of poetry, *The Homemade Poems* (London, 1934). However, fortunately [he says] for the world of letters he dedicated himself to academia, dividing his time between Latin America (mainly in Central America and Guatemala) and more generally theoretical explorations. The former yielded *Un análisis de las creencias y prácticas médicas* (1951), *Cultural Surveys of Panama-Nicaragua-Guatemala-El Salvador-Honduras* (1957), *A Community in the Andes* (1959), *United States University Cooperation in Latin America* (co-authored with Charles Cumberland, 1960), *Una introducción a la antropología aplicada* (1964), *Second Sowing: Power and Secondary Development in Latin America* (1967), *Crucifixion by Power* (1970), and *Etnia en evolución social: estudios de Guatemala y Centroamérica* (1996). Of a theoretical nature were *Energy and Structure* (1975), *La red de la expansión humana* (1978), *Paradoxical Harvest: Energy and Explanation in British History 1870-1914* (1982), and *The Eighth Day:*

His learning about Latin America was immeasurably enriched by his long and entertaining association with Betty Hannstein of Guatemala, and through visiting appointments in various countries. These included Mexico (CISINAH, Universidad Iberoamericana, Universidad Metropolitana-Ixtapalapa, UNAM, and El Colegio de Michoacán), Brazil (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro and Universidade de São Paulo), Argentina (Instituto Torcuato Di Tella, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Universidad de Jujuy, and Universidad de Misiones), and in Guatemala (Universidad de San Carlos). He was at the Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto, the Research School for Social Sciences at the National University of Australia, Canberra, and had fellowships from the Social Science Research Council, Guggenheim Foundation, and the Fulbright Commission. He is a corresponding member of the Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala.

As one of the cofounders of LASA, he served as its second president. He has been president of the American Anthropological Association (1976-77), the Society for Applied Anthropology (1962-63) and vice-president of Section "H" (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1972 and 1973). He has acted as a consultant to various national and international organizations, including the Peace Corps, Ford Foundation, the World Bank, the Nicaraguan Institute for Agrarian Reform, United States Agency for International Development and its predecessors, and the U.N.

Richard Adams has long cherished his friendship with Kal Silvert, an association that dated from the early 1950s which included their work with the Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, the founding of LASA, and the years of collaboration in Silvert's work with the Ford Foundation in Latin America.

Serving on the 1998 Silvert Award selection committee with Professor Jaquette were LASA Past Presidents Cynthia McClintock and Carmen Diana Deere. Gilbert Merckx, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*, serves as a permanent member of the committee. ■

# President's Report

by Susan Eckstein

Boston University

GOOD NEWS! I am delighted to announce a new generous grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for technological developments to increase LASA's services. See Mark Rosenberg's LASA & the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force Column on page 26 for details.

## SOME REMINDERS ABOUT THE LASA FORUM

1. Please look for, and contribute to, the new "Personal and Professional Notes" section of the *Forum* which includes:

- Announcements of Newly Published Books by LASA Members
- Announcements of Recently Received Awards by LASA Members
- Personal Notes (e.g. employment changes)
- Obituaries (if you are interested in writing an obituary please confirm with the Secretariat to be certain that it has not already been commissioned)

This edition is very light on personal news, so help us to build up this section in upcoming *Forums*.

2. **New Substantive Columns:** There also will regularly be a **Human Rights and Academic Freedom Task Force** column featuring current topical issues, occasional columns by the **LASA and the 21st Century Task Force**, and a new section, **Focus**, that will address topical issues from time to time. If you have suggestions for issues that you would like the Task Forces to address, or for Focus, please pass them along.

## A LOOK AT LASA

LASA was founded in 1966, a little over 30 years ago. Recently, some past presidents reflected on LASA's evolution over the years and how its composition and organization have changed. The Founding Fathers of the Association—and they were all men—would hardly recognize the LASA of today. I'd like to highlight some elements of that evolution.

### Membership

LASA has grown enormously in size, and in the process its discipline, gender, ethnic, and country social bases have changed dramatically. In numbers, the Association has grown 57-fold in a generation: from 75 in 1966 to over 4,300 in 1997. This growth is especially impressive since academic jobs have dwindled over this period and there has been a drop-off in the number of people pursuing Ph.Ds and scholarly careers in Latin American studies.

As LASA has grown, its discipline base has broadened. Before the 1970s, membership drew mainly from the social sciences. Humanities scholars began to turn to LASA in the 1970s, when Spanish and Portuguese departments came to include a new

generation of academics interested in the works by Latin American authors associated with "el boom." The literature/language component now takes its place alongside political science, history, and sociology.

Meanwhile, the Association has been feminized. Men and women now are roughly equally represented in the Association, a far cry from the situation in 1966.

And the Association has been internationalized. While it initially was U.S.-centric, currently 29 percent of LASA members reside outside the continental United States. Countries with the highest representation are Mexico, Brazil, and Argentina, along with Japan. While data on race and ethnicity are not available, an increasing portion of the LASA membership is Latino/a.

### LASA Organization

Not only has the Association's social base come to be very broad, the LASA membership is also committed to diversity. In recent years the LASA membership has elected to the Executive Council at least one Latin American resident, woman, Latino/a, junior and senior scholar, and a scholar from both the humanities and the social sciences. Similarly, presidents have been elected who represent the Association's diverse membership base. The last four presidents have been women. Lars Schoultz once commented to me jokingly that he "may go down in LASA history as the last male president." Not only will the next President, Franklin Knight, deprive him of that place in LASA history, but Franklin will happily break new ground. He will be the first person of color to hold the post.

### Developing LASA's Resources With External Help: The LASA Support Committee and the LASA Investment Committee

In 1995 an Ad Hoc Committee was created to name the LASA Support Committee. As indicated in its mission statement, the purpose of the Support Committee is to "provide counsel to the LASA President and the Executive Council on ways to expand Association membership, strengthen its financial base, and enrich its outreach and exchange programs." Committee members, volunteers from outside academia and well-known in their own professional communities, are fully committed to the goal of enhancing scholarly progress and communication on Latin America. Current Committee members include William Luers, President, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Christopher Lutz, The Plumsock Family Fund; Arturo Porzecanski, Managing Director and Chief Economist, ING Barings; William D. Rogers, Arnold and Porter; Richard Sinkin, Managing Director, InterAmerican Holdings Co.; and Richard Weinert, President, Leslie, Weinert and Co., Inc. The first meeting of the Committee took place on October 20, 1997; members discussed opportunities

to make knowledge more accessible to the business community and, in turn, to garner support from the business community for LASA's mission of promoting education and research with respect to Latin America.

LASA's newly-formed Investment Committee advises the Association on financial matters in general and on endowment investment policies in particular. The Committee includes, in addition to the LASA President, the LASA Treasurer; the Executive Director; Richard Weinert of Leslie, Weinert and Company; Peter Cleaves of the University of Texas at Austin; and Thomas Trebat of Citicorp.

### *LARR*

The *Latin American Research Review (LARR)*, the Association's flagship journal, has changed as LASA itself has. The 26-person editorial board of the journal now represents roughly equally the humanities and the social sciences, and the themes of the articles published in the journal represent more or less equally the two sets of disciplines. And LARR, like the Association itself, has shed its initial U.S.-centric parochialism:

- The number of submissions and published articles by Latin American and Latino/a scholars has grown steadily over the years. Whereas in 1976, for example, only 16 percent of submissions came from outside the U.S., twenty years later some 28 percent came from abroad and 39 percent of all submissions were by Latin American or Latino/a authors (or co-authors).
- Authors now may publish in Spanish, Portuguese, or English; the choice is theirs.
- The number of Latin American and Latino/a scholars on the editorial board has increased substantially over the years. They now comprise the majority.

*LARR*, which originally served a U.S. audience, has come to have a large international circulation. Thirty-six percent of the 5,550 *LARR* subscribers are outside the U.S. Half of the foreign subscribers are in Latin America.

### **International Congresses**

As the membership has grown, so too has the size of LASA's meetings. Since the early 1980s Congresses have doubled in size. The number of registered attendees at the 1995 Washington, D.C. Congress, the most recent in the U.S., was 3,500. In Guadalajara, Mexico, in 1997, there were 3,300 registered participants.

LASA Congresses, initially confined almost exclusively to North Americans, now genuinely belong to the Americas. Whereas few Latin Americans, especially at the junior level, made presentations at LASA meetings during the first decade or

two of the Association's existence, most panels in the 1990s include at least one presenter from Latin America or the Caribbean. At the latest meeting, in Mexico, one-third of all presenters were non-U.S. residents.

We have no data on the number of Latino/a participants. However, their numbers have unquestionably multiplied in recent years as well, encouraged by:

the inclusion of a special series of panels on Latino/a and transborder issues;  
the existence of a Latino/a Task Force (now a Section); and  
Latino/a presence on all major committees of the Association, including the Executive Council.

As LASA transformed itself into an Association of and about the Americas it also became more committed to holding meetings south of the Rio Grande. Thus far LASA has held two conferences in Mexico, and it would have had one in Puerto Rico had Hurricane Hugo not swept the island just as the meeting was about to convene. We expect to continue to have meetings in Latin America, although the greater cost of such meetings, the problems of having book exhibits outside the U.S. (especially outside of NAFTA), and the few Latin American cities that can accommodate LASA at its current size, limit the possibilities.



*LASA President Susan Eckstein*

As Congresses have grown larger in size they have also become substantively more diverse. Over the years new fields have been targeted to promote new research and new intellectual exchange. Not too far in the past this was true of gender, cultural, and Latino/a studies; now it is true of environmental, legal, and transborder studies. Sessions are fairly evenly split between the humanities and social sciences, in line with the membership.

Meanwhile, Congress activity continues to be innovative. We have added cultural events, ranging from film showings to readings by distinguished Latin American authors. And, beginning with the Chicago Congress, we will institute a new distinguished lectureship, thanks to the generous support of Oxfam America. The LASA/Oxfam-America Martin Diskin Memorial Lecture, chosen by a special selection committee, will honor an individual at each Congress who combines Latin America-related activism with scholarship.

### **LASA Moves Into Cyberspace**

LASA is making efforts to take full advantage of new-age technology. Several new initiatives have occurred.

- Congress papers have begun to be digitized. More than 350 papers presented at the Mexico meeting have been put on the Internet, and we expect to increase the number in the years to come.

- LASA now has its own website, which it is still in the process of developing.
- At LASA97, LASA offered an institutional workshop in which scholarly centers in the region described their on-line resources, and it sponsored web-use training sessions. Both will be offered again at LASA98 in Chicago.

A special entity, **The Task Force on LASA and the 21st Century**, has been established to address the types of services the Association might provide in light of new age technology. If you have any suggestions, please let them be known to Mark Rosenberg ([rosenber@fiu.edu](mailto:rosenber@fiu.edu)), the very able and energetic Chair of the committee.

### Sections

The most recent change in LASA is the introduction of Sections. Twenty proposed groups fulfilled the requirements to appear on the 1998 dues renewal form. Three new Sections have recently been approved by the EC and will begin their activities in 1999. Any 25 or more members of LASA may form a Section around a shared country, topical, or other interest. Sections have the right to organize sessions at the LASA Congresses, hold business meetings and receptions, award scholarship in their area of expertise, and produce their own electronic newsletters. Quite possibly, in the years to come they will also generate their own research projects. Membership is open to all invested members, and dues are low. Current Sections include Brazil in Comparative Perspective; Business and Politics; Central America; Colombia; Cuba; Culture, Power and Politics; Europe and Latin America; Gender and feminist Studies; Haiti; Higher Education; Labor Studies; LAMA-LatinoAmerica-MedioAmbiente; Latino Studies; Law and Society in Latin America; Lesbian and gay Studies; Paraguayan Studies; Political Institutions; Scholarly Research and Resources; Social Studies of Medicine; and Venezuelan Studies. The largest Sections at this moment are Gender and Feminist Studies; Culture, Power and Politics; Brazil in Comparative Perspective and Central America.

Members interested in forming other Sections are free to do so. They should obtain a copy of the *Manual on Sections* and consult with Sandy Klinzing, Assistant Director for Institutional Advancement (412-648-1907).

The Sections are democratic in structure and spirit. Section members elect their own officers and decide on their own activities. Sections should provide a new outlet for the intellectual interests, the leadership capabilities, and the creative energies of the LASA membership.

Sections should provide an excellent means for LASA members worldwide to remain in contact with each other in the interim between Congresses. They also should provide a basis for persons with specific Latin American interests to meet with one another at the Congresses and share information of mutual interest.

### LASA's Fiscal Health

The fiscal health of the Association has much improved over the years. Writing in 1982, as President of LASA, Jorge Dominguez noted that the Association faced a potential financial crisis. At the time LASA did not have a real budget. LASA has since developed a detailed budgeting process, and while the Association still depends on outside sources of funding for some of its activities, it is becoming less dependent as time goes on. Under the direction of the LASA Development Committee the Association has accumulated an Endowment Fund of over \$500,000. Several new initiatives are geared at expanding LASA's endowment base, to guarantee Latin American travel to future Congresses and, ideally, to secure sufficient funding for some transnational projects.

### Conclusion

These demographic and organizational changes reflect and have affected the transformation of LASA as "we knew it." LASA hopefully will continue to grow and diversify its membership and range of activities as we move into the 21st century. The membership has made the Association what it is today. Its energies will no doubt move LASA in yet new directions in the years to come.



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.

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## Chicago! Chicago!

### A Note from the LASA98 Program Committee

by Timothy Wickham-Crowley, Chair  
Georgetown University  
lasa98@gunet.georgetown.edu

Like the nuptials of the royals in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, our LASA98 Congress "draws on apace," and the final version of the program is almost in place. This is indeed going to be the largest LASA Congress yet, with well over 500 different scholarly sessions alone (the vast majority with 6 or 5 presenters), and with 40+ events running concurrently, including many other meetings, receptions, and gatherings. Over 4,200 acceptance letters went out to those who made proposals for LASA98, including section and meeting organizers, sponsors, chairs, and discussants, along with the panels' and workshops' main presenters, all playing different roles in this gathering of the LASA faithful.

And you, those faithful LASA-ites, have indeed made the program "happen." As I wrote in an earlier column, the quality of LASA98 largely depends on your submissions, and you rose collectively to the occasion with an enormous outpouring of scholarly effort directed to the 20 different topical tracks into which the conference is organized. You also managed to produce, for the first time, abstracts (not just titles) of your presentations within the pre-formed sessions, almost a year in advance of the Congress itself, which greatly enhanced our ability to make informed decisions.

At that point the 30+ members of the Program Committee took on their tasks, and my debt to them is enormous and surely uncollectible. I chose the committee members with the help of LASA President Susan Eckstein and others, and all involved came on board with the understanding that we were to choose and create panels on the basis of quality, with an eye to creating a diverse cornucopia of worthy voices and views, and to leave our political and personal issues at the door while doing LASA98's crucial work. I cannot think of a more democratic way to undertake this necessarily selective process, and am deeply convinced of the professionalism with which the whole procedure was carried out. Further enhancing the attempt to be "fair" about the whole selection process, I was very tolerant of missed deadlines—many, many of you out there know just how tolerant—often at the expense of our later, frantic efforts to catch up.

We on the program committee had an exceptionally large number of individual submissions this year, and were able to add many of them to pre-formed session proposals to fill those sessions out to our 6-presenter target-quota, and took many other such individuals and grouped them into thematically sensible

new panels. The program committee did an exceptionally good and efficient job on this in a painfully short period of time, occasionally having to make painful choices as well, as the quite low percentage of applicants who received rejection letters should know. Should you see any of the members at the congress, please thank them personally for their enormous efforts, just as you have often thanked me, but in my case perhaps simply because I see so many (!) of your e-mail communications, whereas they do not.

The result of their efforts is a wonderfully diverse array of session themes and paper topics, which is what I sought when I took on this role. Despite being a sociologist, I did not wish to "sociologize" LASA98 in any pointed way, and it certainly didn't happen that way. As I read through the details of the program, I think at least I have achieved the goal of diverse yet worthy voices, and am now strengthened in the sentiment that "nothing LASA to me is alien."

You of course will be receiving the full program when it is mailed out in mid-August. There you will find the final and complete version, including any minor changes to the Preliminary Program (published in the Spring issue of the *LASA Forum*), as well as times for meetings, receptions, and a good number of feature panels. Until then, you can keep watching the cyber-skies for any important congress information by checking out the LASA and LASA98 web pages. LASA's own web page is found at: <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/> while the LASA98 web-page is at: <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/lasa98.htm>.

See you in Chicago!

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**Changes to the Spring *LASA Forum* preliminary schedule are as follows:**

In the Program Features, it was noted that a special session entitled "New Approaches to Area Studies" was co-sponsored by the Mellon Foundation. This information was misprinted.

Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas has declined our invitation to deliver a plenary address. New presidential and featured panels include: "Latin America and the Media"; "The New Role of the Private Sector in Latin American Development" and "The Human Rights Crisis in Latin America."

The session originally given the code DEM31 will be seen in the Congress Program as SEC26, "Maternidad política y democratización." It will still meet on Saturday at 10:15AM.

ENV27 has been broken into two sessions, ENV27 and ENV28, "Industry and Environment: Case Studies from Mexico, Brazil and Argentina" (PARTS I and II).

GEN11 will be listed in the Program as SEC25, "Construcción de influencia entre las mujeres en distintos regímenes políticos y estados nacionales." It will still meet on Thursday at 8AM.

The session originally listed as LAB05 was deleted because it was listed twice. It will remain in the Program as SEC13, "International Labor Standards and Hemispheric Integration." This session meets on Friday at 2:45PM.

Session LIT77 has been canceled due to a critical withdrawal.

The times and rooms for featured sessions (FEA), for various meetings, including necessary business meetings (MTG), and for receptions (REC) will appear in the official program mailed in mid-August and will also appear earlier than that on the LASA98 web-page.

**The following sessions have been moved from their preliminary time-slots:**

DEM28 is moved to THU 10:15 AM  
DEM45 is moved to SAT 10:15 AM

ECO35 is moved to FRI 12:30 PM  
HIS31 is moved to THU 10:15 AM  
IND14 is moved to THU 12:30 PM  
INT06 is moved to THU 5 PM  
TEC04 is moved to FRI 12:30 PM

The following are new sessions, with their allocated time-slots:

ENV28 (Part II of ENV27) goes into SAT 12:30 PM

GEN34, "Engendering Social Justice in Education," (Plenary of Pre-LASA Conference, Gender and Education in Latin America), goes into THU 10:15 AM

LIT28 is now split into two sessions, LIT28 and LIT78. LIT78 (Part I) goes into FRI 10:15 AM

LIT79, "Literature Today: Roundtable with Latin American Writers and Latino Writers at LASA98," goes into FRI 5 PM.

POL62 (Part I of POL08) goes into THU 12:30 PM

SEC23, "Civic Organizations in Democratic Paraguay," goes into SAT 10:15 AM

TEC07, "Cyber-Session," goes into SAT 10:15 AM (details in final program).

TEC08, "Cuban Publishing in the 1990s" (Workshop) goes into SAT 12:30 PM ■

## SOME NEW DETAILS ON FEATURED PANELS

\* On Friday afternoon at 5 PM, Ariel Dorfman will show and then have a discussion about his film, "My House Is on Fire," and on Saturday afternoon will read from his memoir, *Heading North, Looking South*.

\* In an "Author Meets Critics" panel on Saturday at 12:30 PM, Jorge Castañeda will respond to commentaries on his book, *Compañero: The Life and Death of Che Guevara*, the critiques provided by Carollee Bengelsdorf, John Coatsworth, Jorge Domínguez, Rafael Hernández, Nelson Valdez, and Juan Valdés Paz.

\* On Thursday at 2:45 PM, Albert Fishlow will chair and be discussant at a panel on "The New Role of the Private Sector in Latin America," including presentations by Richard Sinkin (of Inter-American Holdings), Richard Weinert and others.

\* On Saturday at 10:15 AM, Robin Rosenberg will chair and be discussant at another panel she, Fishlow, and LASA President Susan Eckstein organized on "U.S. Policy Toward Free Trade and the Summit of the Americas Process," where the speakers will include Richard Feinberg, Nora Lustig (of the IDB), Mark Schneider (of AID), and discussant Harley Shaiken.

\* Panelists discussing "Latin American Public Policy in the 21st Century" on Friday at 12:30 PM include presider and discussant Albert Fishlow, and Ricardo French-Davis, Luis Carlos Bresser Pereira (of the Brazilian federal government), Gert Rosenthal, and Victor Urquidí (former winner of the Kalman Silvert award).

\* A panel on "Latin America and the Media," to be held on Thursday at 12:30 PM, will have Frank Mantizas of LAC News as presider and discussant, with panelists George de Lama (Chicago Tribune), Juan Enriquez Cabot, Gustavo Gorriti (*La Prensa*, Panama), Andres Oppenheimer (Miami Herald), Henry Raymond, John Nichols, et al.

\* Susan Eckstein has organized another presidential panel on "New Approaches to Area Studies," to be held Thursday at 10:15 AM. It will feature presider Sonia Alvarez and presenters Jeremy Adelman, Richard Eckman (of the Mellon Foundation), Gwen Kirkpatrick, David Lorey (of the Hewlett Foundation), Daniel Mato, and Augusto Varas (of the Ford Foundation/Chile).

Susan Eckstein and Alejandro Portes, President of the American Sociological Association, have developed two special panels, the first jointly sponsored by the ASA. "Rethinking the Sociology of Development," scheduled for Thursday at 12:30 PM, features



Jorge Balán, Manuel Antonio Garretón, Wilfredo Lozano, Orlandina de Oliveira, Edelberto Torres-Rivas, and Alejandro Portes, with Susan Eckstein as discussant. In the second panel, "Latin Americans in the U.S. and the Rise of Transnational Communities," to be held Friday at 12:30 PM, Alejandro Portes will present, and commentaries will follow from Peggy Levitt, Bryan Roberts, Edelberto Torres-Rivas, and presider Douglas Massey.

\* In a presidential session on Thursday at 2:45 PM, organized by Susan Eckstein, Evelyne Huber will preside over papers on "Democratization and Social Justice" delivered by Atilio Borón, Terry Karl, Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, with John Stephens as discussant.

\* From our Literature track chairs come two very special sessions. Sara Castro-Klaren has organized and will chair a panel on "Latin American Studies and the Twin Challenges of Globalization and Post-Modern Theory," with papers by Steven Haber, Ileana Rodríguez, Ricardo Kaliman, John Beverley, Arturo Valenzuela, and Walter Mignolo, and a response by Dipesh Chakrabarty. In addition, she and Veronica Salles-Reese have organized a panel, "The Convergence of History and Fiction," featuring readings or comments by a diverse array of prominent Latin American writers working in colonial topics: Carmen Bullosa, Miguel Gutiérrez, Olga Nolla, Abel Posse, Edgardo Rivera Martínez and perhaps one more writer TBA; a reception will follow. ■

## UT-LANIC to Conduct Internet & Multimedia Training at LASA98

Congress participants at LASA98 in Chicago will have ample opportunity to sharpen and update their electronic networking skills at an Internet Training Center organized and staffed by the University of Texas Latin American Network Information Center (LANIC). Training Center activities seek to harness opportunities provided by the Internet to bolster scholarly communication among the Latinamericanist community, and to enhance teaching through the incorporation of multimedia components into the Latin American studies classroom. The Center will feature 20 Windows-based Multimedia PCs, and the focus of the training sessions will be "hands-on."

All activities will be free of charge. You may pre-register for a session at an Internet Training Center table located near the main Congress registration area, or simply drop by the Center where the remaining slots will be filled on a first-come first-served basis. Course titles will be listed in the official Congress Program. Course descriptions and additional information will be available in the registration area and on the WWW at the address below.

Twelve two-hour training sessions and workshops will be held during the three days of regularly scheduled Congress activities. Nine of the sessions will be conducted primarily in English, and three will be primarily in Spanish. Specific sessions will be offered focusing on the needs of beginning, intermediate, and advanced users. Internet topics will include 'Net-based resources for Latin American studies, Web browsing, e-mail, search strategies, and how to create your own Web page. Several sessions will focus on the incorporation of multimedia into the classroom, including examples of specific applications in Latin American studies as well as tools and courseware.

The Training Center will also provide opportunities for Congress participants to send and receive e-mail. Please consult Training Center staff in the registration area for more details.

We have all seen how Internet and multimedia technologies are reshaping communications, the exchange of ideas, and the production and circulation of knowledge, both globally and in Latin America. LASA and LANIC invite you to take part in the LASA98 Internet Training Center activities so that the field of Latin American studies can enhance its presence on this new landscape.

Up-to-date Training Center information can be consulted on the WWW at <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/lasa98/>, or request additional information from the LASA98 Training Center - LANIC, Institute of Latin American Studies, Sid W. Richardson Hall 1.310, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712. Fax: (512) 471-7714. Tel: (512) 471-7769. E-mail: [lasa98train@lanic.utexas.edu](mailto:lasa98train@lanic.utexas.edu).

# From *CHECAGOU* to CHICAGO

by Fannie Theresa Rushing

University of Illinois/Chicago

fttr@uic.edu

Situated amidst a confluence of glacial lakes, rivers and grassland prairie the native peoples called the region *Checagou* (place where the wild onions grow). The shoreline of Lake Michigan was dotted with the villages of the Potawatomi, Sauk, Fox and Miami. In 1673, as part of the French colonial expansion in the region, Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet surveyed the area. The first non-native settler was Jean Baptiste Point Du Sable, in his own words a free Black from Saint Domingue (Haiti) c. 1782. Successful as a fur trader, he and his Potawatomi wife, called Catherine, and their two children lived at *Checagou* until 1800, when he sold his properties to John Kinzie, also a fur trader. Kinzie and his descendants greatly enlarged the original property and established a trade post and village.

*Checagou* was a key component of the colonial projects of France, England and the United States. The fledgling nation of the United States ultimately won but not without fierce resistance from the native peoples. In order to secure it against Native American resistance, Fort Dearborn was built at the mouth of the Chicago River across from what was then known as the Kinzie house. Destroyed by the Native people in 1812, the fort was rebuilt in 1816 by North Americans. The expulsion of all the remaining Native Americans after the Black Hawk War of 1832 removed the last impediment to North American expansion and settlement in the area.

Although the fur trade initiated the growth of Chicago, by 1833, when first incorporated as a town, cattle slaughtering and meat packing destined it to become the "Hog Butcher of the World." The development of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1836 was the beginning of Chicago's role as a transportation center lane that intensified in the 1850s with the coming of railroads. The large deposits of coal and iron ore also made mining important and formed the basis of the steel industry. The rich, fertile land and Cyrus McCormick's invention of a harvesting machine increased agricultural production and made it the nation's largest producer of grain. The corporation he founded, International Harvester, provided jobs to build and sell the machines.

Cheap, fertile land, and industrial jobs attracted thousands of European immigrants to Chicago, first German, then Irish, Scandinavian and later Polish, Bohemian, Czechoslovakian and Italian. The need for labor to build the railroads from coast to coast made Chicago central to that process and brought the Chinese to Chicago, to be followed by people from every part of the world. By 1860, the city's population was predominantly immigrant. Even though there were stringent Black Codes and Bond Laws to discourage them, the possibility of land work and freedom also attracted African American escaping slaves and former slaves to Chicago. As a result of the hard labor of all these people, the economy grew and prospered. People settled

in those communities next to the industries that first recruited them as laborers. They attempted to replicate the places they left behind, whether it was Europe, Asia or the southern part of the United States, creating distinctive neighborhoods that gave Chicago one of its most distinguishing characteristics as an ethnic city.

A thriving commercial district developed originally along the waterfront where the boats came in. Oliver Newberry and other merchant's wooden stores lined Lake Street. Potter Palmer began in the retail business there, but he had a plan to create a new retail and merchandising center on State Street. By 1861, Marshall Field, Levi Leiter and Potter Palmer formed a partnership and moved into the new stone palace at State Street and Washington that Palmer had just built. Palmer soon afterwards abandoned the retail business in favor of real estate. He built a luxury hotel on State Street, the Palmer House, so ornate the barber shop had silver dollars embedded in the floor. Marshall Fields, as it ultimately became known, was the largest department store in the West. A few blocks away, Sam Carson and John Pirie commissioned the architect Louis Sullivan to build their store on State Street. Later, they would be joined by the mail order houses of Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck and Company. The recently formed Chicago Historical Society already had a collection of more than 100,000 books and other documentation of the Chicago's dynamic change from prairie to city.

The growth and prosperity came to a sharp halt in 1871, the year of the Great Chicago Fire. The myth of Mrs. O Leary's cow starting the fire is more fascinating than fact. Chicago, like many places in the West, was comprised almost entirely of wooden dwellings, many hastily constructed and precariously close to one another. There were as usual many small prairie fires that usually burned out by themselves. However, that year there was a drought and particularly strong winds. The wooden houses, prairie fires and strong winds were a deadly combination. By the time the fire ended several days later, almost 100 people were dead, half the city was homeless and most of the city destroyed. Few buildings survived the fire, among them the water tower about a mile north of the river and the home of W.O. Ogden, Chicago's first mayor, although it would subsequently be demolished to make room for the Newberry Library.

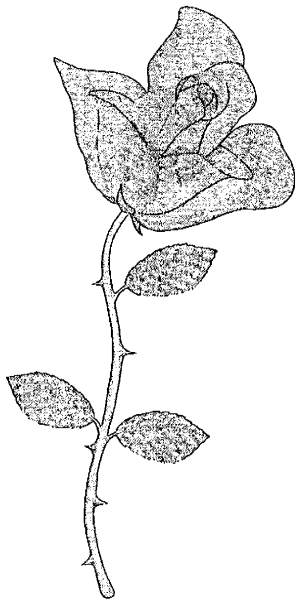
The fire and its destruction gave the merchant and industrial barons an opportunity to rebuild the city. They rebuilt it to illustrate their wealth and power, to glorify their own images and for it to be impregnable against fire. Marshall Field gave the money to build the Field Museum, the land and some of the money for the University of Chicago, and later the Museum of Science and Industry. W. O. Newberry gave his book collection

and money for the Newberry Library. Potter Palmer built a new castle-like mansion north of the river, beginning the development of the "gold coast" as it soon came to be called because of the wealth of those who lived there. However, the rebuilding of the areas beyond the "gold coast" was minimal. Nineteenth century reformers exemplified by Jane Addams were appalled by the poverty and living conditions of the largely immigrant population and believed they could alleviate these conditions by Americanizing and "educating" particularly the children of the immigrants. In order to do that, Jane Addams opened one of the nations first settlement houses in Chicago, Hull House.

In the new rebuilt Chicago, gone were the wooden buildings of the prairie days. In their place arose massive buildings of concrete and stone. William Le Baron Jenny, the architect who began the *Chicago School*, built the world's first skyscraper in 1885. On his staff were both Louis Sullivan and Daniel Burnham. One of Sullivan's most interesting works was the designing of the Auditorium Hotel and adjacent theater. The ornate building contained offices, hotel rooms and a theater designed to be acoustically perfect. Sullivan's most famous pupil was Frank Lloyd Wright, who was beginning to experiment with and create what would become his "prairie style architecture" that would soon be found throughout the city. Burnham was one of the earliest uncontrolled adversaries of growth and urban planning. He along with Frederick L. Olmsted designed an extensive system of parks for the city.

Although many economic workers had to constant fights and for their owners such as who made a railroad cars, city within the better control workers. Often was the ability to strike and this brought fierce reprisals from the owners. In 1886, 58,000 workers were unemployed and many on strike. At McCormick's International Harvester plant, strikers were fired upon killing one and wounding many. The peaceful demonstration called for the next day in the Haymarket District ended when a bomb was thrown by someone, whose identity was never determined, and the police turned the demonstration into a riot creating a legacy that would be honored through the twentieth century of the people attempting to press for social justice and the police overreacting to maintain "law and order."

By 1892, Chicago wanted to show off the new rebuilt city and was able to outbid New York and Washington to host the



World's Columbian Exhibition celebrating 400 years of conquest. Directed by Daniel Burnham, it resulted in an extravaganza of building lavish pavilions of white marble and including for the first time in the United States a giant Ferris wheel. The glitter of the "White City" obscured the economic depression of 1893. Federal troops were called in again to end a strike this time in the stock yards. There was also a massive railway strike called by Eugene V. Debs.

In spite of the almost continuous labor unrest in Chicago, as the nation's leading producer of steel and center of railway transportation there was a constant need for workers. When WWI began and the flow of European immigrants was halted, the discriminatory barriers to employment were lessened and hundreds of thousands of African Americans came to Chicago as part of what has been termed the "great migration." In the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, labor contractors for the steel mills and railroads brought Mexicans to Chicago to work at first in the mills and on the railroads. Chicago became the first city outside the Southwest to have a large Mexican population. This population grew in number at the outbreak of WWII with the signing of the *bracero* agreements with Mexico to provide agricultural and industrial workers to the United States during the war. As the war and labor shortages continued, similar arrangements were made with the colony of Puerto Rico, and the growth of the Puerto Rican communities of Chicago began.

The presence of large communities of Spanish speakers made Chicago an ideal location for those seeking political and economic asylum from the repression, economic terrorism and civil wars of the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century in Latin America. As a result, new communities of Spanish speakers arrived from Guatemala, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Haiti. Now, there are more than nine large Latino groups in Chicago and many smaller ones. According to the 1990 census, the Latino population of Chicago is over 500,000. One consequence of this large multiethnic Latino population has been the development of a tradition of concern and solidarity with issues relating to Latin America .

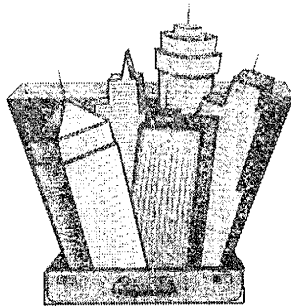
**"URBS EN HORTO" CITY in a GARDEN**  
(Chicago City Motto)

Chicago's magnificent lakefront, used almost exclusively for non-commercial purposes, stretches the length of the city in two directions. The **Palmer House Hilton Hotel** is located two blocks west of the lake on State Street in Chicago's downtown/the Loop, so called because of the elevated trains that encircle it. Exiting the hotel through the West entrance puts you on State Street. Across the street on Adams is the **Berghoff Restaurant**, a Chicago tradition representative of the early German roots of the city. The restaurant serves hearty, inexpensive German food and drink including bottling their own brand of bourbon, beer and root beer.

To your left two blocks on State Street is the **Harold Washington Public Library** that during the month of September will be having a series of exhibitions and events honoring Hispanic American Heritage Month. Two blocks east of the library at Congress and Wabash is **Roosevelt University**

and the Auditorium Theater. The university is what was once the hotel designed by Sullivan; next to it is the large completely renovated theater that hosts major theatrical productions. Three short blocks south on Wabash Avenue is the Hothouse, an entertainment complex featuring an art gallery, restaurant and nightclub with the best of local and international Latin, jazz and experimental music.

One block east of the Hothouse is the **Conrad Hilton Hotel** on Balbo and Michigan Avenue. The area directly in front of the hotel was the scene of the infamous police riot at the Democratic National Convention in 1968. About three blocks to the south and three blocks west of the hotel former train station is **La Margarita** of the oldest restaurants in Chicago. The extraordinary mural art on the walls created by a local Mexican artist. If you walk about four blocks west of the restaurant and four blocks north, you will come to Wacker Drive and Adams Street where the 103-story **Sears Tower** spirals to a skydeck where you can look out over the city.



Exiting the Palmer House Hilton and walking north two blocks on State Street will take you to **Carson Pirie Scott Department Store** at State and Madison, the geographical center of the city and the point from which the numeration of the four cardinal parts of the city begins. If you walk a few blocks west from Madison, you come to the **Chicago Civic center**. In addition to **City Hall** and the other government buildings, you will see the large outdoor art of Picasso, Chagall, Miró, Oldenburg and Calder.

Two blocks further north on State Street at Washington is **Marshall Fields Department Store**. Stop in and buy the stores trademark Frango Mint candy, ice cream or cookies. Walk another two blocks north on State and you will come to the **Chicago River**. Go down the stairs to the river walk and eat at the river front restaurants or take a sightseeing boat ride along the river. The Chicago Architectural Society has walking and riding architectural tours as well as a boat trip along the river that narrates the history of the skyline and the architectural treasures that line the city.

Cross the river and you are on the North side of the city. At State Street and the River is **Marina Towers**, a circular residence, commercial space and the **House of Blues**, a restaurant and entertainment complex featuring major blues and popular artists. To the west of State is the beginning of the River North art district with its many studios and galleries. In that area there are a myriad of restaurants including three theme ones, clustered together—**Planet Hollywood**, the **Rainforest Café** and

of course **Michael Jordan's Restaurant and Pizzeria Uno**—and across the street **Pizzeria Due**, the home of world famous Chicago-style pizza. Also in the same area are the many comedy and improvisation clubs of which the most famous is **Second City on North Wells**.

Continuing North one block west of State is the **Newberry Library**. During LASA98 on Thursday, September 26, 1998 from 3:00-5:00 P.M., the Newberry will host a guided tour of the library and a showing of some of the extraordinary manuscript collections they hold. The tour will be followed by a reception. Space is limited. If you are interested, you should call the Center for Public Programs, phone 312-255-3700 or fax 312 255-3513 by September 20, 1998.

If you walk three blocks East of the Newberry Library, you will pass through the Rush Street area with its many night clubs. Three blocks more will take you through the "gold coast" to that portion of Michigan Avenue known as the "Magnificent Mile" because of all the shops located there. The **John Hancock Building** on the East side of the street has a bar and restaurant on the 95<sup>th</sup> floor and a top floor observatory where you can see all the city. One block south on Michigan Avenue is the old stone water tower that withstood the Chicago fire. Go inside and see the forty minute film, *Here's Chicago*. Just to the east of the **Water Tower** is the **Museum of Contemporary Art** that has a variety of artistic media on display and a lovely terrace restaurant where you can rest from your long walk. Keep walking South on Michigan until once again you come to the river. There is a plaque on the bridge commemorating the site of Fort Dearborn. Just the other side of the river is the **Terra Museum of American Art**.

At Michigan Avenue and Adams Street is the **Chicago Symphony**. Across the street is the **Art Institute**, distinguishable by the two massive stone lions adorning the front entrance. In addition to its standing collection of Pre Columbian art, there will be a special exhibit called "The Art of Ancient West Mexico" in September. The east side of the Art Institute overlooks **Grant Park**. In the park is **Buckingham Fountain**, illuminated at night. Just to the right of the fountain is **Flaherty Rose Garden**. Walk two blocks further south through the park and there is a covered walkway that takes you to the museum campus and home of the **Field Museum of Natural History**, the **Planetarium** and the largest indoor aquarium in the world, the **John G Shedd Aquarium and Oceanarium**.

On weekends you can take a number 10 bus in front of the hotel or any of the museums and take a short ride along the lakefront to the **Museum of Science and Industry** located in **Jackson Park**. The Museum itself is one of the buildings left from the Columbian Exhibition. You will be able to see the lake, Jackson Park and **McCormick Place**, the large lakefront exhibition center. As you return to the center of the city along the lakefront, you will see the magnificent harbors, and glistening in the distance, **Navy Pier**, that has the world's largest Ferris wheel. There is entertainment on three stages, a beer garden, all kinds of small shops selling crafts and souvenirs, the **Children's Museum** and **Museum of Broadcast Communication**. From

the pier you can take a breakfast, lunch or dinner cruise along the length of the city on one of the lake cruise boats.

If you continue North along the lake, there is Lincoln Park and Lincoln Park Zoo. The Chicago Historical Society and the Chicago Academy of Sciences are located in the park. You can take the numbers 146 or 151 buses in front of the Palmer House Hotel that will take you to the door of the museums and the zoo. Further away at 1852 West 19<sup>th</sup> Street, but well worth the trip, is the Mexican Fine Arts Museum. It will have a Day of the Dead exhibit during LASA. Also a short bus ride from the hotel are the campuses of the University of Chicago, De Paul University, University of Illinois/Chicago and Loyola University, all of which have extensive holdings on Latin America.

#### TOURS AND SPECIAL EVENTS

Beyond the lakefront, museums and shopping areas lays the heart of Chicago and its many ethnic neighborhoods, restaurants and music of every type from Chinatown to the Ukrainian Village and all countries in between. The Chicago Local Arrangements committee will sponsor guided tours of several Latino neighborhoods during the conference. The two hour bus tours will begin at 5:00 P.M., Saturday, September 26, 1998 and will include brief stops at major educational, civic and cultural centers in the area. There will be meetings with local residents. Tours will culminate with dinner at a Latino restaurant in the community. The price for the tour will be \$20.00 per person. This covers everything but dinner. If you are interested in taking a guided tour, please contact Fannie Rushing at 312-996-4718 or [ftr@uic.edu](mailto:ftr@uic.edu) and reserve

a space by September 5, 1998.

There will be a pre-LASA conference on Gender and Education September 22-23 at the John Nuveen Center for International Affairs of the University of Illinois, Chicago. The featured speaker will be the publisher and director of *The Feminist Press*, Florence Howe. For more information or to reserve a place, contact Regina Cortina, one of the members of the program committee, at [cortina@is4.nyu.edu](mailto:cortina@is4.nyu.edu) or 212-998-5456.

If you are arriving on Wednesday, September 23, make plans to attend the Opening Welcoming Reception at the University of Illinois at Chicago in the Illinois Room of Chicago Circle Center from 7:00-9:00 P.M. Shuttle bus service will be provided by the Chicago Trolley Co. from the west entrance of the Palmer House Hilton to the University of Illinois on a continuous basis from 6:45-9:15 P.M. The University of Illinois is built on the site of Hull House. The buses will stop in front of the Hull House replica and Jane Addams Museum. You will be met by volunteers from the LASA98 local arrangement's committee and conducted to the Illinois Room.

There will also be a post-LASA conference, *Mapping Latino Chicago*, September 27-29, 1998. This will be a cultural studies conference focusing on questions of urban developments and transformations in the age of globalization and transnational migration. For more information contact Marc Zimmerman at [marczim@uic.edu](mailto:marczim@uic.edu) or 312-996-4716.

The scenic beauty of Lake Michigan, historic architecture, educational, cultural attractions, restaurants, shopping and rich ethnic diversity all await and welcome LASA98 to Chicago. ■

#### LASA On-Line Congress Paper Project

In its continuing attempt to make scholarly papers presented at LASA Congresses as widely and economically available as possible, the Association has committed to putting on line panel papers from LASA98, *accessible from the LASA website*. Funds from an Andrew W. Mellon Foundation grant will aid LASA in its efforts to exceed the number of papers (350) placed on the LASA97 website. (Check <http://www.pitt.edu/~lasa/elecpapers.htm> to access any or all of these papers.)

LASA98 paper presenters may submit their papers in one of two ways: 1) take a 3.5 inch, high-density virus-free diskette to the Chicago meeting, along with a hard (paper) copy of the contents of the diskette (someone will be at a table in the main book exhibit area to receive the diskette and paper); or 2) submit the paper via e-mail attachment to Stacy Loughner Maloney at [lasa+@pitt.edu](mailto:lasa+@pitt.edu) anytime AFTER the Congress. If diskette, it must be 3.5 inch (other sizes cannot be accepted), high-density, and that the disk itself is LABELED with the author's name and e-mail address or phone number, or that e-mailed papers are sent as attachments and not part of the message text. Please cooperate with this effort to make your research known to as broad an audience as possible.

A variety of software languages may be submitted. The list follows.

For a PC: Ami Pro 2.0, 3.x; Claris Works 1.0, 3.0; DCA/RFT; Multimate 3.x, 4.0; MS Word DOS 5.5; MS Word Windows 2.0, 6.0, 7.0; MS Works 2.0, 3.0, 4.0; Text; WordPerfect 5.1, 6.x; WordPerfect Windows 5.x, 6.x; WordPerfect Works 2.0; WordStar DOS 5.5, 6.0, 7.0.

For a Mac: Claris Works 1.0, 2.x, 3.0; MacWrite II; MacWrite Pro 1.0, 1.5; MS Word 4.0, 5.x, 6.0, 7.0; MS Works 3.0, 4.0; RTF; Text; WordPerfect 2.0, 2.1, 3.x.

## ATTENTION AUTHORS—LASA BOOK EXHIBIT IS 95 PERCENT SOLD OUT!

Your colleagues will see your monographs, articles and books IF your publishers exhibit at the 1998 LASA Congress. Advertising in the LASA program is another highly visible and valuable marketing opportunity. Approach your publisher(s) if they are NOT listed below and ask them to contact LASA's Advertising/Exhibit Manager: Harve Horowitz, Exhibit Promotions Plus, Inc., 11620 Vixens Path, Ellicott City, MD 21042-1539. Tel: 410-997-0763. Fax: 410-997-0764. E-mail: [exhibit@erols.com](mailto:exhibit@erols.com). List updated July 1, 1998. Authors are also encouraged to arrange for their own display on a direct basis.

Amnesty International  
 Ashgate Publishing Co.  
 Association of American  
 University Presses  
 Association Book Exhibit  
 Batsford Brassey Inc.\*  
 Cambridge University Press  
 Carfax Publishing Ltd.  
 CEMANAHUAC/ ISLA/ NACLA  
 Center for Global Education  
 Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies,  
 UC/San Diego  
 CIRMA/Plumsock Mesoamerican  
 Studies  
 Consortium of Latin American Studies  
 Programs  
 Council on International Educational  
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 (NEW-LABT)  
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 Stanford University Press  
 Temple University Press  
 The Haworth Press Inc.\*  
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 UCLA Latin American Center  
 United Nations Publications  
 University of Arizona Press  
 University of California Press  
 University of Chicago Press  
 University of Nebraska Press  
 University of New Mexico Press  
 University of North Carolina Press  
 University of Notre Dame Press\*  
 University of Oklahoma Press  
 University of Pittsburgh Press  
 University of Texas Press  
 University of Wisconsin Press  
 University Press of Florida  
 VERSO\*  
 Washington Office on Latin America/  
 Latin American Working Group

*\*indicates LASA combined book display  
 \*\*inadvertently omitted in Spring 1998  
 Forum listing*

*LASA98 Chicago Local Arrangements Committee announces  
 Newberry Library  
 Special Collections Tour and Reception  
 Manuscripts, Maps, Books, and Music  
 Thursday, September 24, 1998 at 3:00 pm  
 60 West Walton, Chicago, Illinois 60610  
 Space Limited — — R.S.V.P. by September 20, 1998  
 Center for Public Programs*



## **BAILAMOS!**

*Make Plans to Attend LASA's*  
**GRAN BAILE**

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1998**

**9:00 PM**

**IN THE BALLROOM**

**PALMER HOUSE HILTON**

### **RESERVE ROOMS AND FLIGHTS for LASA98 NOW!**

The two LASA98 hotels are holding designated blocks of rooms for XXI International Congress attendees. After the "cut-off" date, LASA must release these rooms to the hotel for use by the general public. Please make sure you have a place to stay by reserving as soon as possible. *September 2 is the cutoff date for reservations.*

Seats on airlines are sure to be booked at an early date. See the ad for **Conventions in America**, in this issue of the *Forum*.

### **PROGRAM BOOKLETS**

For the Chicago  
XXI International Congress  
will be mailed to preregistrants  
prior to the meeting

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

*Replacements available  
at \$10.00 per copy  
only while supplies last*

Arriving in Chicago on *Wednesday*?

You are invited to a

## **GALA WELCOMING RECEPTION**

**September 25, 1998**

**7:00-9:00 P.M.**

University of Illinois at Chicago  
Illinois Room of Chicago Circle Center

Complimentary Transportation Will be Provided.

Starting at 6:45 P.M. Chicago Trolley Cars Will Shuttle from the East Entrance of the Palmer House Hilton Hotel Directly to the Front Entrance to Chicago Circle Center and Back to the Palmer House Hilton Hotel Until 9:30 P.M. LASA98 Local Arrangements Committee Volunteers Will Meet the Trolley Buses and Conduct Guests to the Illinois Room.

*Come Early, See Old Friends,  
Meet New Ones!*

### **New Hotel and Transportation Information**

- The name of the Ramada Congress Hotel has been changed to *The Congress Plaza Hotel*. Call 1-800-635-1666 or 312-427-3800 for reservations. Website: [www.congresshotel.com](http://www.congresshotel.com). The website for the Palmer House Hilton is <http://www.hilton.com/hotels/CHIPHHH/index.html>.
- Transportation from Midway Airport is also available by train. A rapid transit CTA train from Midway to downtown takes about 15 minutes.

# GET THERE FOR LESS!

Latin American Studies Association  
Chicago, Illinois  
September 24-26, 1998

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**American Airlines**

Save 5% on lowest applicable fares, some restrictions apply. Save 10% on lowest unrestricted coach fares, with 7-day advance purchase. Take an additional 5% with minimum 60 day advance purchase. Discounts on American apply to travel within the 48 contiguous states, Hawaii, Canada, San Juan, U.S. Virgin Islands, Bermuda, Bahamas. Travel between September 11 and October 9, 1998. Discounts do not apply to International travel.

→ Official Travel Agency:

**Conventions in America**

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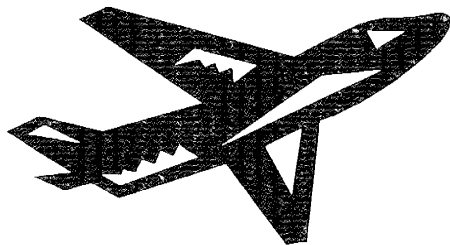
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FOCUS



On  
Immigration

## How and Why Latin American Immigration is Transforming Both Latin America and the U.S.

By Susan Eckstein  
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The articles below—in different ways—contribute to our understanding of the conditions that have given rise to, and the effects of, transregional migration. Long-standing concepts of immigrant experience prove inadequate to capture the new realities on the global, state, community, and people-to-people level. Migration is not a one-way street, with immigrants simply adapting to a U.S. Anglo way of life; they are affected by and affect what transpires in their communities and countries of origin. Even Latin American governments have even redefined state institutions and their concepts of citizenship to adapt to the changing reality, Latin American politicians have come to incorporate immigrant communities into their own political strategies, and Latin Americans remaining behind have indirectly, if not directly, become part of the immigrant

experience. Meanwhile, neoliberal policies designed to foster Latin American economic growth have had the unintended effect of contributing to immigration flows. Aspects of transregional immigration, U.S. and Latin American policies contributing to and responding to immigration flows, and informal social, economic, political, and cultural dynamics that such immigration has set in motion are focused on in what follows. As the U.S. Hispanic population grows, and as LASA adapts to the new reality—to be apparent in sessions and activities at our Chicago International Congress—the articles below are most welcome. Whether you are interested in Latin American cultural studies, international trade, democratization, or the like, the transregional study of immigration should be of interest and relevance to you.

FOCUS



On  
Immigration

## Undocumented Migration in the Context of NAFTA

by Douglas S. Massey  
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The United States wants to have its cake and eat it too. On the one hand, through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) it seeks to create a continent-wide free trade zone within which goods, capital, and information circulate freely. On the other hand, within this integrated economy it wants no movement of labor. Rather, labor migration is to be suppressed by police actions at the border and coercive internal sanctions. Unfortunately, in the context of NAFTA this contradictory policy will not work. The creation of a North American market will promote, not preclude, emigration from Mexico. As trade relations expand, a continent-wide infrastructure of transportation and communication will arise to facilitate circulation between the two countries, and an expanding network of interpersonal ties created through trade, tourism, education, and migration will lower the barriers to international movement. Efforts to deny this reality will only make matters worse.

Most policy makers and citizens think Mexicans migrate to earn higher wages in the United States. The reality is more complicated. Standard economic theory begins with the assumption that markets exist, but in fact they have to be created. The operation of markets not only requires building a physical infrastructure of transportation and communication, but a social infrastructure of institutions and laws, and an ideational infrastructure of values and cultural practices. In the process of

constructing an open market, old structures are cast aside and new ones are created.

International migration originates in the transformations that inevitably accompany the process of economic development. Workers are displaced from traditional livelihoods and thrown onto unstable labor markets without social safety nets. Entrepreneurs are forced into production without access to capital or insurance. Consumers are filled with new material aspirations but lack credit to enable mass consumption. Economic insecurity coupled with the desire to participate in the new economy as workers, producers, and consumers, lead households to search for new ways of self-insuring against risk and overcoming failures in capital and credit markets.

International migration offers a means of achieving these goals. By sending a family member abroad to work, households diversify their labor portfolios to reduce risks to income, and the resulting stream of earnings can be accumulated to make up for a lack of capital and credit. International migration does not stem from a lack of economic development, but from development itself. No matter how it starts, however, migration tends to perpetuate itself over time through two intertwined processes, one operating among individuals and the other through the social networks in which they are embedded.

At the individual level, international migrants tend to begin as target earners, but the experience of foreign labor changes them in ways that make additional migration more likely. As migrants earn higher incomes, they alter their consumption patterns and adopt new styles of life that cannot easily be maintained through local labor. At the same time, they gain a knowledge of foreign employment practices, culture, and language, causing the costs and risks of taking an additional trip to fall and the potential benefits to rise, so that once it has been experienced, international migration tends to be repeated.

At the aggregate level, migrant networks operate to increase the odds of international movement over time. Aspiring migrants turn to friends and relatives with migratory experience to help them get across the border and find a job. Once someone migrates, the costs and risks of migration fall for that person's friends and relatives, inducing some of them to migrate, which further expands the network of people with ties to migrants, inducing a new set of people to migrate, further expanding the pool of people with social connections, and so on. The progressive expansion of migrant networks yields a powerful feedback loop that causes migration to expand and build momentum over time.

Unfortunately, U.S. immigration policy is formulated with total disregard for these forces. The end result is a self-contradictory melange of actions that, on balance, does more to encourage than discourage movement between the two countries. Congress has sought to raise the costs of migration by expanding the Border Patrol, increasing the penalties on those who violate U.S. immigration laws, raising the fees associated with legal immigration, capping the number of visas to create long waiting times, and under-funding the INS to create delays and inefficiencies. Congress has also tried to reduce the expected gains from migration by imposing sanctions on employers who knowingly hire illegal workers and by blocking the access of immigrants to U.S. social services. If the costs can be raised and the benefits lowered, Congress believes that immigrants will somehow be deterred from coming.

Despite the prevalence of this belief among policy makers, none of the repressive measures directed against migrants or their employers has succeeded in reducing undocumented migration. Indeed, to the extent that these measures functioned at all, they have been perverse or counterproductive. Efforts to drive up the cost of international movement have lowered the odds of return migration and increased the stock of permanent U.S. residents. Actions to eliminate the magnet of U.S. jobs have created an underground economy and driven down the wages of natives as well as immigrants. The barring of immigrants from U.S. social

benefits has spurred a massive move toward naturalization that will ultimately increase future immigrant flows. And a special amnesty, enacted in 1986 to ensure passage of new restrictions, ended up facilitating additional migration among friends and relatives of the newly legalized immigrants. It is hard to imagine a more inept and self-contradictory policy.

The reason for this march of folly is the mistaken conceptualization of immigration as emanating from poverty and underdevelopment in Mexico rather than as a natural consequence of social and economic forces that the United States itself has been instrumental in promoting. If the U.S. did not want Mexican immigrants, it should not have signed a treaty to integrate a North American market. If it did not want Mexican immigrants, it should not have recruited 4.5 million Mexican guestworkers between 1942 to 1964. If it did not want Mexican immigrants, it should not have designed immigration laws that confer the right of entry on relatives of those already here and then handed out millions of green cards to people with family members still in Mexico.

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All of these things were done, of course, and cannot be undone; but for the past decade, the U.S. has sought to deny reality. The time has come to see U.S. immigration policy toward Mexico for what it is—a dismal failure—and to chart a new course of action. If Mexican emigrants are indeed created by the process of market expansion in North America and are motivated by a desire to manage risk and acquire capital, then a policy other than repression is

required to manage the flows. Rather than trying to suppress migration that is a natural outgrowth of market forces and social processes that we otherwise encourage, a more realistic strategy would be to accept reality and seek to channel the flows in directions beneficial to the United States and its NAFTA partners. Rather than trying fruitlessly to raise the costs and lower the benefits of international movement, we should work to help Mexico overcome the failures in capital, credit, and insurance markets that motivate so many moves to the United States.

No matter what, the consolidation of the North American market will continue to produce migrants to the United States in the short run, but in the long term, economic growth and development within Mexico will gradually eliminate the incentives for international movement. Our policy should not be to stamp out migratory flows within North America, but to help Mexico get over what has been called the "migration hump" as quickly and painlessly as possible, moving the continent toward a more balanced economy in which fewer Mexicans experience the need to migrate northward.

# Mexican Immigrants, the Mexican State and the Transnational Practice of Mexican Politics and Membership

by Robert C. Smith

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This article explores the transnationalization of Mexican political life and membership by Mexican immigrants and by the Mexican state. Theoretically, it disagrees with both the classical model positing that politics is contained within and practiced through and between states, and with the position that states have been transcended and made irrelevant by the transnationalization of migrant political life. Rather, we argue first, that the Mexican state has been a central organizing structure for transnational migrant politics, with sometimes unintended consequences. Second, that democratizing and decentralizing tendencies in Mexico have catalyzed and been catalyzed by the transnational politics of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. And finally, that the state has pursued these efforts as part of its domestic and foreign policies, especially what can be described as its policy of *acercamiento* (getting closer), which includes closer integration with the U.S. and a profound change in its stance towards Mexican immigrants in the U.S. These changed priorities have increased the relative leverage of immigrants in the U.S. with respect to the Mexican state. Taken together, these changes underline the utility of rethinking membership not as a status granted by states, but as what Karl Polanyi called an instituted process whose meaning emerges within the context of the larger relations (here, of contestation) within which it is embedded. The politics and membership of Zacatecan immigrants is also being analyzed by Luin Goldring, Rafael Alarcón and Carol Zabin, among others.

## The Program for Mexican Communities Abroad

Arguably, the single most important expression of Mexico's new strategy was the creation in 1990 of the *Programa para Comunidades Mexicanas en el Extranjero* (Program for Mexican Communities Abroad), located in the Ministry of Foreign Relations. The Program's direct work consisted of organizing more than 500 community-of-origin clubs and several state of origin federations of these clubs. It both helped found new clubs and federations and registered existing ones with the Mexican state and with the Program. Main activities of the Program are to facilitate the remittance of funds for public works in Mexico, and to cultivate Mexican culture among Mexicans and their children in the U.S., a foreign and domestic policy that contributed to the transnational practice of Mexican politics—a kind of extra-territorial conduct of Mexican politics. The goals of these projects were described to me by a former Director of the Program as twofold: getting NAFTA passed and hence

pursuing economic integration with the U.S., and quieting the disquiet politics of the Mexican opposition in the U.S., especially the massive mobilizations that Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas inspired during the 1988 presidential election. The two goals grew out of developments in the 1980s. In addition to the Cárdenas mobilizations, Mexican state officials, especially in *Gobernación* (Governance Ministry), were growing increasingly preoccupied with the public mobilizations against the PRI at the U.S.-Mexico border, often organized by the PAN, and with autonomous state level initiatives, such as the Program for Zacatecanos Abroad, created in 1985. The goal was to create a "thin" form of membership, what Carlos González Gutiérrez of the Program describes as a Mexican diaspora.

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*Mexico's 1995-2000 development plan states that "the Mexican nation extends beyond its physical borders..."*

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The Program addressed the concern that the transnational practice of Mexican politics would get out of control. For example, by organizing more than 500 community-of-origin clubs in the U.S., the Program offered recognition and attempted to take back the political space ceded to the opposition in 1988 by the Mexican state's neglect of its immigrants in the U.S.. And by channeling and coopting the political energies of Mexicans in the U.S., the Mexican state could both help prevent the presentation of a negative image of Mexico to the U.S. press by massive mobilizations there, and garner legitimacy at home. One measure of the success of this strategy is the dramatic reduction in mobilizations in the U.S. on behalf of Cárdenas in the 1994 election compared to that in 1988. Another measure of the success of the larger strategy of *acercamiento*—including the hiring of sophisticated lobbyists and public relations consultants—is that NAFTA passed with almost no organized Latino opposition.

Mexico's move towards neoliberalism and closer economic integration with the U.S. during the 1980s opened it up to the charge that it had abandoned its historic commitment to the poor and was sacrificing economic sovereignty. It also represented a historic break with the traditionally nationalistic and anti-interventionist stance towards the U.S. Moreover, the *acercamiento* policy made possible and required a redefinition of Mexico's relationship with its immigrants in the U.S. The Mexican state needed a different kind of relationship with the U.S. so that its increased links to Mexicans in the U.S. would not be seen as Mexican intervention in the U.S. This change is neatly captured in Mexico's 1995-2000 development plan which states that "the Mexican nation extends beyond its physical

borders..." and provides for a "Mexican Nation initiative...to strengthen cultural links with Mexicans abroad and people with Mexican roots outside Mexico." Mexicans abroad were to have membership in what Roger Diaz de Cossio, the first Director of the Program, called the "Mexican global nation".

### Mexican Immigrants in the U.S. and the Transnational Practice of Mexican Politics and Membership

The Program is an attempt to impose order on Mexican politics practiced in the U.S., to coerce and channel participation back into institutions controlled by the Mexican state and the PRI. While this was accomplished to a large extent, unanticipated consequences have also developed, related to the extension of the state as an arena of contestation and to the impact of decentralization of power in Mexico on immigrant mobilization in the U.S. It is in the new or stronger forms of contestation made possible by these extensions, decentralization and democratization that the "thickness" or substance of membership emerges. Three examples are discussed below.

Mexico has experienced a decentralization of political power away from an all powerful president towards a system where Congress has real power, and where the Chamber of Deputies is not controlled by the PRI. This decentralization was the context for the 1996 Reform of the State into which the PRD Senator Porfirio Muñoz Ledo introduced the right to vote from abroad. The legislation provided that Mexican immigrants who were registered with a yet to be created National Citizen Registry and who held a yet to be national identity card could vote in the Presidential elections in the year 2000. However, little progress was made towards the implementation of these provisions, and out of this inaction sprang the *Coalición de Mexicanos en el Exterior Nuestro Voto en el 2000*, according to Jesús Martínez, a Coalition member and political science professor at Santa Clara University. Martínez argues that giving the responsibility for implementing the law to the *Gobernación* Ministry caused the delay, given that Ministry's lack of enthusiasm for the reforms.

The result is described by Martínez as a "transnational lobbying" campaign. The Coalition, composed of academics, meet with sympathetic legislators, migrant sending state governors, and officials at the Federal Electoral Institute. The Coalition drafted a proposal calling upon the Chamber of Deputies to create a commission that would study the issue and propose changes that would permit the right to vote, with or without the National Citizen Registry or national identity card. This proposal was received, modified and introduced into the Congress by sympathetic legislators, and has led to intense mobilization and legislative work that could cause the revision of the 1996 law. One result has been recent affirmations by the Director of IFE, Jose Woldenberg, that the IFE could in fact implement the law by 2000, if the Registry and identity card requirements were

dropped. The theoretically important point here is that this kind of transnational lobbying has resulted from the political space opened up by the decentralization of power in Mexico, particularly the 1996 Reform of the State, and has in turn contributed to this decentralization and the implementation of

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*Transnational lobbying has resulted from the political space opened up by the decentralization of power in Mexico, particularly the 1996 Reform of the State, and has in turn contributed to this decentralization and the implementation of the right to vote.*

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the right to vote. Returning to the language of membership, the Coalition attempts to increase the thickness and substance of its membership by demanding the implementation of the right to vote from abroad.

Indigenous immigrants from Oaxaca practice a different kind of transnational politics with different issues and a different relationship to the Mexican state, as shown in Michael Kearney's work. Their politics is more likely to focus on the defense of human rights in Oaxaca and to engage Mexico's desire to protect its image in the U.S. and internationally. The fact of their physical presence in the U.S. frees them from the fear of coercive control by the Mexican state, while also giving them access to media and human rights organizations that would be more difficult in Mexico. Sitting at his kitchen table in Madera, California, one leader of the Indigenous Binational Oaxacan Front put it this way: "If something happens in Oaxaca, we can put protesters in front of the consulates in Fresno, Los Angeles, Madera." On the same point a consular official in Los Angeles told me that it was clear that Oaxacan demands are taken more seriously when made in the U.S. instead of Mexico.

These factors played an important part in winning the release of Felipe Sánchez Rojas and Moises Cruz Sánchez, the President and Coordinator, respectively, of the Center for Indigenous Regional Development in Oaxaca. According to Federico Besserer, seven indigenous organization leaders were "disappeared" by armed men in a car with no plates in October 1997. What resulted was an ultimately successful international human rights campaign to win their release, which included participation by the Mexican and international human rights organizations. Besserer stresses the importance in winning their release of *Radio Bilingüe* in Fresno, California, which is headed by a Mixtec from Oaxaca who attended Harvard Law School. *Radio Bilingüe* was used to ask American and Mexican officials and Oaxacan organizations in both countries to put pressure on the Mexican government to release the leaders. Many of these demands were also put to state officials and two *diputados* from Oaxaca at a meeting convened in Fresno, California. The Mexican state's concern for the image of Mexico presented to the international community and especially the U.S., and the presence of the Oaxacans in the U.S. that gave them access to the media, were very important aspects of this transnational political mobilization. The conditions and the fact of their presence in the U.S. increases the value of their membership in Mexico by increasing the responses of the Mexican state.



The recent electoral mobilization and division within the Federation of Zacatecan Clubs of Southern California provides a third case that underlines the unintended consequences of the Mexican state extension, the links between democratization in Mexico and transnational practice of Mexican politics in the U.S., and contestation and membership. The split is between Federation members who support the PRI candidate, Pepe Olvera, or the PRD candidate, Ricardo Monreal, who leads his opponent in the race for Governor 49 percent to 23 percent in the Governor's race, to be decided on July 5th of this year. Several things make this split very important. First, Zacatecas has one of the longest histories and highest rates of outmigration in Mexico. State officials estimate that more than 1.5 million Zacatecanos live in the U.S., almost 600,000 of whom are in Los Angeles, compared to 1.2 million in the state of Zacatecas and about 100,000 people in the capital city of Zacatecas. They are reported to remit more than U.S. \$400 million each year to their poor state. Second, the Zacatecas Federation is the oldest state level federation, was begun as an independent state program and then adopted as the model for organizing other state level federations by the Program. Third, it has been, like the state of Zacatecas, deeply linked to the PRI, which meant they enjoyed privileged membership, a theme also discussed by Goldring and Alarcón.

The current problems began when two factions developed within the Federation that disagreed about the nature of the relationship the Federation should have with the Consulate, the Program and the PRI. The group advocating a closer relationship with the Consulate prevailed, and squeezed the other out of power. Federation members report that they believe that the PRI wanted to use the Federation to support Olvera's candidacy. When the popular Monreal, a former Senator and current Deputy in the lower chamber, split with the PRI to run for the governorship, the faction of the Federation that has been squeezed out embraced his candidacy, forming the Frente Cívico Zacatecano in California to support him. Monreal's candidacy is a signal event in Zacatecas, a strongly *priista* state where the strongest opposition party has traditionally been the conservative PAN. It has important implications for Mexico's democratic transition. It has also become a marker in the history of the Federation, with between one-third and one-half of the Federation clubs joining the new Frente, according to its founders. The Frente has organized political rallies for Monreal in southern California and arranged for him to do radio spots on local stations urging Zacatecanos to call their relatives back home and vote for Monreal. Monreal, for his part, has promised to integrate Zacatecanos in the U.S. more closely into his government and to pursue specific policies making Zacatecas state officials attending to Zacatecanos abroad more accountable to their constituency in the U.S.. He called the current Program one of "cooptation." A further twist to the story developed when the Mexican state organized a Confederation of Zacatecan

Federations in November of 1997, which was to coordinate the actions of Zacatecanos across the U.S.. The favorite candidate of the Consulate lost this election to a candidate who wanted greater autonomy from the Consulate. The Confederation President, Víctor Manuel Sánchez, reports that the Consulate created the Confederation "to control us...but did not anticipate the result" of the election, and tried to reconduct it. Sánchez is now a strong supporter of Monreal.

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*This case indicates that as the state extends itself into the transnational conduct of politics, it also opens itself up as a transnational, extra-territorial site of contestation that can often have unanticipated consequences.*

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While it is impossible to know now what Monreal will do if elected or how these divisions will play out, it is clear that the PRI's monopoly over the transnational practice of Zacatecan politics is over for now. What is theoretically interesting is how the Zacatecas Federation, an institution crafted and honed by the PRI that extended more substantive membership to its members, has

been affected by the domestic political changes in Zacatecas and now reflects its multi-party politics. This case also indicates that as the state extends itself into the transnational conduct of politics, it also opens itself up as a transnational, extra-territorial site of contestation that can often have unanticipated consequences. It also shows how the substance of membership in a political community can change: here, contestation and the embeddedness of politics in other processes leads the "thickening" of membership of immigrants in the U.S., from a weaker, more diasporic form to a fuller, more democratic form. Taken together, these cases discussed above suggest that the state is an important structure organizing transnational political life but that it does not control this space absolutely, that transnational politics is strongly influenced by what happens at home in Mexico, and that this transnational space can contribute to democratization, and the thickening and substance of membership.

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## On Immigration

# Transnational Politics

## A Dominican Case

by Peggy Levitt

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Migration to Boston from the small Dominican village of Miraflores began in the late 1960s. By 1994, over sixty-five percent of the 445 households in Miraflores had relatives in the Boston Metropolitan area. Migrants and nonmigrants maintain such close social and economic ties with one another it is as village life takes place in two settings, though not simultaneously nor with equal force. They constantly exchange news, resources, social remittances, and goods.<sup>1</sup> More than half of the 181 households in Miraflores I surveyed said they spoke to their relatives in the U.S. at least once a month by phone. And about one-quarter of the village received over 75 percent of their income from the U.S.

Despite predictions that home-country ties weaken as immigrants assimilate into the countries that receive them, many Brazilian, Mexican, and Central American migrants, as well as Dominicans, stay connected to the communities they leave behind. The proliferation of long-term transnational ties challenges conventional notions about the assimilation of immigrants into host countries and about the impact of migration on sending-country life. How do ordinary people sustain connections to two nations? What happens to the social fabric when large numbers opt for partial membership or when they continue to participate primarily in their country-of-origin though they live in the U.S.? Is this a recipe for long-term political marginalization in both contexts or can participation in two polities result in a case of "two for the price of one?"<sup>2</sup>

The Miraflores case sheds some light on these questions. Migration has completely transformed village life. Though many houses are made of wood or lack running water, they generally have televisions, VCRs, and compact-disc players brought by relatives from Boston. The Dominican Telephone Company (CODETEL) recently installed phone lines because they realized there was such a large market for long distance service. People, as well as infrastructure, attest to these strong connections. Villagers often dress in T-shirts with the names of stores in Massachusetts printed on them, though they do not usually understand what these logos mean. They proudly served me coffee with Cremora or juice made from Tang when I dropped by to visit. Almost everyone in Miraflores can talk about "La Mozart" or "La Centre," or Mozart Street Park and Centre Street, two focal points of the community in Boston.

In Boston, Miraflores try to replicate their pre-migration lives to the extent that their new social and physical environment allows. Many community members work in the same factories or for the same office-cleaning companies. They go to the same

high school, pray at the same church, and live in the same neighborhood. On Saturday nights, they gather in front of the T.V. in someone's living room just as they do in Miraflores. They leave their apartment doors open so they can continue to walk in and out of each other's homes as easily as before. And when someone is ill, cheating on their spouse, or finally granted a visa, the news spreads almost as quickly on the streets of Miraflores as it does on the streets of Jamaica Plain.

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*Transnational structuring and activities do not always produce transnational outcomes.*

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Migration between Boston and Miraflores creates a particular type of transnational community—a transnational village. Actual migration is not a membership requirement. Migration has transformed the social and economic life of the village so thoroughly and contact is so frequent

and widespread that both migrants and nonmigrants engage in social relationships, exercise their rights, and perceive their interests as spanning across space.

But how does transnational village life actually work? One important factor is that transnational villages often develop within and contribute to the creation of organizational environments that also become transnational. Because the political, religious, and civic groups Miraflores belong to create transnational structures and carry out their activities transnationally they allow members to participate in two places. But transnational structures and activities do not always produce transnational outcomes. In the case of Miraflores, most people feel that Dominican political and civic life continue to matter most.

Let me give an example. Leaders from the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD), one of the principal opposition political parties in the Dominican Republic, realized they were growing increasingly dependent on their emigrant constituents who donated large sums of money to the party budget and strongly influenced how their nonmigrant family members vote. To keep migrants active in the party, they articulated a dual agenda which addressed emigrants' needs in the U.S. as well as their continuing concerns about island life. They encouraged emigrants to become active in receiving-country politics both to enhance their standing in the U.S. and to be in a better position to advocate for Dominican national interests. They also articulated a benefits package of tax exonerations and investment incentives which eased emigrants' continued involvement in Dominican affairs. Party leaders said that the Jewish-American community's relationship with Israel was an example they wished to emulate.

To achieve these dual goals, the PRD created a party structure in the U.S. which mirrors its island organization including community-level committees, city-level zones, and regional sections all along the eastern seaboard. Party leaders also established local-level support groups of naturalized U.S. citizens and the children of Dominican-born parents. They appointed a coordinator of all U.S. activities who, along with four representatives from the regional groups, sits on the party's Executive Committee in Santo Domingo.

To date, however, the PRD in Boston is an organization that acts transnationally to achieve unidirectionally. In 1994, only one percent of Miraflores had become citizens. Only 20 percent of Dominicans naturalized statewide.<sup>3</sup> The PRD has no formal relationship with the Republican or Democratic Parties. Mayoral candidates met party leaders briefly during a campaign event but only because they happened to stop close to the PRD's headquarters. A handful of PRD members, acting as private citizens, had worked on specific campaigns and formed relationships with individual politicians. As a result, Dominican Day is formally observed at the Massachusetts State House each February and PRD leaders visiting the area are welcomed officially by state legislators.<sup>4</sup> The party was more successful organizing around Dominican causes. In 1994, the New England Section claimed to have over 1,000 members stretching from the North Shore of Boston to Providence, Rhode Island. They raised over \$150,000 for the 1994 presidential campaign.

Despite their marginal involvement in U.S. electoral politics, Miraflores' participation in non-electoral activities has increased. About half of the return migrants and current migrants I interviewed reported at least periodic participation in community organizations, business-owner associations, school committees, church councils, and cultural clubs in Boston. Over half of these individuals said they had not participated in similar groups before coming to the U.S. Respondents also reported higher levels of involvement with public sector agencies. Because they came into contact with school officials, health care providers, and housing program managers fairly frequently, they said they learned to negotiate bureaucracies in Boston since they had such limited experience with the Dominican state.

There were conflicting views about the impact of these activities on local-level Dominican politics. One group felt that migration had no impact because those in the U.S. were too uneducated and too socially isolated to learn anything about politics in the U.S. A second group saw migrants as a conservatizing influence. Their families no longer needed politics because migration solved their economic problems. A third group claimed migrants introduced negative models because their social remittances included all the worst aspects of U.S. culture. And a final group of almost half of those interviewed, saw migrants as catalysts for positive change. Even though they

were not citizens, they witnessed a fairer, more organized, and more equitable political system. They participated more in community groups and had more frequent contacts with public sector agencies. When they returned or visited Miraflores, they communicated their experiences to their nonmigrant relatives who also began to change their expectations of politics and to seek new ways to get these met. While social remittances alone will not transform Dominican politics, they were a catalyst for local-level political change.

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*When they returned or visited Miraflores, they communicated their experiences to their nonmigrant relatives who also began to change their expectations of politics and to seek new ways to get these met.*

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What does the Miraflores case tell us about transnational political participation? It suggests that transnational village members can get their basic concerns addressed in Boston, such as keeping the local health clinic open or improving ESL programs, and continue to influence local-level events in the Dominican

Republic. But even if Miraflores belong to Boston's most organized community organizations or church groups, they will not sway U.S. politicians if they do not vote or make campaign contributions. In the long run, Miraflores will be excluded from legislative debates at the state and national levels which directly affect their lives. Long-term non-citizenship, despite continued participation in Dominican affairs, will not guarantee equal protection or representation.

In 1994, Dominican leaders approved dual citizenship, ensuring Dominicans their civil and political rights even if they become citizens of other countries and granting citizenship to those born abroad to Dominican parents. In 1997, the Dominican Senate approved an electoral reform package allowing migrants the right to vote and run for office, including naturalized American citizens of Dominican descent. It remains to be seen how many Dominicans, when offered the opportunity to be full members of both polities, will exercise this option.

#### *References and Notes*

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<sup>1</sup> Social Remittances are the ideas, behavior, social capital, and identities that flow from sending to receiving-country communities. They are the north-to-south equivalent of the social and cultural resources that migrants bring with them to ease their transition from immigrants to ethnics. For a more detailed account, see Levitt (1999).

<sup>2</sup> The kinds of transnational connections I describe here are not entirely new. Earlier groups such as the Irish and Italians also remained

involved in the affairs of their sending communities. Several factors heighten the intensity and durability of transnational ties among contemporary migrants including ease of travel and communication; efforts by sending country states like Mexico, Brazil, and the Dominican Republic to create diasporic nations by allowing dual nationality; migrants' heightened role in sending-country economies; and that migration takes place within an ideological climate that favors pluralism over the melting pot.

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Bureau of the Census. "Census of the Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC(1) - C23.1" Washington, D.C.: U.S.

Government Printing Office, 1992.

<sup>4</sup> Graham (1997) tells quite a different story about New York where the PRD worked with the Democratic party to elect the first Dominican City Council person. The nature of this particular City Council District, that the Dominican community is much larger and more well established, and that there is a critical mass of minority allies are some of the factors distinguishing Dominican's political experiences in this primary destination city from their experiences in secondary cities of destination like Boston.

FOCUS



On  
Immigration

## Transnational Politics and Blood Ties

### The View From Haiti

by Nina Glick Schiller  
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and Georges Fouron  
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Trained in activism, Helen used the occasion of an interview in 1996 to make a passionate appeal to the Haitian diaspora from those living in Haiti. Boldly she took our tape recorder in her own hands and said:

*Those who are listening to my voice, I urge them to concentrate and remember what country they left behind. It is not for you to ally with other countries, other nations to destroy their brothers and sisters, ....to humiliate them, to do things that they don't like. My brother, see the one on the ground, see the one who has nothing, help him out. Those who are sick, help them as you can. All the bad ideas and bad things, remove them from our lives.... then the country will find a solution.*

We had come to a town in the south of Haiti to explore the response of Haitians to the political rhetoric of Haitian leaders who were redefining the Haiti as a transnational nation-state. After studying the growth of transnational Haitian politics in New York over the past three decades we went to Haiti to explore whether people who had not migrated identified with Haitians abroad. For in 1991, on the day of his inauguration as President, Jean Bertrand Aristide welcomed Haitians living abroad as the 10th department, as if they were an equivalent of France's overseas departments.

Through this rhetoric, Aristide, acting as Haiti's head of state, was reclaiming all Haitian immigrants and all persons of Haitian descent living abroad, no matter what their legal citizenship or place of birth, as part and parcel of the Haitian nation-state. In this effort to build and develop ties with Haiti's emigrant population, which maintains extensive familial and personal networks with their ancestral land, Haitian leaders have reflected a global trend. Increasing numbers of Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, and

Brazil, and the Dominican Republic, as well as Asian countries such as the Philippines and India, have been redefining their relationships to emigrant populations in ways that make the emigrant-sending into countries transnational states.

This is not the first period in history in which emigrant-sending states organized and represented populations settled abroad. Between the 1880s and World War II, governments such as Italy and Hungary continued to claim populations living abroad. However, after World War II, both political leaders and emigrants tended to conceive of governments as representing persons within their own territorial borders. Today, a new large-scale international migration is unsettling this post-war vision of citizenship and contributing to the reemergence of transnational nation-states.

In Haiti, we found that even persons who had never left the country saw themselves as connected to Haitian immigrants. Such connection was sustained by an ideology of blood that linked family to nation and connected those abroad to those in Haiti. Blood, we were told, continued to link persons abroad to those in Haiti, even if emigrants had acquired other citizenship. When we asked Helen, who had an aunt living abroad but received no assistance from her, why persons abroad would still care about Haiti she said:

*A Haitian is a person who is fighting for Haiti, who loves his brothers and sisters who live in Haiti, who loves the flag, who loves the culture. A person who is living abroad for a long time is a Haitian. Even if you are naturalized you keep Haitian blood. The only way to keep them from being Haitian is if they cut their meat and took all your blood.*

Marie Rose, age 24 who saw no future for herself because she had no family abroad to help her obtain higher education or to

facilitate her migration sounded a similar note. She differentiated between legal definitions of citizenship and questions of political loyalty by using the language of blood.

*According to the constitution of the foreign country once you naturalize, you adhere to their nationality and reject your native one, but for me, regardless of what the other country says, you have Haitian blood in your veins.*

In our interviews with 109 people, we found no statistical difference between those who received support from abroad and those who did not in terms of their continuing to claim Haitians abroad in a language of blood. By using the concept of blood, Haitians in Haiti find a way to claim all persons of Haitian descent as Haitians. For people such as Helen and Marie Rose who have grown up connected to the Haitian diaspora through family networks, newspapers, radio, political, and religious organizations, the terrain of their social relations and aspirations includes the United States. We have therefore defined all youth who claim ancestry in Haiti, regardless of whether they were born or are currently living in Haiti or the United States as a second generation.

However we also found whether they are male and female, old or young, people living in Haiti saw themselves as connected to Haitians living abroad through ties of blood and that these ties were not seen as an abstract claim of identity. They came with an agenda. By the 1990s those in Haiti have come to see Haitians abroad, whom they call "the diaspora" as key to

changing Haiti.

In Haiti and elsewhere, immigrant transnational networks and their legitimation through the ideologies and practices of transnational nation-states bring certain benefits. Families all over the world are being sustained through money and gifts sent home. The transnational nation-state may offer immigrants of all classes dignity, self-esteem, and a place of refuge, in the face of anti-immigrant and racial attacks. This type of state formation may also assist immigrant entrepreneurs in their efforts to invest back home or develop transnational businesses. However, there are also a number of serious problems in the conception of the transnational nation state. The designation of nationality on the basis of ancestry divides the world's people into racially distinct and forever separate populations. Political leaders around the world have and do use this conception of nation as race as a justification for war and genocide.

In the case of Haiti, efforts to build a transnational nation-state and portray the diaspora as the hope of the nation impede the grassroots movements that have sought social and economic justice. These efforts divert attention from the reasons for Haiti's continuing economic and political crisis. The ideology of the transnational nation-state engages impoverished people in a nationalist rhetoric that obscures U.S. neocolonial policies towards Haiti and the continuing collaboration between dominant classes in Haiti and foreign financial and industrial capital. ■

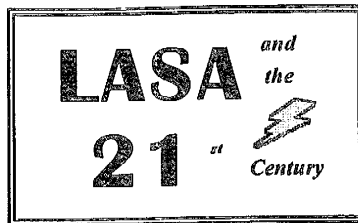
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## A Report to the LASA Membership

by Mark B. Rosenberg

Florida International University

Chair, Task Force on LASA and the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

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LASA President Susan Eckstein created a 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force to identify specific steps that the Association might take to modernize through the use of advanced information technology. The Task Force has held numerous meetings. At our first meeting in Guadalajara during LASA's April 1997 congress, the Task Force\* covered a great deal of ground. We reviewed the progress of LASA to date in the development of a state-of-the-art web page. We identified a range of issues that might be considered if we are to keep pace with new developments in electronic communication. These issues can be grouped into three categories: 1) membership services, 2) pedagogy and research, and 3) access and quality control.

Following this meeting, we outlined a set of steps that might be taken to advance our agenda, published in the Fall 1997 issue of the *LASA Forum*. In response to membership comments and a debate within the Task Force, we held a more intense set of discussions among Task Force members and others in Miami in February 1998. At this meeting, sponsored in part by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation through a small seed grant, four interrelated questions were addressed: 1) How can the Latin American Studies Association promote use of the World-Wide-Web for research and teaching? 2) Should LASA identify and promote a pilot project on the convergence of voice, video and data for pedagogy and/or research? 3) How can LASA promote North-South integration of functional groups and promote Web-based activities for those groups? 4) How can LASA assist the *Latin American Research Review (LARR)* in its efforts to modernize?

Participants in this meeting developed a work plan divided into operations and services that could be provided by LASA, research and teaching initiatives that were desirable, and outreach and training possibilities. This plan was further detailed through the identification of short and long term initiatives, as well as those that could be specifically addressed at the next International Congress in Chicago.

The results of the February, 1997 meeting were then reviewed by the Executive Council of the Association, and led to a multifaceted proposal to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. We are very pleased to inform you that this proposal has been funded.

### *The Funded Proposal, The Next Steps*

Our proposal to the Mellon Foundation was crafted by Mark B. Rosenberg, with input from LASA President Susan Eckstein, Executive Director Reid Reading, the *Latin American Research Review's* Gil Merckx and others at the University of New Mexico's Latin American Studies Institute. The grant will enable us to take the first steps to put the *Latin American Research Review* on-line. It will provide seed funding for the enhancement of LASA's capability to provide on-line services to its global membership, and it will enable LASA to support a major demonstration on, and discussion about, the use of the Internet for research and training at the LASA International Congress in Chicago. The 21<sup>st</sup> Century Task Force will serve as the oversight board for grant implementation, working closely with the LASA Secretariat and with *LARR*.

We are obviously delighted to take these first steps into the next century. There is still a great deal of work to do. Our Task Force will meet at the Chicago Congress to discuss grant implementation and plan the next steps as we continue our assault into the brave new world that beckons. ■

\*Members of the Task Force include David Block, Viviane Brachet-Márquez, Michael Conroy, Jane Jaquette, Gil Joseph, Gil Merckx, John Rice, Marcia Rivera, Nicolas Shumway, Saúl Sosnowski, Sandy Thatcher, Nelson Valdez and Stefano Varese.

For comments, please email Mark B. Rosenberg at [rosenber@fiu.edu](mailto:rosenber@fiu.edu)



# Continuismo in Latin America

## Detour in the Democratic Transition

by James Petras

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Two of the fundamental tenets of Latin America's transition to democracy have been "alternation" (the possibility that opposition parties can become government) and the existence of a level playing field, meaning that governing regimes could not use the resources of the state to perpetuate themselves in power.

At the very onset of the transition however, the principle of alternation was severely compromised: electoral laws favored the dominant parties and in some cases military-authored constitutions prevailed that allowed for lifetime senators from the Armed Forces and denied representation for minority parties, as was the case in Chile. In most others, media access and electoral financing favored the parties with big business backing. In addition, financial constraints imposed by international financial institutions served to narrow the parameters of "acceptable" debate and party competition. The end result was that the principle of alternation of parties in government was severely compromised and the alternatives implied in the notion of alternation were sharply delineated. In summary, during the transition *formal alternation* was codified while *substantive alternation* was de facto eliminated.

The second tenet of the democratic transition, the notion of electoral procedures free of state interventions in favor of incumbent regimes, was translated into legal terms (even in constitutional clauses) through the prohibition of the reelection of Presidents. Presumably the incumbent President would thus be discouraged from using state expenditures to influence voters or the military and police to intimidate electoral constituencies from voting for the opposition.

Incumbents promoting their reelection were called *continuistas* and *continuismo* had its roots in the dictatorial practice of personalized dictators who ran and won a series of elections through the above-mentioned state patronage and force that were the prerequisites of office. Constitutional jurists thought that the absence of the incumbent would weaken the commitment to use state financing and lessen the basis for the use of force to favor a particular candidate. However, incumbents often used their office to favor new candidates or proteges from their own party, thus perpetuating *de facto* their rule behind the scene. The exception to this of course is the Mexican system, where the P.R.I. Party-State has at its disposal the state machinery to "elect" the President's designated candidate.

As compromised and diluted as these procedures are, to a limited degree they did forestall the emergence of authoritarian rulerships within the electoral systems that emerged from the democratic transitions.

Today these democratic safeguards are under severe attack—indeed they have been eroded almost beyond recognition in key countries of Latin America. The principle of alternation persists but it has lost a great deal of meaning for many voters as the competing parties have been pressured to conform to the neo-liberal dogma. As the costs of free markets and liberalization have been largely borne by the wage and salaried groups they have turned away from active identification with parties and electoral leaders, in or out of office. In many cases disinterest and electoral abstentionism has increased substantially. The failure to provide procedures that in fact equalize the playing field during electoral campaigns has turned alternation into a revolving carousel in which different personalities and parties change seats but pursue similar policies.

The second challenge to the democratic transition is the re-emergence of *continuismo*, albeit within the framework of electoral politics rather than a military regime. Where and why this reversion to an authoritarian procedure has taken hold and the question it raises for a theory of democratic transition are key issues.

### Democratic Detour: The Rise of Continuismo

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*The failure to provide procedures that in fact equalize the playing field during electoral campaigns has turned alternation into a revolving carousel in which different personalities and parties change seats but pursue similar policies.*

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Historically democrats in Latin America argued that abuses of state authority were key elements in the formation of an authoritarian political culture. One of the key abuses was not only the perpetuation of personal power *a la Pinochet* but the perpetuation of institutional power by the military through narrow selection of successor regimes (Brazil and Argentina). The

existence of deeply entrenched vested interests, democrats argued, fostered political corruption, and robbed the voters of real choices in selecting officials and deciding political agendas. Thus democrats, constitutional lawyers, and academic specialists sought to include electoral procedures that eliminated one of the key provisions for *continuismo*—the reelection of incumbent Presidents.

Less than a decade after the first transitions to democracy, this fundamental democratic safeguard has been undermined. A new wave of "constitutional reforms" has been initiated by incumbent

regimes to perpetuate themselves in power, using precisely the powers and resources of office to abolish the restrictive clauses. Fujimori in Peru was followed by Menem in Argentina and then Cardoso in Brazil and other Presidents, such as Balladares in Panama seek to follow in their footsteps. Over half of the Latin American people are ruled by "continuista regimes" if we include the Mexican one-party state.

Several factors account for the reemergence of this self-perpetuation of power. In the first instance there is the authoritarian style of leadership and elitist socioeconomic policies that preceded and provided the institutional bases and "political culture" for the implementation of the *continuismo* legislation. Secondly, there is the socioeconomic content of the "unfinished business" cited by the incumbents as justification for their perpetuation in power. Finally, there are the power and interests of the major social classes and economic interests which benefit from the continuation in power of the incumbents and their resolute pursuit of their economic policies.

The "reelection reforms" were preceded by a style of rulership which can easily be identified as authoritarian. Key economic measures, such as privatization, austerity measures, and denationalization of natural resources were implemented by executive decree. Politically the executive frequently bypassed the legislature (Cardoso), evaded or packed the judiciary with submissive jurors (Menem), or even abolished parliament (Fujimori). The military and intelligence agencies reemerged to play a major role in internal security. Public funds were ostentatiously distributed to influence legislators in order to secure their loyalty to the regime. The new authoritarian style thus destroyed the independence and separation of governmental powers. The rulers created practices that could be applied to ensure the acquiescence of legislators in the reelection "reform." Authoritarianism bred *continuismo* which in turn strengthened the idea and practices of centralized personal rulership.

The second factor that propelled the authoritarian reforms was the "delay" in fully liberalizing the economy, reordering labor-capital relations and integrating the economy into the global market. While the first presidency witnessed a sharp break with the populist-nationalist past, trade union, parliamentary and judicial constraints put limits on the pace and scope on the implementation of the full free market agenda. The incumbent presidents were aided and abetted by the international financial institutions, which wanted to extend their agenda and make the changes irreversible. Equally significant, the first measures of liberalization, privatization and reductions in state subsidies and lowering of tariff barriers created short term stabilization followed by stagnation—which in turn led to more extensive measures of privatization and new "shocks to labor." Continuity of rulership was seen by the incumbents and their key supporters as the means of "stabilizing" and deepening the

original process—in a word political continuity was seen as a means of deepening and consolidating free market policies that had fragile social support but strong backing from key local and international supporters.

The third factor that contributed to the reversion to the *continuista* style of political rulership was the strong backing it received from the major socioeconomic beneficiaries of the regime and the benign view from Washington. The "reforms" were backed by the major bankers, multinational and local export elites who were able to cash in on the regime's generous sell off of public assets and the promise of more to come. The mass media linked to big business conglomerates or controlled by the regime led the way in providing a favorable press to the reelection venture. Key opposition politicians were brought into the deal and offered major government subsidies to support their local clientele. In a word, the incumbent president utilized the resources of the state to subsidize a formidable array of elites that allowed for changes in the legislation that were originally designed to prevent these practices from extending rulership beyond a limited tenure of office.

The second presidency followed closely on the first in terms of styles of rulership and socioeconomic policy. Assured of the highest office via the massive use of state resources, Menem and Fujimori proceeded to deepen the privatization process and marginalize the legislature. Cardoso pursues his quest for reelection through large-scale privatization and powerful and extensive ties to the economic elites while closely monitoring monetary policy and state handouts to potential opposition legislators.

The second presidency encourages a possible third presidency. The logic of rule in perpetuum has already taken hold. Both Menem and Fujimori are pursuing possibilities for 'one more turn.' The prospects for Menem, however, are not as promising, the result of inter-elite ruptures in the governing party and the emergence of a centrist opposition with a similar economic agenda and less tainted (with corruption) alternatives.

Long-term rule based on personal dominance, rule by decree, the subordination of the judiciary and legislature to executive rule and the prolongation of power based on the *continuista* practice is a sharp detour from the norms and practices of democratic politics. These authoritarian features emanate from civilian regimes, originally elected in somewhat competitive circumstances, and through the use and abuse of clauses and procedures originally intended to safeguard the country from a return to the preceding authoritarian military order. Similarities to the past undermine efforts to mark a decisive break with former eras. In fact, both at the national and international level the militarization of politics is accompanying the new electoral authoritarianism.

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*Long-term rule based on personal dominance, rule by decree, the subordination of the judiciary and legislature to executive rule and the prolongation of power based on the continuista practice is a sharp detour from the norms and practices of democratic politics.*

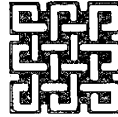
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## Conclusion

The transition from military rule to democracy has suffered a series of severe setbacks. From the early faltering steps which sought to provide a semblance of democratic procedures, the transitions have taken a political detour, not back toward military rule, nor forward toward democratic rulership. Rather a peculiar hybrid regime has emerged that combines electoral processes with authoritarian styles of rulership. A process of alternation of *politicos* takes place but within institutionally constrained parameters that severely limit programmatic choices. While civilian regimes pursue market policies, they enforce their preferences by increasingly relying on the military to contain opposition. The civilian regimes use democratic processes like elections to pursue authoritarian goals like "reelection" through highly dubious political practices—like packing the courts, dismissing congress or buying opposition *politicos*.

A major argument of contemporary liberal democratic theorists in favor of a democratic transition was the centrality of norms

and procedures, what Bobbio called the "democratic rules of the game." In this line of argument substantive issues were subordinated to compliance with the electoral norms and procedures. The question that arises today however is what happens when the norms themselves are twisted to fit the power exigencies of market-driven regimes and elections become elements in the self-perpetuation of incumbent power holders? Can we still speak of a democratic transition? Can democracy exist without democrats? It is clear that procedures are important, indeed necessary, for any democratic transition worthy of its name. But when it is embedded in a substantive setting where the market—the free market—has primacy, and the deepening and extension of free market policies becomes the overarching goal, it is not surprising that there is an authoritarian temptation to perpetuate the power holders "just one more term" in order to cultivate the right kind of market outcome, to privatize the last telecommunication monopoly, to make the new private property ownership irreversible. *Continuismo* becomes a logical outcome calling into question the notion that free markets and democracy are interchangeable.



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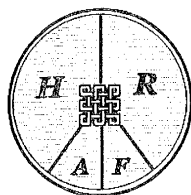
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# Recent Abuses Reveal Continuing Threats to Human Rights

by John L. Hammond

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A dramatic series of human rights violations in April and May, 1998, forces us to ask how secure is the consolidation of democracy across Latin America. Murder and harassment of human rights activists and attacks on poor communities, though far less frequent than in earlier decades, reveal that patterns of behavior which led to abuses on a much larger scale in the past are far from eradicated.

Most shocking was the murder on April 26 of Msr. Juan Gerardi, Auxiliary Bishop of Guatemala. Bishop Gerardi was bludgeoned with seventeen blows from a concrete block just two days after he issued *Guatemala Nunca Más*, the final report of the church-sponsored Project to Recover Historical Memory (*Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* or REMHI) which he had headed. The report documented over 55,000 human rights violations—extrajudicial executions, disappearances, exterminations of whole villages—during the three-decade-long armed conflict and attributed responsibility for nearly 80 percent of them to the Armed Forces. The murder represented a direct threat not only to those who had worked on the report, but to others seeking to uncover the truth of past offenses in Guatemala including the UN-sponsored Historical Clarification Commission.

Two other apparently political murders followed directly: on May 6, Luis Yat Zapeta, mayor of the departmental capital of Quiché, was murdered in front of his family by masked men who broke into his home. Yat Zapeta was a member of the leftist *Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala* (New Guatemala Democratic Front). This murder occurred in the middle of the campaign for thirty municipal by-elections in June. District Attorney Silvia Jerez Romero de Herrera of Retalhuleu, who was investigating cases of drug trafficking, kidnapping, and the disappearance of guerrilla comandante Efraín Bámaca, was murdered on May 22 by assailants who ran her car off the road.

Mexico too has seen an upsurge in violations, mostly in Chiapas. The massacre of 45 indigenous peasants in Acteal, in Chenalhó

municipality, last December was widely reported. Few news reports, however, explained that it was only one episode in the ongoing low-intensity conflict against the supporters of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN). The victims of the massacre had taken refuge in a church, forced to flee their home villages by the Peace and Justice paramilitary organization which had been funded by the PRI government of the state.

Over forty people were arrested, including the mayor of Chenalhó, and the governor of Chiapas resigned. At the same time, however, the Mexican army began an offensive in Chiapas. Its alleged purpose was to disarm both the paramilitary groups and pro-Zapatista civilians, but the army only raided villages where Zapatista supporters have established virtual local control in defiance of the federal government. The offensive has continued, though with declining media attention. At the same time, paramilitaries were suspected in three murders in the first half of May.

In Colombia, with an average of ten political murders a day, human rights abuses often go unremarked. There too, however, there has been a recent upsurge. More than fifty peasants were killed by paramilitary bands in three massacres in southern departments (in Mapiripán in July, and in Miraflores in October, 1997; in Puerto Alvira in May, 1998). On May 16, 1998, paramilitaries invaded the northern city of Barrancabermeja and killed at least thirty people; several remained disappeared. These events were far from unique. In 1997, 1,042 people were killed in 185 politically motivated massacres.

Leading human rights advocates have been singled out and murdered in the last year: Mario Calderón and Elsa Alvarado of the Jesuit-run Center for Research and Popular Education (CINEP) in Bogotá (and Alvarado's father Carlos) on May 19, 1997; in 1998, Jesús María Valle Jaramillo of the Antioquia Permanent Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CPDH) in Medellín, on February 27; former Communist Party leader María Arango on April 16; and Dr. Eduardo Umaña Mendoza,

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*Murder and harassment of human rights activists and attacks on poor communities reveal that patterns of behavior which led to abuses on a much larger scale in the past are far from eradicated.*

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founder of several NGOs, on April 18.

While the rights of peasants, accused criminals, prisoners, and political activists continued to be violated widely in Latin America, the recent upsurge has been greatest in these three countries. Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico have very different histories of abuses and occupy different places on the democratic spectrum. These cases nevertheless highlight three common factors: attacks on defenders of human rights; the involvement of the army in domestic security affairs; and U.S. military assistance. The rule of law, personal security, and meaningful political participation are weakly established in many other countries as well. While free elections prevail through most of the hemisphere, they are not sufficient to guarantee full democracy, as these patterns show; reforms must go further.

#### Attacks on Human Rights Advocates

In Guatemala the murdered Bishop Gerardi was a prominent defender of human rights. In its brutality and its timing, the crime reminded many of the 1990 murder of Myrna Mack, anthropologist and advocate for the Communities of Population in Resistance, indigenous people hiding out from army attack in the mountains of Quiché department. She was killed just two days after the release of the CPRs' first public statement; as with Bishop Gerardi, the crime was carried out with an exceptional viciousness that seemed intended to convey a message.

The murders of Gerardi, Yat Zapeta, and Jerez were a serious blow to the peace process which had been going remarkably smoothly. Other prominent figures working to expose the truth about the past and to monitor compliance with the peace accords also received threats: Archbishop Próspero Peñados del Barrio; Pedro Notta, an Italian priest who worked on the REMHI project (he has since fled the country); candidates in the municipal by-elections; members of *Defensoría maya*, an indigenous group working to bring former military commissioners to trial; and staff members of the Historical Clarification Commission.

The murders in Colombia were but the most visible face of a far-reaching attack on human rights organizations. Offices are regularly raided and high-ranking military officers accuse activists of supporting the insurgency. The regional court system, which was originally set up to prosecute drug traffickers, has been increasingly used to criminalize social protest and activism of all kinds. It offers weak procedural guarantees: judges, prosecutors and witnesses may remain anonymous, defendants are not always told the charges against them, and defense counsel's access to evidence is limited.

President Samper entered office publicly committed to honoring

human rights. Under his administration, new special investigative units and a witness protection program were established, and other protective measures were taken. As his term wound down, however, these promises had proved for the most part to be empty. The offices have been underfunded and the military interferes with their investigations.

In Mexico too human rights advocates have been under attack, again especially in Chiapas. The Mexican government has targeted and expelled foreign human rights monitors whom it accuses of supporting the Zapatistas, including the French priest Michel Chanteau, who had worked for 32 years in the municipality of Chenalhó where Acteal is located, and a delegation of

forty Italian observers. President Zedillo dismissed the case of the ousted observers as "revolutionary tourism." While Chiapas has been the scene of the worst abuses in recent years, local human rights organizations have been attacked across the country from Guerrero to Chihuahua.

#### Militarization of Domestic Security

Each of these governments relies increasingly on the military to impose domestic order. Crime waves have accompanied redemocratization in Guatemala and other countries, leading to calls to mobilize the army against common criminals. With the peace settlement, the Guatemalan army was reduced and civil defense patrols were disbanded. In a widely perceived breakdown in public order, vigilante justice and lynchings have become common.

The peace accords explicitly limit the army to defense of sovereignty and territorial integrity. They also call for a new civilian police force, but its formation is behind schedule. The army is now patrolling many areas of the countryside. Guatemalan human rights advocates are divided over this move; some see no alternative. The army patrols frequently exceed their authority, however: though nominally subordinate to the police chain of command, they patrol rural areas in large units, heavily armed, and typically accompanied by only one police officer.

Colombia faces a genuine insurgent threat, which has intensified in the 1990s; but it has been used as an excuse to expand the role of the army. In rural areas, a classic counterinsurgency campaign is being mounted against accused guerrilla sympathizers. The Mexican government and the EZLN signed a cease-fire in the 1996 San Andrés accords, but the army has repeatedly moved on suspected Zapatista supporters. In rural Colombia and Mexico, the war on drug production and traffic is waged against the peasant population. It has also become the justification for U.S. military aid despite the armies' human rights records, as I discuss below.

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*In both Colombia and Mexico, rural counterinsurgency has taken on a new dimension with the expansion of paramilitary squads.*

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In both Colombia and Mexico, rural counterinsurgency has taken on a new dimension with the expansion of paramilitary squads. In Mexico, the Peace and Justice paramilitary group accused of the Acteal massacre was financed by the PRI state government. In Colombia, paramilitary squads emerged on a large scale in the 1980s. At first created and funded by drug traffickers, many of them operate with the tacit consent and often the active support of the Army. Despite this collaboration, the armies also take their existence as a pretext for incursions against civilian populations, as has been the case in Chiapas since the end of last year.

Civilian authorities in these countries are unable or unwilling to restrain the military. Officers are secure in past traditions of impunity. In Guatemala, the peace accords do not provide for holding the military to account; in Colombia, when human rights groups have brought charges, the military has actively intervened, impeding investigations and intimidating prosecutors. There is evidence that the Twentieth Brigade, a special army intelligence unit, is directly responsible for murdering some activists. After an international outcry with major reports in the *Washington Post* and the *Miami Herald*, the brigade was disbanded in May, but its members were reassigned and there has been no move to prosecute them. Impunity for past actions leaves officers confident that they will not be held to account for future actions either.

#### United States Aid to the Military

In each of these countries, U.S. military aid strengthens the armed forces logistically and politically. Here one must make distinctions. The amount of U.S. aid and its specific uses both vary considerably among countries. In each case, however, U.S. citizens' tax dollars finance military institutions which have been implicated in serious human rights violations. Despite conditions imposed by Congress, guarantees are insufficient to assure that the aid will not be used for military operations which violate human rights.

U.S. aid to Guatemala was limited throughout most of the civil conflict; the Guatemalan military preferred not to be constrained by conditions imposed by the U.S.. One cannot forget, however, that the current cycle of violence began with the 1954 overthrow of the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz, engineered by the CIA. Furthermore, officers trained at the School of the Americas figure prominently in the REMHI report, according to the activist organization School of the Americas Watch; and the U.S. and Guatemalan intelligence services have worked together closely, as revealed in the investigation of the murders of Michael Devine, a U.S. citizen who owned a hotel in Petén, and Efraín Bámaca, a guerrilla comandante married to U.S. citizen Jennifer Harbury.

In Colombia and Mexico, aid is closely tied, at least rhetorically, to the war against drugs. The priority U.S. policymakers give to

antinarcotics operations makes them overlook the Colombian army's dismal human rights record and endemic corruption among Mexican officers. Congress has put human rights conditions on aid to Colombia; in 1994 the army was denied military aid, but it was restored in 1997. Funds are supposed to go only to units primarily engaged in drug operations, but in practice these cannot be separated from counterinsurgency. The 1997 Leahy amendment withholds military aid from any unit against which there is credible evidence of human rights violations. The Colombian military has proven itself adept at evasion, however; while aid to the army has been restricted, it continues to flow to the other branches. Colombia today receives more U.S. security assistance than any other Latin American country.

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*By supporting the military in counterinsurgency, antinarcotics, and domestic-order functions, the U.S. is complicit in the recent wave of violations.*

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Most joint U.S.-Mexican antidrug cooperation takes place in northern

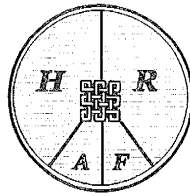
Mexico. Here as elsewhere, the drug war is not scrutinized for effectiveness. Its apparent failure is only taken to justify more military aid. As with the other countries, moreover, training of officers and soldiers in the United States creates ties between the countries' military establishments. Mexico is now sending more military trainees to the United States than any other country. Congressional human rights conditions on military aid have not applied to training.

Though military dictatorships have given way to elected civilian governments across Latin America, in no country has the military been held to account for its history of abuses of human rights, and in many countries it continues to be a main perpetrator. By supporting the military in counterinsurgency, antinarcotics, and domestic-order functions, the U.S. is complicit in the recent wave of violations.

Happily, this upsurge is too small so far to project a return to the massive violations of the 1970s and 1980s. Yet it reveals that many of the immediate causes of those abuses are still present. A major tool to protect against any such return is the exposure of violations as they occur. Organizations based in the U.S. and, increasingly, in the countries of Latin America are carrying out this work with persistent dedication and increasing reliability and efficiency. (I have relied heavily in this report on the work of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch/Americas, *NACLA Report on the Americas*, and the Washington Office on Latin America, and will supply references on request.)

The need to broadcast this information is well captured by a poster published in Guatemala accompanying the REMHI report which Bishop Gerardi released to the public two days before his death. It is divided into four quadrants, reproducing the covers of the four volumes of the report. The first picture shows a man with his hands covering his mouth; in the second he has his hands over his eyes; in the third, over his ears; and in the fourth, the man has his hands cupped around his mouth, shouting for all to hear.





# Extinction and Survival of Indigenous Cultures

by David Maybury-Lewis

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The expansion of the world's great empires in the age of imperialism visited death and destruction on indigenous peoples. This was nowhere more true than in the Americas where the military superiority of the imperialists was enhanced to an unusual degree by the natives' susceptibility to the diseases they brought from overseas. The result in the western hemisphere was a catastrophic decline in the indigenous populations. Their numbers did not start to pick up again until the nineteenth century and then only fitfully, for that was still the age when it was considered quite appropriate to massacre savages who inconvenienced those who felt they were advancing the frontiers of civilization.

## Ethnic Cleansing

Wherever the invaders encountered sparse indigenous populations that controlled or blocked access to resources that they coveted, they turned sooner or later to ethnic cleansing to rid the land of Indians. For example, the policies of the United States since independence presumed that the Indians would be removed from their lands. The hope was that they could be persuaded to relocate, but if persuasion failed or, increasingly, before it was even tried, they could be forced off their lands. So it was suggested that eastern Indians would be resettled in the territories acquired by the Louisiana Purchase. Later it was decided that they should be relocated west of the Mississippi in areas that were briefly thought of as Indian Territory until these too were invaded by settlers and their indigenous inhabitants rounded up and confined to reservations. Similar policies were pursued in the nineteenth century in Argentina and Chile, countries which, like the United States, had a sense of their manifest destiny to occupy and civilize all their lands, which extended right down to the southernmost tip of the Americas. General Roca's campaign to conquer the desert (i.e. the pampas of Argentina) was explicitly genocidal in intent, but indigenous peoples have more often been killed or annihilated simply in the process of being dispossessed. The Brazilian government reacted with some indignation when it found itself accused in the 1960s of committing genocide against the nation's indigenous peoples. It protested that there was no evidence of any official policy to massacre Indians. This is quite true. However, the government was opening up the interior of the country and urging or condoning the removal of all those (indigenous or otherwise) who stood in the way of

development. Thus in countries where Indians were a problem at the frontiers, national policies focused on their removal, to the point of genocide. On the other hand, in countries with large, settled indigenous populations, as was classically the case in Spanish America, the invading colonists were as much interested in capturing Indian labor as they were in seizing Indian lands. These then became the classic areas of ethnocide, where the conquerors strove to destroy indigenous cultures while availing themselves of the indigenous labor force.

Either way it seemed that indigenous cultures were doomed. They did not seem to fare much better in the twentieth century

than they had done previously. In countries where Indians made up a sizeable part of the population they either suffered savage repression (as in El Salvador and Guatemala) or were the targets of assimilationist policies (as in Mexico and Peru) or both. In Peru, for example, the reformist

regime of General Velasco Alvarado reacted in 1969 against the mistreatment of Indians by repressive landowners by abolishing the category of *Indio* altogether and subsuming those previously in it under the category of *campesinos*, to whom Velasco pledged his support. Meanwhile the nations of the Amazon basin dealt severely with the comparatively remote tribal peoples whose lands were invaded in the course of opening up the interior of the continent to development.

## The Obstacle of Prejudice

The constant clashes with and killings of indigenous peoples on the internal frontiers of countries such as Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru attracted international attention in the 1960s. Indigenous organizations were created to protect indigenous rights and Non-Governmental Organizations were also created both nationally and internationally to bear witness to what was happening and to give whatever support they could to indigenous peoples. My wife and I, together with colleagues from Harvard University, founded one such organization, Cultural Survival, which has recently marked its 25th anniversary. Our initial aim was to work together with the indigenous and pro-indigenous organizations forming in Brazil to bring the plight of indigenous peoples to the attention of the world and to do whatever possible to alleviate it. We quickly discovered that indigenous peoples were not only victimized by

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*We quickly discovered that indigenous peoples were not only victimized by powerful forces, but that this treatment of them was justified by powerful prejudices.*

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powerful forces, but that this treatment of them was justified by powerful prejudices. Pro-indigenous organizations therefore had to spend as much time battling these prejudices as they did offering specific assistance.

The most insidious prejudice was the attitude that is still widespread among twentieth century frontiersmen that, in General Sheridan's notorious phrase, the only good Indian is a dead Indian. More dangerous however was the belief, widely held among educated people, that indigenous cultures were obsolescent, that they would inevitably die out because they could not survive in the modern world. This comfortable assumption attributed the disappearance of Indian cultures to some kind of neo-Darwinian process, as if they were being extinguished by the laws of history because of their own inability to adapt, rather than being annihilated by powerful forces that took the lives and lands of indigenous peoples and then subjected them to fierce discrimination.

There are more sophisticated versions of such stereotypes that deserve extended rebuttal.

According to one argument, indigenous cultures cannot survive in the modern world because, even if more enlightened policies were pursued towards indigenous peoples, those same peoples will inevitably be forced to change and adapt and, in so doing, will lose their cultures. But this argument is based on a false impression of culture and therefore of cultural survival. Culture, especially an indigenous culture, is all too often taken to mean an assembly of traditional traits and customs that cannot be abandoned or modified if the culture is to persist. This is however to use a double standard, one that assumes indigenous cultures must remain frozen in time, while making no such assumption about the cultures of peoples in the industrialized modern world. Clearly all cultures are constantly changing and there is no reason why indigenous cultures cannot change too in order to survive, but they can only do this if they are given the opportunity to do so, that is if the culture bearers are not massacred, dispossessed or subjected to forced culture change. It follows that indigenous cultures can survive in much the same way as any other cultures, i.e. by having control over or at least a considerable say in their own futures so that they can change in their own ways. This in turn depends on their being located in states that allow them to survive, for indigenous peoples are everywhere subject to the authority of alien states that have conquered them and regard them as outsiders.

#### Other Obstacles

Until recently the nations of the Americas have been reluctant to contemplate the long term survival of indigenous cultures. There were two main reasons for this. First, indigenous cultures were thought to be backward and thus impediments to national development. Second, nations did not wish to abandon their

assimilationist self-image and declare themselves formally multi-ethnic. Much of Cultural Survival's work has focused on analyzing these contentions. We have been able to show that indigenous cultures pose no inherent obstacle to development. The claim that they do is usually based on indigenous opposition to specific development projects that impose huge sacrifices on indigenous groups in order to extract profits in which the indigenous peoples will not share. Nor is the argument that indigenous peoples must make sacrifices for the good of the nation supported by the evidence of major development initiatives in the Americas, where the gain is usually private and poorly distributed and the pain is borne by Indians and the non-Indian poor. Indigenous leaders as well as organizations

like Cultural Survival have presented critiques of this kind of development and argued that alternative development strategies that do not treat local populations as expendable are both possible and preferable.

Finally, the reluctance of nations to legitimize Indian separateness continues to be a serious obstacle to the survival of indigenous cultures. The reluctance derives partly from tradition and partly from principle.

The tradition is that the nations of the Americas have insisted for over five centuries that Indian cultures should disappear and the Indians themselves be absorbed into the mainstream. At the same time, ever since the enlightenment western theorists have argued that the modern and modernizing state would treat its individual citizens as equals, seeking to guarantee them liberty, equality and fraternity while it rendered ethnicity irrelevant. Ethnic subcultures would therefore evaporate in truly modern states.

It now seems that the theorists were wrong either about ethnicity or about modernity. Either modernity does not do away with ethnicity or its characteristics are different from what was once supposed. In any case, country after country is being forced to decide whether to suppress ethnic divisions (by force if necessary) or to accommodate them. Many countries, including some which by most standards are undoubtedly modern, are accommodating them. Spain, for example, which launched the colonization of the Americas and left its centralizing legacy in the Hispanic states that emerged after the break-up of its empire, has now granted local autonomy to its own provinces. This means that Basque is an official language in the Basque province, just as Catalan is in Catalonia, and the provinces have jurisdiction over their local affairs. Similarly Britain, which colonized most of North America, has now devolved control of local affairs to parliaments in Scotland, Wales, the Isle of Man and even Northern Ireland, under an arrangement where, if it works, Northern Irelanders will be able to think of themselves simultaneously as Irish and British and to emphasize their links to either or both polities. Clearly there is considerable reconsideration taking place concerning the nature of the state.

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*Clearly all cultures are constantly changing and there is no reason why indigenous cultures cannot change too in order to survive, but they can only do this if they are given the opportunity to do so, that is if the culture bearers are not massacred, dispossessed or subjected to forced culture change.*

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## Efforts at Reconsideration and Protection

Reconsideration is also taking place in the Americas. Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and Bolivia have all formally proclaimed themselves pluriethnic nations. It is not yet clear how or if these new constitutional arrangements will be put into practice, but the mere fact that such a radical change in policy has now become official in a number of countries after five centuries of denial is of itself significant. The reasons for it are complicated, but some broad tendencies can be discerned. International discussion of and opposition to colonialism throughout the world led to a new questioning of internal colonialism in the Americas. Meanwhile indigenous peoples in this hemisphere, whether caught in the middle of civil wars, as in Guatemala and Peru, or bearing the brunt of aggressive developmentalism, as in the Amazon basin, began to organize to defend themselves and to take their cases to the United Nations and other international bodies such as the International Labor Organization. Provisions for self-determination were developed by these organizations and

became part of a new body of international law. These provisions, even though they are not yet agreed to by most nations, have created expectations and a certain momentum, so that the idea of indigenous self-determination is now on the international agenda. Meanwhile in country after country there has been a growing realization that their traditional indigenist policies were not working.

Here the combination of organization and action by indigenous peoples and the research and writing of pro-indigenous groups has led to a situation where many of the old stereotypes about indigenous peoples are discredited and new visions of development and the reorganization of the state are at least entertained. Finally, it has become abundantly clear that the story of the Americas is not simply about the destruction of indigenous cultures. It is also about the passionate defence of their cultures by those Indians who survived and their extraordinary determination that their cultures too shall survive with them. ■



## CALLING ALL MEMBERS

### SECTION-SPONSORED TRAVEL TO CUBA

A trip to Cuba will take place from April 2-April 11, 1999, organized by the LASA Section on Scholarly Relations with Cuba. This activity, co-sponsored by the University of Havana, will provide faculty, administrators and graduate students an opportunity to visit Cuba to conduct research, participate in educational programs and organize academic exchanges. The three themes of the trip will be *higher education*, *women's studies*, and *U.S.-Cuba relations*. The trip will include visits to historical sites in Havana, Santa Clara and Trinidad.

The group leaders are Jean Weisman and Barbara Schroder. Weisman is the administrative coordinator of the City College Center for Worker Education, and produced the video "From Maids to Compañeras" about the lives of former domestic workers in Cuba. She has organized numerous research trips to

Cuba as well as LASA delegations to the U.S. Congress and the National Security Council. Barbara Schroder teaches anthropology and education at Lehman College and conducts educational research at CUNY's Center for Advanced Study in Education; she has worked in Ecuador and Nicaragua. U.S. Treasury Department guidelines allow for travel to Cuba for research and educational purposes, with a license, which we will make application for. The estimated cost of the trip is approximately \$1200, which will include airfare from Miami, hotels, meals, and transportation in Cuba, and administrative expenses. For further information, please contact Barbara Schroder, LASA Cuba Trip, CASE-CUNY Graduate Center, 25 W. 43 St. #620, New York, NY 10036. Tel: 212-726-8677. E-mail: [schroder@bway.net](mailto:schroder@bway.net).

### THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY STUDIES ASSOCIATION AND LATIN AMERICA

Latin America scholars know of the growing interest in Latin America by the European Union (EU), the evolving supranational government and economic union which currently comprises fifteen countries in Europe and the Mediterranean. The EU, in fact, claims to be Latin America's leading development funds donor (62 percent of total funds received in Latin America) and its second-largest trading partner. The EU has donated more than three billion *ECUs* in financial and technical aid, support for regional integration, and humanitarian aid, especially in Central America. The EU has trade agreements with the Andean Community, MERCOSUR, Chile, and Mexico, and is engaging in talks with Cuba on EU-Cuba relations. Previous collaborations between the EU and Latin America have included the San José Dialogue, the Rio Group,

and inter-parliamentary conferences between the European Parliament and the *Parlatino*, to name a few. In February 1998 European Commission Vice President Manuel Marin held talks with César Gaviria, Secretary General of the Organization of American States.

Recognizing the growing importance of Latin America-EU relations, the European Community Studies Association (ECSA) invites Latin America scholars with an interest in Latin America-EU relations, European integration, or the European Union to submit paper or panel proposals for its Sixth Biennial International Conference, to be held June 2-5, 1999 at the Westin William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Deadline for receipt of proposals is *October 15, 1998* and all

proposals must be accompanied by the one-page cover sheet which can be found on ECSA's Web site at [www.pitt.edu/~ecsa101/conf99.htm](http://www.pitt.edu/~ecsa101/conf99.htm). Among the topics of interest to Latin America scholars at ECSA's 1997 Biennial Conference were papers on the Helms-Burton Law (Joaquín Roy, University of Miami), Iberia and Europe (Maritheresa Frain, George Washington University in Madrid), and others addressing the European Union's emerging external development and trade policies in Latin America.

Like LASA, the ECSA is an international scholarly association and non-profit organization with its headquarters at the University of Pittsburgh. Founded in 1988, its members are scholars, policymakers and practitioners across disciplines who are following European integration. For further information please visit ECSA's Web site at [www.pitt.edu/~ecsa101](http://www.pitt.edu/~ecsa101), send an e-mail to [ecsa+@pitt.edu](mailto:ecsa+@pitt.edu), or write the ECSA Administrative Office, 405 Bellefield Hall, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260 USA. ■



## NEWS FROM LASA

### LASA VOLUNTARY SUPPORT

#### LASA Welcomes Three New Life Members!

You may have been lucky enough to be on the receiving end of any of three recent mailings on behalf of the LASA Endowment Fund. Carmen Diana Deere and Lars Schoultz, Co-chairs of LASA's Development Committee, drafted letters to Past Presidents of the Association, senior LASA members and Directors of Title VI Centers, encouraging commitment to a Life Membership. Eight other Past Presidents who are also Life Members joined in the appeal to Past Presidents. The letter to LASA seniors, co-signed by Cole Blasler, Planned Gift Chair and President Susan Eckstein, also contained the newly-prepared bequest brochure and suggested consideration of a gift from members' estates.

We are delighted to report that thus far three Past Presidents have responded with commitments to Life Memberships. **Richard Adams, Paul Drake and Federico Gil** are LASA's newest Life Members, bringing the total number of Life Members to 38! We thank them for their generosity and support for LASA's efforts to fully endow the Fund. We also acknowledge and thank several others who have responded with generous contributions, including Past President **Henry Landsberger** and LASA member **David Popper**. Proceeds from both Endowment Funds, Humanities and General, will be used to assure the travel of Latin American scholars to LASA Congresses and will fund special initiatives not possible with ordinary income. *For more information on either a Life Membership or a bequest please contact LASA Voluntary Support at 412-648-1907 or via e-mail ([lasa+@pitt.edu](mailto:lasa+@pitt.edu)).*

The following members have made generous commitments to the **General Endowment Fund** since the last edition of the *Forum*:

B. W. Aston  
John Browder  
Jack Child

Rosario Espinal  
Alberto J. García  
Merilee Grindle

Bryan Roberts  
Robert W. Shirley

And these have contributed generously to the **Humanities Endowment Fund**:

Rut Diamant  
Georgette Magassy Dorn

M. Elisa Fernández  
Samuel Malueiros

The LASA Travel Fund was instituted in 1996 to facilitate direct member support for travel for the upcoming Congress. Thus far 125 donors have provided support for LASA98 travel; their contributions total \$2882. We gratefully acknowledge these most recent donors to the **LASA Travel Fund**:

Mary Addis  
Rhodante Ahlers  
Claudette Kemper Columbus  
Douglas Graham  
Daniel Grippo  
Joy E. Hayes

Judith Adler Hellman  
Jane Jaquette  
Jon Jonakin  
Christine Krueger  
Eloise Linger

Celia López-Chávez  
Christopher Lutz  
Marcia Stephenson  
Junichi Yamamoto  
Marc Zimmerman



### ON CARLOS BASOMBRIO

To the Editor:

I share the alarm of Carlos Basombrio as expressed in his piece "Human Rights in Latin America: Why Now the Journalists?" (LASA Forum Vol. XXIX, no. 1, Spring 1998), and his two hypotheses about the determinants of attacks against journalists are part of the explanation. Certainly democratic institutions need to be consolidated (in "authoritarian democracies" executives dominate parliaments and judiciaries and the media is the only independent institution). Perhaps, too, such crimes draw more attention today, now that large-scale dirty wars are over in most countries (Colombia stands out as an exception). But a full explanation of the wave of attacks against journalists—and other sectors—requires consideration of additional factors, in my judgment: first, the persistence of national security structures and concepts within the region's armed, security, and intelligence forces; second, the mantle of impunity that continues to shield human rights abusers from justice; and third, the continued use of fear and terror as political weapons by powerful sectors in Latin America.

In a number of Latin American countries the military, security, and intelligence forces remain largely unreformed despite transitions to democracy and the end of the Cold War, posing a potential (and in some cases, actual) danger to democratic consolidation. Within many of these forces exist enduring structures from the counterinsurgency era such as commando units, special operations forces, urban combat squadrons, and political intelligence organs. Retired personnel from such units remain a potent destabilizing force as well. In Argentina, for example, ex-repressors are owners or employees of private security agencies or hold posts in government. State intelligence organs in many countries have continued to carry out political surveillance (sometimes at the behest of civilian governments), with little democratic oversight. The legacy of politicized national security doctrines means that many officers still regard regime critics such as journalists, opposition politicians, unionists, and dissident students, professors, and priests as subversive—and so do some authoritarian (although elected and civilian) presidents.

In some cases targeting these sectors still seems to be a component of military strategy. As Mr. Basombrio (and Catherine M. Conaghan in the same issue) show, the Comando Conjunto of the Peruvian armed forces published a public denunciation of the owner of Channel 2 for damaging the prestige of the armed forces, and the military assumed control of the station. In Colombia paramilitaries closely linked to the army have carried out assassinations of journalists and of whole villages considered "subversive" (most recently this week in Barrancabermeja).

In other cases the perpetrators of crimes against journalists and

dissidents are more difficult to discern. In Guatemala, the assassination of Bishop Juan Gerardi in April drew international attention, but it was only the most widely known human rights crime in April and May 1998. There was a wave of threats and warnings against human rights defenders, members of the Church and its Project to Recover Historical Memory (REMHI), electoral candidates, and peasant and union leaders after the murder of the bishop, and two more assassinations (of the mayor of Santa Cruz del Quiché and the Retalhuleu prosecutor whose cases included the Efraín Bámaca case). The assassination of the mayor, who was affiliated with the Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala (FDNG), came just before elections in thirty municipalities in which other candidates from that party were running, representing sectors of Guatemalan society that have had no political voice in the country for forty years. In May, many of those candidates received death threats from Jaguar Justiciero, the death squad linked to sectors of the military in the past—and this group claimed credit for the murder of the bishop. These threats and crimes constituted clear political messages designed to arouse fear. A spokesperson for REMHI said in May that responsible for the assassination of the bishop were "repressive structures that remain intact;" Congressman Amílcar Méndez of the FDNG said that the government as yet had not dismantled the bands of assassins within the interior of army military intelligence; and the Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (GAM) stated that the assassinations showed that elements of the clandestine units of repression continued functioning.

Many Argentines suspect that surviving structures of the dirty war apparatus operating within the military, security, and intelligence forces or within the state apparatus are involved in crimes reminiscent of the dirty war, including bombings and assaults on journalists, judges, and lawyers, and there is considerable evidence to support this view. In the Cabezas case, several police officers, one retired army officer who was the security chief for a powerful businessman closely linked to the Menem administration, and common criminals have been arrested. Neighbors testified that the night of the murder police cleared in advance the area where the journalist was seized and executed, telling neighbors that a counterdrug operation was imminent. In 1997 one Congressional deputy said, "The homicide of Cabezas reveals clearly the existence of criminal bands—like the sinister Triple A and organizations during the past military dictatorship—that keep acting from the apparatus of the state." The sophisticated methods of these shadowy groups (advanced levels of coordination and timing, vehicles and cellular phones, information such as unlisted phone numbers and daily habits of the targets, professional wiretapping capabilities, and the apparent complicity of the police) suggest the involvement of intelligence organizations.

In most of the pacted transitions from authoritarian to democratic rule that took place in the region, military institutions demanded and received guarantees that they would not be prosecuted for their roles in the dirty wars. The mantle of

impunity continues to shield human rights abusers, who can go on to commit new crimes. In other words, as human rights advocates have long argued, impunity is not an issue that can be assigned to the past; impunity reaches into the present and the future, profoundly shaping the limits and possibilities of new democracies. Continued political crimes such as attacks on journalists are rooted in the legacy of impunity.

Finally, it must be said that U.S. promotion of new counterterrorism and counterdrug missions for the region's militaries—which encourage internal security roles and which Human Rights Watch states are correlated with increased human rights abuses in Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia, and Colombia—reinforces antidemocratic capabilities and proclivities within Latin America's military and security forces. All of these factors add to the explanation of what amounts to continued selective repression in the region that evokes Cold War patterns.

*J. Patrice McSherry*  
*Long Island University/Brooklyn*  
*May 27, 1998*  
*pmcsherr@hornet.liunet.edu*

Author's Response:

Lo sostenido por McSherry me parece un interesante y

documentado análisis que apunta (con sus propios énfasis y sus propias conclusiones sobre hechos específicos) en la misma dirección general que mi artículo. A saber, que la democracia en América Latina es una realidad frágil y contradictoria. Que persisten enormes problemas para su consolidación, siendo como ilustra McSherry, el excesivo poder de los militares, las violaciones a los derechos humanos y la impunidad frente al pasado, algunos de los más notorios y graves. (Como no podría coincidir en esto siendo yo, antes que cualquier otra cosa, un activista de derechos humanos en el Perú de Fujimori?)

Me alegra mucho que el artículo haya suscitado interés y reacciones. Es muy bueno además que estos temas se mantengan con fuerza en la agenda de LASA. Soy de los convencidos de que América Latina dista mucho aún de haber consolidado las condiciones para la convivencia civilizada. De allí que creo que el mundo académico, desde lo que es propio debe prestar una atención muy grande a los problemas que se plantean en el artículo y a las situaciones que con tanta elocuencia describe Mc Sherry en su agudo comentario.

Atentamente,

*Carlos Basombrio*  
*Lima, Perú*  
*29 de mayo de 1998* ■

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#### ON HARASSMENT IN CHIAPAS

Dear Editor:

The case described in our letter that follows is only one of several—although certainly the most egregious—in which Mexican academics and graduate students have been detained in the course of their research in the last two months. Nor are non-Mexicans immune: three weeks ago, a renowned German Mayanist who has worked off and on in Chiapas since the late 1960s also had his visa removed at a roadblock in the Chiapas Highlands.

Clearly, this is all part of the campaign to close rural Chiapas that began with the exclusion of human rights observers soon after the turn of the year. Now that scholars and journalists are also being harassed, however, I believe it is appropriate and necessary that we seek a clarification and recitification of the situation.

Yours very truly,

*Jan Rus*  
*INAREMAC, Chiapas, Mexico*  
*June 16, 1998*  
*drus@thuban.ac.hmc.edu*

*June 16, 1998*  
*Dr. Ernesto Zedillo*  
*Presidente de Mexico*

*Dear Mr. President,*

*As scholars who have spent our careers studying and teaching Mexican history, culture and affairs, we are writing to express our concern about recent incidents of harassment and official sanctions directed against researchers and teachers in the state of Chiapas.*

*In the most prominent of these cases, Sergio Valdés Ruvalcaba, a Mexican citizen and professor at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, was arrested on April 11, 1998, in a joint military and police operation to dismantle the autonomous municipal government of Taniperlas, Chiapas. At the time of this raid, Professor Valdés had been in the community for three weeks participating in an academic project sponsored by his university entitled "Tzeltal Education: Knowledge and Community Values." In spite of the relative brevity of his visit, however, and in spite of the fact that he entered the community openly and legally to conduct educational research, Professor Valdés is now imprisoned under charges of "robbery, misappropriation of public property, and rebellion." This last charge is particularly disturbing: by the definition of the offense, Professor Valdés is accused of leading the people of Taniperlas in an uprising against the state. Quite apart from the question of whether the decision of the community of Taniperlas to declare itself an autonomous municipality was constitutional or*



not, Professor Valdés was present as an educator and researcher, not a political leader, much less a combatant.

The arrest of Professor Valdés and the prospect of a long prison sentence that now confronts him are an implicit threat to all of us, Mexicans and non-Mexicans alike, who in the course of our studies visit sites away from urban centers and a handful of resorts. If it becomes a criminal offense to be in the "wrong" place, to talk to the "wrong" people, or to be interested in the "wrong" topic, then research in, and eventually understanding

of, Mexico will necessarily decline.

As investigators, writers and teachers, we ask that Professor Valdés be freed, and the charges against him dismissed. We also hope that the state and federal governments will reaffirm Mexico's long tradition of defending the intellectual, indeed human, rights to travel, meet, ask questions and speak freely.

[Signed by Rus and thirty-six scholars from the United States and abroad.] ■



## PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL NOTES

Martin C. Needler will retire as Dean of the School of International Studies at the University of the Pacific at the conclusion of the current academic year. He will become Executive Director of the Northern California International Studies Consortium, newly organized by St. Mary's College with the aid of a grant from the Irvine Foundation.

Julio Cesar Pino received tenure and promotion to Associate

Professor at Kent State University, Ohio. His book *Family and Favela: The Reproduction of Poverty in Rio de Janeiro* was published in 1997.

Carmen Dolores Hernández is a literary critic for *El Nuevo Día*, San Juan's largest newspaper. Her book *Puerto Rican Voices in English: Interviews with Writers* was published by the Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc. in late 1997. ■



## ON AND BY LASA SECTIONS

### COLOMBIA SECTION NEWS

After becoming a LASA Section post-Guadalajara, we have quickly grown to 91 members and have planned an important human rights panel for Chicago. Our e-mail list circulates daily news articles on Colombia. It has also facilitated the rapid collection of signatures for press statements in the U.S. and Colombia (see what follows), as well as advertising employment opportunities and calls for papers. To join our list, contact Leah Carroll ([lecar@music.stlawu.edu](mailto:lecar@music.stlawu.edu)). Please come to our meeting in Chicago!

Leah Carroll  
Secretary, Colombia Section ■

### LASA SECTION AND INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC COMMUNITY CALLS ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN COLOMBIA

More than 150 professors and graduate students from four continents are signatories to the following letter to Colombian President Ernesto Samper Pizano. This is the first time such a varied group of academics have come together to urge the Colombian government to ensure the right to peacefully defend human rights.

Undersigners include academics from prestigious U.S. universities such as Harvard, Georgetown, Chicago, MIT, and Notre Dame, among many others, and include scholars from Australia, Brazil, Russia, Mexico, Israel, Spain, and Sri Lanka. The diversity of the signers, their countries of origin, and their disciplines—which range from law to dentistry to business administration—demonstrates the international concern about the deteriorating situation in Colombia.

The letter was prompted by the murder of two distinguished Colombian lawyers and human rights defenders Jesús María Valle in February and Eduardo Umaña Mendoza in April, as well as the year-anniversary of the assassination of human

rights and environmental academics and activists Mario Calderón, Elsa Alvarado, and her father, Carlos Alvarado, in their Bogotá home. In the last eighteen months, more than twenty people dedicated to the defense of human rights have been assassinated, and others have had to leave the country due to threats and imminent danger.

The letter was written before the massacre of peasants in Mapiripan on May 4 and the murder of former defense minister Gral. Landazabal on May 12. These recent killings, as well as the Commander of the Armed Forces, General Bonnet's declarations against human rights organizations and the military raid of the Intercongregational Commission for Justice and Peace on May 13, have increased scholars' concern for the deterioration of the general situation and the integrity and life of all Colombian citizens. They hope that the government will decisively confront impunity, protect the right to defend human rights and arrest those people who are involved in such horrendous acts of violence.

The text of the letter follows:

Doctor Ernesto Samper Pizano  
Presidente de la República de Colombia  
Palacio de Nariño  
Santafé de Bogotá  
Colombia

24 de abril de 1998

Estimado Señor Presidente:

El pasado sábado 18 de abril de 1998 fue asesinado en su oficina en Bogotá el abogado Eduardo Umaña Mendoza, destacado defensor de derechos humanos en Colombia. Menos de dos meses antes, el 27 de febrero, había sido asesinado en similares condiciones en su oficina en Medellín el abogado Jesús María Valle, presidente del Comité de Derechos Humanos de Antioquia. En pocos días se cumple un año del asesinato de Mario Calderón, Elsa Alvarado y su padre, Carlos Alvarado, ocurrido en la madrugada del 19 de mayo de 1997 en su vivienda en Bogotá. Mario y Elsa realizaban importantes actividades en la defensa de los derechos humanos y del medio ambiente y estaban vinculados al Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular—CINEP, reconocido instituto fundado por los jesuitas en Bogotá. En los últimos dieciocho meses, más de veinte personas dedicadas a la defensa de los derechos humanos han sido asesinadas, y muchas otras han tenido que abandonar el país por riesgos o amenazas.

Esta dramática sucesión de asesinatos de defensores de derechos humanos agrava la muy alarmante situación de violencia e impunidad que vive Colombia desde hace varios años. Es creciente la preocupación de la comunidad internacional por este deterioro, que debería ser detenido

mediante la plena vigencia del Estado de derecho. La Comisión de Derechos Humanos de Naciones Unidas en Ginebra decidió el último 20 de abril observar un minuto de silencio como un gesto extraordinario para honrar la memoria del doctor Umaná, insistir en el respeto a los defensores de derechos humanos y urgir el mejoramiento sustancial de la situación en Colombia.

Conscientes de los inmensos valores y potencialidades de la sociedad colombiana, y dolidos por la impotencia y el abuso al que se encuentra sometida, sentimos el deber de unirnos a este clamor internacional y hacer un llamado a que cesen los asesinatos en Colombia, en particular los de defensores de derechos humanos. El respeto de los derechos humanos es condición básica para el desarrollo democrático de un país. Expuesta a perder sus defensores de derechos humanos, la sociedad colombiana está quedando cada vez más desprotegida frente a las violaciones.

Por ello, solicitamos respetuosamente pero con profunda convicción al gobierno y a las autoridades colombianas garantizar el Estado de derecho, cumpliendo su papel protector de los derechos a la vida y a la justicia. Es necesario que democráticamente se tomen medidas inmediatas y eficaces para que estos dolorosos crímenes terminen de una vez y no permanezcan impunes.

[Signed by members of the LASA Section on Colombia, Scott Mainwaring, Director, Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame and more than 150 other signatories.]

For more information on this initiative please contact Professor Mainwaring at 219-631-8530 or fax 219-631-6717.



## OPPORTUNITIES ON-LINE

UT-LANIC announces Foro PYME/SME Forum (<http://lanic.utexas.edu/pyme/>), an interactive site for the exchange of information on the small- and medium-enterprise sector in Latin America. The site was launched as part of the Inter-American Development Bank's Regional Management Training Project. The SME Forum disseminates information on the Project, and also seeks to facilitate the exchange of information on SME management training in Latin America, stimulate discussion of issues relevant to the SME sector, and provide resources of value to the SME community internationally. Resources contained in the SME Forum include a searchable directory, newsletter, conference announcements, links, and the pymenet listserv.

LANIC also announces availability on-line of the Red de Redes (<http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/red/>). The Red de Redes project seeks to improve and facilitate access to Latin American information resources. Databases originally published in CD-ROM format by BIREME as part of a project sponsored by the IDRC are indexed and searchable. Institutions represented are ALIDE, CEPAL, CLACSO, CLAD, IICA, IIN, REDUC, and RISPAL. Most of the databases consist of bibliographic records; some include abstracts. Subject matter relates to the development process.

Since May 1998, sixteen databases have been converted and tested, making available for searching 240,776 records.

El proyecto Internet "Centroamérica en la posguerra" ganó licitación del Public Broadcasting System (PBS) de los EE. UU. Visite los artículos relacionados al proyecto en la prensa internacional. PBS: <http://www.weblab.org/press/round1/peacebio.html>. *Wired Magazine*: <http://www.wired.com/news/news/culture/story/12149.htm>. *NY Times*: <http://www.nytimes.com/library/tech/98/05/cyber/articles/04webfund.html>. MSNBC: <http://www.msnbc.com/news/159029.asp>. Este proyecto, de la Fundación Arias y la Fundación Acceso, concursó junto con otras 550 propuestas, por el apoyo del Weblab de PBS para la construcción de contenido Internet de temas de actualidad. Cuatro propuestas de webs "sencillos" y cinco proyectos complejos fueron aprobados, incluyendo el de Arias-Acceso. El proyecto colocará en el Internet información histórica, pero principalmente testimonios del impacto de la guerra en la vida actual de los centroamericanos. Se pondrá especial atención a la vida de los ex-combatientes, ellos que perdieron familiares y desplazados. La mayor parte del contenido se irá desarrollando con base en la participación de los públicos centro y norteamericanos a través de foros electrónicos. ■



## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The University of North Carolina at Charlotte seeks to appoint a tenure track position in Latin American Studies. The University is looking for applicants with research and teaching interests in the area of 20<sup>th</sup> century economic development. Candidates should have demonstrated research competence and have a strong interest in helping to develop an undergraduate curriculum in Latin American studies. Preferred disciplines are geography, history, political science and sociology. The best candidate will be selected and will have a full-time appointment in her or his discipline. Send curriculum vitae, cover letter and three letters of recommendation to Lyman L. Johnson, Latin American Search Committee, Department of History, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223. AA/EOE. Review of applications will begin September 1 and continue until the position is filled. Please inform the committee if you plan on attending the LASA Congress in September.

A position as Regional Vice President, Latin America is available with a Miami, FL-based company. This Division, with sales in excess of \$400 million and 110 employees, is

part of a respected Fortune 500 manufacturer of engines, trucks and school buses, and is a leader in the introduction of innovative products. The scope of this position is to provide a world class sales and distribution network that exceeds customer expectation on product delivery time, on quotations and response time. The assigned territory includes the Caribbean, Central America and South America (except Brazil). The core markets are: Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, and Uruguay. This executive must be fluent in Spanish, and able to relocate to Miami and travel 40 percent of the time. The applicant must have a minimum of five years' experience in managing people and preparing business plans; a good understanding of marketing strategies, the global transportation business, pricing, distribution, and retail and fleet sales operations; have demonstrated the ability to sell whole goods for market penetration, be customer-focused and have the ability to develop a team of top flight professional managers. For more information, please contact Corrie Lenting. E-mail: [clenting@springersouder.com](mailto:clenting@springersouder.com). Fax: 312-803-2606. ATTN: C. Lenting. ■



## RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

For the 1999-2000 academic year (August 24-May 14), the Kellogg Institute for International Studies will offer up to six residential fellowships of one or two semesters at the University of Notre Dame. Normally the awards are for one semester, but exceptions will be considered. Visiting Fellows work on individual or joint research projects related to the Institute's themes: 1) democratization and the quality of democracy, 2) paths to development, 3) religion and the Catholic Church, 4) social movements and organized civil society, and 5) public policies for social justice. While the Institute has emphasized Latin American research, proposals for projects on Europe, Asia, and Africa will be considered. The Institute seeks scholars of high accomplishment and promise from any country. Candidates should hold a Ph.D. or equivalent degree in any discipline of the social sciences or history. Applications will be evaluated individually, but joint projects will be considered. Stipends vary with seniority. Visiting Fellows have faculty status within the University and may hold joint appointments in academic departments for which they may be invited to teach a course. All Visiting Fellows receive health insurance and subsidized housing on campus; Fellows from abroad may receive one direct round-trip economy airfare. A complete application, including references and all documentation, must be received by *November 16, 1998*. Awards will be announced by February 1, 1999. The Kellogg Institute is dedicated to advancing research in comparative international studies. Additional information and application forms are available on the Kellogg Institute Home Page (<http://www.nd.edu/>

~kellogg) or by contacting Gabriela Mossi, Academic Coordinator, University of Notre Dame, The Kellogg Institute for International Studies, Notre Dame, Indiana USA 46556-5677. E-Mail: [Mossi.1@nd.edu](mailto:Mossi.1@nd.edu). Fax: 219-631-6717.

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars announces its 1999-2000 competition for Fellowships in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Located in the heart of Washington, D.C., the Center annually awards residential fellowships to approximately 20 individuals with outstanding project proposals in the humanities and social sciences on national and international issues. The Center especially welcomes projects likely to foster communication between the world of ideas and the world of public affairs. Men and women from any country and from a wide variety of backgrounds may apply. Applicants must hold a doctorate or have equivalent professional accomplishments. Fellows are provided offices, access to the Library of Congress, computers or manuscript typing services, and research assistants. Fellowships are normally for an academic year. Limited funds make it desirable for most applicants to seek supplementary sources of funding. The average support is \$41,600, inclusive of travel expenses and 75 percent of health insurance premiums for Fellows, their spouses, and their dependent children. The application deadline is *October 1, 1998*. For application materials write to the Fellowships Office, Woodrow Wilson Center, 1000 Jefferson Drive S.W., SI MRC 022, Washington, DC 20560. Tel: 202-357-2841. Fax: 202-357-4439. E-mail: [wcfellow@siwm.si.edu](mailto:wcfellow@siwm.si.edu).

Website: <http://wwics.si.edu>.

The National Humanities Center announces its 1999-2000 fellowship competition. The Center offers 35-40 fellowships for advanced study in all fields of the humanities. Both senior and younger scholars are eligible, but the latter should be engaged in research beyond the subject of their doctoral dissertations. Fellowships are for the academic year (September through May). Scholars from any nation may apply. In addition to scholars from fields normally associated with the humanities, representatives of the natural and social sciences, the arts, the professions, and public life may be awarded fellowships if their work has humanistic dimensions. Among its grants for 1999-2000, the Center will award 3-4 Lilly Fellowships for the study of religion by humanistic scholars from fields *other than* religion and theology. Lilly Fellows will form the core of a monthly seminar on religion and the humanities. The Center will also award a senior Burroughs Wellcome Fund Fellowship for which historians of medicine or biomedical science, medical anthropologists, and other scholars whose work concerns the history of twentieth-century medicine are encouraged to apply. Fellowship stipends are individually determined, the amount of a stipend depending upon the needs of the Fellow and upon the Center's ability to meet them. As the Center cannot in most instances replace full salaries, applicants are urged to seek partial funding in the form of sabbatical salaries or grants from other sources. The Center does not cover fringe benefits. In addition to stipends, the Center provides travel expenses for Fellows and their dependents to and from North Carolina. For application material, write to Fellowship Program, National Humanities Center, Post Office Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27709-2256. Applicants submit the Center's forms supported by a curriculum vitae, a 1000-word project proposal, and three letters of recommendation.

Applications and letters of recommendation must be postmarked by *October 15, 1998*. The National Humanities Center does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, national or ethnic origin, handicap, sexual orientation, or age. The Center's web site can be found at <http://www.nhc.rtp.nc.us:8080>.

The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) announces its competition for Summer Stipends. The Stipends support two months of full-time work on projects that will make a significant contribution to the humanities. In most cases, faculty members of colleges and universities in the United States must be nominated by their institutions for the Summer Stipends competition, and each of these institutions may nominate two applicants. Of the two nominees from colleges and universities, one should be a junior nominee. Academic applicants who hold the rank of instructor or assistant professor, or who are at comparably early stages of their careers, will be considered junior nominees. Those holding the rank of associate professor will be considered senior nominees. Individuals employed in nonteaching capacities in colleges and universities and independent scholars not affiliated with colleges and universities do not require nomination and may apply directly to the program. Adjunct faculty and academic applicants with appointments terminating by the summer of 1998 may also apply without nomination. The application deadline is *October 1, 1998*. Tenure must cover two full and uninterrupted months and will normally be held between May 1, 1999 and September 30, 1999. The amount of the stipend is \$4,000. For further information and application materials, write to NEH Summer Stipends, Room 318, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20506. Tel: 202-606-8551. E-mail: [stipends@neh.gov](mailto:stipends@neh.gov). Information is also available at <http://www.neh.gov>. ■



## FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Program in Latin American Studies of Princeton University invites the public to attend a conference on the September 11, 1973 military coup in Chile and its consequences. The conference, to be held on Monday, September 28, 1998, will take a retrospective look at the background and causes of the coup, and at its consequences for Chile and the world. Speakers will include Carlos Altamirano, Secretary General of the Chilean Socialist Party at the time of the coup; Senator Edgardo Boeninger, Rector of the University of Chile in 1972-73, chief of staff to President Patricio Aylwin, and author of a book on Chilean politics since 1973; and Andrés Allamand, former president of the National Renovation Party and opposition student leader in 1973. Commentators will include three authors of books on the coup and its consequences, Arturo Valenzuela, Mark Falcoff, and Paul E. Sigmund, organizer of the conference, as well as Gregory Trevorton, one of the authors of "Covert Action in Chile," published in 1975 by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities. For details about the

conference, consult the Program's web page (<http://www.princeton.edu/plasweb>) or request them by e-mail from [plas@princeton.edu](mailto:plas@princeton.edu).

The annual meeting of the New England Council of Latin American Studies will be held at Wellesley College in Wellesley, Massachusetts on Saturday, October 24, 1998. For more information and registration materials, please contact Kathleen E. Gauger, Neclas Secretariat, Smith College, Seelye Hall, Room 210, Northampton, MA 01063. Tel: 413-585-3591. Fax: 413-585-3593. E-mail: [kgauger@sophia.smith.edu](mailto:kgauger@sophia.smith.edu).

The Latin American Studies Consortium of New England invites the public to attend a conference entitled "Space, Place and Nation in the Americas" to be held on November 19-21, 1998, at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Conference participants will explore the environmental, political, cultural and territorial consequences of market

reforms and globalization in the Americas, as these are implemented and contested unevenly in space. A premise of the conference is that adjustments by people and communities to reforms are more than economic coping mechanisms, and reveal ideas and practices which question the assumptions, language and representations of market power and global competition. Panel topics will include Challenges and opportunities of state decentralization, flexible labor, space and power; On defining Latin America: socio-political, cultural and linguistic-literary perspectives; Privatization and agriculture: spatial and gender consequences of neo-liberal counter-reforms; Remaking the economy: gender, nation and development; Expanding borders; Industrial restructuring and urban (eco) politics; Cultural politics: communications, tourism and space; Place, nature and sustainable development; Territory and social movements: political ecology. For further information please contact the conference coordinator, Jacquelyn Chase. Tel: 413-577-4245. E-mail: [geolas@geo.umass.edu](mailto:geolas@geo.umass.edu).

The Latin American Jewish Studies Association (LAJSA) announces this Call for Papers for its tenth international research conference to be held Sunday and Monday, March 14-15, 1999 at Princeton University. The conference explores the historical, sociological, cultural, and literary issues/themes related to the topic: "Migration, Borders & Displacement: The

Jewish Diaspora in Latin America." To stimulate scholarly debate on a central topic linked to the colonial as well as to the modern period, LAJSA aims for a high quality, coherent program that reflects studies on the history, problematics and realities of living within two cultures. Topics for presentations may focus upon immigration, multiculturalism, historical events and conflicts, sociological and anthropological views, literary expression of nationality, ethnicity, identity, and anti-semitism, comparative views, exile and alienation, or other pertinent subjects. Proposals for papers or panels will be accepted through *January 7, 1999*. Limited funds are available for partial conference travel fellowships by individuals who submit a completed paper by *November 2, 1998* for consideration by the Program Committee, with funding preference for scholars at the dissertation stage, post-doctoral fellows, unaffiliated recent Ph.D.s, or assistant professors. Some travel funding may also be available for advanced graduate students not presenting papers. To obtain more information about the conference and registration materials, see the August 1998 issue of *Latin American Jewish Studies*, visit the Conference's Web site at <http://www.princeton.edu/plasweb/lajsa99.html>, e-mail a request to [lajsa99@princeton.edu](mailto:lajsa99@princeton.edu), or write to PLAS - LAJSA '99, Princeton University, Joseph Henry House, Princeton NJ 08544-1019. Fax: 609-258-0113. ■



## PUBLICATIONS

"Between Apocalypse and Utopia: Toward a New Theory of Postmodernism in the Americas" will be an interdisciplinary anthology of scholarly papers addressing issues related to contemporary fiction in the Americas. Contributions should discuss the paradoxes characterizing postmodern aesthetics and ideology, in particular the tension between self-referentiality and historical reflection, epistemological skepticism and ethical commitment, artistic autonomy and political solidarity, entropy and history, narrative openness and closure, totalizing and micro-narratives, apocalyptic

thought and utopian projects of transformation. Although articles dealing exclusively with examples from specific literary traditions (North America, Brazil, and Spanish America) will be considered, the editors encourage comparative (inter-American), as well as theoretical approaches. Please send requests for information or submission materials (a resume and brief abstract) as soon as possible to Santiago Juan-Navarro, [navarros@servax.fiu.edu](mailto:navarros@servax.fiu.edu) or James Lopez, [jlopez01@fiu.edu](mailto:jlopez01@fiu.edu). The deadline for submission of final contributions is *February 1, 1999*. ■

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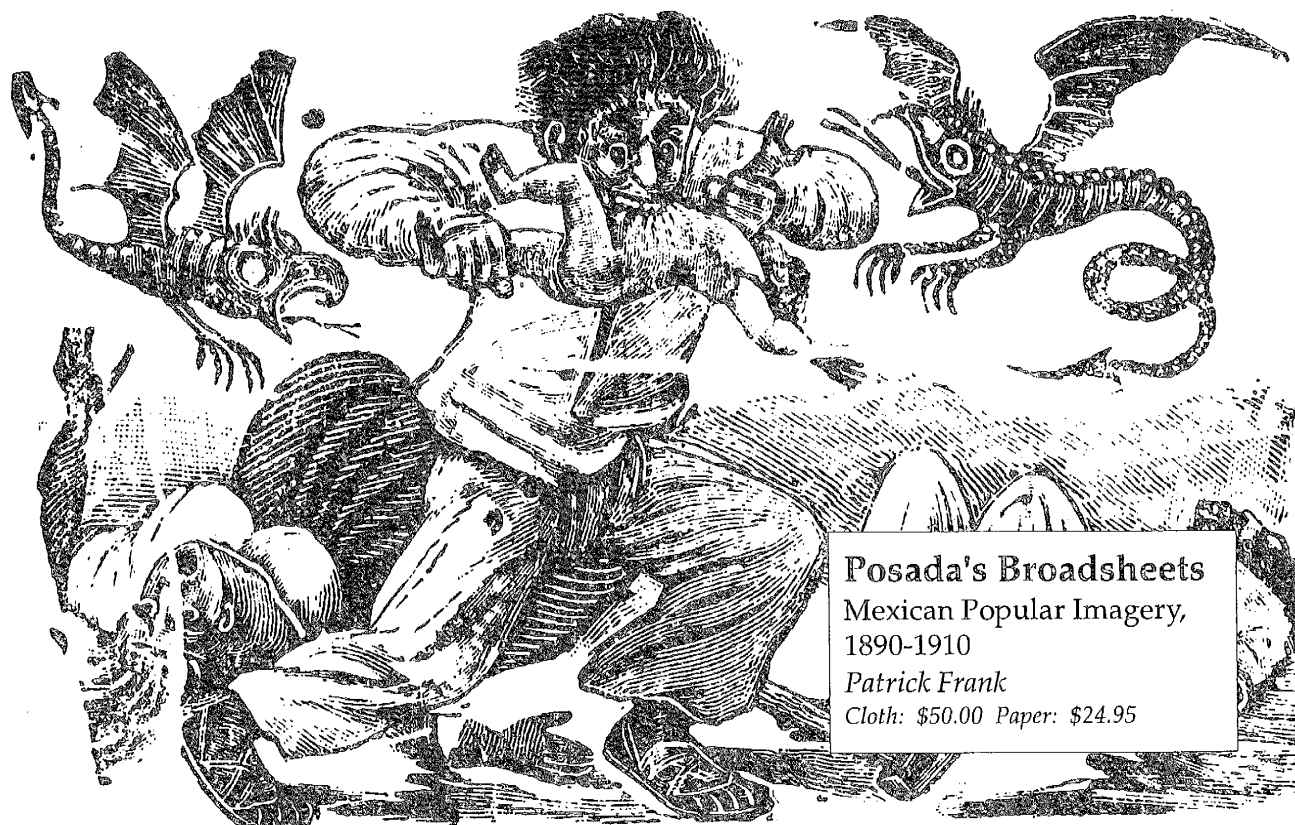
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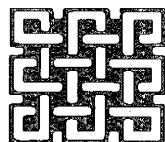
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*Important new details in this issue*

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