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Economic News Offers 'Wonder of Wonders'

CHRIS.SCI.MON.:03-23-90

1/2/82

IN the musical "Fiddler on the Roof," one song included a line about "wonder of wonders." It was about a romance.

These days the "wonder of wonders" are economic events. Here are a few that have financiers shaking their heads:

- A more genuine capitalism is sweeping through Latin America.

Brazil's new president, Fernando Collor de Mello, announced last week a harsh, potentially recessionary anti-inflation package.

Brazilian governments have previously announced - and failed to carry out - three previous plans for beating inflation in the past four years. But businessmen in Brazil seem convinced that this one could actually be implemented to a large degree. If so, many state enterprises will be privatized. The budget deficit will disappear. Subsidies to business will be suspended. Government will shrink.

In Peru, the presidential candidate leading the public opinion polls for an election April 8 is Mario Vargas Llosa, an intellectual and keen proponent of the free market. He advocates selling 200

DAVID R.
FRANCIS



state companies, dismissing as many as 500,000 government workers, raising taxes, opening the country to foreign investment, and allowing markets to set prices.

Like many other economies in Latin America, the Peruvian economy has had a strong mercantilist flavor: businessmen depend on government to grant them regulatory privileges and limit competition.

Similar efforts to reduce the role of government are being pushed in Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela. The latter has carried out sufficient economic reforms, including a moderation of inflation, that it could reach a deal Tuesday with commercial bankers on the bulk of its \$28 billion in external debt. Under one option, banks would trim the loans owed them by Venezuela by 30 percent in return for guarantees on the remaining principal and interest payments.

- Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union are moving toward freer enterprise.

Nikolai Petrakov, an economic adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, told Radio Moscow this week that the Kremlin would soon publish a "program for an accelerated transition to create a modern full-blooded market. There is no alternative to this."

One press report says the program would include abolition of some planning ministries, an end to price controls, devaluation of the ruble, and the importation of more consumer goods. Another report talks of bank reforms, ending state ownership, and ruble convertibility starting July 1.

If only a portion of these reforms actually happens, it will be revolutionary.

- With the election of a conservative government in East Germany last Sunday, the way is opened for a monetary and economic union with West Germany. The plan calls for uniting the two currencies and social benefits by July 1. Also, special reception centers and most benefits for East German resettlers are to end on that date.

These measures, it is hoped, will stem the destabilizing flow of East Germans to West Germany and put the German Democratic Republic on a path toward greater prosperity. By the end of the century, a merged Germany could well economically dominate Europe even more than West Germany does now.

Other West European nations, concerned about this, will be pressing for greater integration of Germany into a more unified Europe. The European Community's Finance Commissioner, Henning Christophersen, says he expects the community to introduce a single currency in the second half of this decade.

- Hope is rising that the United States economy has avoided a real recession.

"Under Alan Greenspan, the [Federal Reserve System] seems to have been quite successful in allowing the US economy to adapt to what can be called a 'new wave' business cycle," writes Stephen S. Roach, an economist with Morgan Stanley & Co. The economy fluctuates in a relatively narrow range, avoiding both high inflation and recession.

If so, the nation's seven-year economic expansion may outlast the record nine-year expansion of the 1960s. As the "Fiddler on the Roof" song goes, that would be a "miracle of miracles."

VENEZUELA AGREES TO DEBT PROPOSAL

Bush Plan to Reduce Burden of Borrowers Gets a Lift

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

Giving a lift to the Bush Administration's debt policy, Venezuela and its bankers announced agreement yesterday on the basic terms of a plan for debt reduction and new loans.

The proposal, which covers about \$20 billion in outstanding loans, includes an option for a 30 percent reduction of debt with guarantees on principal and interest payments. This is just under the 35 percent level set in last year's deal with Mexico, the first agreement reached under the Brady plan, named for Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady.

Another option provides for the Venezuelan Government to buy back existing loans, at a deeper discount, expected to be 60 percent to 65 percent, to allow banks to choose to remove Venezuelan loans from their books if they are willing to take the loss.

Less Administration Pressure

The goal of the Administration's debt strategy, announced a year ago, is to resolve the third world's \$1.3 trillion debt problem with an emphasis on reducing existing debt rather than just making new loans. The Administration was involved in putting pressure on banks to reach an agreement with Mexico but had a less central role in the Venezuela talks.

Miguel Rodriguez, Venezuela's Minister of Planning, said at a news conference in New York that the agreement was a "crucial aspect" of the economic plan President Carlos Andrés Pérez announced last year to fight

inflation and open the economy to international trade and investment.

That program, including an increase in gasoline prices, set off riots in February 1989 in which more than 300 were killed. In response, Mr. Brady named Venezuela as a top candidate for the new debt strategy, although many bankers contended that Venezuela had created many of its own economic problems and had the resources, in oil and elsewhere, to recover economically without a substantial reduction of its debt.

The proposal for Venezuela's debt is the fourth initial agreement completed under the Brady plan, and it includes several new twists that show how each deal has been tailored to the country's problems and the bankers' desires. Final details of a deal for Philippines are thought to be nearly complete, and a deal is expected to be completed for Costa Rica, although talks have been delayed.

The Treasury officially welcomed the announcement. "I think it's significant that in no more than nine months we've had four major deals," said Treasury Under Secretary David Mulford.

A New Idea

One new idea in the Venezuelan proposal is an option for temporary — but very large — interest-rate reductions on existing debt. For two years, interest rates can be cut to 5 percent, almost half current levels. They would then rise gradually, reflecting the contention of many bankers that Venezuela faces a much less severe long-term economic crisis than Mexico does.

Another proposal, also reflecting this theme, will give banks that accept the 30 percent permanent debt reduction option the ability to get additional payments from the Venezuelan Government after six years if oil prices rise beyond a set level, expected to be near \$26 a barrel.

Venezuela also hopes to attract a substantial block of new loans from its bankers, something Mexico was unable to do in its deal.

Unlike the Mexican deal, the bankers have more options to choose from and are not basically being forcing to pick debt reduction or new loans.

M. Peter McPherson, executive vice president at the Bank of America, a member of the Bank Advisory Committee and a former Treasury Department official, said in an interview that the Venezuelan deal showed that "the Brady plan clearly has got life in it."

Critics of the Brady plan, announced in March 1989, have argued that it has not moved fast enough to deal with the world's problem debtors. Others have argued that the debt reduction, in the case of Mexico, was not enough.

A final deal with Venezuela will take the fourth-largest debtor in Latin America and the world off the negotiating list, with Mexico, the second largest, already gone. Brazil, the largest, remains, but there is hope now that the country's new President, Fernando Collor de Mello, will make the economic reforms needed to open the way to debt talks. But the situation in Argentina, where there was similar hope last year with the election of Carlos Saul Menem, has deteriorated.

"We are confident that with the implementation of the plan, our economy will begin to show the substantial benefits of our adjustment effort."

The Bush plan for easing the third world's debt burden gets a lift.

forts," said Mr. Rodriguez, the planning minister.

Venezuelan officials and the 16-bank advisory committee, headed by Chase Manhattan Bank, will now work on the final details of the plan to be sent to its more than 300 creditor banks in the United States and around the world. This process is expected to take several months.

The impact on Venezuela will not be clear until the banks choose among the options they are presented.

Two Main Options

There are two main debt-reduction options. One is for a 30 percent reduction, combined with guarantees on principal and interest that will be paid for by Venezuela, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and several countries, including Japan and Spain. The amount of these guarantees was not announced, and it could be a difficult issue in the final negotiations over the next few months, as was the case with Mexico.

Under this option, the banks can choose to reduce the face value of their existing loans and be paid interest at the rate of the London Interbank rate plus 13/16 of a percentage point. The London Interbank rate is now 8.75 percent.

Banks can also keep the face value of their loans, but accept a cut in the current interest rate to a fixed level of 6.75 percent.

In both cases, the banks would also get special security that would guarantee them additional payments from the Venezuelan Government if Venezuela's crude oil price passes a set rate, adjusted for inflation, after six years. The additional payments would be made each six months for 24 years, the remaining life in the 30-year bonds, when the oil price was over the threshold. These certificates can be traded separately from the new debt reduction bonds, which a banker said adds to their attractiveness.

At a Deep Discount

The other debt reduction option is a debt buyback under which the Venezuelan Government would offer to buy back existing loans based on a discount set by the Government. This discount is expected to be around 60 to 65 percent.

Under the temporary debt reduction proposal, the banks would accept an interest rate cut to 5 percent in the first two years, 6 percent in the third and fourth years, and 7 percent in the fifth year. For the remaining 12 years of the bond, the interest would be the London Interbank rate plus 7/8ths of a percentage point.

Venezuela and Banks Near Agreement on Debt Relief

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By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

Venezuela and its commercial bankers are moving toward a debt agreement that is expected to include a provision for substantial, but temporary, debt relief.

The relief would come in the form of a large reduction in the interest rates that Venezuela pays on its \$21 billion of loans from commercial banks. These rates, now around 10 percent, could be reduced by several percentage points. If economic conditions improve over the next several years, the interest rates would return toward their present level.

Commercial bankers and officials in the negotiations, which have been going on and off for more than a year, said the proposal was necessary because the bankers believe that Venezuela, unlike Mexico and Brazil, does not need debt reduction.

The country's push for it, they argue, is politically motivated to help the Government win support for the difficult economic changes it put through to fight inflation. Those

changes include the privatizing of state-owned industries and opening the economy to foreign investment. The restructuring has pushed the country into a deep recession, with the economy declining by at least 8 percent over the last year.

If an agreement is reached that contains the temporary reduction, it would be the latest under the Brady Plan, the Bush Administration's strategy to ease third world debt, named for Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady. Mexico was the first to reach an agreement under the Brady plan, which was announced a year ago. The Philippines and Costa Rica have also reached agreements.

"We are certainly moving very nicely in a very good atmosphere toward an agreement," said one banker about the Venezuela negotiations. "In the next couple of weeks we could be there." Like others commenting on the negotiations, he asked not to be identified.

Miguel Rodriguez, the Minister of Economic Development and head of

the Venezuelan negotiating team, was in New York last week to meet with the banks' advisory committee, led by the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Several Options

In a final plan, a temporary debt-reduction provision would be one of several options. Bankers and officials said the plan also contains an option to buy back debt, with Venezuela purchasing some existing debt at a discount below the face value that would be based on bids from banks.

It also contains an option, comparable to one in the Mexican agreement, that would set a specific level of debt reduction. It was 35 percent in the Mexican plan.

In Venezuela's case, the banks would exchange existing debt for securities with a lower face value or a lower interest rate. These securities would come with guarantees that would cover the principal and interest payments. The money for these so-called enhancements would be provided by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other countries, probably including Japan.

There is still intense discussion over the temporary debt-reduction proposal, bankers and officials said. In debt terminology, the provision is called recapture. While there were recapture provisions in the Mexican

agreement, bankers involved in both sets of talks said the banks were unlikely to regain anything under the Mexican agreement because they were not very stringent.

Advantage of Temporary Cut

"They are looking for something better, but I don't know if they are going to get it," one Bush Administration official said.

Several bankers said a temporary debt-reduction option would probably offer a larger cut in interest rates than a proposal in which the level of debt reduction is set by agreement.

Another issue is the contention of some bankers that regardless of the debt reduction and loan options agreed upon, there is also a need to redefine the terms and conditions of Venezuela's existing debt. Bankers will also want Venezuela to keep current on interest payments. It has begun to pay some interest on its existing debt, bankers said, but is still behind on a payment that was due at the beginning of the year.

Venezuela's new President, Carlos Andrés Pérez, said when he took office a year ago that he wanted a 50 percent reduction in the country's existing debt to commercial banks, but bankers refused, saying no debt reduction was justified. In September, Mr. Rodriguez, the lead negotiator, proposed an approach that included the current list of options and backed away from the 50 percent demand.

*opening up econ
privatizing.*



Vice President Quayle, right, shakes hands with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez at joint news conference Friday in Macuto, Venezuela.

Quayle Joins 'Rolling Summit On Nicaragua' in Venezuela

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

MACUTO, Venezuela, March 9—In what one U.S. official described as a "rolling summit on Nicaragua," Vice President Quayle met here today with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez.

The three discussed steps, including the demobilization of the contras, that could lead to the demilitarization of Nicaragua, where an opposition coalition recently defeated the ruling Sandinistas, according to U.S. officials. Quayle and Gonzalez are on their way to Chile for the inauguration Sunday of President-elect Patricio Alywin.

This afternoon, the U.S. vice president left for Barbados, where he is to meet with Caribbean leaders Saturday before departing for Santiago, Chile. He is accompanied by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who also attended the session with Perez and Gonzalez.

A U.S. official discussing the Nicaraguan issue said that among steps being considered is giving the United Nations a peacekeeping role to help keep the contras and the Sandinista army apart.

The establishment of designated "zones" for the contras inside Nicaragua also was discussed, along

with a U.S. aid package, to be announced Tuesday by President Bush, that is to include aid aimed at enabling the contras to return to farming.

The three-leader session was said to have been devoted entirely to the problems in Nicaragua, where newly victorious President-elect Violeta Chamorro and outgoing President Daniel Ortega are engaged in a contentious transfer of power.

Venezuelan President Perez has been trying to mediate the demobilization of the contras. Ortega has demanded that they be dismantled before he will give up control of Nicaragua's military and security apparatus.

Ortega is to meet in Venezuela with Perez Saturday, and Chamorro was here Thursday and spoke with Quayle by phone as the vice president was en route from Washington for the first stop of what is to be a six-nation South American tour.

Perez said at a joint press conference with the vice president today that he and the other leaders were trying to help in the transfer of power to the Chamorro government so that "the little cloud of the contras will have disappeared from the sky" by her April inauguration.

A number of Latin leaders, at the invitation of Gonzalez, will fly with him from here to Chile.

Mafia unit in Caracas called key drug group

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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An organized crime group in Venezuela is running drugs and laundering money as part of a little-known international operation, according to an authority on organized crime.

"The Sicilian Mafia branch in Caracas is the prime mover in contracts with Colombian drug traffickers," said Claire Sterling, author of "Octopus," a book released this week on the so-called Sicilian Mafia.

According to Miss Sterling, an authority on terrorism and organized crime, the Sicilian Mafia in Caracas is the "money branch" of a global syndicate and arranged the delivery of tons of cocaine and smaller amounts of heroin to the United States and Europe beginning in the late 1970s.

The network of Sicilian Mafia connections runs from Palermo, capital of the Mediterranean island of Sicily, to Caracas, Montreal, London, Geneva and Hong Kong, Miss Sterling said in an interview.

She described the Venezuelan organization as "the Sicilian Mafia's most powerful constellation" outside Italy. She identified the leaders of the group in Caracas as three broth-

ers, Pasquale, Paolo and Gaspare Cuntreras — Sicilian-born naturalized Venezuelans.

"The Cuntreras might be nobodies for all that is known of them in the outside world," she wrote. "Inside Venezuela, they are known too well in certain quarters to be talked about."

Bush administration sources confirmed that the Cuntreras are suspected organized crime figures involved in drug trafficking, but they declined to comment further.

The Cuntreras operation, estimated to be worth several billion dollars, has operated since the early 1970s in gambling, loan-sharking, extortion and prostitution, according to Miss Sterling. But today, the group specializes in the use of international banks to launder billions of dollars in profits from the drug trade, she said.

The group also runs a network of front companies involved in such diverse enterprises as meat processing, real estate, casinos, oil sales and textiles.

The Sicilian Mafia is a separate organization from U.S. organized crime groups, she said, although there are contacts.

Venezuela is being used increas-

ingly by drug traffickers as a transshipment point, according to U.S. State Department and Drug Enforcement Administration officials. An estimated 15 to 20 tons of cocaine pass through Venezuela en route to the United States and Europe each year, and shipments of cocaine, primarily produced in neighboring Colombia, are increasing.

Heroin trafficking is carried out on a smaller scale, according to officials who asked not to be named.

A Western diplomat in Caracas said yesterday that U.S. and Venezuelan authorities are working to cut cocaine shipments. He said money laundering is a growing problem.

"The DEA used to talk in terms of kilos; now they use tons," the diplomat said of the cocaine shipments through Venezuela.

Otto Reich, U.S. ambassador to Venezuela from 1986 to 1989, said the problem of drug trafficking and money laundering through Venezuela has grown more serious in recent years.

"It's impossible to quantify the amounts of money," he said. "We just don't know, but we have a lot of programs that are trying to identify it."

The Venezuelan government broke up one organized crime group in 1988, when more than two dozen people, including a reputed Italian organized crime figure, were arrested and jailed for laundering drug money through Canada.

How Latin America's Economies Look After a Decade's Decline

N.Y. TIMES: 02-11-90

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AFTER a decade in which average incomes fell while foreign debt and inflation soared, Latin America remains in deep economic crisis. The future of its new democracies may well rest on the ability of civilian leaders to improve living standards in the 1990's as they try to modernize their economies in the face of enormous obstacles.

The crisis, which began in the 1980's when interest rates shot up and prices for export commodities fell, is continuing even though some countries in recent months have managed to earn more from exports and thus improve their trade balances. Forces working against advancement include high inflation, which forces some countries to take steps that limit growth, and high debt burdens, which cut into the amount of money that might be available for new investment. Hopes that the United States would deliver substantial relief from the debt burden through a plan announced last year by Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady have dimmed. Even though interest payments may be eased and some principal may be reduced, new banking regulations have made it less attractive for international banks to extend new loans.

Here is a look at the economies of some important Latin American countries.

Mexico

Swapping Debt for Hope

Under President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, who took office on Dec. 1, 1988, the country has begun a turnaround from the stagnation and contraction that began in 1981, when Mexico's oil boom collapsed. Last year inflation, which reached 160 percent in 1987, was brought down to just under 20 percent, and for the first time in 10 years the economy expanded more rapidly — at 3 percent — than did the population.

Mexico has also been reducing its foreign debt. From a 1987 high of \$107 billion, the total declined by about 10 percent even before a debt reduction agreement was signed on Feb. 4 with the country's commercial bank creditors. Finance Minister Pedro Aspe has estimated that the agreement has cut the debt to \$80 billion.

Still, Mr. Salinas faces difficulties in his efforts to modernize the Mexican economy with such measures as trying to sell state-owned airlines, utilities and food companies — steps intended to reduce the national budget deficit and make the enterprises more competitive. One problem is that tariff reductions, also supposed to force domestic producers to become more competitive, have for the moment helped to push up imports instead; this has worsened Mexico's foreign trade balance and eaten into reserves. In addition, a hoped-for boom in foreign investment has not materialized. Some analysts say that if such trends continue, Mexico could be forced back to the negotiating table with its bank creditors.

Argentina

Big Promises

Argentina is battling inflation, which totaled nearly 3,700 percent in 1989, while struggling to reorganize an economy marked by low productivity, corruption, a bloated public payroll, the flight of capital, large deficits and endemic tax evasion. President Carlos Saul Menem took office in July having promised an ambitious modernization. But his plans to privatize state companies, reform the tax code and bring order to the financial system defy with them the discipline of a strict austerity that is only beginning. Efforts to keep wages in check are threatened by resistance from labor unions, and efforts to control inflation by swapping short-term savings certificates for long-term bonds have eliminated the public's willingness to lend money to the Government.

In a departure from Argentine tradition, two television channels were sold to private interests. But privatization and deregulation in other areas, such as the selling of an unprofitable telephone company and railroads, will be tougher and slower. Argentina is trying to attract more foreign investors, but without much success. The outlook for the major export, grain, seems good, but the prospects for diversifying exports are mixed. While Argentina has a promising future as a wood, cellulose and paper producer, its chances with other manufactured

goods are hampered because most industry is accustomed to producing overpriced second-rate goods for a protected internal market.

The foreign debt of about \$65 billion is the third highest in the region; Argentina has paid no interest on the long-term portion for nearly two years and has no immediate prospects of doing so. Instead, it is desperately seeking new loans and credits from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the United States to stabilize the foreign exchange rate.

Chile

Austerity's Payoff

Chile is reaping the benefits of tough austerity and free-market changes imposed in the mid-1970's by Gen. Augusto Pinochet, who is to cede power in March to an elected President, Patricio Aylwin. Mr. Aylwin will inherit a deficit-free Government and an economy that has had five years of strong growth. Exports are surging as a result of diversification into fruit, fishing and forestry, and of relatively high prices for copper, Chile's most lucrative product.

The foreign debt, which in 1987 approached \$21 billion, has been cut to about \$17 billion; reserves bought back some of the principal at discount, and interest payments are on schedule. Chile expects to return to voluntary credit markets next year.

There is evidence that the poor and lower middle class have not benefited as much from the growth as the rich. A challenge for Mr. Aylwin will be narrowing that difference without damaging the economy's stability or jeopardizing its growth.

Brazil

Enormous Debt

With Latin America's largest economy, Brazil is beginning the 1990's with elephantine problems — an inflation rate of 1,765 percent for 1989, economic growth that barely keeps up with population growth and a foreign debt of \$110 billion, the largest in the third world. The Government stopped paying interest on the debt last July, and, as one result, received only half of expected foreign credit. The United States Export-Import Bank has demoted Brazil to the bank's riskiest loan category.

Fernando Collor de Mello, who takes office on March 15 as Brazil's first popularly elected President since the early 1960's, won on a platform of support for free markets, privatization, foreign investment, antitrust legislation, prison terms for tax cheats and generous debt relief. Business leaders are enthusiastic.

Venezuela

The Price of Change

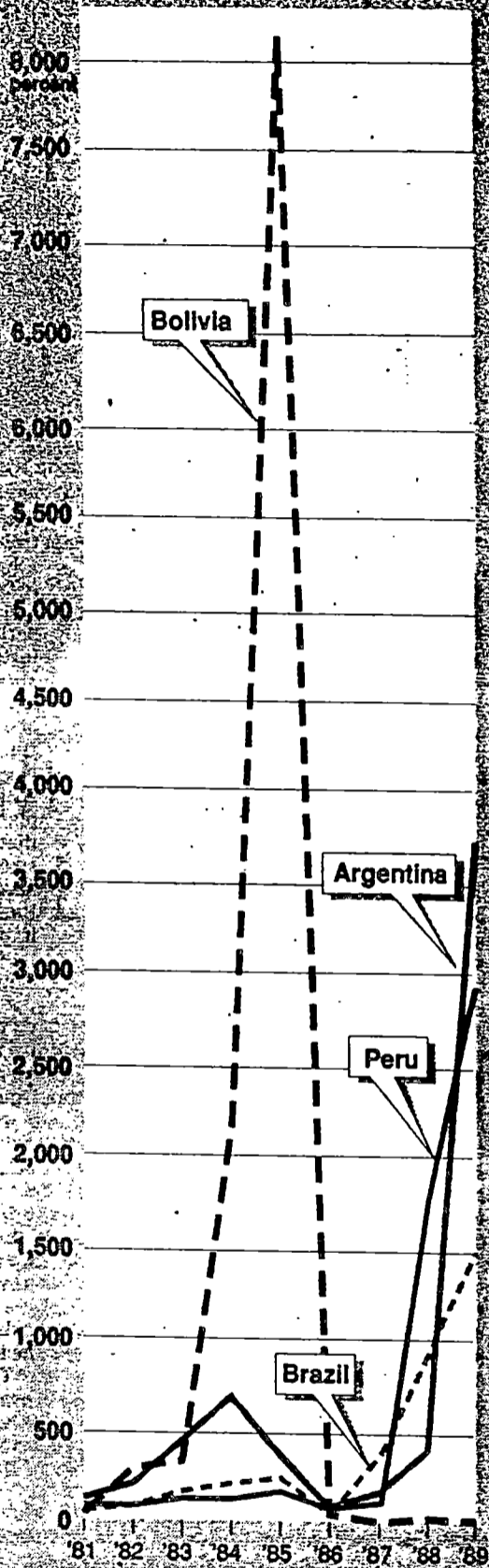
Venezuela, Latin America's largest oil exporter after Mexico, is struggling to recover from deep recession; in 1989, the gross domestic product plunged 8 percent. President Carlos Andrés Pérez largely created the recession with a drive to reshape the state-dominated economy along free-market lines. He has cut subsidies and tariffs, encouraged foreign investment, put state companies up for sale and started talks on debt relief with foreign bankers. One goal is to lure back an estimated \$60 billion in capital that has been sent abroad.

The austerity required to carry out the changes set off riots in Caracas a year ago in which about 300 people died. An inflation rate of 80 percent also contributed to a poor showing of Mr. Pérez's party in 1989 elections. Mr.

Recession

The inflation monster

Annual inflation rates in percent for Latin American countries. Bolivia managed to tame its staggering inflation of the mid-1980's; Argentina, Peru and Brazil now face similar struggles.



Pérez has sought to soften the blow by creating public works programs and unemployment insurance. A recent rise in oil prices has provided some relief.

Andean Nations Terror Raids the Markets

Terrorism and investor nervousness hobbled growth in 1989 in Colombia and Peru, the two largest economies of the Andes.

Colombia, where inflation has traditionally been low and the foreign debt manageable, is suffering from a war by cocaine traffickers against the Government. The violence has provoked flights of capital and professionals. While the world focused on the country's cocaine exports, Colombians complained that their legitimate exports — coffee, flowers and bananas — were being hurt by higher tariffs and lower prices. In addition, leftist groups have been attacking coal mines and oil pipelines.

Peru rivaled Argentina for the continent's worst economic indicators of 1989: 2,775 percent inflation and a 10 percent drop in growth. Investors have been frightened off as Peru struggles against leftist guerrillas. As in Brazil, many people are betting on a free-market advocate: Mario Vargas Llosa, who leads all opinion polls as the April presidential election approaches. He proposes radical changes and has vowed to reduce inflation in his first year in office to 10 percent by cutting public spending and by selling off state enterprises.

Avoiding the wild swings of their neighbors, Ecuador and Bolivia experienced social peace, and modest growth and inflation in 1989. They have joined, to differing degrees, in Latin America's drive for private enterprise. But for both, real growth will continue to depend largely on prices for mineral exports — tin in Bolivia and oil in Ecuador. Bolivia, where consumer prices rose 8,170 percent in 1985, has tamed inflation — it was 16 percent last year — but at a huge cost. Public spending was drastically cut and government services reduced, and most state-run tin mines, which had been operating at a loss, were closed. Private mines were allowed to remain open

A dismal decade

Change in per capita gross domestic product, 1981 to 1989.

Mexico	-9.2
Venezuela	-24.9
Colombia	13.8
Brazil	-0.4
Ecuador	-11.1
Peru	-24.7
Bolivia	-26.6
Chile	9.6
Argentina	-23.5

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

U.S. CUTS BACK TRIP QUAYLE WILL MAKE IN LATIN COUNTRIES

OBJECTIONS RAISED BY 2

Venezuela and Mexico Visits Are Put Off, but Honduras and Panama Tour Is On

10/17/82
By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 — Lingered anxiety among Latin American nations over the American invasion of Panama has forced the Bush Administration to limit a diplomatic mission by Vice President Dan Quayle by putting off trips to Mexico and Venezuela, Administration officials said today.

Mr. Quayle's office announced today that he would travel late this month to Honduras and Panama, two nations that are reliable supporters of United States policy in Latin America. The Administration added a third stop in Jamaica.

But objections from Mexico and Venezuela, two vociferous critics of the Panama invasion last month, have forced the White House to set aside stops in those countries by Mr. Quayle. President Bush has said he was sending Mr. Quayle to Latin America to repair any damage caused by the Panama operation.

Continuing Problems

In Panama today, the new civilian President, Guillermo Endara, said he would go to Washington "as soon as possible" to ask for emergency economic aid, including a \$200 million public-employment program and \$40 million to rebuild homes destroyed in the invasion that toppled Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The diplomatic sensitivity of Mexico and Venezuela, which are important to United States regional policy, dramatized the continuing political problems the Administration is facing in Latin America after its armed intervention.

On Tuesday, Administration officials said they had postponed plans to deploy an aircraft carrier battle group off the coast of Colombia to help prevent drug shipments from Latin America to the United States. News reports of the plan had forced Mr. Bush to assure the Colombian President, Virgilio Barco Vargas, that no such action would be taken without his consent. Administration officials said the Colombian Government was unsettled by the Panama invasion.

A Meeting in Honduras

The White House was trying to arrange a meeting for Mr. Quayle with President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela in Honduras, where the two will attend the presidential inauguration on Jan. 27, officials said. But there were no plans for him to meet with President Carlos Salinas de Gortari of Mexico.

Mexico and Venezuela have said it is too soon after the Panama invasion for Mr. Quayle to visit, warning that such a trip at this time could cause domestic political trouble and set off demonstrations against the United States, Administration officials said.

The White House was also concerned

that a visit might prove so awkward for the Governments of those two countries that it would harden their position against recognizing the new Panamanian Government and make it more difficult to enlist their help in economic relief programs for Panama, officials said.

Mr. Quayle's office announced today that he would visit Honduras, Panama and Jamaica on Jan. 27-29.

In March, Mr. Quayle will visit Chile and Brazil for presidential inaugurations, and Administration officials said he could add as many as three other South American countries, most likely Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina, to his itinerary.

But, after weeks of delicate negotiations, the Administration decided not to send the Vice President to Mexico and Venezuela, officials said.

The White House also decided not to schedule an immediate visit by Mr. Quayle to Costa Rica, because that country has elections on Feb. 5, and the Bush Administration wants to avoid any appearance of meddling in the vote, officials said.

No trip is scheduled to El Salvador, where the former President José Napoleón Duarte is in critical condition from cancer and received last rites from a priest on Tuesday.

The United States has long been concerned about the possibility that top officials would encounter anti-American protests in Latin America. In May 1958, Vice President Nixon cut short a visit to Caracas, Venezuela, after violent demonstrations broke out. A mob attacked his motorcade, shattering windows in his limousine, and tried to drag him from the car.

Today, Administration officials sought to put the diplomatic complications of Mr. Quayle's mission in the best light, noting that he will visit several important countries and meet with regional leaders in Honduras, where he will attend the inauguration of Rafael Leonardo Callejas as President on Jan. 27.

Mr. Quayle will also meet privately with regional officials during the Brazilian and Chilean inaugurations, officials said. They noted that Mr. Bush will meet with leaders of Colombia, Bolivia and possibly Peru during a conference on efforts to combat drug trafficking that is to be held in Cartagena, Colombia, on Feb. 15.

"No one wanted to make the point of visiting every country," a senior Administration official said.

"There are no problems with consulting with the Latin American leaders," Mr. Quayle said today at a luncheon appearance. "There is no problem as far as us taking our case to the leaders and discussing how we go about building democracy in Panama."

But he acknowledged that there were "diplomatic sensitivities" about the timing of his visits to Latin America.

A senior Administration official said the United States had approached the Governments of Mexico and Venezuela about a visit by Mr. Quayle.

"They said it would be O.K., but not so soon," the official said.

"Obviously, we wanted a trip to produce something, like recognition of the Panamanian Government or money for economic relief," the official said. "But they gave us some friendly advice that a trip right now would put these governments in a less than comfortable situation where you can't get those things."

Quayle Visit Resisted in Latin America

Panama Invasion Fallout Is a Concern

10/182/172
By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush's plan to send Vice President Quayle on an extensive high-profile tour of Latin America to shore up relations in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Panama has run into strong resistance from the planned host nations, administration officials said yesterday.

When the president announced the trip almost two weeks ago, he called it "very, very important diplomacy." He said he was sending Quayle to a number of Latin American nations to "personally deliver" his message that despite the Panama invasion, U.S. policy remains that of a "friendly, supportive and respectful neighbor."

Yesterday, officials said that Quayle probably will end up taking two trips to Latin America, both tied to presidential inaugurations he had been scheduled to attend. He plans to meet at these events with leaders who were unenthusiastic about a visit to their countries when the State Department began consultations with them after Bush announced his plan on Jan. 5.

Quayle, in a question-and-answer session following a speech to the Hoover Institution, acknowledged that certain "diplomatic sensitivities require a coordination to determine the time," but added, "No country has said we don't want the vice president period."

Administration officials said Venezuela and Mexico, among others, had indicated that heightened anti-American feelings stemming from the Dec. 20 U.S. invasion of Panama made an early trip by Quayle or any senior official unhelpful. One diplomat said, "We have never said we don't want the vice president. We have suggested that this perhaps is not the best time and a high-profile trip not the best idea."

Quayle's office announced yesterday that he would travel Jan. 27-29 to Honduras, Panama and Jamaica, which is not a Latin American nation. In Honduras, Quayle is to



VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE
... timing still to be determined

represent the administration at the inauguration of President-elect Rafael Callejas.

In addition, Quayle is scheduled to attend inaugurations in Brazil on March 11 and Chile on March 15 and is working on using that trip to visit other countries. An administration official said that the White House made a "miscalculation" in announcing Quayle's mission so soon after the invasion of Panama, when Bush believed that high-level attention to the region would be appreciated, not cause political problems for the leaders involved.

"We think if we give it a little more time and let it lie awhile" antipathy growing from the invasion and the resulting political uproar will "settle down. That's the hope," the official said.

Aides to Quayle and officials at the White House and State Department said the reluctance to have Quayle visit had little to do with the vice president. One official noted, "I don't think it had anything to do with Dan Quayle. They just didn't want anyone right now."

Some foreign leaders told U.S. officials that the trip would be an "invitation to the lefts" to attack them because of strong popular sentiment against U.S. intervention in the region. But the left has not fielded the only attacks. In Venezuela yesterday, a spokesman for the opposition said a Quayle visit there was not "opportune."

"It doesn't seem to me that Vice President Quayle's visit to try to improve relations between the

United States and Latin America is the most advisable or opportune," Eduardo Fernandez, head of the centrist Christian Democratic Copei Party told El Nacional newspaper.

David Beckwith, Quayle's spokesman, said that within two months Quayle will have met with virtually all the leaders in the region to carry the administration's message, accomplishing its goal.

Quayle said his mission "is not to apologize" but to make Panama "a successful democracy."

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LAKALAS

The ghost of Karl Marx was even unnapier than usual last week. In Moscow Alan Greenspan, guru of Republican capitalism and chairman of the Federal Reserve, tutored top Soviet officials in remedial economics. In Hungary the country's ruling party shed its Communist label. And in Caracas ranking socialist leaders of the First and Third Worlds -- President Francois Mitterrand of France, 72, on a tour of Latin America, and President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, 66 -- agreed on the virtues of the free market.

Mitterrand's conversion came early in his presidency, during the mid-1980s. His initial attempts to dash the private sector through a program of nationalization and state planning, coupled with a wealth tax, drove capital out of the country and cost workers their jobs. But he learned to make compromises with conservative politicians and alliances with industrialists to promote investment and stimulate employment.

Perez's odyssey has been much more dramatic. Not only is he changing his habits of thinking and governing, but he is trying to change the way his country develops. Like Mitterrand, Perez has been a socialist since his youth. He is still vice president, under Willy Brandt, of the Socialist International. During an earlier presidential term in the '70s, he nationalized Venezuela's oil industry, slapped controls on prices and interest rates, mandated wage boosts, increased regulation of agriculture and made government-subsidized loans to low-income city dwellers, peasants and small businessmen. Perez personified the socialist conviction that the common good can best be bought with public money. But by the time he left office, Venezuela was suffering from a massive deficit and high inflation, which were followed by a recession and crippling foreign debt when the oil boom turned to dust.

During the next ten years, Perez regarded as proteges two young fellow socialists -- Felipe Gonzalez Marquez, who became Prime Minister of Spain in 1982, and Alan Garcia Perez, who has been President of Peru since 1985. Much like his neighbor Mitterrand, Gonzalez has become an apostle of "market socialism," and he is virtually assured of re-election when Spaniards go to the polls later this month. Garcia, by contrast, stuck with policies similar to those Perez had followed in his own first term. Peru now faces economic disaster, and Garcia is almost certain to be defeated next year. After a visit to Lima last year, Perez looked down from his plane at the horrible slums below, shook his head and said, sadly and simply, "This doesn't work."

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"His" was traditional socialism. Shortly after returning to office in January, Perez let most interest rates float and ended almost all price controls. He has now begun privatizing some state-owned industries. He calls the program el Gran Viraje -- the Big Shift -- or sometimes, with a smile, Pereztroika.

The pun hints at a serious truth: the counterrevolution sweeping the Communist world has made possible what Perez calls the "de-ideologization" of politics in the Third world. That means Perez, who had to cope with bloody riots sparked by price increases in February, is at least spared having to worry about some Third world minion of the Kremlin accusing him of socialist heresy. The real perestroika makes Perez's version look tame -- and more promising -- by comparison.

GRAPHIC: PICTURE, PEREZ: NEW HABITS OF THINKING UNSCROLL: CARLOS ANDRES PEREZ.,
VANDEVILLE -- GAMMA LIAISON

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Persons with heart conditions, diabetes, epilepsy, and severe allergies, and those who are taking special medication are among the many whose lives have been saved through the Medic Alert system. Indigent people can receive this valuable service free.

It is appropriate that the people of the United States consider the contributions to the public health of the Medic Alert program.

I applaud the contributions of the Medic Alert program to the public health, and urge Americans to give the Medic Alert program their full support.

Corporation for Public Broadcasting

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report. March 28, 1978

To the Congress of the United States:

Enclosed is the "Annual Report of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for FY 1977," prepared in accordance with the requirement of Section 396(i) of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (Public Law 90-129) as amended.

The Corporation has again prepared a thoughtful report which highlights its efforts for the past fiscal year. The accomplishments of public broadcasting are well articulated with emphasis on television and radio programming, technological innovation, and human development services.

It should be noted that the projections of long range Federal financial contributions from the Federal Government exceed levels contained in the Administration's legislative proposal to reauthorize the Corporation for the period FY 1981-85.

The Annual Report is being forwarded so that it is available to the Congress for its deliberations.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,
March 28, 1978.

NOTE: The 42-page report is entitled "The Corporation for Public Broadcasting 1977 Annual Report."

Caracas, Venezuela

Remarks of President Carter and President Carlos Andrés Pérez at the Welcoming Ceremony. March 28, 1978

PRESIDENT PÉREZ. *Mr. President, Jimmy Carter, Mrs. Rosalynn:*

It is with great satisfaction that we Venezuelans receive today your visit among us. You, President Carter, and your wife have been a very well known spokesman and advocates of the cause of universal democracy. For Venezuela, because of this reason, it is a very special satisfaction to have you here, and it is a great satisfaction for us to see that our homeland is the first country you visit in this trip to Latin America, Mr. President.

You come to Latin America at a time when all of our peoples are directing their eyes and their ears towards the Congress of the United States, towards this great debate which the Senate has at present, which will decide the fate of the relations between South America and North America. Each word pronounced there is of enormous importance, and it will have a very deep impact on Latin America.

When we, the Presidents and Chiefs of State of Latin America, went to Washington and met at the headquarters of the OAS, at that time all of our peoples of Latin America, whatever be their race, their creed, or the origin of their govern-

ment, supported the treaties signed by you, Mr. President, and the Chief of State of Panama, General Omar Torrijos.

Never since the beginning of the Second World War, Latin American countries have expressed such a total solidarity as at that time.

This means that that day, on September 7, 1977, history was written in this hemisphere. This is the date when there was a deletion of the resentment between our peoples. This is the date which put an end to historical circumstances, just as the circumstances that were put to an end in the past between the United States and England, between Latin America and Spain. This is the immense meaning of that date.

And we all trust the Americanistic spirit of the Senate of the United States. We know that Republicans and Democrats represent there the people of the United States and the desire the American people have for liberty, dignity, and the sovereign rights which were first claimed in the United States in 1776, when you achieved your independence.

I say this, as I know that with my words I interpret the feelings of Latin America. We are very optimistic as far as the treaties are concerned, but I must be frank and say that we also see with great concern any parliamentary eventuality which might still appear.

However, we hope that this treaty will be parallel to a new era, this new era the Bicentennial of which you just celebrated in the United States, and we celebrated it with you also. We hope that this new treaty will be the beginning of a new era of new friendship between the United States and Latin America.

This trip, Mr. President, has also another very important meaning, and this trip means the ratification of your pol-

icy towards the problems of the Third World. The two countries you have decided to visit in Latin America are Venezuela and Brazil, and we consider this fact as an expression of your concern towards Latin American problems. Then you will go to Africa and visit Nigeria and Liberia, and again with such a visit, you will ratify the importance you give to Third World problems. We know that the Third World has in you a receptive and sincere listener and a person willing to dialog with the Third World towards the attainment of international justice.

With these brief words, I would like to tell you that your name has achieved today great dimensions in Latin America and in the world, because you have given an ethical meaning to the policies of your Government.

We, the Venezuelan people and the people of Latin America, feel deep satisfaction to see that the President of one of the most powerful countries of the world has given to human rights a high priority in the policies of his Government. These are new ethical values which you have opened in the policies of your country, and this is a new humanistic outlook you have given to world politics in general. And through it, you have helped to strengthen the struggle that people wage throughout the world towards their well-being, but their well-being with dignity.

Mr. President, Mrs. Carter, in the name of Venezuela, of my government, of my wife, and in my own name, I wish you to receive our most friendly welcome, and I would like to ask you to feel at home in this land of our liberator, Simón Bolívar.

PRESIDENT CARTER. *Mr. President, my dear friends:*

Thank you for your welcoming words.

I understand what has been said here. The ratification of the Panama treaties are also important for the United States.

This morning, I left the United States on a journey of 7 days and many thousands of miles. As I left, I told the people of my country that my purpose in making this trip would be to discuss with the leaders of four nations the great issues that will shape our future as a human family: peace, justice among individuals and among nations, the defense of human liberty, how to make the resources of the Earth meet the needs of all the world's people.

There is no place I would rather begin such a journey than here in Venezuela, my Nation's ally in support of democracy and one of the world's leaders in the solution of those issues that trouble us so much.

Of all the ties that unite our nations, none is stronger than the devotion we share to liberty. During my visit, I will place a wreath on the Pantheon of Simón Bolívar, who is as admired by my people as he is by yours. Whenever we honor one defender of liberty, we honor all whose lives served that great cause.

Just as our continents are linked, our destinies are linked as democratic nations.

We know that what in the modern world affects one nation eventually will affect all of us. That is why the strength of your democratic institutions here means so much to us.

We know that whenever the rights of any individual in the world are diminished, our own rights are in danger, and that wherever they are defended, as in Venezuela, our rights are strengthened.

Your country has many times shouldered the burden of reducing regional and international tensions and of attempting to reduce proliferation of conventional and nuclear arms. It is these responsibilities which we share that I wish to discuss with your President and my friend, Carlos Andrés Pérez.

We have united in seeking cooperation on energy and on the economic issues that exist between the nations of the North and South.

Venezuela has been an important and constructive leader in the movement toward greater regional cooperation—in the Andean Pact, in its contribution to the Caribbean Group, and in its creative direction in establishing SELA, the Latin American Economic System.

The people of Venezuela were most gracious and kind in the welcome that was extended to my wife, Rosalynn, on her visit here last year, and I am very happy to return with her.

I am proud to be here among friends.

NOTE: The exchange began at 1:22 p.m. at Simón Bolívar International Airport. President Pérez spoke in Spanish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. **President Carter also spoke in Spanish**, and the translation of his remarks follows the White House press release.

Caracas, Venezuela

Remarks at a Wreathlaying Ceremony at the Tomb of Simón Bolívar. March 28, 1978

I want to speak to all the Venezuelans and to the rest of our friends gathered here.

I am very moved. I have just offered in the name of my people the affection and respect due to the liberator Simón Bolívar. I have also just set foot on Venezuelan soil and felt the generous friendship of this great democracy.

Bolívar has not plowed in the sea. His inspiring presence and the goals that our two countries share are forces that inspire me and give me confidence in the success of our struggle for the dignity of man and the well-being of peoples in the Americas and throughout the world.

His dream and the dream of George Washington, of San Martín, of all those who struggle today for human liberty, will triumph.

I am happy to be with you.

Viva Venezuela!

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:57 p.m. at the Pantheon Plaza. He spoke in Spanish, and the translation of his remarks follows the White House press release.

Following the ceremony, President Carter and President Pérez proceeded to La Casona, the presidential residence, for meetings.

Caracas, Venezuela

Informal Exchange With Reporters Following Meetings Between President Carter and President Pérez. March 28, 1978.

PRESIDENT CARTER. We signed agreements this afternoon between Venezuela and the United States which determined the maritime boundaries between ourselves and Venezuela.

This is the first agreement that Venezuela has signed with any other country. And the next step would be to reach an agreement on fishing rights between our two countries and the marine areas that we both control.

We also signed a very important agreement between ourselves and Venezuela to control narcotics. We have an increasing problem between South America and North America in the shipment of narcotics between the two continents, and we have already begun to cooperate very closely between our two countries to control these illegal shipments.

I might say that between the United States and Venezuela there are very few differences. I am blessed by having a friend in President Pérez with great ex-

perience in international affairs and also a great interest in the affairs of the world.

He also has a different perspective from the one that the President of the United States might have, and he has been a very good counselor for me in understanding the relationships that exist between the developed, industrial nations of the world on the one hand and the developing nations on the other.

So, we just expressed this afternoon new agreements that typify the good relations between us and the people of Venezuela.

Q. Do you think that the trade laws that affect foreign trade in our country might be derelict by the Congress of the United States?

PRESIDENT CARTER. Of course, we already enjoy a great trade with Venezuela. We purchase from your country roughly \$4 billion worth of oil and other products each year. We sell to Venezuela about \$1 billion less, about \$3 billion.

I would guess that in the future we would move to increase the opportunities for trade and to remove any obstacles to favored-nation status that exist.

At the present time, our laws passed by Congress prevent the preferred trading status among nations who sell large quantities of oil, because they are soon to be very rich. But this may be changed in the future, and I would be glad to see the changes made.

Q. Could we ask both of you to comment on something? The Saudis have said they cannot promise to hold down the price of oil if the U.S. dollar continues to decline. Did the two of you discuss this today? And what is your understanding of President Pérez' position on this?

PRESIDENT CARTER. I might add that this afternoon we limited our discussions to political matters and to matters of

bilateral nature and also international affairs.

Tomorrow morning we will continue our discussions, and they will be devoted to economic matters, including, of course, the value of the dollar, the price of oil, and other similar subjects. We have not yet discussed those subjects.

Q. Mr. President, did both of you discuss the question of human rights in a general way, and specifically, was there any discussion of criticism concerning the situation in Nicaragua and our position as opposed to the Venezuelan position?

PRESIDENT CARTER. It doesn't take long to discuss the question of human rights with the Venezuelan leaders, because we are in complete harmony on this subject.

I would say that Venezuela took a very early and very strong position on human rights, which we later adopted as our own. And we have worked closely with them, in the Organization of American States and individually with countries where human rights were threatened, to bring about a realization of those hopes that we both share.

We have had discussion about the situation in Nicaragua not only this afternoon, but President Pérez and I have exchanged correspondence continually about it, and several letters.

I have derived a great benefit from his advice. We are both concerned about the situation in Nicaragua, and we both feel that a delegation from the United Nations or the OAS should be welcomed into Nicaragua, and other countries where human rights are threatened, to provide the facts to the outside world.

We have a policy in our country, which I am insistent in maintaining, of not intervening in the internal affairs of other nations. But we have a right to express our own selves forcefully and also to encourage action on the part of the United

Nations and OAS in going into countries to determine the facts.

I am sure that President Pérez would like to reply as well.

Q. Did you say also that there is no difference of opinion between the two of you on the question of Nicaragua?

PRESIDENT PÉREZ. [*President Pérez responded in Spanish.*]

PRESIDENT CARTER. Tomorrow we will make every attempt, President Pérez and I, to find some differences between ourselves and between our countries that might serve to titillate the press and to make a more newsworthy story. But I think President Pérez has accurately described the situation. We discussed these issues very thoroughly, and although I don't know the details of the beliefs of the officials of Venezuela, we did not detect any differences between us.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The exchange began at 5:30 p.m. at La Casona.

As printed above, the item follows the White House press release.

Caracas, Venezuela

Toast at the State Dinner. March 28, 1978

President and Mrs. Pérez, distinguished friends from Venezuela and from my own country:

It is a great honor and a pleasure for us—my wife, my daughter, and I—to be here with you.

I speak a little better Spanish than I understand, and I may have gotten a few words of the President incorrectly, and I'm sure he'll correct me tomorrow morning if I make a mistake. But I would like to thank him for his offer to reduce the price of oil 5 percent each year for the next 5 years and to lend the United States enough to balance our budget next year.

Thank you very much, Mr. President.
[*Laughter*]

I cannot hope to match the richness and the profound remarks of President Pérez. I will try to respond more fully to economic matters in my speech tomorrow morning to the Congress of Venezuela. But tonight, I do want to offer a few comments of my own.

As I said, I'm delighted to be with friends in Venezuela, not only because of the path that our nations are walking together but also because of the rare, personal friendship that has developed between President Pérez and me.

Since I took office, I've had an opportunity to meet with many foreign leaders—last year, more than 65. And in different ways, I have learned a lot about them all. But there are no others who have equaled the guidance and the vision of President Pérez, nor with whom I have felt such kinship of purpose. It is no coincidence that this is the third opportunity which I have arranged for extensive consultations with him.

President Pérez knows that I look upon him, in spite of his great youth, as a senior statesman. And he deserves this title in the finest sense of the term, for he has proven his statesmanship and also the maturity of his judgment.

The most satisfying aspect of our friendship is that it clearly reflects the compatibility between our governments and also between our people.

Venezuela proclaims its belief that the cause of human rights must and will prevail, and we agree. Venezuelans are working to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and so are we.

The leaders of your country believe that each nation of the world should be free to manage its own internal affairs, free from unwarranted outside intervention, and the same belief exists among the leaders of our people in the United States.

We both believe that people in every part of the world, under every economic system, should have democratic rights to participate in their own government and to shape their own destiny. We both know that nations with wealth to spare have an obligation to share it. And here, as in other areas, Venezuela has set an example for us to try to equal. We both are aware of the increasing sense of regional need and common purpose that exists among the nations of the Caribbean and of that nation's tremendous potential for future growth and harmony.

Venezuela and the United States are both attempting to restrict the excessive trade in weapons and to reduce the arsenals which already exist, and we will redouble our common efforts in the near future to realize this hope.

We both believe that nations must cooperate in the world's energy problems through conservation, better distribution, research and development, and exploration of new energy sources. We both believe that direct consultations and negotiations among nations can resolve even major differences and are the surest path to peace.

We both have learned through happy experience that exchanges among our people, especially students, can build permanent bonds of understanding between us.

Venezuela again has shown how these bonds are built with the Ayacucho Foundation, which permits students from each country to study in the other. Because of this visit and others on my journey, and in memory of your friend, our great American statesman, Hubert Humphrey, I would like to announce tonight my intention to establish a program of Humphrey scholarships which will bring poor but outstanding students from Latin America and throughout the world to study in the colleges of the United States.

In this spirit of harmony and obvious cooperation, in the warmth of personal friendship which I feel around us tonight, I offer a toast to the leader and to the nation with whom we share so much and from whom we learn so much.

To President Pérez and to the people of the great nation of Venezuela.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:40 p.m. at La Casona in response to a toast by President Pérez.

Caracas, Venezuela

*Remarks Before the Venezuelan Congress,
March 29, 1978*

Señor Presidente del Congreso, Señor Vice Presidente, Señores Senadores, Señores Diputados, Señora Blanca de Pérez, señoras y señores:

I'm honored today to stand in this free assembly of one of the greatest nations on Earth, to bring warm greetings from the people of the United States, whose love of liberty is as deep as your own.

Our nations are joined not just by common interests but by the strongest and the most lasting bond of all—that of shared ideals.

Venezuela stands high among those who have defended the cause of democracy.

A century and a half ago, you gave to the world Simón Bolívar, a symbol of liberty whose example reaches far beyond the Americas. Now Venezuela provides unmistakable proof that political liberty and economic progress need not be conflicting ideals, but can strengthen one another.

Nearly 200 years ago, General Francisco de Miranda traveled through my own country as he prepared for the struggle to free Venezuela. And last year, your President and my friend, Carlos Andrés

Pérez, retraced that journey, and with each step he took in my own country, he understood even better our traditional, common commitment to democratic values.

Your country has worked tirelessly and with success for wider adoption of the American Convention on Human Rights and strengthening of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission. We believe, as you do, that none of us can enjoy true liberty when others are oppressed.

Your country and others in Latin America and in the Caribbean have taken the lead in another area, which will have an equally profound effect on the world of the future: the relationship between the advanced industrial nations which have the greatest share of influence and material goods on the one hand, and the poor and developing nations of the world, who are understandably seeking a larger and more equitable share.

Before the Organization of American States last year, I stated that the economic issues of central concern to the United States and to Latin America are global issues and that they need to be addressed in a continuing dialog between the rich and the poor nations.

Closer consultation among our nations would lead to greater harmony, better collective judgment which can avoid mistakes, and the prevention of inadvertent injury to those who are weak and most vulnerable.

Today I would like to discuss with you the responsibility we share—developed and developing countries alike—for creating a more just international order.

I want to discuss a vision of what our world can become—whether it will be a world of inequality and want, or one of partnership and fulfillment; whether we anticipate the changes that must inevitably come and adopt them, or turn our backs on the future, vainly believing that change can be forestalled.

Last night, as President Pérez said in his eloquent and significant address, and I quote him, "Of all Utopias, the most dangerous is the one of those who think that the world can continue as it is or as it was conceived 30 years ago."

These reflections lead us to the fundamental statement that the crisis that affects the world now has very deep roots. We are living through a moral crisis, a crisis of ethical principles.

Political, economic, and social changes have already transformed our modern world. The old colonial empires have fallen, and more than a hundred new independent nations have risen in their place.

Our nations are more dependent on one another economically, more willing to deal with each other as equals, more able to influence one another—either for good or for ill—than ever before in human history.

We must all acknowledge this basic fact: that we share responsibility for solving our common problems. Our specific obligations will be different, our interests and our emphases will, of course, vary, but all of us, North and South, East and West, must bear our part of the burden.

If the responsibility for global progress is not shared, our efforts will certainly fail. Only if the responsibility is shared may we attain the goals that our people want and that our times demand.

We share three common goals: first, to accelerate world economic growth through greater involvement of the developing nations, for their progress is essential to global prosperity for us all; second, to make the most beneficial use of the world's greatest wealth, its human potential; and third, to ensure that all nations participate fully in basic decisions about international economic and political affairs.

Only by acting together can we expand trade and investment in order to create

more jobs, to curb inflation, and to raise the standard of living of our peoples.

The industrial nations share the same problems and cannot by themselves bring about world economic recovery. Strong growth and expansion in the developing countries are essential, and as they succeed, they must be prepared—and this is difficult—for the responsibilities of success in this highly competitive world economy.

There are five steps we must take together: increasing capital flow to the developing nations; building a fairer and a more open system of world trade; working to moderate disruptive price movements in the world economy; cooperating on energy conservation and development; and strengthening technological capabilities in the developing world.

None of these tasks is simple, and each demands efforts from all sides.

Private institutions and investors will continue to play the major part in increasing capital flows, but capital supplied by public institutions and governments is also, of course, critical to development.

We in the United States will do our part. In managing the international economy, we place particular importance on the expansion of the International Monetary Fund, which helps both developing nations and also the industrial nations to overcome their balance of payments problems.

We in the United States will press for swift congressional approval of our own substantial contribution to the supplementary financing facility, \$10 billion, recommended by Mr. Witteveen.¹

The international development banks are fundamental to the health of the world economy. They contribute to the

¹ H. Johannes Witteveen, Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors, International Monetary Fund.

growth and development of many nations and thus to the expansion of world trade.

In the years ahead, the United States plans to increase its contributions, and we will work with other nations to ensure that these institutions receive the support they need.

Bilateral economic assistance also has a major role to play. I've requested, for instance, that Congress approve a 28-percent increase in our program just for the coming year alone.

I applaud the efforts of Venezuela and other developing countries to expand your own programs of economic assistance. All of the OPEC nations have a responsibility to use their surplus wealth to meet the human needs of the world's people.

In some cases, the burden of repayment of official development aid has become an impediment to development. My administration is supporting legislation, now before the Congress, which will allow us to ease the terms of past American aid loans to some of the least developed nations.

We must work towards an expanded and more equitable trading system. In no area of economic relations is the opportunity of Latin America greater—nor the responsibility more serious—than is expanded trade.

The multilateral trade negotiations now going on in Geneva are the focal point of continued efforts to liberalize trade and to strengthen the rules for international commerce. Both developed and developing nations have an enormous stake in the success of these negotiations.

We must all resist the temptation to impose new restrictions on imports. We must all strive to reduce existing barriers to trade, both tariffs and other measures, while giving special consideration and benefits to the developing countries.

We must also work to moderate disruptive price movements in the world econ-

omy and to stabilize the prices of primary commodities. Reasonable and stable export prices can hold down inflation and encourage better income and a more regular flow of new investment capital to those who produce raw materials.

All nations can therefore gain from the negotiation and effective implementation of commodity agreements and from the creation, with the help of the United States and other major countries, of a common fund for price stabilization.

We've already begun to cooperate and plan for the wise use of the Earth's limited resources, such as food, and now we must do the same with energy.

Both the industrial and the developing countries must conserve energy and devote more of our vast technological efforts and resources to worldwide efforts to develop new sources of energy, such as the Sun and, as Latin American nations have already shown us, even from sugar and from other agricultural products. We must do so without either destroying our environment or creating a world of proliferating nuclear explosives.

For the rest of this century, the greatest potential for growth is in the developing world. To become more self-reliant, developing nations need to strengthen their technological capabilities. To assist them, I am proposing a new United States foundation for technological collaboration.

Through private and public foundations and through our increasing participation in the United Nations conferences, we can make technical and scientific cooperation a key element in our relationship.

Our main task as members of a world community is to work toward the day when every person has a fair chance to achieve a full measure of human potential.

The population of the world is increasing rapidly, and within two decades, it is

expected that two-thirds of the world's population, even more, will live in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We want every child to be a wanted child, and we realize that already three of every five children in the developing world do not receive the basic requisites of a healthy diet, and nearly two-thirds of the world's population in the Third World do not have access to water that is safe to drink.

These conditions and others offend the conscience of mankind, for the human rights we believe in so deeply include not only the right to be free and to avoid mistreatment from government but also the right to a fair chance for a decent life.

Throughout the world, the fruits of growth have been very unequally distributed. Among nations and within nations, wealth coexists with abject poverty and suffering.

Our economic progress is inadequate if its benefits do not reach all the people. Rich and poor nations alike should devote more attention to raising the minimum standards of living for the poorest of our fellow human beings.

The United States will increase its efforts, particularly in those countries where governments are themselves most committed to meeting the basic needs of their people for health, education, shelter, and to increasing their own food production.

We will contribute, for instance, a minimum of 4.5 million tons of grain to a new food aid convention. We support the international food aid target of 10 million tons, and we are willing to join other nations in increasing the amount, particularly in years of severe food shortages.

As for the political liberties that are also part of basic human rights, we believe that democracy provides the best system to attain this goal and that the in-

ternational community has a special responsibility to support countries that are moving to institute democratic procedures and institutions.

There can be no question that the institutions we have created must adapt to a changing and diverse world. And that is our third goal.

The individuality and the sovereignty of nations must be respected. Intervention in the internal affairs of others must be opposed.

There must also be a reversal in the massive and excessive weapons sales that are being made from my own and from other industrialized countries to the poorer nations, which still have profound and unmet social and economic needs.

Just as all people should participate in the government decisions that affect their own lives, so should all nations participate in the international decisions that affect their own well-being.

The United States is eager to work with you, as we have in the past, to shape a more just international economic and political order.

Both the industrialized nations, which have greater influence in institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and the developing nations, with great influence in organizations like the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, must share the responsibility for opening the international system to different views.

The Conference on International Economic Cooperation, in which Venezuela, as you know, played such a major and pivotal role, was a useful start toward the global dialog which we seek. A newly created committee of the United Nations General Assembly will carry on that work.

As we move toward an improved international economic order, we must think beyond institutions and measure the impact of change on the daily lives of people.

We recognize our differences, but we cannot allow them to blind us to the problems and the tremendous opportunities which we share.

When I was growing up in the Deep South of the United States, we farmed exactly as our grandfathers had farmed, rising before dawn and laboring manually until sunset. We had no tractors and little machinery of any kind, and even as we worked, we often knew that we were reducing our future yields, that the richness of our land was blowing away in the wind or washing away in the rains.

When we farmed out our land, we had no choice but to keep on farming it and working in the same fields, because many of us lacked the knowledge or the means to make it fruitful again.

I remember the almost unbelievable change the coming of electric power made in the farm life of my childhood. Electricity freed us from the continuing burdens of pumping water and sawing wood and lighting fires in the cooking stove. But it did even more—it gave us light by which to read and to study at night. It gave us power—not just to perform the old exhausting tasks, but power to make our own choices. Because electric power came to us through cooperatives, in which we all had to share the responsibility for a decision, it changed our lives in other ways.

Farmers began to meet together to discuss local needs and national issues and to decide how to influence government and to negotiate with large, far-off companies that provided their supplies. I've seen the farm life that I knew in my childhood transformed by energy and by technology and increased knowledge, and by the opportunity to participate in the decisions that affect ourselves and our families.

I can understand the unfulfilled yearnings of other people in developing nations to share these blessings of life. All

nations must work together to acknowledge the validity of these yearnings, to take into full account the need and diversity of developing nations, and to promote mutual participation in making the international decisions that affect us all.

I've spoken to you of shared obligations. The industrial nations must provide long-term capital and reduced trade barriers. The developing nations must assume the obligations that accompany responsible participation in an evolving world economy.

Real progress will come through specific, cooperative actions designed to meet specific needs—not through symbolic statements made by the rich industrial nations to salve our conscience, nor by the developing countries to recall past injustices. We need to share a responsibility for solving problems and not to divide the blame for ignoring the problems.

I believe that your great country and mine share a vision of an international system in which each individual and each nation has a part, in which each individual and each nation has the hope of a better future. Only in such a world can life be good for all its people.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:30 a.m. in the Senate Chamber of the Congress. In his opening remarks, he referred to President of the Congress Gonzalo Barrios and Vice President of the Congress Dagoberto Gonzalez.

Following his remarks, the President proceeded to the Palacio de Miraflores for meetings with President Pérez.

Caracas, Venezuela

Joint Communique Issued at the Conclusion of Meetings Between President Carter and President Pérez. March 29, 1978

The President of the United States of America and Mrs. Jimmy Carter visited

506 Remarks Upon Arrival at International Airport, San Juan,
Puerto Rico. *December 15, 1961*

Governor:

It is a great experience to fly many hundreds of miles over the Atlantic Ocean to come to an island and be greeted in Spanish, to come to an island which has an entirely different tradition and history, which is made up of people of an entirely different cultural origin than on the mainland of the United States, and still be able to feel that I am in my country, here in this city and island, as I was in my country in Washington this morning.

And I'm particularly appreciative and glad that I've been welcomed by you, Governor. What you and your devoted associates and the people of this island have been able to do in the last decade, to build a better life, to tackle the difficult problems of education, and housing, and employment, and all the rest, has given us inspiration to feel that we can carry on a great cooperative effort throughout the entire hemisphere. And I think it most appropriate that the man who served under you in this great enterprise, Ambassador Ted Moscoso, who was our Ambassador to Venezuela, should now be the Director of the Alliance for Progress and be able to hold up encouragement to people everywhere in this hemisphere by pointing to what has been done on this island. And

also, another devoted public servant from this island, Arturo Morales-Carrion, who is now our Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America.

Puerto Rico serves as an admirable bridge between Latin America and North America. You have, I think, served to make it easier for us to understand each other, and therefore it is most important and appropriate that we should start this journey to two great countries, Venezuela and Colombia, that we should come here first.

I want to express the thanks of all of us to you—you welcomed our Peace Corps representatives and gave them training which I think has contributed to their success.

We come here today and I will value your counsel, and I'm sure as a result of our stay here that our journeys tomorrow and Sunday will be more fruitful.

Governor, I'm grateful to you, and I am grateful to your people. We have many of them on the mainland, and they are among our best citizens—and I'm glad to be in America this afternoon.

NOTE: The President's opening remark "Governor" referred to Luis Muñoz Marín, Governor of Puerto Rico.

Another text of these remarks was released by the White House prior to the actual delivery.

507 Remarks Upon Arrival at Maiquetia Airport, Caracas,
Venezuela. *December 16, 1961*

Mr. President:

I'm more than happy to come to your country on my first visit as President of the United States, to one of our sister Republics in this hemisphere. And I am also proud

to be the first President of the United States to visit this country.

But in a very real sense I follow in the footsteps of my distinguished predecessor, President Franklin Roosevelt, who devoted

so much of his efforts, so much of his talents to binding together the countries of this hemisphere, who are united by nature and united in their common aspirations.

We are, in my country, committed in the 1960's to seeing the work which was so effectively begun in the 1930's in the Good Neighbor policy—to see it come to fruition in a whole series of free societies stretching from the north to the south, free and sovereign and independent countries, inhabited by free people who are gradually increasing their standard of living, educating their children, housing their families, finding work for their people and security for their old age.

This is what we want for the people of my country—and this is what we want for the people of this hemisphere.

And I am proud to come here to this country where your distinguished President has for many months committed himself—long before the phrase was begun—committed himself to the principles of the *Alianza para el Progreso*. He has shown in this country what can be done, and therefore I am proud to come here, and I hope in the time that we are here that I will benefit from his counsel and advice.

Mr. President, Mrs. Kennedy and I are delighted to be your guests and we are proud to be here among your people.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's opening words "Mr. President" referred to Romulo Betancourt, President of Venezuela.

Another text of these remarks was released by the White House prior to the actual delivery.

508 Remarks to the Staff at the American Embassy in Caracas. *December 16, 1961*

Ambassador, Mr. Stewart:

I want to express my thanks to you all, and to tell you that my wife and I have been most appreciative of the generous welcome which we've received from the people of this country.

I'm sure you realize how vital is the post to which you have been sent, and how important your work is to the United States. The first real effort which our country ever made in the field of international affairs involved our relations with this hemisphere and our sister Republics to the south. And a great stream, really, running through our national life in the United States has been our desire to establish closer and more intimate bonds.

This is particularly true in the 1960's, and we have, since our inception in January,

made this really great concentrated effort. The fact that we asked our Ambassador here to come home from this vital post to take over the leadership of the Alliance for Progress, I think this indicates how important we feel it is, before this decade is out, that the United States and Venezuela and other countries of the hemisphere are bound together in an effort to improve the life of all of our people.

Unless the United States is able to identify itself with this cause successfully, then all of our great efforts for freedom are going to be of no avail. This is a vital cause, and I am sure that in all your work here in this country, I hope that you emphasize how strongly we feel in our desire to join with them in an effort to raise the standard of living of the people of the entire hemisphere,

through a system of freedom.

I consider this the most vital responsibility that any citizen of the United States stationed in this hemisphere can have. And I'm confident that you emphasize this daily in your work.

I want the United States to be identified with progress and with the welfare of the people, not as a distant great power which is uninterested in this hemisphere except in times of crisis. We want them to feel that day by day we are joined with them as partners—not only as neighbors but as partners and friends, in this common effort.

And therefore, I am very proud to be the first President of the United States to visit this country and I'm also very proud that I came here to begin this journey, and then to Colombia, because of the great efforts that the people of this country are making to improve their own lives.

I can't tell the difference between the natives of Venezuela and the Americans—maybe you could hold up your hands, all of you who work here, who happen to be citizens of this country. We want you to know how much we appreciate your service, and I hope you realize that in working for the United States, I think in the best sense you also are serving your country. We're grateful to all of you, and I am very grateful to those of you who are my fellow countrymen, and also to those who are fortunate enough to grow up and be able to speak Spanish, and serve as a bridge between the United States and this country in the coming years.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to Teodoro Moscoso, Former Ambassador to Venezuela, and C. Allan Stewart, Charge d'Affaires at the American Embassy in Caracas.

509 Remarks at the La Morita Resettlement Project Near Caracas. December 16, 1961

President Betancourt, Governor, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express to you our warm appreciation and thanks for the generous welcome which you have given to Mrs. Kennedy and myself, and I know that in welcoming us you extend the hand of friendship to the people of my country who are so vitally interested and concerned with the common destiny of our hemisphere. And for this welcome we both thank you.

Tomorrow is the 131st anniversary of the birth of the great liberator of this country, who not only had the satisfaction and pride in liberating this country but also in a feat almost unprecedented in history, provided for the freedom and liberation of five countries—and I refer of course to Simon Bolivar.

I come here today in a tradition originated by him who saw and predicted that some day this hemisphere would be bound together by the closest of fraternal ties. And I come in the footsteps of a distinguished predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, who in his own time and generation attempted to bring to fruition the work which Simon Bolivar had so well begun.

We today share the realization which President Roosevelt expressed in 1944, when he said that "true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence."

With a system of national independence originated over a hundred years ago, with a policy of friendship and good neighborliness which was developed in the administra-

tion of President Roosevelt, now today in 1961 it is our obligation to move ahead and to bring to fruition the concept that along with national independence and individual liberty goes the well-being of the people themselves.

We do not merely talk of slogans, of democracy and freedom. It is our function here in this hemisphere in 1961 to make it possible for all the people not only to be free but to have a home and educate their children, and have a job for themselves and in security. And that is what we're determined to do.

Economic security, the bringing of a better life to all of our people must now be, in the sixties, the principal object and goal of the Inter-American system. And what is happening here today at La Morita, in pursuit of that goal, symbolizes the gigantic new steps that are now being taken.

From this day forward the Inter-American system represents not merely the unity of the governments that are involved, but the unity of peoples; not only a common goal of political alignment, but a common vow by all of our governments and all of our people to improve man's economic, social, and political well-being; not just an alliance for the protection of our countries, but an alliance of progress for our people. We will be, in the 1960's, more than good neighbors. We will be partners in building a better life for our people.

And here in Venezuela the meaning of the new Alianza para el Progreso is being demonstrated, for you have made a tradition and transition from a repressive dictatorship to a free life for the people of this country, to progressive democratic rule under one of the great democratic statesmen of the Western Hemisphere, your distinguished President Romulo Betancourt. And one of the first goals of the new spirit of this hemi-

sphere must be the elimination of tyranny from the north to the south, until this is a hemisphere, as Simon Bolivar once predicted, of free men and free countries, living under a system of liberty.

Mr. President, the achievement of these two freedoms, freedom from dictatorship and freedom from the bonds of economic and social injustice, must be the contribution of our generation in this decade.

It is in pursuit of these goals that I have come with you to La Morita. It is a long way from the noisy streets of Washington, D.C., to this field—but it is in this field and in fields and cities across our hemisphere that this battle must be fought—not in speeches by Presidents, or exchanges of diplomats, or studies by experts—though all those are important; but the work must be done here, here today, and tomorrow, all through this hemisphere, until our people live the kind of life, Mr. President, for which you have dedicated your life and to which the people of my country are committed.

Today, 86 families will receive titles to their own homes under a program which is already settled—38,000 families on 3,800,000 acres of land. This is your program, the program of your progressive, far-seeing government, and the people of my country will share in this program by making available more loans to build rural homes and more credits to finance your crops.

This program is at the heart of the Alianza para el Progreso, for no real progress is possible unless the benefits of increased prosperity are shared by the people themselves.

I do not hold the view, which some now preach, that the only way we can make economic progress is through dictatorship. I believe the reverse. I believe that the experiences of Eastern Europe, the wall in Berlin, the famine in China, the hardships in our own hemisphere, show that liberty and

economic progress go hand in hand, provided the people and the government together are committed to progress for the people.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall return to Washington on Monday and tell the people of my country that you and they are bound together in one of the great adventures of human experience, to make of our hemisphere a bright and shining light for all the world.

The United States and Venezuela are bound together and in the 1960's I believe that we can demonstrate so that all the world will want to follow our example—that free-

dom and prosperity can move hand in hand, and I am proud today to stand on this platform with your distinguished President, who has been working in this field for so many years, and who now is showing the people of this country and hemisphere what real progress for the people can mean.

I express our thanks to you, and I can tell you that the people of my country—in good times and bad—are committed to the progress of your people and this hemisphere.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: In his opening words the President referred to Romulo Betancourt, President of Venezuela, and J. M. Perez, Governor of the State of Aragua.

510 Joint Statement Following Discussions With the President of Venezuela. December 17, 1961

DURING their meeting in Caracas on December 16, 1961, the Presidents of the United States of America and of the Republic of Venezuela, John F. Kennedy and Romulo Betancourt, agreed to make the following declaration:

1. They reaffirm the irrevocable friendship of the two peoples and governments.

2. They confirm their adherence to the principles and standards of the United Nations and the Organization of American States which are dedicated to respect for human rights—to the effective practice of representative Democracy, with equal opportunity for all—to free self-determination by the people and to non-intervention.

3. They have confidence that freedom will prevail in all American countries and that the problems troubling America and the world will be solved peacefully.

4. The two Presidents expressed their determination to achieve the objectives of the Alianza para el Progreso in accord with the principles of the act of Bogota and Punta

del Este charter, and they discussed mutual Venezuelan and United States actions which are necessary for this purpose. Venezuela's achievement in formulating and implementing a realistic long-range plan for economic and social development, especially in the fields of industrial and agricultural development, land reform, education, housing and water supply, were reviewed in connection with the need to mobilize additional domestic and external resources. Substantial new loans, in addition to those already provided, are under consideration by the Inter-American Development Bank.

5. Both Presidents agreed that a special effort is necessary in 1962 to assure large-scale development of industry and commerce, both to reinforce the present pattern of recovery from Venezuela's 1960-1961 recession and to achieve sustained levels of economic growth with rapid improvements in living standards of underprivileged groups not yet reached by the development process.

6. Both Presidents expressed their con-

viction that far-reaching efforts in the social field in accordance with the spirit of the Alliance for Progress should go hand in hand with economic development programs. The prices of basic commodities and commercial practices of importing countries must give effective recognition to Latin America's dependence on exports. Such recognition is a vital factor in carrying out the spirit and letter of the charter of Punta del Este.

7. The Presidents discussed the great importance to the Venezuelan people of the large Guri Hydro-electric Dam as the base for intensive development of the Guayana Region. Special consideration was given to Venezuelan programs for slum clearance, low-cost housing and municipal and community development. The Presidents believe also that this stimulating approach should have wide applicability in accelerating local development, in solving the most important local problems and, equally important, in taking advantage of local eco-

nomie opportunities through community initiative.

8. During the next few months Venezuelan and United States officials will discuss in detail development loans and technical assistance to be provided by the United States Agency for International Development and other measures to support the Venezuelan Development Program and strengthen United States-Venezuelan economic relations. President Kennedy pledged all possible United States support and assistance to enable Venezuela to implement its development program on schedule, complementing Venezuelan efforts to this end.

9. President Kennedy and President Betancourt joined in expressing their hope that this statement made today in the birth place of Simon Bolivar will be received by the peoples of this continent as a message of faith and optimism.

NOTE: The joint statement was issued at Miraflores Palace in Caracas.

511 Remarks at Maiquetia Airport Upon Leaving for Colombia. *December 17, 1961*

Mr. President:

I want to express, on behalf of Mrs. Kennedy and myself, our great appreciation to you, sir, and Madame Betancourt, and also to the people of Venezuela and especially to the people of this city, who have made us most welcome.

I think this visit—I hope—has pleased our friends—confounded our enemies; and I think that it has brought our two countries,

whose fate has been so interwoven from our earliest days, closer together.

So, Mr. President, I don't think that we will travel any place where our welcome will be more heart-warming, and where we will leave with greater appreciation. And I hope in this way to give some slight indication of how grateful I am to all of you for making us feel so much at home.

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nothing and would be caught in the dispersing crowds and miss the next event. We were able to position the buses near the front in Paris but in other capitals I frequently lost the argument. This invariably led to angry charges from the American correspondents that I had been too soft in standing up for their rights.

But their rage was beyond belief when the reporters chosen to ride in the pool car didn't honor their obligation to report fully to their colleagues in the buses. There was a firm understanding that correspondents chosen for the pool would write a summation as quickly as possible and post it on the bulletin board in the press room. When such reports were late, the deadline-frantic newsmen would go off looking for their errant "representatives"—and often found them in their hotel rooms calmly reporting the story to their own newspapers. I must add that the pool reporters from AP and UPI were never guilty of this. But those who were seldom got another pool assignment from me. Similarly, a pool photographer had an obligation to share his pictures with the other lensmen. When he didn't, there were bitter recriminations against me and outright violence against the offender. During the Vienna visit, *Life* photographer Paul Schutzer felled Jacques Lowe of *Newsweek* with one punch for allegedly failing to respect this agreement.

While Ken and I were negotiating arrangements for the President and the press, Rowley was conferring with the police and military on security for the two heads of state. I can recall only one time when there was too much security, if that's possible. On the President's visit to Caracas in 1961, Venezuelan security chief Dr. Carlos Andres Perez was determined not to have a repeat of the stone-throwing violence against Richard Nixon there in 1958. Fixing his cold gray eyes on Ken and me at one of the advancing conferences, Perez said: "I can assure you, Señor O'Donnell, that your President will be safe in Venezuela. I have taken the necessary steps." He certainly had. More than four thousand politically suspect Venezuelans were thrown into jail for the duration of JFK's visit, and twenty thousand troops, with bayonets at the ready, stood facing the crowds along the parade route from the airport. Perez was not alone in his concern, however. O'Donnell and Dave Powers of the White House staff both carried revolvers and were constantly at the President's side in Venezuela. Rowley's security requirements in Paris weren't that formidable but he did have to approve arrangements for the deployment of thousands of French police and troops at the airport, along the parade routes, at the Quai D'Orsay, and at the public buildings where JFK would appear.

Simultaneously, Colonel McNally of the Communications Agency was preparing for a complex telephone system to serve the President and his staff. Each of us had a special telephone in our room that was connected not only with all other extensions of the visiting party in Paris but directly

<u>COUNTRY VISITED</u>	<u>DATE OF VISIT</u>	<u>PRESIDENT</u>
Vatican City	1975 June 3	Ford
Vatican City	1980 June 21	Carter
Vatican City	1982 June 7	Reagan
Venezuela: Caracas	1961 December 16-17	Kennedy
Venezuela: Caracas	1978 March 28-29	Carter
Vietnam: Cam Ranh Bay	1966 October 26	Johnson
Vietnam: Cam Ranh Bay	1967 December 23	Johnson
Vietnam: Saigon, Di An	1969 July 30	Nixon
Yugoslavia: Belgrade	1970 September 30- October 1	Nixon
Yugoslavia: Belgrade	1975 August 3-4	Ford
Yugoslavia: Belgrade	1980 June 24-25	Carter

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First Lady from Plains

Rosalynn Carter

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released, and he came to see me at the White House. He was very appreciative and said that my help had been significant.)

My conversation with the president ended on a pleasant note. He was happy about the easing of certain trade import limits on Colombia by the United States and hoped that their cut flowers, especially carnations, would be included. Also, López Michelson was a friend of General Torrijos of Panama, and he promised to urge him to speed up the pending Panama Canal Treaty negotiations.

At a champagne reception at López Michelson's Palacio San Carlos before I left the country, the guest list had been expanded from "wives only" to include the Colombian government ministers and U.S. government officials. This change, the State Department wired home, "reflected the growing Colombian realization that Mrs. Carter's tour is substantive and serious and not a flying coffee klatsch."

Seven countries are almost too many for one trip, and everyone in our party was exhausted when we landed in Caracas, Venezuela. This was our last stop, and because President Carlos Andrés Pérez was due to make an official visit to the United States in a few weeks, my conversations with him were relatively brief, for they were designed to set the stage for his later discussions with Jimmy.

The president was jovial, with a hearty laugh, and he liked to talk. He had a reputation of being shrewd, energetic, tough, and honest. He was known as "a man in a hurry" who, I was told, kept such a grueling schedule that it was hard for others to keep up with him. I found him delightful and could easily understand why he had evolved into a leader with great influence in the Caribbean and throughout the developing world. He was direct in his conversation, down to earth, and sure of himself. I trusted him immediately.

Pérez, one of Jimmy's most avid supporters abroad, had good things to say about my tour. He described it as a wonderful demonstration of good will and respect by the Carter administration, which had been lacking in past U.S. policies. No wonder I liked him.

Venezuela's record on human rights was unexcelled in the hemisphere, and the Carter administration's initiatives on

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uman rights was unexcelled in the ter administration's initiatives on

human rights and nuclear nonproliferation had struck respon- sive chords. Pérez thought that Jimmy's human rights policy, which, he said, indicated a deep concern for all the people of the world, was encouraging democracy in all of Latin America. And he said that Carter's willingness to negotiate the Panama Canal treaties had added a new dimension to U.S.-Latin American relations: a spirit of equality, mutual respect, partnership, and an end to the damaging image of colonialism and intervention.

After our mutual pats on the back, we got down to the every- day issues. Venezuela had a plentiful oil supply, and the coun- try's economy was booming. But, like Ecuador, Venezuela had been denied its trade preference with the United States because of its membership in OPEC. Pérez thought his country's exclu- sion was discriminatory, especially since it had not supported the oil embargo in 1973 and had actually increased their oil shipments to the United States during the embargo. I told him that we had greatly appreciated Venezuela's help during the oil crisis and that my husband agreed that the trade restraints should not apply to Venezuela and Ecuador, but that because of deep feelings against OPEC in Congress, the President couldn't promise him an early reversal of the exclusionary provision. He was close enough to the political scene in our country to under- stand this, but that did not make it easier to accept.

Pérez, I was not surprised to learn, had protested to Germany its sale of the reprocessing plant to Brazil and to the Soviets their sale of planes and weapons to Peru. He said he didn't ex- pect it to make a difference, but he could not refrain from ex- pressing his opposition to these disturbing developments.

I spoke to him about the status of William Neihous, the man- ager of Owens-Illinois in Venezuela, who was kidnapped in Caracas more than a year before my visit. Like Richard Starr's mother, Mrs. Neihous had written to me, pleading for help for her husband. President Pérez assured me he was doing all he could. The major suspects in the case had been arrested, he told me, but hadn't told the police anything about Neihous. "Unfor- tunately, the practice of democratic human rights makes the sus- pects brave in their refusal to talk," Pérez said. And the suspects never did talk or release Neihous. Instead, he finally managed to escape and return home to the United States after we had left the White House.

Though we had been exhausted upon our arrival, Venezuela was a wonderful last stop for our trip except that I became ill. Looking back, it seems incredible that with all the traveling we had done and all of the luncheons, receptions, and dinners we had attended, we had not been ill before. And even when it finally happened to me in Caracas, it was quickly over. I was in a briefing with members of a Children's Foundation Scholarship Fund, who were telling me about their program for needy children, when suddenly I was too hot, and I knew I had to get to a restroom in a hurry. I excused myself, but returned to deliver my remarks and finish the meeting. I did cancel the next event on the schedule, though, took a Dramamine, and went to bed; but on the entire 12,000-mile journey, that was the only event I missed.

I left Latin America with an overwhelming sense of kinship with the people I had met and with friendships that would prove to be lasting. I also had sensed a feeling of great willingness, even eagerness, on the part of the leaders with whom I had met to cooperate with us in solving the problems that confronted all our people.

It was good to get home to Jimmy and my family, and although I was very tired, I felt buoyed by the trip. It had been just like a campaign: tense at times, with much preparation necessary, selling yourself — or in this instance my country, and a feeling of satisfaction when it was over. As I was flying over the ocean, heading north, I received a message from Jimmy: "The President of the United States requests the honor of your presence for dinner tonight at 8:30 at Aspen Lodge." To which I replied: "The First Lady accepts with pleasure."

I learned from my own experiences in Latin America how very important were our human rights efforts. The people in those countries and others in the world were beginning to look to us, during Jimmy's administration and under his leadership, as people who genuinely cared about them. National leaders realized that in order to gain aid from the United States or to associate with our great nation in achieving their most vital goals, they must respect the human rights of their people. It was no accident that when I went to Latin America, I visited only the

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Oct 8/

Betancourt funeral

4/18/90

Conversation with Jeb Bush

Lived in Venez., Caracas, in 1977-78. Final 2 yrs. of Pres. Perez's term. Venezuela booming -- days of big oil. (Also time of Perez's nationalization policies.)

Re Perez: high profile on international scene. Cultivates that. Can be Machiavellian -- a real politician.

Alberto Vollmer -- classmate of the POTUS from Andover. Lives in Venez, though often in U.S. From one of the wealthiest/most influential Venezuelan families. Has seen POTUS a number of times over the years, but not a close friend. Gracious to Barbara Bush, on her visit to see Jeb and family, during their time in Venez.

Don Johnson NSC

Peggy -- for toast:

need to know when Jeb Bush lived in Venez., how long.

Need to know about POTUS' pal, Alberto Vollmer. From Yale or prep school? A close friend?

Need to know whether Perez's election was close or landslide.... *normal*

*Jeb Bush
305/536-3744*

For arrival:

Whether nickname "CAP" is widely used...

Who was Francisco Miranda and when was he in Philadelphia??

Can you check NEXIS on perez-troika (!!!) and see if it's in use -- or if we've just got a live one on the State Venezuela desk.

thanks -- dan

*foreign aid / mil sales /
econ assistance
1991 budget?*

120
PD—
Don Johnson
NSC
4592

347-4800

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

breakdown - FA bill

Int'l Sec Asst - Budget

Econ Supp Fund
(dem bldg)

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Poland

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Panama
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A-404
Budget

33

gov stim of private

NED + others?

OPIC

President Carlos Andres Perez

Arrival Ceremony

Suggested Remarks

I take great pleasure in welcoming again President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela to the White House. He has made his mark as a statesman in the hemisphere and a leader in Venezuela. Since 1988, we have carried on a vigorous dialogue here and abroad on topics of regional and bilateral significance.

He comes here today only hours after the inauguration of Violeta Chamorro as president of Nicaragua. President Perez participated in the inaugural festivities as a champion of ballot-box democracy. His involvement in Nicaragua goes back decades. During his first term in office in the 1970s, President Perez played a key role in securing General Somoza's departure. During the negotiations held under the auspices of the Contadora Group, President Perez won the respect of Nicaraguans striving to move their battered nation to freedom. This respect is not a bit of stale history, but very much alive today and helps explain the positive role of President Perez in ensuring the complete transition of power to President Chamorro.

Nicaragua is not an isolated example of the international arena where the thoughts of "CAP" are respected. His initials, his name are ubiquitous. In El Salvador and in Haiti, President Perez and Venezuela have sought to play a constructive role in helping hemispheric brethren bring democratic stability to their societies.

(more)

Venezuela's role in democratizing the hemisphere is not an accident, but a historical legacy. The forefathers of Venezuelan independence and democracy drank from the same ideological fountain which inspired the leaders of our own fledgling nation. Men like Francisco Miranda recruited support for their democratic campaigns in Venezuela from Philadelphia. So it is not unusual that the political progeny of Simon Bolivar and Miranda, Venezuelan politicians and one-time exiles like Romulo Betancourt and Carlos Andres Perez, should now be allies to neighbors seeking the fruits of freedom that unfettered elections bring.

I salute President Perez and Venezuela for this heritage which enables us to work together in defending the democratic rights of all the people in this hemisphere.

As I noted last year before my departure for the San Jose Summit, democracy and free markets are transforming our world. On Venezuela's economic front, President Perez has also distinguished himself. He is responsible for Venezuela's own brand of PEREZ-troika. He has stayed the course of his market-based economic reform policies and begun stripping away the layers of state control and special preference that shackle productive powers. President Perez is among the visionaries opening up their economies to the creative energies of their people and to new trade and investment in the global marketplace.

(more)

This economic transition in Venezuela tells us a lot about the intellectual depth and courage of the President I welcome to the White House. In the 1970s, as his nation's chief executive, he sought a larger role for state enterprise. Today he is preparing his nation for the 21st century and competitiveness. The economic world has changed and President Perez has demonstrated an ability to change with that world, implementing policies which are restoring Venezuela's economic vitality.

In welcoming you, Mr. President, to the White House I salute not only you, but also Venezuela -- its electoral heritage which is a model for others and its capacity to demonstrate that talent and courage solve problems.

(more)

President Carlos Andres Perez

State Dinner

Suggested Toast

Family FRIEND

Mr. President, I once noted to you that I had special affection for Venezuela. A Venezuelan school friend (Alberto Vollmer) is able to join us tonight. A son (JEB) who lived and worked in Venezuela is also here tonight to honor a country which we both knew as businessmen. I had the opportunity to visit Venezuela as Vice President and look forward -- later this year -- to inaugurate a tour of South America with a stop in Caracas.

We last dined together in San Jose, Costa Rica, where -- as always -- we compared notes. I went to San Jose to demonstrate my commitment to working with the nations of the hemisphere, to build a new partnership. The many visits of the Vice President to Latin America and my trip later in the year demonstrate the depth of this commitment. So the conversations today represent not an extraordinary encounter, but the continuation of a dialogue which is part of my administration's agenda.

There may be times when we have to agree to disagree on specific issues, but the working relationship we have established over the past 17 months demonstrates the sincerity of our commitment. Dialogue will always continue because the United States and Venezuela share the same basic values. We both have an unshakeable commitment to democratic institutions and the rule of law.

(more)

Democratic presidents share a concern for their mark on history. The goal for my administration in Latin America is to revitalize our relationship and dialogue, working with leaders such as yourself. I would like to look back to say that my government worked harder than any administration at dialogue -- at understanding the hemisphere -- and helping its nations obtain electoral freedom and economic development.

You, Mr. President, have already made modern Venezuelan history by being your country's first Venezuelan chief executive to be elected to a second term. More importantly, you are now making economic history and historians will undoubtedly look beyond your borders at the hemispheric effect of your economic PEREZ-troika. The economic success of a democratic in Latin America at transforming Venezuela into a more competitive, open and market-oriented system is auspicious for us all. You are a leader in the effort to tear down economic barriers every bit as restrictive of human freedom as Berlin's infamous wall.

So, Mr. President, I raise my glass to toast these ideals which make our nations friends. I salute our dialogue -- past, present and future -- and reaffirm the mutual commitment to a democratic hemisphere.

Adel

your co's
A fact about the Comhonor.
No President can serve a ~~second~~
~~second~~ term. -- not that is
without first waiting 10 years.
And let me say - that's true
for Venezuela.

In the 1870s Mirambo received recognition and support for a time from the Arab sultan of Zanzibar, Barghash, who was then trying to extend his influence into the interior. In 1880, however, when two members of an expedition sponsored by the Belgian king Leopold II were killed by one of Mirambo's client chiefs, the Sultan, already in a precarious position with Europeans, dropped the alliance. After Mirambo's death three or four years later, his kingdom rapidly disintegrated.

Miramón, Miguel (b. Sept. 29, 1832, Mexico City—d. June 19, 1867, near Querétaro), soldier and politician, the leader of the forces that established Maximilian as the short-lived emperor of Mexico. Educated at a military school, Miramón served in the Mexican Army in the battles against the United States in 1847 and rose to the rank of colonel in 1855. The next year he participated in the struggle against the Liberal forces led first by the provisional president Ignacio Comonfort and later by Comonfort's successor, Benito Juárez. In the bitter, three-year civil war (1857–60) that ensued, Miramón succeeded Félix Zuloaga as leader and as temporary president of Mexico.



Miramón

By courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

When Liberal troops took Mexico City in December 1860, Miramón fled to Cuba and then to Europe. There he entered into negotiations with Napoleon III of France, who, for imperialistic reasons, persuaded Archduke Maximilian of Austria to assume the crown of Mexico. Miramón returned to Mexico in 1863 as the grand marshal of Maximilian's empire. He served as the Mexican minister to Germany (1864–66) but rushed back to Mexico when it appeared that Maximilian would abdicate his tottering throne. Miramón was instrumental in persuading the Emperor to continue the struggle and was appointed one of the leaders of the imperial army. Defeated by the forces of Juárez at Querétaro, he was taken prisoner and executed on a nearby hill with the Emperor.

Miram Shāh, town, Northwest Frontier Province, Pakistan; the administrative headquarters of North Waziristan District. Situated in the rugged outliers of the Hindu Kush near the frontier with Afghanistan, it is an agricultural trade centre for the surrounding area (grains, fruits); there is a local market for hides and timber. 33°00' N, 70°04' E

Miranda, state, northern Venezuela, bounded on the northeast by the Caribbean Sea, by Guárico on the south, by Aragua on the west, and by the federal district on the north. The mountainous northern and southern reaches of the territory of 3,069 sq mi (7,950 sq km) are separated by the Río Tuy, which flows eastward to the Caribbean. Miranda ranks high among Venezuelan states in agricultural and pastoral production, thanks to government irrigation projects that resulted in the expansion of large-scale farming and in the diversification of agriculture. Almost half of the

nation's cacao is grown around the Barlovento region of Miranda and neighbouring Anzátegui, in the Tuy Valley. Coffee plantations cover the higher elevations; sugarcane and citrus trees thrive on the valley floor. The state also produces bananas, corn (maize), peanuts, cassava, and coconuts, the latter growing wild along the coast. The rural population of Miranda is quite dense. Moreover, Caracas has been overflowing its city limits and expanding into neighbouring parts of northwestern Miranda. The highway network is extensive; Los Teques (*q.v.*), the state capital and major industrial centre, lies on the Pan-American Highway. Pop. (1971) 856,272.

·area and population table 19:64

·map, Venezuela 19:60

·population density map 19:64

Miranda, one of the five satellites of Uranus. ·Uranus' satellites 18:1038f; table

Miranda, Bartolomé de: *see* Carranza, Bartolomé de.

Miranda, Francisco de (b. March 28, 1750, Caracas—d. July 14, 1816, Cádiz, Spain), Venezuelan revolutionary, considered one of the precursors of the struggles for independence in Latin America, a man denounced by some as an opportunist and a libertine and praised by others as a patriot and a visionary. Educated in Caracas, he purchased a captaincy in the Spanish Army at the age of 22. He was imprisoned for disobedience but was released in 1780 and sent to Cuba to fight for Spain against Great Britain. There he was accused of misuse of funds. Protesting his innocence, he fled to the United States in 1783.

There he met many of the leaders of the Revolution and formed his plans for the liberation of South and Central America from Spanish domination. Hounded by Spanish agents, he fled to London, where he tried to enlist the aid of Prime Minister William Pitt in his plan of revolution. Pitt, realizing that Spain would eventually lose its grip on its American colonies, thought that Miranda was useful for Britain's purposes and provided him with limited support and protection. From his base in London, Miranda travelled all over Europe, even to Russia, where he found favour with Catherine II the Great, who also provided him limited support. Miranda envisioned an independent empire stretching from the Mississippi to Cape Horn under the leadership of a hereditary emperor from the Incan royal family and with a legislature of two houses.

The French Revolution altered Miranda's plans for a few years. He served as a revolutionary general and was jailed for suspected treason and then acquitted. Returning once again to London, he became the leader of all the exiled plotters against Spain. He embarked on an abortive invasion of Venezuela in 1806, in which he was forced to turn back when the peasants failed to rally to his side. In 1810 he met Simón Bolívar, who was in London attempting to get British support for the revolution that had finally begun in South America. Bolívar persuaded Miranda to return to Venezuela, where he was made a general in the revolutionary army. When the country formally declared independence on July 5, 1811, he assumed dictatorial powers.

The Spanish forces counterattacked, and Miranda, fearing a brutal and hopeless defeat, came to terms in July 1812 at San Mateo. The other revolutionary leaders, including Bolívar, believed his surrender was treasonable and thwarted Miranda's attempt to escape; they allowed him to be handed over to the Spanish. Transported in chains to Cádiz, he eventually died in his prison cell.

·Latin-American 19th-century

literature 10:1204c

·O'Higgins' independence ideas 13:516e

·Venezuelan independence attempts 10:702g

·Venezuelan revolt of 1811 2:1206d

Miranda de Ebro, city, Burgos province, Old Castile (Castilla la Vieja), northern Spain,

south of Bilbao on a plain straddling the Río Ebro. Although historians ascribe Roman origins to Miranda (Admirable Place), it is probably older and named after local dolmens. Reconquered from the Moors by Alfonso I, Miranda later (1076) was reunited with Castile and given *fueros* (special privileges) by Alfonso VI in 1099. The community prospered under the Catholic and Austrian kings until ruined by floods and epidemics in the 18th century. Active in resisting the French invasion (1795), it was later the scene of a Popular Front demonstration that destroyed the church of San Nicolás in 1936 (the Romanesque structure, once a mosque, is being restored). Miranda was declared a city in 1907.

A rail junction between Madrid and the north, Miranda produces beet sugar, chocolate, and synthetic fibres. Timber and livestock are local economic assets. Pop. (1970 prelim.) 33,905.

42°41' N, 2°57' W

·map, Spain 17:382

Mirandola, town, Modena province, Emilia-Romagna region, north central Italy. It has automobile assembly, footwear, food canning, and hemp industries. The Romanesque-Gothic church of S. Francesco is a historic landmark. The town was the birthplace of Pico della Mirandola, the 15th-century scholar who in a short life attained extraordinary erudition. Pop. (1971 prelim.) mun., 21,361. 44°53' N, 11°04' E

Mirandola, Giovanni, Conte Pico della: *see* Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, Conte.

Mirapinnidae, family of fishes of the order Lampridiformes.

·classification of little-known fish 2:273e

Mira River, in Ecuador and Colombia, rises in the Andes and flows northwestwardly to the Pacific ocean at Mangles Point, Colombia. 1°36' N, 79°01' W

·water flow 4:866; map

Mirbeau, Octave(-Henri-Marie) (b. Feb. 16, 1850, Trevières, Calvados, Fr.—d. Feb. 16, 1917, Paris), writer of novels and plays, who unsparingly satirized the clergy and social conditions of his time and was one of the 10 original members of the Académie Goncourt, founded in 1903. His first work was as a journalist for Bonapartist and Royalist newspapers. He made his reputation as a storyteller with tales of the Norman peasantry,



Mirbeau

H. Roger-Viollet

Lettres de ma chaumière (1886; "Letters from My Cottage") and *Le Calvaire* (1887; "The Calvary"), a chapter of which, on the French defeat of 1870, aroused much rancour. In 1888 he wrote the story of a mad priest, *L'Abbé Jules* ("The Priest Jules"), and, in 1890, *Sébastien Roch*, a merciless picture of the Jesuit school he had attended. All his novels, from *Le Jardin des supplices* (1899; "The Garden of Torture") and *Le Journal d'une femme de chambre* (1900; "Journal of a Lady's Maid") to *La 628-E8* (1907) and *Dingo* (1913), were bitter social satires. His dramatic

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1963

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From Don Rhodes

AUG 29, 1957

Visas No. 275

ESTADOS UNIDOS DE VENEZUELA
Consulado ad-honorem en Boston

VISTO BUENO DE TURISMO

Para que el señor George
H. W. Bush

entre a Venezuela en calidad de TURISTA

por dos semanas
Boston: El 29 de agosto de 1957

El Cónsul ad-honorem

William J. LaFay



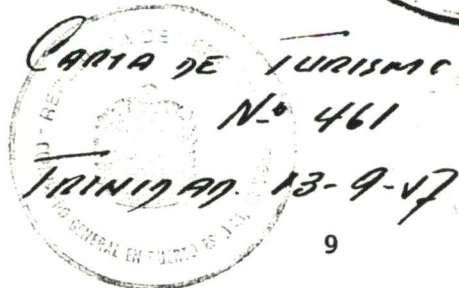
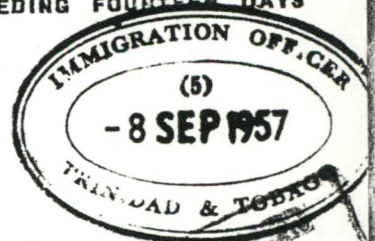
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Visas

TURISTA
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SERV. NAC. DE IDENTIFICACION
MAIQUETIA 7 - SET 1957
ENTRADA SALIDA

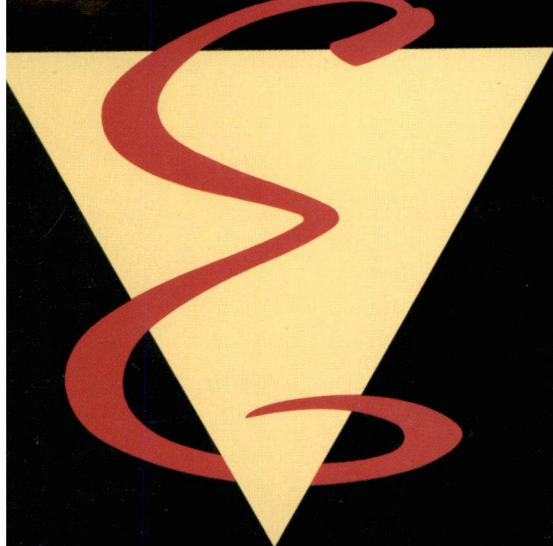


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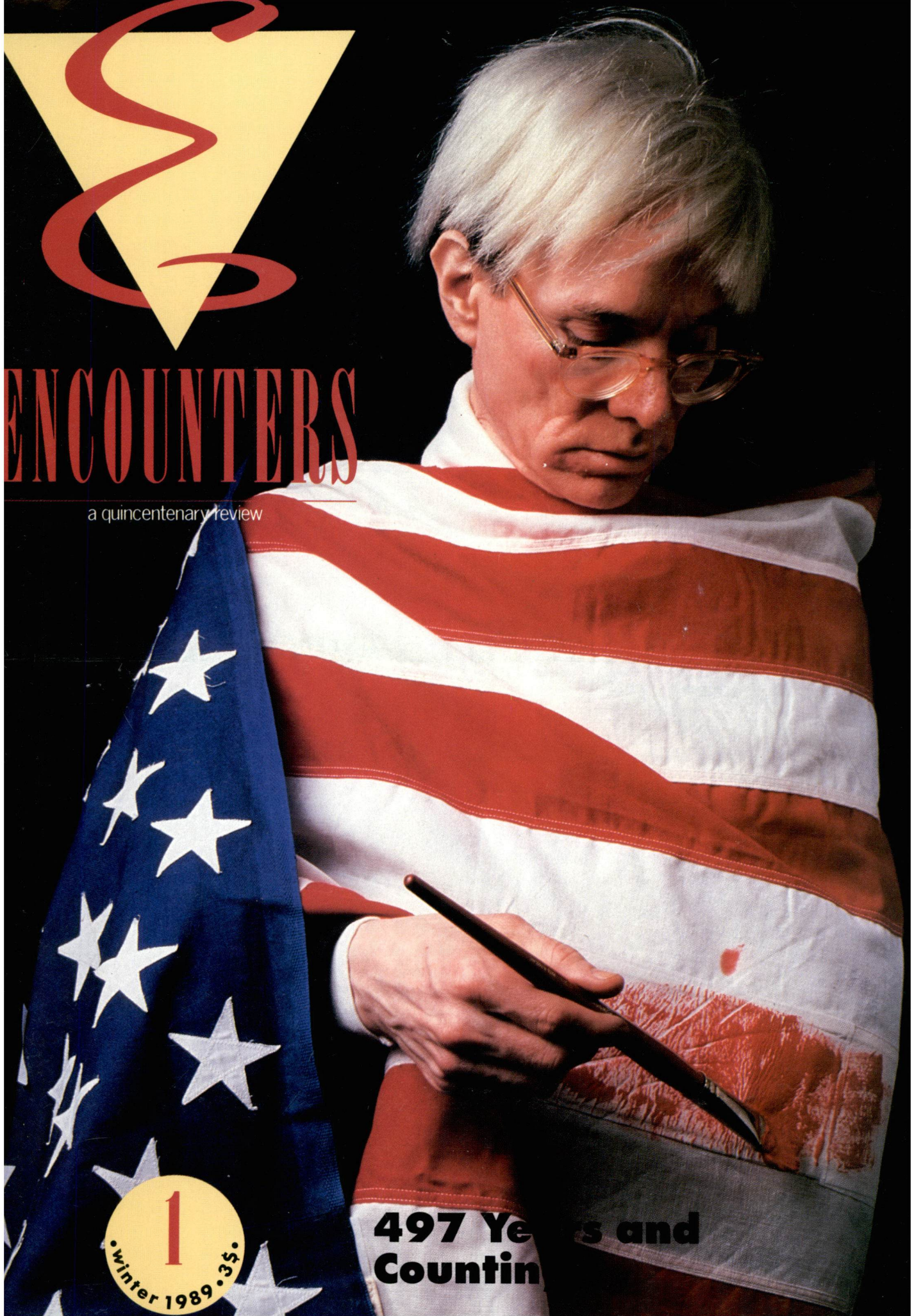
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TRINIDAD, SEP 14 1957



ENCOUNTERS

a quincentenary review



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A Word To Our Readers

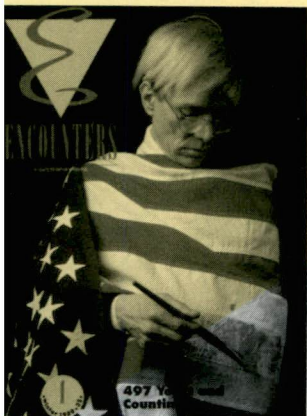
Historic anniversaries have a way of generating their own significance—and, one might add, their own publications. Encounters is a magazine inspired by 1992, the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's fateful voyage across the Atlantic. It is also the year in which the Western European countries will unify their financial markets, posing a new challenge to the economic power of the Western Hemisphere.

The interaction of peoples that began in 1492 continues today and constitutes the subject matter of Encounters. We will report on the ideas and events of the ongoing encounters that shape the Western world. Our focus will be pan-Atlantic, pan-American, and pan-Iberian. An expanded exchange of ideas and influences between the Americas and the new Europe should be one of the logical consequences of the Columbian anniversary. The United States,

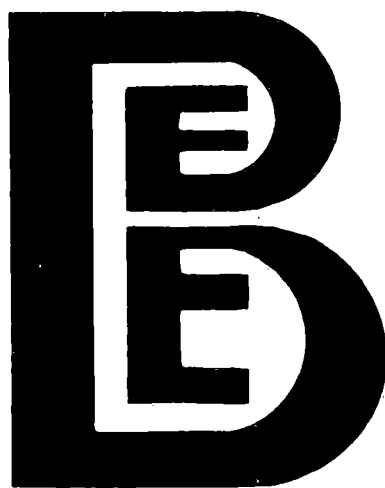
continued on page 41

On The Cover

A portrait of Andy Warhol in Madrid by the noted Spanish photographer Alberto Schommer. This encounter between the Iberian photographer and the late American painter pays homage to the American character of Warhol's work. Warhol's etouching of the flag symbolizes the ongoing nature of the American experiment, which continues to be open to new influences and ideas as the 1992 Quincentenary approaches.



- 5 **A royal greeting to the Americas from King Juan Carlos I of Spain.**
- 7 **“Better to be Ignored than Illustrious.”** An interview with Octavio Paz, perhaps Latin America's greatest living poet and essayist. Paz reassesses the state of the arts and literature and comments on the significance of 1992.
- 13 **“When They Discovered Us.”** by Arturo Uslar Pietri, Venezuela's leading short story writer.
- 16 **“The Spanish Black Legend.”** Origins of anti-Hispanic stereotypes, by Joseph P. Sánchez.
- 22 **“An interview with Rafael Mazarrasa.”** The President of the Spain '92 Foundation discusses the relationship between the United States and the Hispanic world and the role of the Spain '92 Foundation in Quincentenary observances.
- 26 **“Debate '92—Vicente Verdú and Javier Sádaba.”** Spanish philosophers express their opinion and doubts about the year 1992.
- 29 **“The King Juan Carlos I Fellowships.”** A joint venture by the University of Minnesota, the Ortega y Gasset Foundation, and the Spain '92 Foundation sends American high school teachers to Spain.
- 30 **“La Cachita y el Che: Patron Saints of Revolutionary Cuba.”** Nelson P. Valdés, a Cuban expert, examines *Santería* as it exists in Cuba today.
- 35 **“Spain: From ‘La Movida’ to Europe.”** Journalist and fashion editor Rosa Pereda reports on cultural activities in today's Spain.
- 40 **“In Search of One's Roots.”** A high tech approach to the study of genealogy traces the Spanish roots of the Hispanic population in the United States.
- 41 **News.** A comprehensive guide to quincentenary-related programs and activities.
- 49 **Poetry.** “Reshaping the Albuquerque Sunset.” Poetry by Angel González, Spain's Poet Laureate and winner of the prestigious Principe de Asturias Award.



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A Royal Greeting from H.M. King Juan Carlos I of Spain.

Con motivo de la publicación del primer número de la
Revista "Encounters", me es muy grato saludar a todos los
que la han hecho posible, y al espíritu de colaboración -
hispanonorteamericana que la anima.

En 1992 habrán pasado cinco siglos desde la llegada
a tierras americanas de las naves de Cristobal Colón, en-
viadas por la Corona de Castilla, y cuya hazaña inició el
mundo moderno, concebido tanto humana como geográficamen-
te como un mundo único.

Nos preparamos a celebrar este aniversario como un -
encuentro esperanzador, que tiende a superar, con el con-
curso de todos, las insuficiencias del pasado, y a elaborar
un proyecto solidario de futuro.

Este es el mensaje que proponen tanto la Exposición
Universal de Sevilla como los Juegos Olímpicos de Barcelo-
na: vanguardia del segundo milenio la primera, intercambio
y noble competición los segundos.

Madrid, capital cultural de la Europa comunitaria en
1992, será también el símbolo y espejo de la vitalidad de
la nueva España, en una Europa integrada que a partir de
ese año eliminará las fronteras a la circulación de per-
sonas, bienes e innovaciones.

Estoy seguro de que la gran nación americana, hogar -
de tantos pueblos de diversos orígenes, se siente especial-
mente llamada a ser partícipe y coprotagonista de esta con-
vocatoria. De ello es un generoso ejemplo la "Spain '92 -
Foundation", promotora de esta publicación.

On the occasion of the publication of the first issue
of *Encounters* it gives me great pleasure to recognize
all those who have made this magazine possible,
and to salute the spirit of collaboration between
Spain and the United States that inspires this venture.
1992 will mark the passing of five centuries since
the arrival on American shores of the ships led by
Christopher Columbus on a mission for the
Castilian Crown. This achievement inaugurated
the modern world conceived as a single human and
geographic entity.
We are preparing to celebrate this anniversary as a
source of hope for the future, which through
mutual cooperation can surmount the
disappointments of the past and lead to common
ventures ahead.
This message of hope is reflected both in the

Universal Exposition of Seville, representing the
future to be inaugurated by the Second Millennium,
and in the Olympic Games in Barcelona,
symbolizing noble competition and international
exchange.
Madrid, the cultural capital of the European
Community in 1992, will also serve as symbol and
mirror of the vitality of the new Spain as part of a
unified Europe that in 1992 becomes free of
barriers to the movement of people, goods, and
innovation.
I am confident that the great nation of the United
States of America, home to so many peoples of
different origins, feels a special role as participant
and partner in this celebration. The Spain '92
Foundation responds to an aspect of this role in
sponsoring this new publication.

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The University of Arizona Press

1230 N. Park Avenue, Suite 102, Tucson, Arizona 85719

Octavio Paz: Better to be Ignored Than Illustrious

Interview by José Tono Martínez

Octavio Paz, the Mexican poet and essayist, while in the United States lecturing at Georgetown University and the Folger Shakespeare Library last year, was kind enough to grant this interview. We spoke of many things—of new poems and his favorite poets, “that half-dozen who will endure: Cesar Vallejo, Vicente Huidobro, Pablo Neruda, Antonio Machado (the opposite of Valery, one of the best poets in Europe), the late Juan Ramón Jiménez (as great as Yeats, an idea that would scandalize Luis Cernuda), and Cernuda himself.” And of course, we also talked about 992 and indigenismo the study and protection of Indian cultures). We offer now the U.S. exclusive of his conversation.

JTM: “The madness of Gerard de Nerval does not explain *Les Chimères*; nor does Coleridge’s laudanum explain the images of Kubla Khan. . . . Man creates prodigious wonders.” You wrote these words in 1957. You also spoke of the “poet’s painful conscience in a hostile world,” of desire, of Cernuda, of the contemplation of love. Today you are seventy-four years old; you have traversed many countries, many literatures. And today you are an illustrious personage, like that Aztec rare bird, the Quetzal. From this perspective and age, do you still hold the same opinions thirty years later, in the world of 1988? And, related to this topic, I would like to hear your comments on Aldous Huxley’s 1932 statement that “The art of living is more difficult than the art of writing.”

OP: You have actually asked me two questions. Yes, I continue to believe that man creates wonders, not incredible ones but perfectible believable prodigies. They are works that can be contemplated, and at the same time, they nurture us and feed us spiritually. Man transforms everything he touches. Culture, especially poetry, consists of this transformation. Poetry is an attempt, often realized, to transform the raw material of existence. As for your other question, I will tell you that I am not an illustrious personage. It’s a bore to be one. It’s like being mummified. I would rather be ignored or discussed than be illustrious.

With regard to Huxley’s observation, I think that living and writing are two distinct arts. Great poets have failed in the art of living. I even ask myself whether living is an art; it could be that it is not. To live is a destiny—there are no recipes. Although perhaps there are no recipes for writing either.

JTM: You said that poetry’s mission is to transform history and that above all, “poetry is one of the forms that modern man can use to say “no” to all those powers that, not content with disposing of our lives, also want our consciences.” But if we look at the great regional conflicts and the misery extending throughout the so-called Third World, it seems that those great powers are not paying much attention to the voice of the poets or even that of the intellectuals. Don’t you think that in certain developed countries, the poet or writer runs the risk of becoming a museum piece or a prized trophy of the language departments of multi-million-dollar universities?

OP: Again, I see several topics in your question. One is the theme of the political, social, and historical efficacy of the poet’s “no.” In that regard, the poet’s efficacy is tiny, almost null. We poets can do little to influence or impede wars and hunger. When I spoke of the poet’s “no,” I was referring to poetry’s representing a negation of the values of contemporary society. Poetry is a revelation of the dark side of man, of human passions, of the fascination with death and the wondrous—everything that modern society forbids. In this sense, poetry continues to be a subversive source. It is true that in the richest countries, poetry has become a marginal activity. This is one of the great catastrophes of the modern world: modern society’s inability to participate in the poetic enterprise is a symptom of deep moral and social sickness. Perhaps here lies the secret of the horror of contemporary society. And it is a fact: the most important poems of the twentieth century have been those in which the dark and terrible face of this society has shown itself. I am thinking of T. S. Eliot’s *The Wasteland*, some of Ezra Pound’s *Cantos*, the poems of Federico García Lorca or Cernuda, some passages in Vallejo.

JTM: You were a surrealist and were interested in Marcel Duchamp as a young man, yet you also certified the end of surrealism. You wrote in 1954, “The failure of surrealism illuminates for us another failure, perhaps an even more shameful one: that of the revolutionary effort. Where the old religions and tyrannies have died, primitive cults and ferocious idolatries are reborn. No one knows what the coming thirty or forty years will bring.” The Postmodern



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debate also stresses the end of the old all-encompassing visions, criticizes romantic illusions about the modernity of a better world, and (according to which author we consult) predicts a world in which anything that is not "informatizable" will disappear. Are technological fervor and unquestioning acceptance of economic success as the highest good the "primitive cults and ferocious idolatries" that you glimpsed in the years to come?

OP: No, when I wrote those words in 1954, I was primarily thinking of the deformation of socialism under totalitarian regimes, and of the Cold War. In this respect, there seems to be some hope at the close of the twentieth century. Great changes have taken place. In Latin America, there has been a return to democracy paralleling that in Eastern Europe, although it is difficult to foresee where these changes will lead.

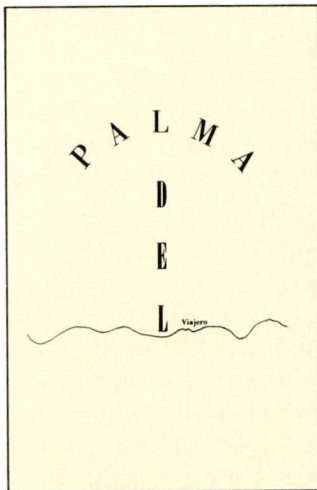
Pursuit of economic success and the technological ideal are symptoms rather than causes. The serious part that Western democracies have succeeded in providing prosperity and education for large majorities but have taken away their spiritual life. These democracies have not been capable of founding a new community. What is in crisis in the rich countries is the idea of community or solidarity—or to speak in Christian terms, the idea of charity, of love of one's neighbor. These are the two great failures: the failure of individual liberty in the so-called socialist countries and Latin America and the failure of brotherhood in the rich countries of the West. This is what seems serious to me, not the predominance of technology.

Now, on the subject of the failure of the great religions and global visions of the world, unfortunately, yes, I saw it prophetically. The great sign of threat at the end of the twentieth century is not overt but much more subtle. It is an inquiry that opens up like an enormous void. In 1922, it seems to me, Eliot (and I mention him because we are celebrating the centenary of his birth) spoke of the *Wasteland* as an evaporation of the traditional beliefs. He spoke a truth, and the old ideologies that seemed about to fill the great void left by the death of God and the old certainties have also vanished, revealing that they were the masks of odious tyrannies. What has continued has been the inquiry into modernity.

JTM: A perplexing inquiry, you must allow. . .

OP: The word modernity has always seemed to me equivocal. I have used it because there was no better word. To speak of "Postmodernity" seems to me contradictory; it would be nothing more than the extreme or culmination of modernity. As long as we continue to think in those terms, we remain prisoners of the same illusion. What we can say is that the birth of the modern world, two centuries ago, is in crisis. And the central aspect of this crisis is our vision of time. I believe that each society invents a notion of time, and in its notion of time are contained all the existential categories of that civilization. For example, Christian death is contained in the idea of salvation and condemnation; all of that includes the notion of Christian Time, which broke up the cyclical time of Greco-Roman antiquity by emptying into a successive time that ends in a double eternity, heaven or hell. Then in the eighteenth century, modernity ended the idea of heaven or hell and instituted an eternity that unfolds infinitely from the beginning of the beginning. That idea of Time and Progress, which is the god of modernity, is what has now gone bankrupt. And if the idea of time is bankrupt, so too is the idea of time as linear, evolving, revolutionary. What we don't know is what the new notion of time is going to be. I think we must rediscover the moment. And in this regard, poetry can be one of the paths for finding a distinct time.

Pages 8, 9, 10. *Topoemas* by O. Paz.



JTM: When one travels in Mexico, the towns of the interior and especially in some parts of the Yucatan, one gets the impression that the Conquest happened only yesterday. You surely will be asked in 1992 to celebrate, commemorate, or even applaud with your presence the



ceremonies that will mark this occasion. What is your opinion of this date and the Spanish attitude? What does this milestone suggest to you, if indeed it suggests anything?

OP: Look here, this is a subject that agitated my adolescent years. My mother was Spanish, and my father was old-line Mexican but with indigenous influence. I have a little Indian blood. My family was also French-oriented and belonged to a generation that heaped opprobrium on the Conquest of Mexico, which alarmed my poor mother. But this is no longer a conflict for me.

This is one of the great catastrophes of the modern world: modern society's inability to participate in the poetic enterprise is a symptom of deep moral and social sickness.

The essential fact is the encounter of two worlds: encounter, discovery, conquest, and peaceful and violent evangelization, very much in the Arab and monotheistic tradition of religion. It wasn't the first time that one civilization discovered another, which has always been terrible and brutal. The basic difference is that the American Indians had no idea of another civilization. They had no repertory of categories for conceiving of other cultures. Like all cultured civilizations, they had the category of barbarian, in this case, "Chichimec." There was also the Toltec category of the cultured and sedentary man. The Spaniards did not fit into the category of barbarians, or Chichimecs: they weren't nomads, and besides, they arrived on horseback bearing firearms. The only other category left was that of divine beings. It was this weakness, this great lack of the idea of another civilization, that explains the fascination and the rout of the Mexican Indians.

But I don't believe much in ceremonies, in commemorations. I don't know what is going to take place. . . , but if it serves to reaffirm and underscore the relation among the peoples who speak Spanish and Portuguese, then it seems positive to me. I believe very much in civilizations, and I believe in the unity of the Spanish language.

The Conquest is a subject that I have settled accounts with personally. But if we compare it with others, we see that the American Indians knew neither physical extermination nor reservations. What distinguishes the Spanish Conquest from that of other European peoples is the evangelization. In Mexico, as in Goa, what matters are the palaces and the cathedrals. In British India, in Bombay or in Calcutta, what matters are the post offices and the railroad stations. This difference shows the distinct conceptions of Empire.

JTM: You have written about Cuauhtemoc, the last Aztec emperor, about the Indians being orphaned at his death, about "the wretchedness of Indianismo as well as the empty pride of Hispanismo," about the total and sacred character of the Aztec religion, and in this overlay of beliefs and concepts, about the ideology of the Mexicans. According to Hunbatz Men, a Mayan shaman from Palenque, some Indians believe that this latter-day Cuauhtemoc contemporary Mexican politician Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas is an incarnation of the earlier one. What is your opinion of this fact and of Cardenas himself?

OP: Well, I find this difficult to believe. It's as if I were told tomorrow that in some Spanish villages, they believe that the Cid has reappeared. But no doubt in the person of Mr. Cárdenas there is some curious association between his Christian name and that of the Aztec emperor and between his surname and that of his father, a president much loved by the Mexicans. All this



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implies a certain nostalgia. There is a poem by Ramón López Velarde, a Mexican poet (little read in Spain) who represents a bridge between the modernist generation and that of the vanguard. The poem talks of returning to the village after the Revolution, finding traces of the civil war throughout the village, and finally, the poem speaks of its vision of prerevolutionary Mexico, which invokes “an intimate reactionary sadness.” This sense can be applied in a certain way to Cardenas. . . . That is my purely political evaluation. [OP laughs.]

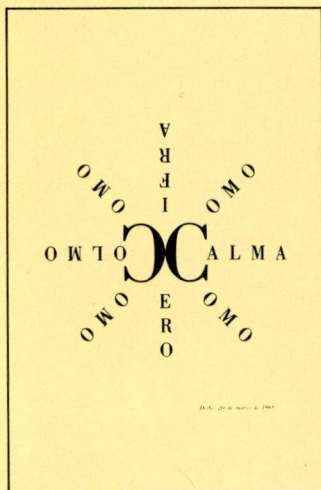
JTM: The world is being shaken by new changes. There is talk of a realignment in the Americas, the unification of Europe, the opening of the Socialist world, the rise of Japan and other Oriental powers—themes that are old and new, and partially circular. Can you make another prediction for the next thirty or forty years like the one you made as many years ago?

OP: Well, that was not a prediction. I projected a fear that turned out to be true. But it seems difficult to say anything now. Perhaps the most notable development will be the unification of Europe. A united Europe would benefit Latin America because we are in many ways a projection of Western Europe, of Latin and Hispanic Europe. The Spaniards have rediscovered their European vocation; they have suddenly remembered that they are the descendants of Carlos III. This seems to me magnificent. It would be good if they eventually rediscover their American vocation as well, which would also benefit Spain as part of a unified Europe. Many of the changes that you mention seem to me to be positive. In Latin America, we are evolving toward democracy. In certain countries, there is no democracy yet but a stirring or tendency toward democracy. In the East (which is not the Far East for Mexicans), Japan, Korea, and surely China are rising, transforming the Western experience. This trend represents the end of the idea of the blocs, with changes in the socialist countries and the thaw that is creating new constellations. History is again becoming unforeseeable. But in neither the West nor the East nor the South nor the North have we found ideas capable of replacing the old constructs. I ask myself whether they are necessary. In truth, they are not. Man must learn to live alone on earth, in a contingent world, without falling back on the old superstitions. A Spanish friend once recalled something very profound that Schopenhauer said: “Religion is the philosophy of the majority, and philosophy is the religion of the minority.” Well, I would like to see the minority become the majority and the decision to live facing one’s destiny become the choice of the majority. . . . It seems impossible.

JTM: Mexican poet José Juan Tablada wrote the haiku you like so much: “The little monkey looks at me. / He wants to say something that he has forgotten.” You have reflected at length on the meaning of death for the Aztecs. Now you are older. Has this changed the meaning of your reflection on death, seeing it as something more personal or intimate? Is there something that you have forgotten? Is your past in clear view?

OP: The past is never completely clear. All my poetry has been an attempt, probably vain or utopian, to clarify my past. Death for me has not been an idea but rather a personal experience. In general, I have treated it by means of masks—Aztec death, Christian death. One of the miracles of life is that moment of adolescence when one discovers oneself to be mortal. The first time that the child discovers this fact is terrible, unforgettable, unique. But as the years pass, nature makes the idea of death more tolerable to us. Yes, it’s the end, but it’s also an accident—a paradoxical accident because it’s inevitable, a necessary accident. All my poetry has been an effort to relive certain moments that, being “time” and instantaneous, seem luckily transparent in order to make me see the other side of existence. I hope that at the moment of my death, this will be true, and that my conversation with myself at that moment will be like a dialogue of Plotinus, a transparent and luminous dialogue.

Translated by Sharon Kellu



The Spain '92 Foundation is a non-profit, publicly-supported organization in the United States working with American and Spanish institutions to plan and develop projects to commemorate the Columbus Quincentenary.

With the endorsement of His Majesty Juan Carlos I of Spain, and under the honorary chairmanship of Her Majesty Queen Sofia, the Spain '92 Foundation will promote understanding of Spain in the United States, and serve as an important landmark in Spain-U.S. relations.

The Spain '92 Foundation wishes to thank the following organizations and individuals for their advice and assistance during our

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When They Discovered Us

Arturo UsLAR Pietri

UsLAR Pietri is the leading writer of short stories in Venezuela. This article first appeared in Caracas and it is published here with the permission of the author. We are grateful to the Embassy of Spain in Venezuela for its enthusiastic collaboration.

Some time ago, I wrote a commentary on that curious and peculiar state of mind of many Latin Americans with respect to the beginning of their own history in which the Spanish discovery and conquest of the New Continent and the subsequent creation of a new society *sui generis* has come to look like a strange and thankless accident, objectionable in many aspects, and having little to do with our present existence. It is a notion closely resembling the idea of an Original Sin that Christians have maintained with respect to the origin of history: we are born from an original sin that we have not yet finished purging. That sin, in its simplest form, is composed of the submission and rupture of the indigenous cultures and by the bloody struggle for domination carried out by the conquistadors, forming a new social, political, and cultural reality.

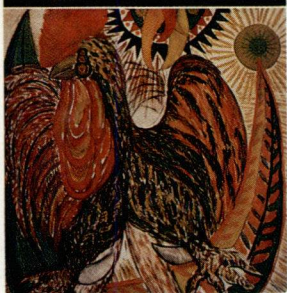
At times, this notion approaches extremes lacking all meaning. One hears, and even sees written, "We are like this because the Spaniards discovered and conquered us." It is the extreme form of an illogical proposition, as if the Spaniards who started arriving in 1492 were something alien and different from us, and not biologically and culturally part of us, as are the Indians and the blacks. Neither the Spaniards who arrived, nor the Indians who were already here, nor the blacks who were brought over, but those who have become what they are today through five centuries of living closely together and mixing with each other, have created a new human reality, profoundly original and distinct from what the three racial and cultural protagonists had been separately before beginning the process.

In the strictest sense, no one discovered us, the present-day children of Latin America; but someone discovered our predecessors, ancestors as far back in our past as the subjected Indians and the enslaved Negroes. From this process, which was cruel and bloody in many aspects yet immensely fertile and creative, the new human factor was formed that represents Latin America today. In less than a century, there was but one religion, one language of culture and creation, one basic cultural condition, one same conscience of situation and community, and one common problem of cultural identity. Because of this exceptional circumstance of cultural and ethnic mixing, which resulted in the formation of a new society and a new human dimension, the great tutelary figures representative of the Latin American condition were able to emerge, figures such as the Inca Garcilaso, Simón Bolívar, Benito Juárez, and Rubén Darío. All of Hispanoamerican history was alive within each one of them; spiritually they had nourished themselves on the direct inheritance of the three fundamental actors and would not have been able to be what they were if one of those formative and conditional elements had been missing.

We cannot speak, therefore, of the discovery and conquest as something external and alien that happened to a Latin America prior to these facts in the initial moment of the formation of its own historical existence. The conqueror and the conquered, the Indian and the encomendero, the slave owner and the slave are fused in the hereditary spirit. Thus history made the Latin Americans and they cannot be anything else, whether they want to or not, except the product of that great process, pugnacious and difficult, which has given them their own unmistakable identity in today's dialogue of cultures.

Perhaps the problem arises because of the nearness and documentation of the

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Castilla and Leon Flag. Drawing
by Martínez Alonso. Vasco de
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historical facts and because of the process of cultural hybridization. Similar processes have taken place in the origins of all the great contemporary cultures, but they have generally occurred either in prehistoric times or in remote epochs of history which tend to get confused with myth and legend. Greeks and Romans were the products of bloody invasions, clashes, and accommodations between distinct peoples who were both invaders and invaded. Contemporary Europe is the result of an old and immense mix of Latin, German, pagan, and

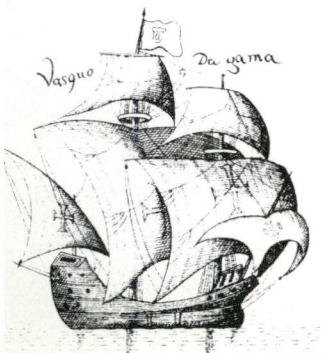
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We cannot speak, therefore, of the discovery and conquest as something external and alien that happened to a Latin America prior to these facts in the initial moment of the formation of its own historical existence.

Jewish cultures which have merged with each other and formed what we today call Western culture. It would be absurd for a child of today's Europe to say, "When the Romans conquered us, or when the barbarians invaded us," because those facts determined the formation of a new cultural and human reality which is what constitutes the Europe of today. Western culture is the fruit of a lengthy process of racial and cultural hybridization, as was the culture in the Mediterranean region before. Count Gobineau rightly said in the last century, referring to the Europeans, "A hundred times mestizos."

The existence of an Iberoamerican community of nations is a fact that no one dares deny today. It is a great geographic and human space with its own characteristics differentiating it from other human groupings and from the cultural actors that originated it. With keen judgment Bolívar said, "We are not Spaniards, we are not Indians...we constitute a small part of the human race." A Latin American culture has been created with its own personality which is no longer that which the Spanish conquistadors brought in their ships, nor that which existed in the indigenous nations, nor that which was contributed by the blacks from the variety of African cultures.

Germán Arciniegas has rightly said many times that "America is something else." Being something else, it is difficult to understand because it cannot be reduced to any one of the distinctive cultural factors that contributed to its formation. Such a reduction would be an impossible mutilation.

The important thing is to recognize the profound peculiarity of the Latin American condition, and for that one must begin with assimilating the entire past, excluding nothing, without remorse from original sin, and with a will to assume the totality of the historic inheritance. Without that prior recognition of the Latin American identity, it will not be possible to purposefully face the future.



The Spanish Black Legend: Origins of Anti-Hispanic Stereotypes

Joseph P. Sánchez

De Bry illustration, 1624. Massacre of priests. © Library of Congress.



Joseph P. Sánchez is the director of the National Park Service's Spanish Colonial Research Center at the University of New Mexico.

In 1604, during the Golden Age of Spain, the great Spanish writer Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas wrote *España Defendida*. In it, he called attention to a malaise that pervaded Spanish-English diplomatic relations. Quevedo pointed out that anti-Spanish propaganda and misconceptions were deeply rooted in the lore of Protestant Europe.

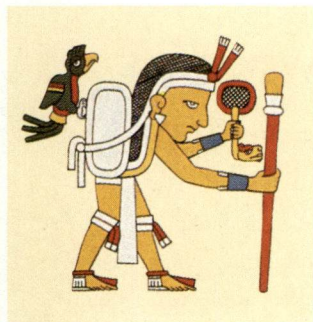
More than three hundred years later, in 1912, another Spanish intellectual, Julian Juderías, observed that anti-Spanish misconceptions had continued to develop unabated long after their usefulness as propaganda had been served. Juderías argued that anti-Spanish, indeed, anti-Hispanic distortions in both Europe and the Americas constituted a *leyenda negra*—a black legend. Sixty years after Juderías had coined the phrase “Black Legend,” academicians in the United States responding to the Civil Rights movement and *El Movimiento Chicano* sought to understand historical anti-Hispanic attitudes which had continued to effect public policies at home and foreign relations with Spain and Latin America. They concluded that the Black Legend had resulted in beliefs that Hispanics were inherently evil. The centuries-old anti-Spanish propaganda had developed a folkloristic nature of its own with far-reaching effects and had created a false stereotype of Hispanics.

The main premise upon which the Black Legend rested was the fear, envy, and dislike—or even hatred—of Spain by those nation-states that clashed with Spanish power shortly after Christopher Columbus's New World discoveries. Spain and Portugal, by dint of their discoveries and explorations, won exclusive approval for their claims to the Americas from Pope Alexander VI. Other Western European nations did not agree. King Francis I of France quipped, “I deign to see Adam's will to see how he divided the earth.” Despite the belligerent efforts of England and France, the Spanish sphere of influence grew to an empire that stretched from North



Africa west across the Americas to the Phillipines. By the end of the 1700s, Spain's North Pacific claims were anchored by a chain of settlements in California that began in San Francisco Bay. The interior portion of the claim was effectively held by outposts at Tucson, Arizona; Santa Fe, New Mexico; and San Antonio on the Texas frontier. East of these outposts, St. Louis and New Orleans along the Mississippi River began a series of Spanish towns that stretched to St. Augustine, Florida, by way of Mobile, Alabama; and Pensacola and Tallahassee, Florida. From there to the southern tip of South America, Spanish missions, presidios, and towns dotted the imperial Spanish map. The widespread Spanish colonialism became a source of gossip for the propagandists who despised Spain's grip on the New World.

While Spain's claim to the New World had become a source of contention among the have-not nations, another historical trend fueled the flames of anti-Spanish propaganda. In 1515 the Protestant Reformation erupted. Spain and Portugal remained staunchly loyal to Catholicism and claimed to be the conservators of the One True Faith. Before the Reformation had run its



course, England, France, the Germanies, the Dutch Lowlands and several other nations had aligned themselves with Protestantism. The schism was an event that shook all of Europe.

Christendom had split on points of doctrine and the recognition of the papacy. The resulting Catholic-Protestant antagonisms stimulated a new challenge to Spain. The argument was one of religious orthodoxy and Spain responded by establishing the Holy Office of the Inquisition, an old European institution which France and Italy had used previously to ensure religious conformity within their realms. The objectives of the Spanish Holy Office were to keep Catholicism pure of heresy and maintain religious orthodoxy and cultural conformity among the Spanish vassalage.

Contrary to popular belief that the Jews and Lutherans were the only targets of the Catholic Church in Spain and the Empire, the Inquisition courts were most severe on Spanish Catholics who strayed from the faith. But neither Spain's powerful claim to the New World nor the anti-Catholic attitudes among Protestant Europeans were enough to make Spain a scapegoat for European frustrations and jealousies of the period. Ironically, Spain's efforts to administer justice and to reform some of its colonial practices played into her rivals' machinations.

Far from the European courts, missionary priests in the wilds of the New World worked to christianize Native Americans and to establish a colonial presence among them. One of them, the Dominican Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, argued that Native Americans had legal status under Spanish law, but in practice Native American rights were not often observed. Although conquistadors had been brought to court and imprisoned for abuses of such laws, Las Casas believed that not enough had been done to right the situation, especially in the area of Native American tribute and servitude.

In 1540, after years of collecting information related to violations of Native American rights by Spaniards, Las Casas submitted a report entitled *Brevísima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies) to the Hapsburg emperor,

Charles V (Charles I of Spain). The king was aware that Las Casas sought to reform the tribute collecting system which had wreaked havoc on Native American populations and their economies. *The encomienda*, a grant of people for the purpose of tribute, was often used as a guise for indentured servitude, if not outright slavery, should the tribute not be paid.

Aside from crusading for the abolition of the *encomienda*, Las Casas complained that the military conquest of the Americas had been much more traumatic than heretofore realized and recommended that the license to conquer be restricted. As the Protector of the Native Americans, he asked for reform and social experimentation that would show Native Americans and Spaniards coexisting in a modified colonial society. King Charles read the report, had his council debate it, and decided that reform was in order. The result was the New Laws of 1542. When word of the abolition of the *encomienda* reached *encomenderos* and investors, rioting occurred in Peru and Mexico. The king was petitioned and over the outcry, the *encomienda*, which was as old as the Moorish Wars, was given new life.

When Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas began his crusade for reform, he collected data which would support his case that Spaniards abused Native Americans. The examples he gave in his report were negative ones aimed at exciting the king and his court to action. In his *Relación*, Las Casas focused on only one relationship between Spaniards and Native Americans which was countenanced by acts of abuse toward the natives. Fray Bartolomé did not discuss other relationships such as intermarriage between the two groups, actual friendships that had developed among them, religious affiliations which created a spiritual bond and obligation, or the many kinships that had resulted throughout the Americas. For this report, Las Casas looked principally at the negative effects of colonialism in order to plead his case for reform. He did his job admirably.

More reformist laws were issued after 1542, and finally the Laws of 1572 brought the period of conquest to an end. The evolutionary pattern of colonial-native relationships had been slowly enhanced. If nothing else, Las Casas had succeeded in his efforts to bring the plight of Native Americans to the attention of the king.

But Fray Bartolomé's intents were subverted by the anti-Spanish propagandists. Ten years after his bid to reform the Indies had run its course, the Dutch acquired a copy of his report and published it. The English and French followed suit. Within a few years, translations of Las Casas's *Relación* circulated throughout the Protestant countries of Europe. Spain's foes claimed the damning



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report was proof that Catholic Spain was bigoted. Catholic Spaniards, they wrote, had exterminated and brutalized Native Americans. Artist Theodore de Bry heightened reaction to the report by sketching pictures depicting Spaniards torturing and killing Native Americans at will and at random.

Unwittingly, Las Casas had given the propagandists verbal ammunition to describe Spaniards as depraved and cowardly people who had committed crimes against defenseless natives. How the Spaniards must have wished the English, Dutch, French, and Germans had had a Bartolomé de Las Casas among them to write of their colonial enterprises in North America!

Spawned in the international rivalry of the sixteenth century, *la leyenda negra* grew from anti-Spanish propaganda disseminated by Spain's rivals in the Dutch Lowlands, England, France, and the Germanies. Fueled by the Protestant Reformation, the propaganda underwent an anti-Catholic phase in which Spain stood accused of bigotry, especially after Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Relación* was acquired by Spain's rivals. It was predicated on simplistic and faulty analysis of historical information—the falsehood that, historically, Hispanics were uniquely cruel, bigoted, tyrannical, lazy, violent, treacherous, and depraved. Almost religious in character, the alleged depravity of Hispanics hinted at some unforgivable Original Sin that preyed upon the legitimacy of Hispanic culture throughout the world. Thus the anti-Spanish propaganda of the past created the body of misconceptions known as the Black Legend and formed the basis of anti-Hispanic stereotypes.

During the next four centuries, the Black Legend was kept alive, especially whenever conflict arose between the English and Spanish-speaking worlds. In the 1800s, four events revived and perpetuated Black Legend stereotypes: the Texas Revolt (1836), the Mexican War (1846–1848), the California Gold Rush with its attendant westward movement (1849–1856), and the Spanish-American War (1898). Each was characterized by conflict and an anti-Hispanic campaign during which publishers of books and newspapers drew on the misconceptions of *la leyenda negra* for inspiration.

The fall of the Alamo in 1836 during the Texas Revolt is significant in the history of the Black Legend because the anti-Spanish attitudes of the basically European Black Legend were transferred to the American Westward tradition as Anglo-Americans expanded into Mexican Territory. The propagandists merely juggled the slogans “Remember the Armada” and “Remember the Alamo” to suit the times. The “cowardly, untrustworthy Mexicans” were the object of many Texans’ ballads. One

of them, “The Ballad of Ben Milam,” commemorated Milam, the first Texas hero, who in real life was considered a ne’er-do-well by his Anglo and Mexican contemporaries. This ballad, like others of the period, was filled with anti-Mexican sentiment:

They’re the spawn of hell
We heard him tell
They will knife and lie and cheat
At the board of none
Of that swarthy horde
Would I deign to sit and meet
They held it not
That I bled and fought
When Spain was their ruthless foe
O, who will follow Old Ben Milam
To San Antonio

Although Milam died before the fateful fall of the Alamo, the propagandist would have him die there with the hapless 180 Texans (some of whom were Mexicans) in order to enhance his stature as a Texas hero. In time the Alamo, once a Spanish mission on a perilous Texas frontier, became an anti-Mexican shrine.

Ten years after the Texas Revolt, the Mexican-American War expanded Black Legend sentiments in order to justify Anglo-American aggression. Manifest Destiny expounded the belief that God had blessed and preordained U.S. expansion and, parenthetically, that He would punish Mexico for her depravity. To some of the victors, Protestantism had triumphed over Catholicism. Of the several schools of thought concerning the belief that Mexicans were inferior as a race, one held that only through U.S. intervention could Mexicans be regenerated as a people; another argued to the contrary. Such discussions were not only printed in newspapers throughout the United States, but were debated in the U.S. Congress as well. The result of such efforts to discredit Mexico and justify war was the widespread belief that the God-forsaken Mexicans were unworthy of keeping the valuable resources and land they had inherited from Spain. Fact gave way to lore and the propagandists prevailed.

After the discovery of gold in California in 1848, “gold rushers” overran the land from Texas to California using Mexican villages as places for safety and rest. Some never reached the California goldfields and settled in or near Mexican towns. Generally, they viewed the Mexicans as inferior and as conquered people.

In the years after the gold rush but before the Spanish-American War, the Black Legend took on new meaning. As in Texas, anti-Mexican practices, similar to those inspired by the Jim Crow laws which would discriminate



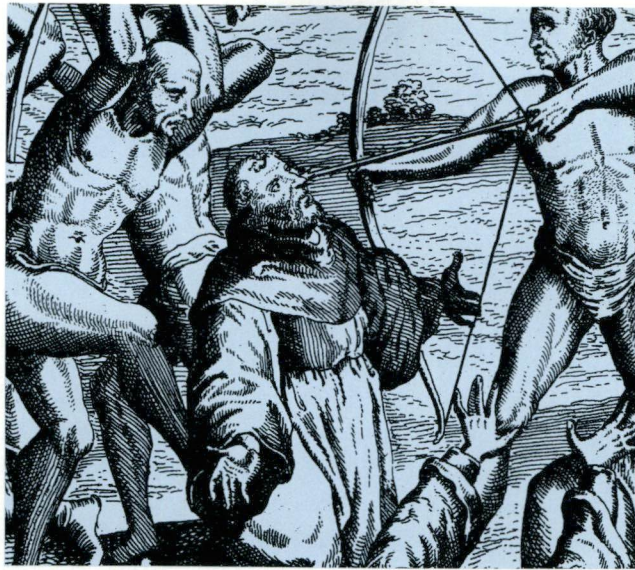
against free blacks after the Civil War, occurred throughout the Southwest. Law enforcers in the ceded Mexican Territory, sometimes modeled after the Texas Rangers, justified murdering innocent Mexicans by relying on the time-honored beliefs that Mexicans were treacherous, cowardly and instinctively had a “cruel streak” which, in turn, must be dealt with cruelly. Almost dispossessed of land and rights, Mexican-Americans used every means to defend themselves, including the court system. But the stereotypes, which had influenced newspaper accounts, American literature, published diaries and palaver, had almost irretrievably damaged any Mexican-American hope for justice. Indeed, Mexican-Americans began to see themselves as others saw them—“foreigners in a foreign land.”

During the 1800s, the Black Legend spread quickly

through publications which popularized the stereotypic character of Hispanics in general. For example, one reporter for the *Missouri Republican* (April 29, 1847) wrote that New Mexico was “a country with but few exceptions inhabited by ignorant, dishonest, treacherous men; and by women who believe scarcely what virtue is beyond the name.”

In another account, Joel L. Poinsett, U.S. Consul to Mexico in 1822, quoted an anonymous visitor who viewed Mexicans as lazy and immoral, and whose “occupation seems to consist, principally, in removing fleas and lice from each other, drinking pulque, smoking cigars when they can and sleeping.” Poinsett’s secretary, Edward Thornton Taylor wrote that Mexicans were “ignorant, vicious, thieving and incapable of governing as republicans.”

Detail of "Massacre of Priests".



Other published accounts expressed similar ethnocentric views written for an English-speaking audience. The accounts, taken in their totality, were nothing short of name-calling. Moreover, the printed generalization supported the oral tradition as if newspapers, diaries, and short stories were evidence for Hispanic depravity. At the end of the 1800s, one event consolidated the anti-Hispanic attitudes and tied them directly to the Black Legend typology which by then was more than three hundred years old. That event was the "splendid little war" of 1898 between the United States and Spain. Besides the propaganda of yellow journalism, a deluxe edition of Bartolomé de Las Casas's *Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, illustrated for the first time with sketches by Theodore de Bry, was published in New York in 1898. The war cry "Remember the Maine" became synonymous with "Remember the Alamo." It is not surprising that Julián Juderías in the following decade undertook his study of the centuries-old war of propaganda and gave it a name—*la leyenda negra*.

If the nineteenth century revived the Black Legend as a tool for discrediting the Hispanic world, the twentieth century has, in its own way, perpetuated the myth. Nineteenth-century historians such as Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, John Lothrop Motley, and William H. Prescott are widely published with little explanation about their role in the historiography of the Black Legend. Philip Wayne Powell, in *Tree of Hate* (1971), studied the writings of the above-mentioned nineteenth-century historians. Of them he wrote, "They fashioned upon earlier foundations, the concepts of Spain that remain with us today. The four historians are simply the best known and most influential; they dominated American historical writing for fifty years." What did these historians have in common? According to Powell, they wrote as Protestant Nordic preachers. They were all anti-Catholic. They were thoroughly imbued with an uncritical concept of Nordic superiority over the Latin. And they portrayed Nordics as heroes and Latins, especially Spaniards, as villains. Fitted into the sparkling prose of their writing styles, what they wrote of Spanish history seemed factual and innocuous. In *Pioneers of France in the New World*, Francis Parkman wrote eloquently but falsely, for example: "The monk, the inquisitor and Jesuit were lords of Spain—for they formed the dark and narrow mind of

that tyrannical recluse. They had formed the minds of her people, quenched in blood every spark of rising heresy, and given over a noble nation to a bigotry blind as the doom of fate. Linked with pride, ambition, avarice, every passion of a rich, strong nature, potent for good and ill, it made

the Spaniard of the day a scourge as ever fell on man. Spain was the citadel of darkness."

Thus the "God, Glory, and Gold" school of history was born.

In more recent years, historians, popular writers, and textbook authors have unwittingly or intentionally lent their prestige to the legend. Walter Prescott Webb, one of the most distinguished historians Texas has produced, wrote a definitive study, at least from an Anglo-American point of view, entitled *The Texas Rangers*. This is what he, as an authority of Texas history, wrote of the Mexican:

"Without disparagement, it may be said that there is a cruel streak in the Mexican nature, or so the history of Texas would lead one to believe. This cruelty may be a heritage from the Spanish of the Inquisition; it may, and doubtless should, be attributed partly to the Indian blood. . . The Mexican warrior. . . was, on the whole, inferior to the Comanche and wholly unequal to the Texan. The whine of the leaden slugs stirred in him an irresistible impulse to travel with rather than against the music. He won more victories over the Texans by parley than by force of arms. For making promises—and for breaking them—he had no peer.

In his most distinguished work, *The Great Plains*, Professor Webb contributed more to the Black Legend's longevity. The Spanish "failure" on the Great Plains is attributed partly to the Spanish character on the frontiers of Texas and New Mexico. Webb wrote that the cause was miscegenation with the Mexican Indian "whose blood, when compared with that of the Plains Indian, was as ditch water." Without question, the Black Legend sentiment survives within the very backbone of our educational system—the monograph and the textbook. In today's popular media, elements of the legend are obvious in newsprint, television programs, and Hollywood depiction of Hispanics. In four centuries, the Black Legend made the jump from a few quill-written copies to the automated and computerized production of literature, and an electronic medium which projects moving images in support of yesterday's propaganda. Ignorance perpetuates *la leyenda negra*.

An Interview with Rafael Mazarrasa, President of the Spain '92 Foundation

by José Tono Martínez

Rafael Mazarrasa is an excellent representative of the new generation that is guiding Spain and making the political system more responsive. Mazarrasa is energetic, down-to-earth, and plain spoken. He shares with Americans and level-headed Spaniards a desire to get to the root of things. Mazarrasa, 41, is married and has three children.

While studying law at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid, he became politically active for the first time by joining the struggle against Franco's dictatorship. A supporter of culture, he organized "Homages to Picasso" and "Lectures on Poetry" which resulted in his arrest and a prison term. He experienced the life of an exile in various countries. Professionally, he has been a translator and a consultant to publishing houses. Mazarrasa has also been associated with the most prestigious galleries in Madrid as an art dealer. Currently working on his Ph.D. thesis, he is examining the oldest neolithic civilization in Europe, the Tartessos of the Guadalquivir Valley.

JTM: In this interview, I would like to discuss your recent involvement with Spain's political and public life.

RM: I reentered politics in Spain after a long absence since my student days. When I accepted the post of Governor of Cuenca, I reaffirmed my personal political dimension once again. Cuenca is not difficult to govern, and I was able to focus on cultural activities and on strengthening Cuenca's position as a vital cultural center of Castile. I supported the linkages between tourism and culture. Cuenca is a beautiful place and it is rich culturally.

I have experienced five years of intense change in Spanish life. My experience as Governor has helped me to better understand a country, which although very familiar to me, is changing rapidly. As Governor, my priorities were preeminently cultural matters. My work at Spain '92 also contains a small dose of politics mixed in a rich cultural cocktail.

JTM: As both a political person and a promoter of culture, what is your view of Spain's two Socialist administrations before and after Franco?

RM: The first administration was more rash and divided by conflict. Spain was led by a team of young government leaders. The second administration is drawing on the experience gained from governing. Now, politics has a longer-range view. The first administration presented aspirations and insufficient experience. The political agenda had to adjust to reality, since politics cannot be more than the art of the possible. The second administration has been creative and productive about economic development and international relations. This administration promises to achieve enduring contributions.

JTM: A more personal question, how have you adapted to life in the United States?

RM: Actually, this is not my first time in the U.S. When I was sixteen, I spent a year with an American family, whom I still consider to be my family. That was twenty-four years ago, and I remain grateful to the International Student Exchange Program, which I am happy to say is still a very active organization today. The experience of life in a small city in the South (San Angelo, Texas) during the 1964 presidential campaign between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater is unforgettable. I think it is a surprising coincidence that a Texan won the presidential election in 1964, the year of my first visit to the U.S., and again in 1988, the year I returned to assume my responsibilities at Spain '92. A coincidence, but perhaps I bring Texans luck.

JTM: How do you view this country after an absence of twenty-four years?

RM: I had been back a number of times for various reasons. One never totally leaves a place and a meaningful experience behind, if you know what I mean. To answer your question, it is not easy to compare U.S. society then and now. I have to say, however, I am most surprised by the changes in the conduct of foreign policy and the increased emphasis on democracy and democratic-institution building in other countries.

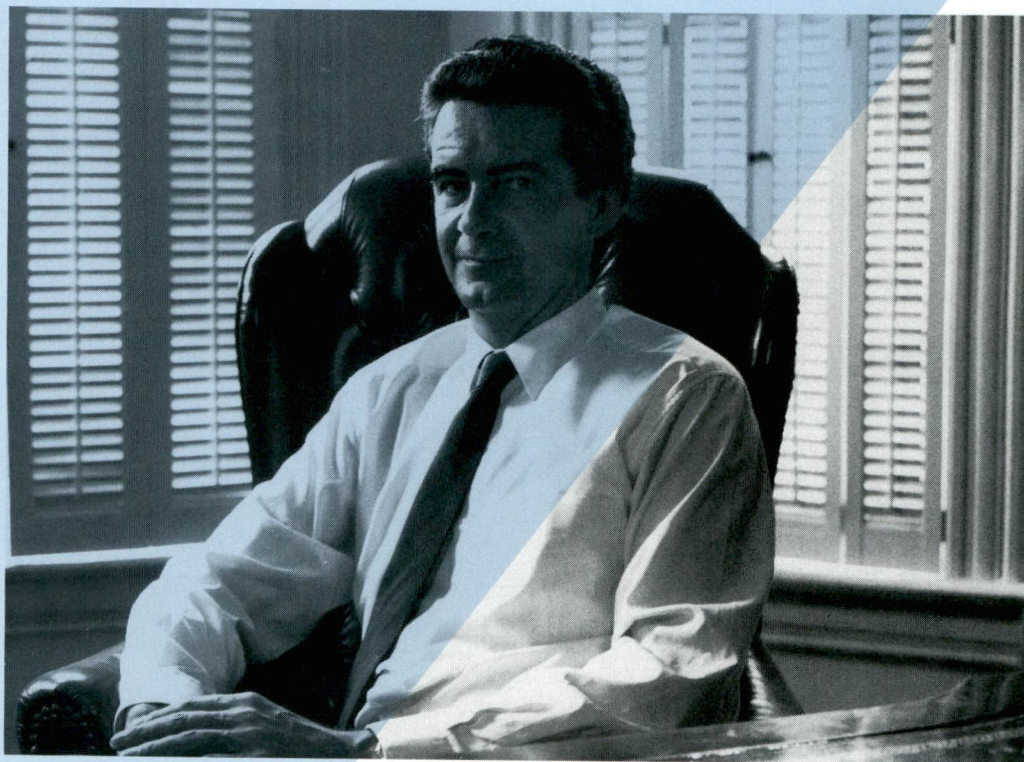
The vitality of minorities in the United States, the variety of stimuli, talents, and options continues to astonish me. Ethnic diversity, I believe, has made the United States a great nation. I would like for everyone to recognize that this diversity is a basic component of U.S. power. The value of your cultural richness and freedom of expression is priceless.

I feel very comfortable in this country; I know my way around. I enjoy its pluralism and its open, inquisitive nature. Americans have a wonderful sense of adventure. Americans love celebrations. I want to be here in 1992 because I want to support the Columbus Quincentenary celebration in this country.

JTM: You are aware that some Americans might ask why the year 1992 is of particular importance?

RM: Dates have an arbitrary quality about them, of course, but as symbols, they offer excellent

“Our great hope at Spain ‘92 is that 1992 will help promote a new era of harmony and knowledge.”



Photos by Michael Sawyer.

opportunities for setting new goals. The year 1992 is a crucial one for Europe for it marks the beginning of true economic integration through the elimination of protectionist barriers for both capital and human resources. Within this wider context, Spain will host three events of worldwide importance in 1992: the Summer Olympic Games in Barcelona; the ‘92 Culture Capital in Madrid; and the International Exposition in Seville. In the light of these events, the Foundation in the United States will focus primarily on Spain’s impact on the Americas.

JTM: Is the Spain ‘92 Foundation capable of playing an important role in that regard?

RM: We will. Spain ‘92, a nonprofit publicly supported foundation, will foster better understanding and stronger cultural ties between Spain and the U.S. As you may know, the two countries recently signed a treaty in support of cultural exchange which makes clear that the private sector, rather than the public sector, will perform the leading role. This approach is a responsible one, a more mature and viable alternative. Spain ‘92 has an important part to play, and we will serve as a catalyst.

JTM: So, is the Foundation exclusively funded by the private sector?

RM: The Foundation requires financial assistance from private American and Spanish corporations. American and Spanish businessmen will sit on our Board of Directors, which will serve as an extraordinary forum for communication and initiatives. American corporations know that their support to Spain ‘92 projects will be recognized and appreciated in Spain. The Foundation is not a Spanish organization, but an American one, which operates in accord with American laws. Nevertheless, the Spanish Ambassador is the Chairman of the Board of Directors, and this reflects on the Spanish government’s commitment to the Foundation.

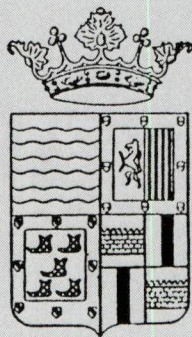
JTM: From the economic point of view, your thoughts about the significance of 1992, please?

RM: Economically, 1992 presents great opportunity. Spain offers an ideal door for American corporations to enter Europe, and the American business community knows it. Spain is a dynamic and youthful country with a strategic geographical location. Spain is enjoying rapid growth, but

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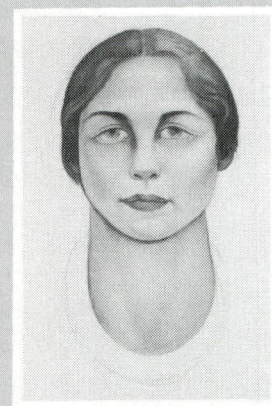
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investment there is not as costly as in other European countries. Spain is also the country most visited by European tourists and the ideal port for companies doing business with Latin America.

JTM: How do you view the different perceptions that the United States and Spain hold of one another at this moment?

RM: Even though the United States and Spain view world events from different perspectives, I believe that they share a similar understanding of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyages—as a special occasion to reflect on the past and to look toward the future.

“
The Foundation is not a Spanish organization, but an American one, which operates in accord with American laws.

JTM: What influence do you think that the United States has on Spain?

RM: The influence of the United States on Spain is significant in terms of our consumer spending patterns and world perspective.

JTM: What about Spain's influence on the U.S.?

RM: Given the sheer size of the United States and its lack of information about Spain, the influence is minor. Spain once, however, played a fundamental role in determining the cultural character of the U.S. In the future, we will strengthen our ties with the growing Hispanic minority in the United States.

Of course, the Hispanic American community, which also includes Spanish Sephardic Jews, is comprised of people of diverse origins, histories, politics, cultures, and economic standing. I believe that as the United States gains a better understanding of Spain and its history, a far greater appreciation of Hispanic culture as a whole will evolve. The contributions of Hispanics to U.S. society are true assets.

Translated by Larry Walsh

Rafael Mazarrasa shaking hands with Spanish Ambassador Santamaria. Pete Conrad of McDonnell Douglas in the middle.



Debate 92— **“The Great Frontier”**

Vicente Verdú

Vicente Verdú and Javier Sádaba

Writer and journalist Vicente Verdú is the former head of the Editorial section of the Madrid newspaper, El País. He specializes in the areas of leisure and everyday life in contemporary society.

Spain's primary, and by no means modest, intellectual contribution to 1992, from the Olympic Games to the International Exhibit in Seville, is that finally a handful of Americans will learn that Spain is not a Caribbean country; a few will actually manage to find it on the map. This late but interesting discovery should be capped by an almost instantaneous burst of affectation and commercialization of Spain a la Bloomingdale's department stores, transforming our country into a practical, multi-purpose product and pushing the increased production of shirts, belts, videos, cassettes, and allusions in a modern TV movie. Supported by the rising Hispanic tide in the U.S., Spain's entrance into America might make a story of exceptional lasting power having a duration of three or perhaps four months.

The creation of a single Europe in 1992 has already produced frowns on the faces of more than one political analyst from Yale. It has given birth to carefully edited reports in Newsweek, Time, and Fortune and by various members of the Harvard School of Business. The fact that the United States has lived through an era of dualism should not be underestimated: capitalism and communism, the West and the East, Democrats and Republicans. The political and military opposition of the USSR was followed by trade and technical competition from Japan. The twin towers of the World Trade Center are a monument to this magical form of bipolarity and, as such, stand as an undeniable, instructional statement. The year 1992 will usher in a future which is riddled with multiple possibilities, including that of a death sentence for this planet's most powerful country, which is ever more burdened with foreign debt and domestic disorders. Jimmy Carter lost the voters' trust by exploring the opportunities a country might gain were it to give up being Number One. Being the leader of the world, particularly if that leadership is widely accepted, carries with it all kinds of increased responsibility and cost. After the Second World War, the world allowed the United

States—and the United States accepted—the role of being the “guardian,” “economic engine,” and “monetary patron” for the daily vicissitudes of half of the human race. Nineteen ninety-two is a date which can also represent the beginning of not only the United States fundamentally reexamining its relations with Spain and Europe, but its own changing position in the world at large.

But what will happen when Europe, with its three hundred million people, transforms itself into a new United States? How do strategies based on good and evil, us against them, fit within a triangular relationship? Until now, Europe has been an ally, a stroke of luck, and a rich commercial and geopolitical experience for the United States. Occasionally, U.S. opinion leaders have suggested a reduction in U.S. contributions to the defense of Europe; this idea has been treated primarily as a budgetary consideration. But what will the tone of this debate be after Europe moves toward its own emancipation? How will Americans accept the Soviet scheme of the Greater European Homeland that Moscow keeps bringing up?

Bulimia, a disease affecting many American individuals, has served as the metaphor for U.S. foreign policy until now. The entire world has been caught in a flood of consumerism in music, television, film, myth, and ritual, which has engulfed whole cultures. Bloating by its own deteriorating situation, the United States must now begin to respect and accept international participation. Specifically, the love of European things, which is popular in select circles in New York, Boston, and San Francisco, can first be promoted as a mark of distinction and nothing more, and then later as a way of thinking for the vast hinterlands where the population is isolated and aware only of itself. The misery of the USSR, the garbage of China, the debris of the Pacific Basin, the sclerosis of Europe (which in its own distinctive pattern began to heal a few years ago), and the United States' world dominance will necessarily be replaced by interdependence, interchange, the need for economic harmony, and overall, a new stage of technological and societal cooperation, which Americans have not yet learned to appreciate completely.

Spain: 2001

Javier Sádaba

Javier Sádaba heads the Department of Philosophy of Religion at the Autonomous University of Madrid. As a writer and philosopher, he is one of contemporary Spain's leading and best-known polemicists. His book *Saber Vivir (Knowing How to Live)* has been a bestseller for two consecutive years. His principal interests center around the debate on postmodernity, the work of Wittgenstein and Walter Benjamin, and the phenomena of radicalism and dissent in Western societies.

Official Spain has taken an extremely institutionalized approach to the Columbus quincentenary, launching the celebration with a lamentably defective memory. A good many Spaniards view the Fifth Centenary with cautious skepticism, or even belligerent opposition. We cannot offer a detailed analysis of the controversy here, but everyone would be better off were there more dialogue with those critics who oppose a superficial celebration. This process of debate should help us to formulate and evaluate our aspirations for the year 2000—nothing more and nothing less.

It is far more important to foresee what will take place in thirty years than to predict what will happen tomorrow or the next day, said Schopenhauer. And he was right. Anyone can crank out short-term predictions, but they are almost always trivial. On the contrary, we should strive to fill the present with the expectations that the larger future demands. Such an attitude assumes special importance, given today's fixation on the past and its limitations on thought.

Seeking to avoid such limitations, let us reflect on what might await beyond the year 2000, describing the parameters of growth during the next few years. What should be the history that we, not some god or machine, ought to create? While we refer to Spain, the overall picture must include Europe, for obviously what occurs in Europe has a decisive effect on Spain.

One doesn't have to be an expert to recognize the extraordinary industrial growth of Spain in recent years. This growth has been guided and dominated by European development, which in turn depends on other world centers which determine the course of production. The multinationals are not an accidental phenomenon and the pull of the Pacific Basin is an undeniable force. It is reasonable to assume, however, that production will increase under continuing external pressures and that production will become less quantitative in form and more regulated. Industry will be structured by an immense growth in advanced technology. Yet it will still be dependent on skilled and semi-skilled labor from a

force of wage earners who provide their efforts in a way that has changed little over the years, or for that matter, over the centuries.

The design environment will take on growing significance. In a highly technological consumer society with a vast labor pool, almost everything is "design." It imbues all: fashion, artistic creation, plastic arts, the concrete application of ideas (robotics, advanced computers, artificial intelligence). Spain and the European countries have a great tradition of design. The oriental nations, on the other hand, have tended to express the collective imagination in the form of art and small artifacts.

Admiration and dread accompany the contemplation of the vast significance of design. Admiration is a result of an increased appreciation of detail and a growing taste for subtlety, the French *gout de la nuance*. Dread derives from the sense that art is being subjected to certain pressures that are far from innocent. Design runs the risk of becoming merely an appendage of the industry of industrial production, existing within the boundaries of data processing and automation.

Culture itself runs the risk of becoming design, simply another link in the chain of industrial production. Each day we come closer to fulfilling the predictions of astute observers, such as Germany's Georg Simmel and Switzerland's Carl Jung. For Simmel, the culture of the object is supplanting cultural consciousness. In other words, the proliferation of cultural objects does not correspond to an increase in subjective cultural development.

Jung, for his part, observed that the expansion of humanity has been accompanied by the deterioration of the individual. If we embrace today's prevalent utilitarian ideology, the idea of quantitative maximization dominant in contemporary societies, we are left with a cultural panorama in which the individual constantly loses value. Culture is increasingly pragmatic. The intellectual has become a sort of excess baggage.

One of the greatest urgencies of the future is to redeem real subjects, people who are truly resistant and not debilitated individuals crushed by the effects of accelerated production. In this light, the picture of the future that we are presenting must be inverted. To survive, culture must strive to find a middle ground between design and production that can resist their relentless pressure. This difficult but exciting task is the principal challenge of the coming decades. There is a glimmer of hope, a few promising signs that culture can contend with and effectively influence production in general.



In other words, the proliferation of cultural objects does not correspond to an increase in subjective cultural development.

Some aspects of culture show promise of helping bring about a freer society. These developments often stem less from the contributions of professional intellectuals than from intellectual attributes of the public in general. The desire for freedom is reflected in the mass demonstrations of the people of Venezuela, Algeria, Burma, or China, as well as in cultural products themselves, whatever limitations they face. Changes of style are not secondary. Interchangeable roles, freedom of expression, repudiation of outmoded or classic laws are facts of cultural liberty that must not be undervalued.

The publication of books and magazines within Spain is burgeoning despite incessant difficulties. Small presses are bringing out the work of local writers with a frequency that was once inconceivable. The youngest of our authors, to their benefit, are not restricted by any

particular tendency, giving them a freedom unthinkable only a few years ago. The intellectual environment, in the context of a general outcry against the arbitrariness of official subsidies and of the mass media, is more reflective and less dependent on the dictates of the moment. These improved conditions give rise to the hope that a culturally freer and more cognizant generation will enrich society. People want more than progress; they want real well-being. Such well-being is attained only with a balanced relationship among all of the means at our disposal. The path to be followed by truly successful nations will be based not simply on production, but on a judicious development of the resources that are the patrimony of all humanity. Culture will be the key to realizing the hopes that are raised by the year 2000.

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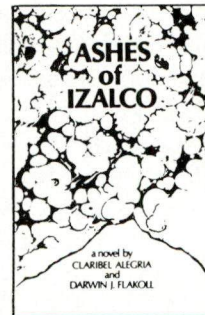
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The King Juan Carlos I Fellowships

Santiago Gorospe



Along with other factors, the cultural wealth of a country is measured by the linguistic pluralism of its inhabitants. The ability to speak another language allows direct access to another culture without intermediaries and without translations, which can often be unfaithful to the original.

This has not always been acknowledged. For years many Americans have claimed that a nation should use a single language only. This position is incorrectly labelled as a conservative one; a more rational conservative viewpoint tries to preserve and maintain its traditions, which in this case would be its diversity of languages. The concept of a nation is not equivalent to that of a language, for among other reasons, language is culture and cultural history. A language is the result of a cultural interaction of many different peoples and historical events. It cannot be understood in purely utopian and abstract terms without fragmenting our social and historical identity.

Traditionally, there has been far too great an emphasis on learning a language as an isolated element and neglecting its corresponding history and culture.

Limiting consideration to Western countries, Canada has two official languages, Switzerland three, Holland two, and Spain four. Furthermore, we are now living in the reality of a "Global Village" where the most important asset is the ability to communicate with other countries. The millions of Americans who speak Spanish, and

personally allowed his name to be used for this program as an expression of his interest in this important undertaking. The King Juan Carlos Fellowships and Summer Program for Spanish Teachers form a summer study program designed to familiarize secondary school teachers with contemporary Spanish culture. It is a five-week program that takes place in Madrid, Spain, on a yearly basis until 1992. The teachers learn new and innovative teaching techniques and, at the same time, have an opportunity to improve their command of the Spanish language. The courses are specifically designed for U.S. teachers of Spanish who need graduate level credits for recertification. There will be a maximum of three hundred fellowships of \$2,000 awarded to qualified applicants. The Fellowship Program is supported by the State Society for the Execution of Quincentenary Programs, the Ortega and Gasset Foundation, the Spain '92 Foundation, and the University of Minnesota. An additional benefit of the program is the sharing of university housing by professors and students, thus maximizing the social and educational experience. In order to further expand cultural understanding, program activities include a wide variety of field trips through historical Spain, including Granada, Seville, Cordoba, Toledo and other cities. The language program is also supplemented by courses in Culture and History. The King Juan Carlos I Fellowships program builds upon the experience of "Cursos Internacionales de Verano," International Summer Courses, which were conducted in Toledo by the University of Minnesota with the support of the Ortega and Gasset Foundation, one of the best-known cultural institutions in Spain. Last year's graduating class was comprised of approximately 70% Anglos and 30% Hispanics. A number of American corporations are considering the possibility of participating in the program, which is designed to lead to a better understanding in the United States of the 500th Anniversary of the Discovery of the Americas.



The millions of Americans who speak Spanish, and others who wish to learn it, represent vital human resources for the United States.

others who wish to learn to it, represent vital human resources for the United States.

The King Juan Carlos I Fellowships were created to help integrate the learning of a language with its corresponding history and culture. King Juan Carlos I

To apply for a fellowship or receive further information, contact Dr. Luis Ramos Garcíá, 202 Westbrook Hall, University of Minnesota, 77 Pleasant Street, S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55455. Telephone (612) 626-7134 or (612) 626-7138.

La Cachita Y El Che: Patron Saints of Revolutionary Cuba

By Nelson P. Valdés as told to Nan Elsasser

Nelson P. Valdés is Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of the Latin American Data Base at the University of New Mexico. He has authored several books on Cuba, including selected works of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

Nan Elsasser is a free-lance writer and has lived and taught in the Caribbean.

They are an unlikely duo: she is self-centered and he is self-sacrificing. She likes to dance; he thinks it's a waste of time. She is a hedonist; he is a fervent Marxist. She is originally from Africa; he was born in Argentina. About all they have in common is striking good looks and the love and adoration of the Cuban people who have adopted them.

Official Cuba lionizes Che Guevara, the hero who fought his way to power by Fidel Castro's side and was killed by government soldiers in Bolivia. When Cuban soldiers return from supporting the Marxist regime in Angola, they are awarded medals for following *el camino del Che* (the path of Che). Yet within a few days of receiving their medals, the same soldiers will visit Cachita's shrine and leave their medals among the gifts of her devotees.

Cuba's political, economic, and cultural life rests significantly on a shaky compromise between the values represented by Cachita and Che.

The ermita, or shrine, of Caridad del Cobre, called Cachita, the patron saint of Cuba, is in the city of Santiago, over 400 kilometers east of the *Museo de la Revolución* in Havana. It is at the ermita, rather than at the museum, that the rich history of revolutionary Cuba is on display, flickering in the shadows of votive candles. In the half-light of the tiny flames is the vial of hometown dirt that orbited the planet with Comandante Tamayo, the first and only Cuban astronaut; gold, silver, and bronze medals from the recent Pan American games in Indianapolis; and petitions from Fidel's mother from the days when her son was fighting in the sierra nearby. Side by side with these artifacts of national unity and revolutionary sacrifice are letters requesting a new car or a bigger apartment, and the traditional honey and cigar left in exchange for good sex.

In this small island nation, the fact that young communist internacionalistas, the spiritual heirs of Che, pay homage to a virgin from Spanish colonial times surprises no one. Nor does the fact that Caridad, alleged mother of God, most sacred of Catholic icons, bears the decidedly unholy nickname of "Cachita," central character of a popular song that choruses: "Cachita esta alborota Ahora baila el cha cha cha (Cachita is wild Now



she's dancing the cha cha cha)."

Caridad del Cobre, like much of Cuba, is not what she appears to be. And hundreds of thousands of Cubans know the truth: Cachita Caridad del Cobre is neither Catholic, Spanish, nor white. She is Oshum, the mulatta goddess of pleasure. An African hedonist masquerading as a Spanish saint, a Catholic shrine in a communist country, consumerist dreams in a revolutionary setting—Caridad del Cobre epitomizes the contradictions and combinations of Cuban life. In the past and in the present, Cubans have learned to live comfortably with the combination of power politics and mystical imagery.



Nor were Habaneros surprised when a relatively unknown Fidel Castro descended from the mountains of Oriente. Since Spaniards first landed in Cuba with boatloads of human cargo in the early 1500s, the easternmost province has been a refuge for those escaping tyranny. For the past three hundred years, Santiago and the mountains that surround it have been the actual and symbolic home of freedom, a cradle of rebellion, and the preferred territory of the African gods called *santos*.

In Oriente, where *Santeria* (the worship of African gods with the names of Catholic saints) is the dominant religion, everyone understood when Fidel came down from the mountain and told the assembled masses, “. . . I do not speak in my name. I speak in the name of the thousands and thousands. . . who made victory possible. I speak in the name of our dead. . . This time the dead will continue to be in command.” It does not really matter that Castro was probably expressing his heartfelt commitment to those who died in the struggle to overturn Batista. To believers, those words, like the white eleke (necklace) he wore around his neck, were a sure sign that the gods were speaking through Fidel.

Any doubts were dispelled on January 8, when Fidel first entered Havana and addressed the Cuban nation. I remember that day, because my family owned the only TV on the block. Everyone in the neighborhood was either in our living room, standing in the doorway, or looking in through the front window. We were all listening to Fidel with one ear and to a neighbor with the other. Until, seemingly from nowhere, two doves appeared and, illuminated by television lights, circled Camp Colombia where Fidel was speaking. As if on cue, one landed on the podium, and all of Cuba went silent.

When the second dove perched on Fidel’s shoulder, people gasped, then began chanting, “Fi-del. Fi-del.” Over the years, many interpretations of this phenomenon have circulated. The *New York Times* said the dove symbolized the dawn of peace in a troubled land; the conservative Cuban press claimed the Holy Spirit had blessed the revolution. Both missed the mark because, appearances notwithstanding, neither Catholic nor Marxist-Leninist interpretations of reality have deep roots in Cuba. Behind the icons and the anti-imperialist billboards beat *Santeria* drums.

Originally, *Santeria* was a new world synthesis of various animist religions from southwest Nigeria. When threatened by Spanish slave owners for practicing heathen rites, African slaves clothed their beliefs in the protective coloring of Catholicism, and a new synthesis occurred. Today, the two religions share the same altars, the same images, sacred dates, and even prayers. In January 1988,

In a country accustomed to signs from the other world, it was logical, for example, that Fulgencio Batista chose December 31 to abandon power and flee to the Dominican Republic. For Cubans, it is essential to leave the old year’s problems behind before a new year begins. On the last day of December, housewives all over Cuba “se hacen la limpieza”; they throw a bucket of water on the floor of the innermost room and sweep it through the house and out the front door, pushing evil spirits along with the dirty water. If Batista had remained, he would have been burdened throughout the coming year with the bad karma of his defeat.



Orishas and fortune shells from
IBO, by Rosalia de la Soledad/
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Soledad/Ediciones Universales.

Jaime Ortega, the archbishop of Havana, visited the chapel of Santa Barbara in nearby Guines (reputed to be a “bewitched” town). He was moved by the profound devotion he observed, which he chose to interpret as a manifestation of strong Catholic faith. But this chapel is maintained by santeros, not priests. And while the forms of these two religions overlap, the content does not. The eighty-year-old mayordomo who cleans and protects the church will tell you that the real power dwells behind the statue of Santa Barbara in the ota, or sacred stone of Chango. What distinguishes ota from other stones is that sacred stones are alive. They grow up and have children, assuring worshippers of a steady supply of supernatural energy.

The ota is not the only difference between Catholicism and *Santeria*. According to santero theology, Olofi created the universe. Initially, his creation was immobile, but soon, bored with the static cosmos, he added plants, animals, flowers, seas, clouds, rain, human beings, and more than three hundred male and female gods called orishas. Each orisha, or santo, bears both an African Yoruba name and a Catholic name, as well as unique personalities and powers. Obatala, for example, is unimpressed by money. Oshum, on the other hand, adores it, although she prefers a good party. Elegguá alone determines the future. What he predicts cannot be forestalled by man, woman, or other gods.

Unfortunately, by populating the heavens with so many strong characters, Olofi had also created interminable wrangling. Tired of endless conflict, he chose Obatala to rule over other gods and human beings, who were also behaving poorly. Obatala, who speaks through Fidel, is the leader, the god of thinking and consciousness. He is also the god of justice.

In *Santeria*, both men and women serve as santeros. Over them are the babalawos, who have the power to make animal sacrifices, initiate believers into the religion and read the future with the Ifa oracle or with the eight largest pieces of a smashed coconut shell. Although there is a titular “king” of babalawos, he lacks the theocratic and administrative control of a Catholic pope.

There are no “Thou shalt nots” in *Santeria*. Believers do not attain salvation through good works and a pure heart. They get what they want in direct proportion to the adequacy of their offerings. The santos communicate their feelings via the orishas, or supernatural messengers. White doves are the messengers of Obatala, the right-hand man of the god of all creation. Thus when the bird landed on Fidel, everyone watching knew that Castro was blessed; he was *El Elegido* (The Chosen One). Since then, Fidel has been called *El Caballo* (the Horse), the

term used to designate someone whom an orisha has mounted and possessed.

At the time Fidel triumphed over the Batista dictatorship, I was fourteen. I had grown up immersed in the sounds of *Santeria*—the songs, the chants, and the drums. I wasn’t even curious about the glass of water in the portal or the bright yellow banana tied neatly with a red ribbon that hung in the doorway of my friends’ homes. Just as Jewish children don their yarmulkes and Christians wear the crucifix around their necks, I never left home without the manito (small hand) pinned to my undershirt for protection.

But in 1961, two years after Fidel arrived in Havana, I left Cuba, and over the next sixteen years I forgot the sounds of the drums. It wasn’t until 1977, when I went back for the first of many visits, that the memory of those rituals returned.

I was at the cemetery in Santa Clara, a small city in the middle of the island where my mother had been buried and where her family still lives. A half-smoked cigar and a bottle of rum inside a flower pot rested on her grave. The bottle jolted my memory. I remembered my stepfather patiently, and then desperately, escorting my mother from clinic to clinic and doctor to doctor. Their advice was always the same: There is nothing we can do; it’s in the hands of God. My mother was only twenty-eight at the time, but the “modern world” of medicine could do nothing to arrest the leukemia spreading throughout her bloodstream.

Finally, my stepfather gave up on doctors and turned for help to a babalawo in the sacred town of Regla. He took me with him on the little outboard which ferried people back and forth across Havana Harbor. On the way home, after consulting the *santero*, he stopped to buy a white pigeon. I was delighted.

Like many Cuban children, I was accustomed to receiving birds as gifts which we kept in cages as pets. My stepfather handed me the bird, and I remember holding it tightly, fearing that it would escape and fly away. While I stood quietly, feeling the pigeon’s accelerated heartbeat against my chest, my stepfather went to my mother’s room, picked out a slip and her favorite yellow sundress and carried them into the kitchen. Then he came and took the pigeon. I followed him back into the kitchen where, without a word, he picked up a knife and beheaded the bird. I watched in disbelief, horror, and panic as the blood seeped onto my mother’s clothes.

Still silent, my father wrapped the bird’s head in the blood-soaked clothes and stuffed a few American pennies and some Cuban bills into the cavity of its neck. Finally,



he wrapped the bird's body in old newspapers, washed his hands and, grabbing the bag with one hand and me with the other, left the house. We walked for what seemed like hours. I was too dumbfounded to ask questions, and my stepfather offered no explanation. Suddenly, on a shabby street in a decaying neighborhood, he dropped the package. I noticed that the pigeon's neck, loaded with bills, stuck out. I didn't understand what I had witnessed, and I never



The descendants of slaves and landless peasants are convinced that material and spiritual well-being is not the reward for hard work and clean living.

asked. But in the flood of fear and revulsion which later overtook me in the cemetery, I realized, after all those years, that the dove was an offering to Obatala. The money was left exposed as bait. If someone accidentally touched the bird, which had touched my mother's clothes, the illness would leave my mother and pass to the luckless soul who picked it up.

My mother did not recover.

In 1987, when I began investigating *Santería* in Cuba, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, head of the Cuban Conference of Bishops, introduced me to Natalia, an ex-Party member who consulted her shells before speaking to me. She peered at the eight pieces of coconut, smiled and said, "Tu eres hijo de Obatala (You are a son of Obatala). I nodded politely. White, upperclass, and educated at Columbia University in New York, Natalia discovered *Santería* while organizing an exhibit on African art. Her relationship to Afro-Cuban religions eventually changed from detached observer to practicing priestess.

Natalia introduced me to Pedro, a young, respected babalawo. His shells told him that I was a son of Obatala. Since Pedro and Natalia were friends, I assumed she had talked to him about me and my alleged ties to Obatala. Soon after, however, I met María, a local representative of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution in a small town outside Havana. She was an elderly black woman with two horizontal scars on each cheek. She read her shells, looked up and said,

"Welcome, child of Obatala." My skepticism was shaken. On a visit to relatives in Santa Clara, I discovered my connection to the god who protects Fidel. Driving through the streets of a poor neighborhood on the way from my grandmother's house to my uncle's, my attention was drawn to a large altar, visible through the

window of a rundown shack. The altar was illuminated by candles and graced with flowers, food offerings, and images of Catholic saints. I slammed on the brakes. Felo, my uncle, couldn't understand why this ramshackle house interested me. Trying to be helpful, he volunteered that I was looking in the window of El Tío Jose, the man who had saved my life. According to Felo, when I was two years old, my mother had sent me to stay with my grandmother. While there, I became very ill. In those

days, poor people couldn't afford doctors, so when my breathing became raspy and sporadic, the family took me to Tio Jose, a *santero*, for a cure. He examined me and promised to restore my health; in exchange, I would be dedicated to Obatala. In the forty-some years which had transpired, I had never practiced *Santería*; nevertheless, on three different occasions, believers divined that I was dedicated to Obatala.

On January 8, 1989, thirty years after the triumph of the Cuban revolution, Fidel spoke once again from Camp Columbia, and once again a white dove perched on his shoulder. He spoke of sacrifice, commitment, and hard work, and he invoked the spirit of Che. But masses of Cubans attending the annual event saw and heard the spirit of Obatala. Whether the dove, like the site, was orchestrated, is irrelevant. What is important is the continuing influence of *Santería* on Cuban popular culture, and, consequently, on political life.

Contemporary Cuban values are rooted in a past without hope. Africans who had been seized and transported in chains across an ocean, deprived of family, land, and language, had little incentive to believe in their power to shape the future. Unlike Pilgrims, Puritans, and even indentured servants, their futures were determined by the whims of a slavemaster. In this despondent milieu, *Santería* was born and flourished. A stepchild of medieval Catholicism and African polytheism, *Santería* is the antithesis of Calvinism.

The descendants of slaves and landless peasants are convinced that material and spiritual well-being is not the reward for hard work and clean living. Three hundred years of experience taught them that happiness is fleeting and often achieved only at someone else's expense. Whether you acquire a new house or lose the one you already have, whether the sugar content of cane



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is high or low, whether the economy prospers or stagnates, depends not on budgeting, technology, or international banking policies; it is in the hands of a pantheon of capricious gods.

When Oshum asks for a sacrifice, she expects you to kill a pigeon; she is unimpressed by Che's sacrifice, the kind where you die fighting imperialists. Nor is she impressed by a capitalist working himself to death, accumulating money for the benefit of generations down the road. A people who worship the goddess of sex, lover of gold, and patron of parties is not a people favorably disposed to endure the hardships required to surmount economic dependency and construct socialism.

No one knows this better than Fidel Castro. For thirty years, Fidel, chief apostle of revolutionary sacrifice, has dedicated himself to transforming the ideology of the Cuban people; for thirty years he has exhorted his people to scorn the siren Cachita for the selfless Che.

As perestroika rolls across the Soviet Union and much of eastern Europe, Fidel pushes "rectification"—a return to asceticism, voluntarism, and collectivism. Political pundits interpret Fidel's endless sermons as a direct challenge to Gorbachev's neocapitalist policies. But Castro's devil is not Russian; she is a happy-go-lucky, mulatta goddess who cha-chas to the name of Cachita. In a 1979 speech, Castro said, ". . . the most powerful weapon . . . is an ethic, a consciousness, a sense of duty, a sense of organization, discipline, and responsibility."

Castro knows that to bring prosperity and socialism to an underdeveloped society, he must provide Cuban citizens with a revolutionary version of the Protestant ethic. He has to make people believe in their power to shape their individual and collective futures. They must have faith that in their labor lies the foundation for the future. In other words, they must emulate Che, a man who gave everything and asked nothing in return, a guerrilla who believed devoutly in his ability to shape the forces of history by sheer willpower.

To this end, whenever children in the Young Pioneers (a Cuban version of the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, organized by the Communist Party) set off to work in the fields or march in a parade, they raise their right hand and pledge, "Seremos como el Che (We will be like Che)."

Ironically, the same government which expends tremendous energy inculcating revolutionary values has inadvertently enhanced the power and prestige of *Santeria*. When Castro assumed control of Cuba, he did not exhort the poor to construct socialism through voluntary labor. As the bourgeois fled, the revolutionaries seized their assets and distributed them among their

former servants, prompting the poet, Nicolas Guillén, to write: "Te lo prometió Martí y Fidel te lo cumplió." (What Martí (hero of the Cuban war for independence) promised, Fidel delivered)." In *Santeria*, a *promesa* is a contract with a god—if you make an adequate offering, your petition is granted. This unexpected bonanza reinforced many people's belief in magic.

According to the First Party Congress in 1975, *Santeria* was permissible as folklore, a relic of an ignorant past. When religious superstitions failed to wither away, the ever-pragmatic Castro did more than recognize them: he created a national association of *babalawos*, invited the Nigerian king of all *santeros* for a visit and promised to build a temple and hold a national congress of *santeros*. In the interim, *Santeria* benefited from the revolutionary leadership's confrontations with the Catholic Church. As the authority of recognized "official" religion was curtailed, the influence of *Santeria* expanded to fill the vacuum. Finally, *Santeria's* prestige was augmented by the mass movement of Cuban troops and technicians to Africa, where religions similar to *Santeria* are practiced openly. More than 200,000 Cubans have visited the motherland over the last ten years. This reacquaintance, instigated by the government, has made it more difficult to repress African-inspired religions.

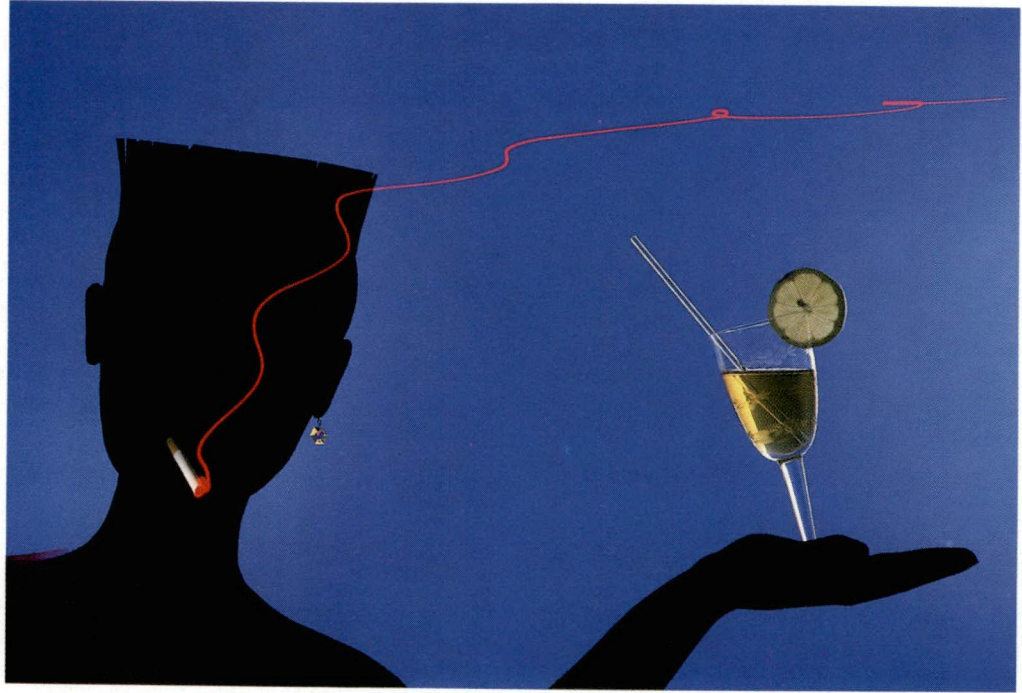
Castro is not unaware of the extraordinary convergence between *Santeria* and revolutionary holy days, nor is he above manipulating their significance. January 1, the day of *El Triunfo*, is also *Eleggua's* day. July 26, officially commemorated as the commencement of the struggle against Batista, is also celebrated as the day of St. Ann, mother of Mary, who, as any Cuban can tell you, is really the benevolent Nana *Buruḱu*, goddess of Justice and mother of *Babalu-aye*. No one knows if it is coincidence or foresight that the red and black of the 26th of July Movement happened to be the colors of this powerful goddess.

But relying on signs from the gods is risky business. In 1987, the Ifá Oracle, the annual prediction for the new year, announced that Castro would die unless the Yoruba "king of kings," the "great Ooni" of *babalawos*, traveled to Cuba and kissed the ground. The revolutionary government duly issued the invitation, and a picture of the great Ooni arriving at the Jose Martí Airport in Havana graced the front page of *Granma*, the newspaper of the Communist Party. Reportedly, the Nigerian kissed the ground. Fidel did not die. And neither has *Santeria*. Contemporary Cuban politics is the child of an unlikely marriage. The children of the revolution admire Che, their handsome, idealistic father; they worship Cachita, their beautiful, fun-loving mother, and they hope to grow up to be both.

Spain: From "La Movida" to Europe

Rosa María Pereda

All featured photos of this article, pages 35, 37, 39 by courtesy of Juan Ramón Yuste, a well known avant garde photographer in Spain. The present portfolio shows part of his work.



Rosa María Pereda, a journalist with a degree in Philosophy, was cultural editor of the daily newspaper, *El País*, for seven years. She has been employed by many of the Spanish presses and is the author of various books on literature and contemporary trends.

Nobody can stay "on the front burner" for an entire lifetime, observed Juan Cueto, one of Spain's most astute commentators; although anybody can be really hot for a quarter of an hour, he adds, parodying the overcited Andy Warhol. Spain recently experienced a curious, multifaceted, and disconcerting manifestation of this consciousness with the claim that our ever-diminishing globe was about to succumb to a very marketable Spanish "look," suitable for transformation in literature, film, fashion, painting, and even architecture, politics, and dreams. But closer inspection revealed that the "look" was too ethereal and quite ephemeral, like the pop prophet's fabulous fifteen minutes of fame. The hurry-hurry of supercharged mass media fanatics mortally threatens the most *ad hoc* formulas. By next spring, if there is no summer miracle, the celebrated, trendsetting lifestyle movement called "La Movida" could be defunct. The great adventure of Pedro Almodóvar and his "Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown" at Oscar awards time provided an appropriate metaphor. This came not so much from the virtues of the film itself (a comedy of contemporary customs marked by the

director's usual stew of flavorful disrespect laced with pinches of coarse salt) as from the related anticipation and frustration. "Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown" mirrors Spain's cultural impetus since the democratic transition in a couple of ways. It reveals the effort to modernize Spain that had to bridge the generation gap. This process was clearly and totally described in the José Luis Garci film "*Volver a empezar*" ("Begin the Beginning") that won the coveted Oscar a few years earlier. Almodóvar also focused on the chosen route of normalization of this new generation with its seemingly more marketable values, its more international style, its affinity for the mass culture of the West. And so we waited for confirmation in the form of the Best Foreign Film Oscar for "Women on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown." Eyes glued to the television set until dawn, until frustration, we waited for the pat on the back and the open door through which we would all rush headlong: filmmakers, designers, novelists, painters—and even architects, politicians, philosophers. But it was not to be. I think that this fateful night, wildly prepublicized throughout Spain, initiated the decline of "La Movida." Suddenly the tribal watering holes were neither so amusing nor so tribal. A whole generation (from ages of 30 to 45) stopped stepping out at night, and in Madrid the sun went down and even the flashy neon signs dimmed early during the work week. And the great, glittering, American dream dimmed as well, the dream which was called, only

The Domecq Dynasty



It began by a fortunate accident more than a century ago, when a forgotten cask of wine spirits was discovered in the darkest corner of a bodega in Jerez, Andalusia. The first brandy of Spain—and many argue the world—had been born.

The discoverer of this smooth, velvety liqueur was Pedro Domecq. The year was 1874. The first bottles of Fundador brandy were produced, and with them began a business that has blossomed into an international, multi-million-dollar affair.

With the recent declaration of the world's third official brandy appellation in Jerez, and the sudden revolutionary interest in Spain as we approach 1992, brandies from Spain are enjoying burgeoning sales worldwide. In the United States, the Spanish Government-subsidized Wines of Spain Bureau has spent \$2 million over the past three years, with a further \$2 million budgeted for the next four years to market the brandies of the House of Domecq and the other seven bodegas from Spain to the American public. In addition, Government authorities have recently allotted an additional \$5 million for a specialized advertising and marketing program to run over the next three years in the United States for the brandies of those same eight bodegas.

With the brandy business proving every bit as successful as the sherry business, in 1892 Pedro Domecq introduced a more refined brandy, even smoother and richer than Fundador—Carlos I. This brandy is aged in a 100-year-old solera system and, as such, contains a small amount of 100-year-old brandy. With worldwide sales of approximately 100,000 cases, it has become the company's flagship brand. In 1992, the year of Spain, grand celebrations will mark the 100th anniversary of Carlos I, including a special presentation of Carlos Imperial brandy to President George Bush at the White House.

Eight generations and almost two centuries after the founding of the House of Domecq, the bodegas in Jerez are still run by direct descendants of Pedro de Domecq—

Lembeye, the original founder. The company remains primarily family owned and operated, and it continues the Domecq tradition by exploring new frontiers in the wine and spirits industry, at home and abroad.

Having expanded the company interests to the Rioja in the 1970s, Domecq now produces more than 500,000 cases of Rioja wines each year, both for national consumption and export worldwide. Named after one of the Domecq family titles, the Marques de Arienzo line is rapidly gaining popularity in the United States.

Michael Domecq represents another generation of Domecq imagination and entrepreneurial determination.

In 1981, he established the family's first United States affiliate, Domecq Importers, Inc., to import and market the products of Domecq Spain, Domecq Mexico—a wine and brandy producing company created by his father, Pedro, in 1952—and other world class producers. Based in Larchmont, New York, the company has grown extensively in only eight years, and now boasts three growing brands in a generally declining spirits market: Carlos I brandy, Presidente brandy and Tequila Sauza Conmemorativo from Mexico, a brand that Domecq has pushed into a leading position as the second fastest growing brand in the United States. —TMPR—



Brazilian Teaching Materials

The Latin American Institute at the University of New Mexico is offering slide sets and a series of twelve study guides with annotated bibliographies on Brazil. The study guides include surveys of Brazilian history, philosophy, literature, music, and the arts and social sciences. Each study guide is \$2.50; the series of twelve is \$15.00.

The slide sets present a visual portrait of Brazilian cities and regions and illustrate such topics as ethnicity, the Indian dilemma, the colonial legacy of Minas Gerais, the *sertão*, and *candomblé*. Each set is \$30.00 and includes 100 slides and a supplementary booklet in English or Portuguese. The first three sets in the series, "Salvador," "Introduction to Brazil," and "Ethnicity and Population" are now available.

For additional information about these Brazilian teaching materials, contact Herbert Knup or Jon Tolman, Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87131.

From page 35.

somewhat tongue-in-cheek, the Madrid-New York connection.

Following paradoxically, but without intent, is Leonard Cohen's phrase, "Since we didn't take New York by storm, we'll take Berlin." The collective dream, on our shrinking globe, shifts from the Big Apple to Europe. As summer holiday migrants, we'll find that Paris is fashionable again this year. And if we want to know where to go, what's really "in"—it's Berlin.

Other than a handful of names, what remains of "La Movida" is a certain spirit. A few years back, during a stint at the Menéndez Pelayo International University in Santander, Susan Sontag expressed surprise at the close ties Spanish intellectuals have with the press and at their relatively loose relationship with the academic world of the universities. The opposite situation prevails in the United States. This could be attributed to the important role newspapers and magazines have played in sociopolitical change in Spain. The press has undoubtedly been a dynamic catalyst for the restoration and stabilization of democracy as well as a promoter of the rapid and surprising changes in habits, tastes, and customs. On the other hand, the universities are undergoing a long process of reform and a search for identity under a heavy burden of ballast from the past.

The most successful inroad of "La Movida" came with its invasion of the media, especially radio and television. Major writers such as Vicente Molina Foix, Luis Antonio de Villena, Lourdes Ortiz, and Fernando Savater have become authentic TV personalities, and one might add, at long last! Why? Because the "box" and to a lesser, but increasingly important degree, the radio, are the principal promotional vehicles that sustain the identities of books, ideas, and personalities. Don't they bear, in a sense, the banner of postmodernism? Manuel Hidalgo, journalist and novelist by profession, pioneered on network TV the role of the writer as a chronicler and commentator with his Friday afternoon talk show. Disconcerting with their twists of humor and open to improvisation, these new programs have nothing to do with the barbed debates arranged between intellectuals in the past. The new stuff is pure image, which reminds us of the trendy double-edged American word, "light," meaning "of little weight" and "luminous." Thus "light" has become an apt label in Spanish for marketing literature in the double sense that molds taste on the one hand and creation on the other.

In a way, "La Movida" promoted the popular concept of "light" in the arts, or at least in their commercialization. But work such as *Todas las almas*, (All the Souls), perhaps the finest novel by Javier Marías, is a tale of initiation

that is far from banal; *Chicos* by Luis Antonio de Villena can be read as a valiant personal confession; *Los Motivos de Circe* (The Motives of Circe) by Lourdes Ortiz is a highly original reflection on women and power; Vicente Molina Foix gives us a study of the underground opposition in the last days of Franco in *La Quincena Soviética* (The Russian Fortnight); and humor is just one of the ingredients of what becomes an essentially philosophical text in *Diario de un hombre humillado* (Diary of a Humiliated Man) by Felix de Azúa. Nobody would use the word "light" to describe Juan Benet's *En la penumbra* (In the Shadows) which is nonetheless a charming, definitive product of the leading edge of "La Movida." The success of these intimate, inward-looking works stirs the memory with a cry in favor of individualism and against destiny. They hardly merit the term "light" fiction which has helped sell tens of thousands of copies in Spain.

The commercial concept of "light," which Spain considers so American, is hardly used in the U.S., according to Barbara Probst Solomon. It is more tied to the term "yuppie." She proposes the Spanish word, *blandida*, a handy combination of *blanda* (bland) and *líquida* (liquid) for the truly "light" literature written according to the criteria of dust jacket blurbs. Such material exists in abundance, but is not worth mentioning. I won't mention it because our dream is turning back to Europe anyway, which forebodes a return to "hard thinking."



Philosopher Savater with Starlet Rossy de Palma.



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The recent *Anagrama Essay Prize* is symptomatic; the winner, Victor Gomez Pin, a neoplatonic philosopher and psychoanalyst, gives us a treatise with an ostentatious title and ferocious content: *Philosophy: The Lore of the Slave*. Taking off from the Meno of Plato, he defines the fundamental equality of all men, obliquely introducing the polemic of European identity centered in France as hypothesized by Filkienkraut in his book, *La Derrota del*

now find the word "Europe," newly minted to commemorate 1992—the auspicious date for continental unity.

But as the magic date approaches, questions arise. What will this united Europe be like? Will it resemble Gorbachev's vision of a "communal house," a closely confined European community? Another critical suspicion arises in Spain: Are we destined to forget our



The press has undoubtedly been a dynamic catalyst for the restoration and stabilization of democracy as well as a promoter of the rapid and surprising changes in habits, tastes, and customs.

Pensamiento (The Defeat of Thought). The Anagrama runner-up was Vicente Verdú, whose book *Días sin fumar* (Days without Smoking) is a reflection on everyday life in a journalistic style—a work that belongs to the genre known by the French as "soft thought."

So the dream is now called Europe, and this summer, more than ever, Madrid is pondering the theme. Professor Francisco Jarauta chaired a series of international symposia at Madrid's Fine Arts Circle inaugurated by the French philosopher, Francois Lyotard.

"The European Subject" is the title of another cycle of conferences under the direction of the noted thinker Ludolfo Paramio, with participants such as Emmanuel Levinas, Alain Touraine, Fernando Savater, and G. Vattimo, among others; with Goethe as a point of departure, Spaniards and Germans will also discuss the European identity.

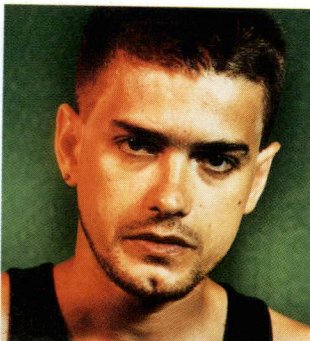
With the success of *International Letter*, a journal of ideas that appears in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain, several similar publications are in the works. Where we used to see the word "postmodern," or the word "Movida," we

intimate relations with Latin America? There is very little distance between such questions and an assault on the dream itself. It is already sporadically exposed to the harsh light of criticism.

The Spanish-Argentine writer, Marcos Ricardo Barnatán, refers to the "Shylock syndrome" and proposes a multiple Europe, united but open to the people. The Uruguayan philosopher Roberto Blatt considers the "Discovery of America" to be chimerical and he finds in the image of Europe a new chimera to dazzle Spain. Víctor Gómez Pin alludes to mirages and self-castration. The dissolution of a unique world, that of mestizo Latin America, preoccupies Ricardo Ore, the Peruvian poet and diplomat.

Well then, the debate is on. Controversy will rage, which is a healthy sign of vitality. Another layer of skin will be shed from the sometimes monstrous, sometimes tender, but always lively, changeable creature that is post-Franco Spanish culture. In store windows and studios, in the media or on our PC terminals, whether impelled by "La Movida" or swept by the undertow, it really moves.

Alaska and Santiago Auseron, pop vocalists. Juana de Aizpuru, art dealer.



In Search of One's Roots:

Santiago Gorospe

A Research Program that Looks at the Past in Order to Stand Firmly in the Present

We are ourselves, but we are also part of a long path. By investigating the history and origins of our predecessors we can better understand our own identity, the present, and the future. The capacity of perspective, to see far and from afar, was recommended by the Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset as essential to sound judgment and freedom from prejudice.

Searching for family roots is in style these days. For some people it is nothing more than a pastime; for others, it is a subtle way of meeting distinguished characters in the "Who's Who" of a distant era. Finally, for the remainder, it is a way to study family origins and extract the necessary lesson offered by the "life and times" of the past.

As a means of furthering Hispanic genealogical research, "In Search of One's Roots" has been inaugurated in conjunction with the celebration of the quincentenary of the discovery of America. This project, proposed to the Spain '92 Foundation by Carlos Ramírez, is based on the use of personal computers by members of Hispanic communities throughout the United States. The computers will be installed in museums and libraries and at Hispanic festivals in 1992. The computer, utilizing a video disk player and a touch sensitive screen, will permit the user quick access to genealogical information tracing the Spanish surname back to its origins in Spain. The participant, upon providing his or her surname, will be given information as to where the name first originated, occupational associations, region of the country where the name was most predominant, and noteworthy people and places that hold the same name. In addition to a general history of the name, a pictorial travelogue of the region that the name is associated with will illuminate the history of the region. Historic sites and monuments in the area will be noted, as well as the region's landscape and predominant flora and fauna. Finally, the user will learn where in the United States Spaniards with the same last name immigrated, along with the date, and port of entry, and location where the immigrants settled. Carlos Ramírez is developing the hardware and technical aspects of the project while Spain '92 is taking responsibility for the software portion. The genealogical research is currently being conducted in Spain at the Academy of History and at the Library of Congress in the United States.

Research in Spain is broken down according to last name in the following categories: etymology, geographical identification, current territorial migrations and settlements in Spain, nobilities and lineages, noteworthy people and places, and bibliography. Research in the United States will focus on U.S. ports of entry, related

dates, and settlements for Spanish immigration from the seventeenth century to the present.

Active research is currently being conducted in Spain under the direction of genealogy professor Faustino Menéndez Pidal, and in the United States at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Likewise, the Spain '92 Foundation's Project Director, Aimée Metzner, interviewed the Mormon community of Salt Lake City for the purpose of gaining access to their genealogical banks. As expected, the ambitious research process has begun to experience its share of technical and methodological difficulties. For example, should names of French, Portuguese, Sephardic Jewish, or Dutch ancestry be added to the current list of 12,497 last names of Spanish origin that appears in the 1980 Census? In this regard, we should remember that Emperor Charles V brought to Spain a large number of counselors, courtiers, and engineers with last names which were far from being Hispanic. An interesting case that comes to mind is that of the Tassis family, some of whom were the Barons of Tassis in Germany and had direct connections with Spain through a famous sixteenth-century poet, the Count of Villamediana. The Tassis family was granted the royal privilege of taking charge of the postal service, and the international word, "taxi," is derived from the name "Tassis." Other illustrious families, such as the Osbornes, Domecq, and Loring, entered Spain in the nineteenth century. Along these lines, the examples could multiply to unsuspected limits with respect to what some people consider "Hispanic."

Research on cases such as the above gives rise to questions that demand historical and geographical interpretation. For example, part of modern France was at one time a possession of the Spanish Crown and, even today, the Basque and Catalan zones of influence spread along the common border between Spain and France. A name that seems French to us can just as easily be Catalan, and the same can be said of names of Portuguese origin. The case of the Spanish Jews, or Sephardim, is different, however. Should one study the Sephardic community in the United States and include the entire group in the list of Hispanics, regardless of their early origin?

In view of the difficulties in the field, the Spain '92 Foundation proposes a search of roots which takes into consideration a variety of factors and incorporates the results of new research currently underway. The Project Director of Spain '92 has indicated that "In Search of One's Roots" will supplement and correct current lists of last names as new facts are published, especially those relating to the new 1990 Census.

From page 3.

with its racial and cultural multiplicity, and Spain, with its historical multiplicity, are the logical protagonists of such an intellectual encounter. If modern and democratic Spain seeks to find its economic future in the new Europe, its cultural future stems from its American legacy. While the United States has been shaped by its European cultural inheritance, its demography is increasingly Latin American, and its economic future increasingly hemispheric. Encounters is a joint venture of the Spain '92 Foundation of Washington, D.C., and the Latin American Institute of the

University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, New Mexico. It will cover news of the Quincentenary as well as broader issues and events, ranging from cultural developments in contemporary Spain to Hispanic issues in the United States and social changes in Latin America. The Encounters editorial staff join the Spain '92 Foundation and the Latin American Institute of the University of New Mexico in extending this invitation to participate intellectually in the encounters that continue to shape and reshape our world.

José Tono Martínez, Gil W. Merx, Linda Lane Kjeldgaard.

New Projects Funded by NEH The following is a partial list of the most recent awards made by NEH to fund Quincentenary-related projects.

Art Institute of Chicago: "Nuevo Mundo: Images of Man and Nature in Pre-Columbian Art" an exhibition accompanied by a catalogue and educational programs that explore ancient civilizations of the New World.

Brooklyn Museum: "Spanish Colonial Art and Society" an exhibition of the Spanish colonial art of Mexico and Peru.

New York State Education Department: "Native Peoples and Euroamerican Contact in New York, 1550-1650" an exhibition exploring the impact of European contact on Native culture in New York from 1550 to 1650.

University of Arizona: "North American Indian Visions of International Law and Peace" a book on North American Indian formulations of international law

and peace as laid down in their treaties and negotiations with European nations between 1600 and 1800.

University of Connecticut: "The Exploration of North America: A Comprehensive History" a two-volume set of essays on the role of the imagination in the exploration of North America.

Vanderbilt University: "War, Peace, and the Collapse of Maya Civilization: The Art and Archaeology of the Petexbatun Region, Guatemala"—excavation of the Petexbatun Region in Guatemala for a study of the role and consequence of warfare among the Maya during the classic period of 300-900 A.D.

Florida Atlantic University: "Guide to Nahuatl Manuscripts in the United States"—a reference work and guide to manuscripts in the Aztec language of Nahuatl in United States repositories.

Cartoon by Kiko Feria

1. On an ordinary day, a day like any other, the United States gambles its future in Europe as if playing a game of poker.

The rivals are unknown, however, equally interested in a future with Europe.

2. With the help of England, its oldest European ally, the United States draws the Ace of spades for a total of three Aces. The question is:

"should I gamble and draw or fold?" "My opponent is happy with his hand." "He would have a straight or a flush?" "I have no choice but to draw!"

3. The United States decides to gamble and draws... "Ah! the Ace of Hearts of Spain '92!"

4. Poker of Aces! "Thanks to Spain '92 my future in Europe is secure!" With the help of Spain '92 the United States solidifies its relations with Spain, its only door into the New Europe.

SPAIN '92 FOUNDATION DEALS THE U.S. A WINNING HAND.



Major Quincentenary Projects Announced by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and the University of Michigan

Maps and the Columbian Encounter

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee has been designated as the host institution for a major exhibition of rare maps from the age of Columbus. The project, which includes research, exhibitions, and public programs, will be under the directorship of Professor J. Brian Harley of the Department of Geography and the Office for Map History in the American Geographical Society Collection of the Golda Meir Library at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The themes which will structure the exhibition and guide the presentation of maps include the following:

- The geographic realities and misconceptions in the maps of the Encounter period.
 - The science and technology of map making in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries
 - The Encounter as a religious crusade.
 - The wealth of the New World as a force behind the Encounter.
 - The geopolitics of maps in the Encounter
 - The way maps reflect the Old World's and the New World's growing awareness of each other
- The exhibition is a collaborative effort of the American Geographical Society Collection, the Newberry Library of Chicago, the James Ford Bell Library of the University of Minnesota, and the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. Drawing from the combined resources of these collections, "Maps and the

Columbian Encounter" will present maps from the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries in their broad historical context as records of contemporary perceptions, knowledge, technologies, and political events.

In addition to the exhibition of original items, which will be on display through 1992, facsimiles of the exhibition will be on view at designated sites throughout the midwest beginning in 1990. Educational materials and programs, including a book explaining the exhibition, bibliographies, public lectures, and scholarly programs will be available in conjunction with the exhibition. For additional information on "Maps and the Columbian Encounter," write to Mark Warhus, Office for Map History, American Geographical Society Collection, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, P.O. Box 399, Milwaukee, WI 53201.

Sixteenth-Century Perceptions of Latin America: Civil or Savage?

A video presentation dealing with the encounter of two civilizations and their attitudes toward one another is currently available from the Center for Latin America at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The video attempts to show the way in which perceptions or previously held assumptions can be altered by opposing arguments. The viewer is introduced to the concept of "changing perceptions" by looking at a series of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps of Latin America and following their progression as information about the New World reaches the mapmakers. Decorative details on the maps give rise to such questions as the following: What is the importance of religious or nationalistic emblems found on the maps? Why are scenes of cannibalism so prominent? The viewer then begins to see how perceptions can change when new information is presented.

Following the development of map making, the viewer is shown the probable perceptions the Europeans had of Native Americans and vice versa. Questions and ideas that are raised in the video purposely remain unanswered because they are intended not only to provoke thought and discussion but also give rise to critical reflection on the first encounters of two different yet sophisticated worlds. "Sixteenth Century Perceptions of Latin America: Civil or Savage?" is available from the Center for Latin America, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P. O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201. The video is available in a variety of formats, and the price of the cassette is \$75.00.

Jews and the Encounter with the New World, 1492-1992

A 1992 series of year-long programs on the theme "Jews and the Encounter with the New World, 1492-1992" was recently announced by the University of Michigan. Through lectures, panel discussions, concerts, and exhibits designed both for scholars and the general public, the series will explore the extent and the meaning of Jewish participation in the historic events of five hundred years ago. Special programs are being planned to commemorate the anniversaries of the signing of the order of expulsion by Queen Isabel (March 30, 1492) and the departure of the exiles (August 10, 1492). Pertinent questions such as the following will be explored: Was there a converso hidden agenda to the voyages of Columbus? Why were Native Americans believed to be the Ten Lost Tribes? Are there conversos (marranos) alive today? What legacy did the Jews bequeath to Latin America? Distinguished scholars will deliver public lectures on such themes as "The Golden Age of Spain," "1492: Watershed in World History," "Indians and Jews: New World Mythologies,"

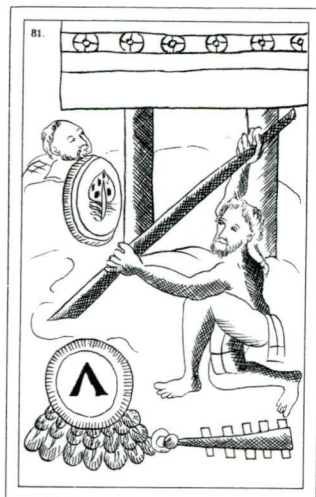
"Jewish Mapmakers, Scientists and Adventurers in the Age of Discovery," "Jews, Conversos, and the Inquisition in the New World," and "Legacies." Several related cultural events are also being planned, including a concert of Sephardic music and a cartographic exhibit of original and facsimile maps of the world that Columbus knew. For information on the programs which will take place in Ann Arbor and in four other Michigan cities, write to Dr. Judith Elkin, Project Director, Jean and Samuel Frankel Center for Judaic Studies, 206 Angell Hall, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109 Telephone (313) 763-9047.

500 Years of American Clothing

A national effort inaugurated by the Academy for Educational Development in New York City, "500 Years of American Clothing" is a project designed to encourage the celebration of the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's landing in the New World. Project participants will assist in locating and documenting articles of historic American clothing, ensure appropriate conservation and preservation of significant objects, and develop exhibitions and other programs related to the project. Americans of all ages from all states will be encouraged to participate in a national treasure hunt to find and document the historic articles of clothing which will eventually be put on display in a series of exhibitions scheduled to travel throughout the U.S., Europe, and Japan. Institutions and organizations interested in exhibiting the American clothing collection are invited to contact Dr. Lee Hall, Academy for Educational Development, "500 Years of American Clothing," 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Telephone (212) 243-1110.

All News section illustrated with drawings from "Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España", by Bernardino de Sahagún. Florentine Codex.

Three Caravelles Exact replicas of Columbus's three caravelles have been constructed and launched in Spain. The vessels will sail to various ports in Spain, Ibero-America, and the United States and are scheduled to accompany the Grand Regatta into New York Harbor on July 4, 1992 for New York City's Independence Day celebration. For more information, contact the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, Telephone (202) 532-1992, or the Spain '92 Foundation, Telephone (202) 775-1992.



Exchange Study in Architecture at the University of Arizona The College of Architecture at the University of Arizona will sponsor a student-faculty exchange program with the Universidad de Navarra in Pamplona, Spain. The students must be at the graduate level to participate. One of the common themes of the program, which will involve joint research, will be the "Influence of the Mudejar Traditions in the Architecture and Urbanism of Nueva España". For more information, contact Professor Kenneth N. Clark, College of Architecture, The University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721. Telephone (602) 6216751.

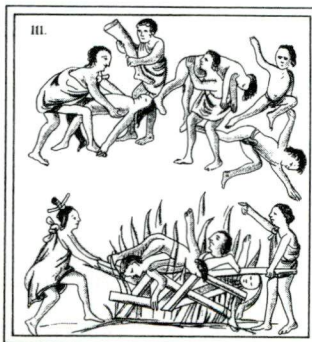
Adventure '92 Four hundred students from Spain, Portugal, Latin America, and the United States will retrace the voyages of Columbus while participating in an on-board educational program about the Quincentenary. The first voyage of the Adventure '92 project took place in 1988 and the transatlantic crossings will continue through 1992. For more information, contact Miguel de la Quadra Salcedo, Sociedad Estatal V Centenario, Calle Venendez Pidal, No. 3, 28002 Madrid, Spain. Telephone 59-5003.

Grand Regatta Columbus '92 An international organization composed of participants from Spain, the United States, Italy, Portugal, Puerto Rico, and the United Kingdom is planning an international regatta of tall ships to commemorate the Quincentenary. The tall ships are scheduled to leave Genoa, Italy, in April 1992 and conclude their voyage in Liverpool, England, in August 1992 after having visited ports in Lisbon, Cadiz, the Canary Islands, San Juan, New York, and Boston. For more information, contact the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission Telephone (202) 632-1992 or the Spain '92 Foundation Telephone (202) 775-1992.

Ibero-American Heritage Curriculum Project The New York State Education Department, in conjunction with six other states and six countries, is preparing a comprehensive interdisciplinary curriculum in the form of resource guides to integrate the study of Ibero-American history, culture and influence in the United States into the educational system. For more information, contact María Ramírez, New York State Education Department, Center for Multinational and Comparative Education, Room 225EB, Albany, NY 12234. Telephone (518) 473-8211.

Hispanic Roots in the Community: A Workshop Series Partners for Livable Places is designing and developing a workshop series, co-sponsored with the Spain '92 Foundation, and with the National Hispanic Quincentennial Commission. The workshops, projected to take place in ten multi-cultural cities in the United States—the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago serving as the first site in 1990—will continue through 1992. They will examine Hispanic culture and ways in which Hispanic communities may take advantage of their ethnicity to reinforce positive values and foster economic well-being. The workshops will also encourage Hispanic community participation in Quincentenary celebrations. For more information, contact Robert McNulty, Partners for Livable Places, 1429 21st Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone (202) 887-5990.

Al Andalus '92 "Al Andalus," the Arabic name for the Iberian Peninsula, is also the name of one of the many projects sponsored by the Sociedad Estatal. The project's main objective is to make twentieth-century Spaniards aware of the Arab-Islamic elements in their history and culture. Special emphasis will be placed on the acknowledgement of Arab-Islamic influence in advances made in the fields of mathematics, philosophy, astronomy, and agriculture. The city of Granada has been serving



as the headquarters for the "Al Andalus '92" project since 1987. For more information, contact Concha Astorga, Sociedad Estatal V Centenario, Serrano 187-189, 28002 Madrid, Spain. Telephone 563-9694.

Sefarad '92 "Sefarad," meaning "Spain" in Hebrew, is also a project sponsored by the Sociedad Estatal. The project will focus on the culture of Sephardim and encourage Spanish-Jewish communities throughout the world to unite and participate in the 1992 commemorations. Current plans call for an international congress of Jewish organizations to meet in 1992 for the purpose of studying Spanish-Jewish relations. The city of Toledo is the headquarters of the project. For more information, contact Concha Astorga at the above-mentioned address.

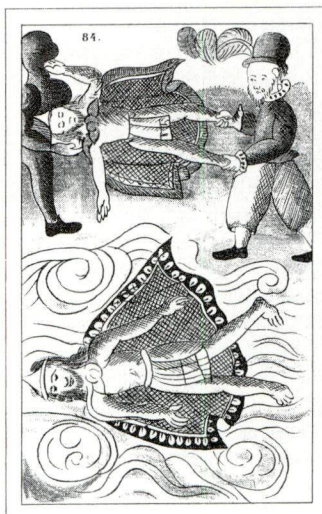
Churches: Symbols of Community The New Mexico Community Foundation's Churches: Symbols of Community project is well underway in its efforts to preserve the historic adobe churches of New Mexico. The program provides technical assistance to communities wishing to preserve their churches, funding for church preservation materials, training videotapes, instruction for use in adobe preservation techniques, an on-going survey of all New Mexican Historic Churches (in conjunction with the State Historic Preservation Office) and other similar services. For more information, contact Nancy Arnon or Sam Baca, 110 N. Guadalupe Street, #6, Santa Fe, NM 87504. Telephone (505) 982-9521.

The Music of the Three Spains: Christian, Sephardic and Moslem

The Music of the Three Spains project consists of a two-volume publication focusing on the cultural heritage of the three religions that co-existed on the Iberian Peninsula for eight centuries. It will contain a study of the music of each culture during the period of co-existence, including the musical traditions that Jews and Moslems carried with them up to present times. The publication will be useful for performers, musicologists, ethnomusicologists, Hispanists, and students interested in the musical aspects of Iberian culture. For more information, contact Dr. Israel J. Katz, 461 Fort Washington Avenue, Apt. 56, New York, NY 10033. Telephone (212) 928-6547.

A Study of the Musical Traditions of Spain: A Research Guide

Dr. Israel J. Katz, in collaboration with Drs. Ismael Fernandez de la Cuesta and Josep Crivelle, plan to publish a two-volume edition entitled *Historia de Musica en Espana. Un Manual para Investigacion (The History of Music in Spain: A Research Manual)*, written in Spanish. The first volume will deal with musical archeology, ethnomusicology, and the Middle Ages up to the thirteenth Century. The second volume will cover art music from the twelfth to the twentieth Century. The guide will include bibliographies, discographies, and a general index. Scholars, musicians, graduate and undergraduate students, librarians, and interested laymen are the prospective users of this publication. For more information, contact Dr. Israel J. Katz, 461 Fort Washington Avenue, Apt. 56, New York, N.Y. 10033. Telephone (212) 928-6547.



Seeds of Change The National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution is developing a quincenary-related exhibition entitled "Seeds of Change." The exhibition will highlight the social and cultural repercussions that occurred in both the Old and New Worlds as a result of the biological interchange initiated by the voyages of Columbus. "Seeds of Change" will demonstrate that Columbus's encounter with the Americas was a collision of two worlds that eventually transformed the biological, political and cultural realities of continents across the globe. The impact of exchange will be shown by tracing the interplay and development of five case studies: maize, sugar cane, the potato, the horse, and disease. The exhibition will be on display for two years beginning in 1991 and will travel to six or seven museums across the United States. The exhibition will involve a variety of educational programs including National History Day, the theme of which, during 1991 and 1992, will be "Discovery, Encounter, Exchange—The Seeds of Change". For more information, contact Dr. Herman Viola, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560. Telephone (202) 357-4430.

Hispanic Heritage Wing Opens at Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe

A major exhibition facility for the world's largest collection of Spanish colonial and contemporary Hispanic folk art opened in July in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Hispanic Heritage Wing in the Museum of International Folk Art houses a collection of nearly five thousand objects ranging from religious hide paintings and utilitarian implements of the 1600s to the finely-crafted traditional santos, jewelry, tinwork, and textiles still being produced today. Two exhibitions will be on continual display in the newly-opened wing. One is the permanent installation "Familia y Fe" (Family and Faith) and the other is "Tradición de Orgullo" (Tradition of Pride) which features the work of contemporary folk artists. "Familia y Fe" emphasizes the cultural context within which Hispanic folk art developed. A reproduction of a northern New Mexican Hispanic family of the 1860s is the focal point of the exhibit. The continuing vitality of the centuries-old folk art forms on display in "Familia y Fe" is demonstrated in the contemporary works featured in "Tradición de Orgullo". This is the first in a series of rotating exhibitions featuring the works of outstanding folk artists of the region. The opening of the Hispanic Heritage Wing was planned to coincide with the many worldwide preparations to celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's 1492 landing in the Americas. Arriving in the American Southwest less than fifty years later, the Spanish influenced the region in a way that is strongly felt today. The collections on display represent nearly four centuries of religious and utilitarian folk art from the various outposts of Spanish colonial civilization.

Terra Nova Explored: The Red Bay Expeditions 1517-1990

Partners for Livable Places, an international civic organization, is planning a travelling exhibition that will explore two major themes: 1st) the cultural, social and economic legacies of the little-known sixteenth-century encounter between the Basque whalers and the peoples and environment of the New World in Red Bay, Labrador; 2nd) explanations of how historians and archeologists explore the Age of Discovery using the technology of the Age of Information. The Basque Studies Center at the University of Nevada-Reno is a co-sponsor of the exhibition. For more information, contact Lois Fishman, Partners for Livable Places, 1429 21st St. NW, Washington DC 20036. Telephone (202) 887-5990.

"Ceremony of Memory" to Tour Ten U.S. Cities

Twelve contemporary Hispanic artists have been selected to display their work in an exhibit which will travel to ten cities throughout the United States from 1989 through 1991. "Ceremony of Memory" is an exhibition of a variety of box forms including altars, shelves, shrines, and reliquaries which reflect the Mexican, South American, and Caribbean roots of the artists. The use of icons, personal mementos, and natural materials within the box forms also reflect the personal and historical background of the artists. Organized by the Center for Contemporary Arts of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and curated by Amalia Mesa-Bains, the exhibit accompanied by a forty-eight page color catalogue with essays by three Hispanic scholars. For information about the exhibiting schedule and the catalogue, which is available for sale, contact Robert Gaylor, Director Center for Contemporary Arts of Santa Fe, P.O. Box 148, Santa Fe, NM 87504.

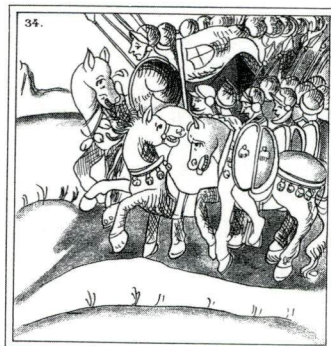
Contemporary Architecture and Design in Spain The Art Institute of Chicago will host the exhibition "Contemporary Architecture and Design in Spain" which is being organized by the Art Institute's Department of Architecture. The exhibition will examine the renaissance in Spanish architecture, design, and planning since 1975. The post-Franco work of eminent Spanish architects, designers, and urban planners will be shown in relation to societal, political, and economic forces. For more information, contact Eileen Harakal, The Art Institute of Chicago, Michigan Avenue at Adams Street, Chicago, IL 60603. Telephone (312) 443-3624.

Nuevo Mundo: Images of Man and Nature in Pre-Columbian Art The Art Institute of Chicago is planning a major international exhibition which will focus on the ancient world views of American Indian civilizations as reflected in art, architecture, and geography. Approximately 300 works of art from museums in Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the United States will be on exhibit. For more information, contact Eileen Harakal, Art Institute of Chicago, Michigan Avenue at Adams Street, Chicago, IL 60603, Telephone (312) 443-3624.

Spanish Historiography of the New World, 1492-1700 Spanish historiography of the New World, 1492-1700 is the title of a conference that will focus on the special character of the Golden Age of Spanish historiography. The conference will also be accompanied by a catalogue, exhibition and is directed at both scholars of Spanish historiography and the general educated public. The John Carter Brown Library at Brown University will host the events. For more information, contact Norman Tiering, The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Box 394, Providence, RI 02912. Telephone (401) 863-2725.

Velázquez Masterpieces to be on Exhibit at the Metropolitan Approximately 40 of Diego Velázquez's greatest paintings will be on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City from October 3, 1989 to January 7, 1990. The exhibition is the culmination of the collaborative efforts of the Metropolitan and the Museo del Prado in Madrid. For the first time in its history, the Prado will lend 17 major paintings by Velázquez to an exhibition outside Spain. These paintings, most of them royal commissions which show Velázquez at the height of his genius, will be on exhibit with some of his early paintings on loan from museums in England, Scotland, Austria, and the United States. A catalogue to accompany the exhibition is being written and will be available for purchase at a future date. The exhibition was made possible by the Banco Hispano Americano Sponsorship.

Spain Today "Spain Today" will be an exhibition of the art of 13 Spanish artists, many of whom have gained recognition within the past decade. The exhibition will be held at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C. and will include paintings, sculptures, and installations showing an overview of important trends in contemporary Spanish art. For more information, contact Terrie Sultan, The Corcoran Gallery, 17th Street and New York Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006, Telephone (202) 638-3211.



The Other Americas WGBH of Boston will study the contemporary history and civilization of Latin America and the Caribbean during the course of ten one-hour public television programs. The series, entitled "The Other Americas", is scheduled to air in 1992. For more information, contact Judith Vecchione, Executive Producer, WGBH Educational Foundation, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, MA 02134. Telephone (617) 492-2777.

Columbus and the Age of Discovery WGBH of Boston will produce a seven-part television series entitled "Columbus and the Age of Discovery" with the Sociedad Estatal and Televisión Española in Spain, the BBC, NHK of Japan, RAI of Italy, NDR of Germany, and RTP of Portugal. The series will capture the spirit of adventure and discovery that inspired Columbus. It will chart the currents of cultural and intellectual thought in the fifteenth century and will trace the profound legacies of the European Discovery of the Americas. Columbus and the Age of Discovery is scheduled to air in Fall of 1991. For more information, contact Zvi Dornier, Executive Producer, WGBH, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, MA 02134. Telephone (617) 492-2777.

The Buried Mirror The "Buried Mirror: Images of Latin America" is a bilingual, five-part television series produced by Malone Gill Productions Ltd. Each program examines both present-day issues in Latin America and its underlying history, culture, and institutions. Carlos Fuentes will write, host, and narrate the series which is scheduled to air around the world in the fall of 1991. The "Buried Mirror" is the centerpiece of the Smithsonian Institution's Quincentenary commemoration. For more information, contact Dr. Alicia González, Quincentenary Programs, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560. Telephone (202) 357-4790.

Isabel and Ferdinand in Spain The lives of Isabel and Ferdinand will be explored in a six-hour, six-episode series for U.S. and international television. Series highlights will include the marriage of Isabel and Ferdinand, the defeat of the Moors, and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. For more information, contact Charles Hartman, Sociedad Estatal V Centenario, Serrano 187-189, 28002 Madrid, Spain. Telephone 563-9694.

Tatiana Discovers Spain A television series for children in both Spanish and English, "Tatiana Discovers Spain" will explore the history and culture of Spain through the adventures of a little girl and a talking donkey. The series will be filmed on location in Spain. The series will reveal characteristics of the Spanish personality such as spontaneity, flamboyance, and love of life. For more information, contact María del Carmen Siccardi, 15626 Montview Drive, Montclair, VA 22026. Telephone (703) 878-2556.



“Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture” The State University of New York Press recently announced a new series, “Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture,” edited by Jorge J. E. Gracia. The series will publish disciplinary studies in philosophical, political, and social thought as well as more specific investigations of the ideas of important historical and contemporary figures of Latin America, Spain, and Portugal. The series will also publish the results of broader interdisciplinary research on various cultural expressions such as literature and art insofar as they shed light on intellectual history. Authors of book-length manuscripts are invited to submit descriptions of their manuscripts along with a brief curriculum vitae to Professor Jorge J. E. Gracia, Department of Philosophy, State University of New York, Amherst, NY 14260. Telephone (716) 636-2444.

“Cervantes and His Times” A new scholarly series edited by Eduardo Urbana and entitled “Cervantes and His Times” is scheduled to be published by Peter Lang. Information about the series may be obtained from the Department of Modern and Classical Languages, Texas A & M University, College Station, TX 77843. Telephone (409) 845-0464.

Society for the History of Discoveries Directory A directory of members with specialties relating to Columbus is available for free distribution from the Society for the History of Discoveries. Write to Professor Carol Urness, James Ford Bell Library, 472 Wilson Library, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455 to obtain a copy of the directory.

The Journals of Diego de Vargas The University of New Mexico Press will publish a ten-volume series on the life of the Spanish governor and recolonizer don Diego de Vargas. The introductory volume of the series, entitled “Remote beyond Compare: Letters of don Diego de Vargas from New Spain and New Mexico, 1675-1706,” has recently been published. For more information, contact John Kessell, The Vargas Project, Zimmerman Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone (505) 277-6600.

University of Colorado Purchases Private Library Collections from Spain A \$415,000 purchase of two private libraries will transform the University of Colorado at Boulder’s collection of late 19th- and 20th-century Spanish literature into one of the more significant such research collections in the United States. The two collections primarily contain hardbound and paperback books, in addition to periodicals, documents, photographs, and pamphlets. Approximately 75 percent of the materials in the two collections are currently out of print. Thirty thousand volumes, most of them in Spanish, were shipped from Madrid and will be housed in Norlin Library on the Boulder campus. The larger of the two collections, numbering more than 19,000 volumes, was purchased from Ricardo Gullón of Madrid, a lawyer and professor of Spanish literature who taught

at the Universities of Texas, Chicago, California, and Colorado. Gullón is the author of 29 scholarly books and was library director for Juan Ramón Jiménez, recipient of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1956. Gullón’s library dates back to the 1930s and includes a number of rare first editions, many of them signed. The smaller collection of eleven thousand volumes was purchased from Ramón Hernández, a Spanish novelist in Madrid. It includes a portion of Hernández’s own library and the libraries of Spanish novelist Víctor Alperi and prominent theatre critic Juan Emilia Aragonés. The Hernández collection includes many volumes on 20th-century Spanish theatre and some of the few publications of the Spanish Civil War era to survive the regime of Francisco Franco.



Phileas Society Sponsors Columbus Conference “The Phileas Society” will hold a two-day conference on Christopher Columbus at Pier 66 Resort and Marina in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 10-12 November 1989. Subjects to be discussed at the conference will include “Columbus: the Man and the Myth,” “The Ships of Columbus and His Four Voyages,” “The Confrontation of Cultures,” “The Americas that Might Have Been,” “The Old and New Worlds of Columbus,” “The Spanish Presence in Florida and the Southeast,” “Building Replicas of the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria,” and “Preparations for the Quincentenary in the U.S., Spain, Italy, and the Caribbean.” Noted international experts participating in seminars

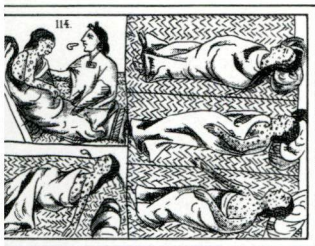
and informal meetings will include official representatives of the Italian, Spanish, and Dominican Republic governments who have been involved with preparations for the Quincentenary. The conference is designed to be of special interest to teachers, librarians, curriculum planners, and writers, as well as the general public. For additional information about the conference, write to the Phileas Society, 2400 E. Las Olas Blvd., Fort Lauderdale, FL 33301. Telephone (305) 524-3511.

“Five College Symposium” Call for Papers “Reflections of Social Reality: Writings in Colonial Latin America” is the theme of an interdisciplinary conference addressing issues of writing, gender, and ethnicity in colonial Latin American discourse. The five college symposium will honor Lewis U. Hanke, Professor Emeritus of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. The symposium will take place 19-21 April 1990 in Amherst, Massachusetts and will feature addresses by Rolena Adorno, Raquel Chang-Rodriguez, Asuncion Lavrin, Walter Mignolo, and Enrique Pupo-Walker. Symposium organizers would like papers to be submitted on a variety of topics such as history, art, literature, and linguistics. The deadline for abstracts is 1 October 1989; the deadline for finished papers is 1 January 1990. Inquiries and submissions should be directed to the Colonial Latin American Symposium, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 418 Herter Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003.

Quincentennial Fellowships, Essay Contests, Call for Papers

Book Fairs

Contests, Awards, and Prizes



Newberry Library Fellowships

As part of its "Transatlantic Encounters Program," the Newberry Library is offering Columbian Quincentennial fellowships during 1989 and 1990. The fellowships are offered in conjunction with a program of summer institutes on the "Transatlantic Encounters" theme and may be used prior to following a summer institute session, but may not be used to support participation in an institute session itself. Scholars working on topics related to the transatlantic exchange of ideas, cultures, and peoples in the period 1450-1650 may apply for stipends of up to \$800 per month for periods of up to four months. Projects for work in residence at the Newberry Library must be synthetic or interdisciplinary in approach, or present new fields of study for the applicant, or aim at the creation of new classroom materials, teaching units, or courses. Preference will be given to projects that display potential for prompt classroom application at the college level. For fellowship application forms and information about the institutes, write to Transatlantic Encounters Program, The Newberry Library, 505 W. Walton Street, Chicago, IL 60610.

University of Maryland

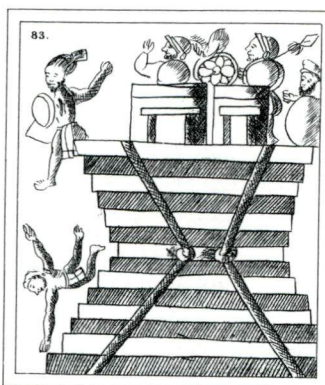
The University of Maryland, in cooperation with the Office of International Activities of the Smithsonian Institution, has established a scholarship program for the purpose of promoting research studies on the Americas. For more information, contact Dr. Saúl Sosnowski, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.

University of Maryland Rockefeller Foundation Resident Fellowships 1990-1991

The Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Maryland, College Park, is inviting applications for resident fellowships for the study of the literature and cultures of Latin America. Fellows are required to be in full-time residence at the University of Maryland during the period of award. Research, writing, and a major lecture based on his or her research is also required. Senior and junior scholars and post-doctoral applicants are eligible, and each fellow will receive a stipend of \$30,000 for the academic year or \$15,000 for a semester award. The deadline for applications is 15 December 1989. For further information, contact Dr. Saúl Sosnowski, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Attention: Rockefeller Foundation Fellowships in the Humanities.

Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana

Since 1978, the Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana (ICI) and the Spanish National Quincentenary Commission have jointly awarded research grants whose total monetary value currently stands at 20,000,000 pesetas. These grants are being made for projects that focus on some aspect of the historical, political-social, scientific-technical, or cultural reality of the Iberoamerican countries and their relationship with Spain. In terms of subject matter, the criteria are thus very broad. Group as well as individual proposals are invited. The maximum amount of any award is 1,000,000 pesetas. Applicants must be of Spanish, Filipino, Latin American, or Portuguese nationality and must also have received a university degree within the past five years. Proposals or requests for information should be sent to the ICI, Avenida Reyes Católicos, 4, Ciudad Universitaria, 28040 Madrid, Spain.



Ibero-American Book Exhibit, Washington, D.C.

The Academic Association for the Quincentenary, 1492-1992 (AAQ) and the OAS Office for the Quincentennial Commemoration continue to plan for the first Ibero-American book exhibit to be held in Washington, D.C. in November 1989. The purpose of the exhibit is to acquaint both the Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish speaking communities of Washington, D.C. and its environs not only with the literary legacy of Spain, Portugal, and Latin America, but also with the diversity and scope of publishing in those countries. Dr. Pilar G. Suelto de Sáenz, President of the Academic Association for the Quincentenary, may be contacted at P.O. Box 9650, Washington, D.C. 20016 for additional information about the book exhibit.

1989 Exemplary Awards Conferred

The National Endowment for the Humanities conducted another competition for State and Regional Exemplary awards in 1989, and once again the subject of the Columbian Quincentenary loomed large among the projects the Endowment chose to support. The Maine Humanities Council, for example, garnered \$25,000 to plan how it would disseminate its recent "Land of Norumbega" exhibit and programs on the cartographic history of New England to public audiences throughout the region. Likewise, the California Council for the Humanities, another NEH state program, was granted \$24,985 to work with its sister council in Oregon to plan projects on the theme of cultural encounter by which citizens of both states could join scholars in dialogue on the meaning of the Columbian voyages and their aftermath. Early in 1990, glazed tile portraits of Ponce de León and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés will be among the ten representations of Hispanic peoples in Florida history to be installed at visitors centers on the two major interstate highways leading into the "Sunshine State." The Florida Endowment for the Humanities spearheaded this effort. A consortium of five western state councils (Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming) received an Exemplary Award of more than \$158,000 to support the construction and circulation throughout the region of an exhibit on the theme, "Trails through Time," an exploration of the pathways by which commerce and culture have for centuries been transported through the intermountain states. "Trails through Time" is scheduled to open in conjunction with this year's Santa Fe Trail symposium and travel to twenty-five sites in the region during subsequent months.

Another Exemplary Award in 1989 made it possible for a consortium of humanities councils serving the Great Plains States to meet in Omaha in April to discuss their ideas for a regional series of public programs on the theme, "The Unfinished Journey". As the concept emerged from the two-day gathering, the project will be built around a major traveling exhibit that will retrace the Lewis and Clark trail and involve cultural institutions from throughout the Missouri River Valley in programs examining the Quincentenary theme of cultural encounter.

Still another vehicle for bringing public attention to the significance of Columbus's voyages are teacher institutes. The Georgia Endowment for the Humanities garnered an \$8,000 Exemplary Award from the NEH to plan a future summer program for twenty-five teachers who teach Georgia history in the state's public schools. Emphasis will be on the Spanish explorations in Georgia during the sixteenth century and on the indigenous cultures the Iberians encountered there.

In addition to these endeavors, many other state councils are in the process of designing their own Quincentenary projects. For example, the Texas Committee for the Humanities is currently formulating joint programs for 1992 with scholars from Mexico, Latin America, Spain, and Great Britain. The Virginia and Washington state councils, although at opposite ends of the U.S., have each concluded that an appropriate way to mark the events of 1492 will be to offer programs and exhibits on the experience and cultures of their respective Native American peoples.

Letras de Oro Spanish Literary Prize Winners

Created for the purpose of rewarding excellence in the Spanish language and to promote Spanish literary production in the United States, the "Letras de Oro" Spanish Literary Prizes have been awarded for 1988-1989. Awards were given in six categories to the following recipients:

Drama—Raul de Cárdenas for his play "Un hombre amanecer" ("A Man at Dawn")

Essay—Robert Valero for his essay "El desamparado humor de Reinaldo Arenas" ("The Helpless Humor of Reinaldo Arenas")

Novel—Ana María c. del Río for her novel "Tiempo que ladra" ("Time that Barks")

Poetry—Graciela Reyes for her collection of poems "Que la quiero ver bailar" ("I Want to See Her Dancing")

Short Story—Celestino Cotto Medina for his collection of short stories "Niñerías en los años cincuentipico" ("Child's Play in the Fifties")

For further information about the competition, write to "Letras de Oro," University of Miami, 1531 Brescia Avenue, P.O. Box 248123, Coral Gables, FL 33124.



International Music Contest

The composer of the best overall piece for the Grand Symphony Orchestra will be awarded a prize by the Programa Extremadura Enclave 92. Contest rules require that a minimum of two musical movements, with a maximum of four, be submitted for consideration. Duration of the musical movements should be between 35 and 50 minutes. The deadline for submissions is 12

October 1990. For more information contact Programa Extremadura Enclave 92, Avenida de Huelva 2, 06005 Badajoz, Spain. Contestants may submit only one essay (not to exceed five thousand words) written in Spanish, English, French, or Portuguese. Essays must be submitted between 2 October and 2 December 1989 and should be sent to the Inter-American System Centennial University Essay Contest, Coordination Office, OAS General Secretariat, 1998 F Street, N.W., 800-C, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Winners will be announced in March 1990. Those interested in obtaining detailed contest rules should write to the above address.

Margarita Xirgú Radio

Program Contest A radio program contest sponsored by the ICI and Radio Exterior is open to citizens of Spanish-speaking countries. Submissions of unpublished original radio programs should be between 25 and 30 minutes in length. The deadline for submissions is 1 March 1990. Submissions should be sent to Radio Exterior de España, Premio Margarita Xirgú, Apartado 156.202, Casa de la Radio, Prado del Rey, 28080 Madrid, Spain.

International Essay Contest

Prizes will be awarded to authors of the best "adventure story" essays written in Spanish using an Ibero-American or Extremaduran setting. Submissions should not exceed eight pages in length and must be received by 1 December 1989. The contest is being sponsored by the Programa Extremadura Enclave 92. Submissions should be mailed to the Programa Extremadura Enclave 92, Avenida de Huelva 2, 06005 Badajoz, Spain.

Novel Contest Original unpublished novels written in Spanish and not exceeding 200 pages in length will be considered for awards granted by

the Programa Extremadura Enclave 92. The novels should be based on actual events, lives, or adventures of early Extremadurans in the Americas. Authors should exercise their imaginations but avoid the simple paraphrasing of history. Submissions, which must be received by 11 September 1990, should be sent to the Programa Extremadura Enclave 92, Avenida de Huelva 2, 06005 Badajoz, or to La Consejería de Cultura, Plaza del Rastro s/n, 06800, Merida.

OAS-IADB Essay Contest

The General Secretariat of the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank are inviting students from universities in member OAS states to participate in an essay contest on the topic "The Inter-American System: Toward the XXI Century." As evidenced by the title, the emphasis is on the future as it relates to the present and the past. The purpose of the contest is to make people aware of the efforts made by countries in the Inter-American system in the area of development, within the context of inter-American cooperation and its evolution. Eight essays will be awarded prize money and will be sent to academic journals and to the print media. The winning essay will be awarded \$3000 and will be included in a special publication focusing on the evolution and future of the Inter-American system. Contestants may approach the subject as they wish but are encouraged to use appropriate historical and institutional background material in support of their theses.

IMPRESSIONS

Poem by Angel González

Acoma, New Mexico, Diciembre, 5:15 P.M.

Con tan inconsistentes materiales

—luz en polvo,
una tela de araña,
las ramas de un arbusto,
espacio, soledad, pájaros, viento—

ante mis ojos
levantó la tarde
un monumento de belleza
que parecía inextinguible:

inmensos pabellones de silencio,
galerías abiertas a altísimos abismos,
columnas de reflejos deslumbrantes,
lienzos tersos, ingravidos,
de metal transparente como vidrio.

Mas todo aquello

—estatua o fortaleza—

después de haberse erguido,
abrió dos grandes alas de misterio,
y se perdió en un velo negro y rápido.

De su presencia lúcida
sólo nos queda ahora
un desolado pedestal vacío
de sombra, y frío, y noche, y desamparo.

Acoma, New Mexico, December, 5:15 p.m.

With such unstable materials
—light passing through dust,
a spiderweb,
the branches of a bush,
space, solitude, birds, the wind—
before my eyes
the afternoon raised up
a monumental beauty
that seemed eternal:
immense pavilions of silence,
galleries open to towering abysses,
columns of blinding reflections,

smooth, delicate paintings
made of metal transparent as glass.

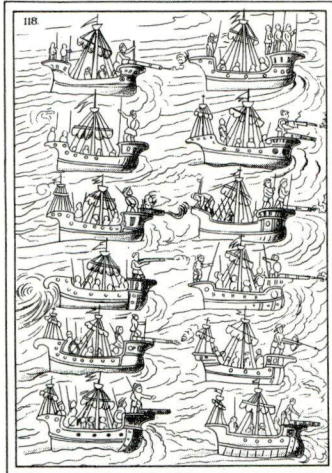
But all of it

—statue or fortress—

after having risen,
opened its great and mysterious wings,
and lost itself behind a black and fast moving veil.

Now all that remains for us
of its lucid presence
is a vacant desolate pedestal
built of shadows, the cold, the night, and
abandonment.

Angel González, well-known contemporary Spanish poet and winner of the Príncipe de Asturias Award, is currently Professor of Modern and Classical Languages at the University of New Mexico. His most recent works include *Aspero mundo y otros poemas* and *Palabra sobre palabra*.



Expo '92 Expo '92 is undoubtedly the most ambitious of all currently known Quincentenary initiatives. Using 'The Age of Discovery' as its theme, Expo '92 will mark an important date in history and at the same time celebrate both the 500 years of encounters between Europe and the Americas and the beginning of a new age of discovery on the eve of the 21st century. Many of Expo '92's exhibits will emphasize not only Spain's contributions to cultures throughout the world, but also the role played by Spanish-speaking countries in the development of the modern world. Scheduled to open on April 20, 1992 and to close on October 12, 1992, Expo '92 will have a record number of 100 countries participating in this universal exposition. For more information, contact Sociedad Estatal Sevilla 92, Paseo de la Castellana, 15, 2 piso, 28046 Madrid, España.

Olympic Games in Barcelona Barcelona, Spain's fastest growing city, center of Catalan regional industry, and a sophisticated capital of international trade and culture, will be facing its biggest challenge to date: Hosting the 1992 Olympic Games.

Barcelona is cosmopolitan in flavor and a paradigm of a city firmly positioned in the twenty-first century. Although improvements and renovations may change the face of Barcelona, the city will keep its traditional Catalan flavor. The Mediterranean waters, the mountains of Montjuic and Tibidabo, the famed array of architectural styles, and the tree-lined avenues of Las Ramblas provide a spectacular setting for the 1992 Olympic Games.

The construction of Olympic facilities, hotels, the expansion of the airport and new underground railway system will be funded by the Barcelona Olympic Organizing Committee (COOB) budget of 1.1 billion. This international event will be covered by 10,000 journalists and more than 120 television networks. Worldwide exposure of the Olympic Games will reach an estimated audience of 3.5 billion people. Spain is moving ahead with plans for 1992. For more information, contact Josep Miguel Abad, COOB '92, Placa de la Font, Magica sn, 08004 Barcelona, Spain. Telephone (341) 432-1992.

Attention Adventure-Seekers!

The Programa Extremadura Enclave '92 is offering a single prize of 5,000,000 pesetas for a project that entails the carrying out of an "adventure" in either Ibero-America or Extremadura. Applicants may be of any nationality. The proposal must be written in Spanish with its authorship clearly identified and be submitted before 31 December 1989 to Programa Extremadura Enclave 92, Avda. de Huelva 2, 06005 Badajoz, Spain. Eight copies of each proposal, including a detailed budget, are required.

"The Spanish Exile of 1939 in America: Where Did the Song Go?"

An international symposium based on the theme "The Spanish Exile of 1939 in America" was held October 18-20, 1989 at the University of Maryland, College Park. Information about the symposium may be obtained from Jose María Naharro-Calderón, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742.

"Thirty Years of the Cuban Revolution: An Assessment"

Halifax, Nova Scotia, will be the host city for an international conference on the Cuban Revolution. The conference will be held at the Sheraton Hotel in Halifax and is scheduled for November 1-4, 1989. Write to Anthony O'Malley, International Development Studies, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada B3H 3C3 for conference information.

"De Neruda a Chico Buarque: Medio Siglo de Poesía Testimonial Iberoamericana"

November 9-11, 1989, are the designated dates for "De Neruda a Chico Buarque," a conference to be held at Rice University in Houston, Texas. Details about the conference may be obtained from Juan Manuel Marco, Discurso Literario, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74078.

"Columbus: Countdown 1992" Honors Alexander J. J. Roncari

"Columbus: Countdown 1992" honored National Chairman of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Commission of Canada, Dr. Alexander J. J. Roncari, at its fifth annual awards dinner held in New York City on 29 September 1989. Other honorees were Maurice Edwards and Nicholas J. Stathis, recipients of the second International Arts Award; and

Constance Del Vecchio Maltese, recipient of the second Special Recognition in the Arts and Humanities Award. For additional information about the 'Columbus: Countdown 1992' organization, write to CC 1992, 166-25 Powells Cove Blvd., Beechhurst, NY 11357.

U.S. Public Television Series of Mexican TV Programs and Films

The Latin American Institute at the University of New Mexico will select and broadcast two Mexican cultural television series of thirteen one-hour programs. Each series will be distributed by the Public Broadcast System in both English and Spanish versions. The series will not only increase understanding of Mexican culture among the U.S. public, but also will provide cultural, educational, and artistic programming aimed at U.S. Hispanics. For more information contact Theo Crevenna, The Latin American Institute, University of New Mexico, 801 Yale NE, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone (505) 277-2961

Television Series on Hispanic New Mexico

The Chicano Studies Program, KNME-TV, and the Office of Graduate Studies at the University of New Mexico are planning to produce a one-hour television program. It will focus on the identity and language of New Mexico's Hispanic population. Viewers will also learn how Hispanics have influenced the state's cultural and historical evolution. For more information, contact Richard Griego, Dean of Graduate Studies, The University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone (505) 277-2711.



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