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NEW COLLEGE

(408) 277-3291

August 31, 1975

Professor Angel Rama
Edificio Guri, Apto. 6
Avenida Neveri
Colinas de Bello Monte
Caracas 105

Dear Professor Rama,

I spoke to Jean Franco a few days ago and she informed me that you had tentatively agreed to participate on the panel on Human Rights in Latin America, which will take place at the meetings of the Latin American Studies Association next March, 1976. I am delighted that you will be able to join this panel as well as the literature panel which Jean is sponsoring. I assume that she has fully informed you about LASA and what is involved in the national meetings.

The theme of our panel is Human Rights in Latin America and its implications for the United States. Of particular concern are the evolution of the concept(s) of human rights, the economic, political and juridical structures which have affected and denied human rights, and the national and international structures which reinforce repression. The idea for the panel grew out of the regular LASA Committee on Human Rights and Academic Freedom. The members of the committee (we are three) strongly feel that the professors and students of the various disciplines who will be gathered at the meetings in Atlanta should be exposed to human rights issues from these perspectives. We consider the exploration of human rights questions to be important and relevant for intellectual and political reasons.

Your experiences, in Uruguay and in exile, have undoubtedly given you some special insights into some of these issues. It might be interesting if you could address yourself to the place of human rights questions in the literary tradition of the Latin American left, perhaps drawing on some examples from Marcha. It is also possible, depending on the other participants and topics covered, that you could comment on the papers presented, rather than presenting your own. These decisions will have to be made soon, and of course I would like to know your preferences as soon as possible.

Professor Angel Rama

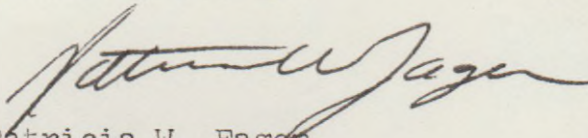
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If you do present a paper, the written version of that paper-- which will be due in the last week of February, 1976--may be either in Spanish or in English. You may also prefer to present your work in Spanish. I do hope, however, that you will be able to participate in general discussion in English.

I understand that you will have some difficulty obtaining the necessary travel funds from Venezuela to the United States. Jean Franco and I will do what we can to resolve that problem. Should you have any additional questions, please write to me. I look forward to receiving the confirmation of your participation on the panel as soon as possible.

I am looking forward to hearing from you and to meeting you in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Patricia W. Fagen'.

Patricia W. Fagen
Assistant Professor

1879 Hamilton Avenue
Palo Alto, California 94303

December 23, 1975

Angel Rama, Director Literario
Biblioteca Ayacucho
Apartado Postal 2122
Caracas Venezuela

Dear Angel Rama,

Thank you so much for your letter of November 25, and also for the curriculum vitae. I am very happy about the theme you have decided to speak about, since the situation in Uruguay is too little understood or known about in the United States. Moreover, the destruction of intellectual life in Uruguay represents the real or potential situation in many other places as well. As Jean has undoubtedly told you, we are all (I hope correctly) optimistic about a visa. The appropriate people in the State Department have been informed that you are an invited guest of LASA, and we assume that the American consul in Venezuela has also been told that you will be applying for a visa. I hope by now you have already taken the first steps in that unpleasant process. At the first indication of a problem, let us know at once!

I am really sorry to trouble you with small bureaucratic tasks. However, the very efficient Program Committee of LASA has asked me to send the enclosed form to all participants on the panel. Would you mind typing a few lines about your topic inside the box on the LASA ABSTRACT form? The directions about "summarizing research...research methods,...etc" do not apply to our panel, I think. All that is required is a summary of the theme you will later be writing about, in Spanish. (By the way, I am assuming that although you will both speak and write in Spanish at LASA, that you can reply to comments made in English.) I realize that even if you attend to this right away, it will arrive late, since you are spending these weeks in Europe, but hopefully it will arrive in time to be published. The purpose of these abstracts is to inform people what will happen at the LASA meetings. They will all be printed in the LASA Newsletter.

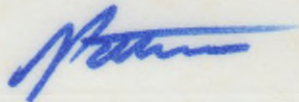
I should inform you of the other members of the Human Rights Panel. They are: Prof. Kalman Silvert of New York University and the Ford Foundation who will speak

about United States social scientists and their attitudes towards development in Latin America. (I think he plans to discuss the lack of attention paid by US researchers to issues of human rights violations.) Joseph P. Morray, once a professor, now a practicing lawyer, who will speak about abuse of the law in human rights questions. He speaks from a left perspective, and will probably concentrate on the Chilean situation, since we was part of a group of lawyers who observed the political trials there, and has been politically very active with regard to Chile. The final speaker, George Lister, is appearing at his request, rather than mine. Lister works in the Human rights division of the US Department of State, and asked to participate on the panel in order to "criticize US policies, especially in Chile." Before agreeing to this I discussed the matter with many people, and ultimately decided that his presence might make the discussion more lively (although perhaps also more hostile, since the public will probably be unsympathetic); it also seemed a relatively reasonable idea to have the official view presented, even if many of us are disapproving and skeptical. The commentator is still to be determined. I would like to find someone from the political left who has been active in human rights issues outside of an academic context. I will keep you posted.

Please write if you have any questions. Jean has said so much about you that I am very happy we will have a chance to meet. By the way, the Human Rights panel is scheduled now for Sunday morning, March 28.

Again, please let me know if I can be of help in any way, and thank you again for your letter.

With warmest regards



Patricia Weiss Fagen

Palo Alto
January 29, 1976

Dear Angel,

Thank you so much for rushing to mail that abstract to me. I fear it will not reach Florida in time, since the deadline was January 15. Nevertheless, it is possible they are behind schedule in publishing the newsletter. Most people I work with are behind schedule most of the time--which is fortunate.

Last time I wrote I said I was very happy about your choice of themes, on intellectual life in Uruguay. In fact, I am much happier that you have chosen a more general approach. And I absolutely agree with your analysis that the increased repression we see throughout the Americas is a consequence of the crisis of liberalism. It is also, as I see it, the crisis of capitalism, and especially of dependent capitalism, which accentuates the deepening economic crisis. Unable and unwilling to "do themselves in", the dominant classes reject a socialist alternative. Since democracy is inadequate to the task of keeping order against strong popular opposition, they sacrifice democracy too.

Let me tell you a bit more about the panel members. Kalman Silvert is, as you know, a fairly traditional liberal (though more intelligent than most.) He is horrified by what has happened to the democratic processes in Latin America, and feels that intellectuals should ^{not} pretend to be above political considerations in situations of human rights violations. He will discuss the inadequacies of traditional social science to express human rights concerns. J.P. Morray is a lawyer, formerly a professor. Using a Marxist analysis, he will consider the Chilean case, and show how "homage to the 'rule of law' in capitalist countries confuses and weakens the struggle for human rights in today's world." George Lister is the Human Rights officer in the State Department, and he will try to show that there is more concern for human rights in the Department and in Congress than most of us believe there is. Hopefully, he will discuss details of U.S. policy. Rose Styron, who will be the commentator, is a journalist, writer, and human rights activist, working especially with Amnesty International, but also in contact with the United Nations Human Rights groups.

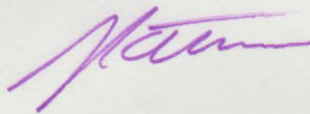
Angel Rama -2-

If it is possible for you, it would be much easier if you purchased the ticket and waited until arriving in Atlanta for a reimbursement. If you cannot purchase the ticket, let me know at once, and we will arrange something. Will your wife be coming too? Jean said it was possible, and I certainly hope so.

You asked the number of pages to write. Since this panel is not one for research essays, I have told the others that a ten page paper is sufficient. If you want to write more, of course, that is understandable. As you note, the theme is very large. The advantage of the shorter papers is that more people will be likely to read it.

Needless to say, I am very much looking forward to meeting you and to discussing things beyond the business of a panel discussion.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in purple ink, appearing to read 'Patricia', with a stylized, flowing script.

Patricia

P.S. With all the business, I nearly forgot what was most important. Thank you very much for the book, *Primeros cuentos de diez Maestros latinoamericanos*. From the little I have been able to read over the last couple of days, it seems excellent, and the choice of authors is wonderful. How I wish my students were able to read Spanish! I often assign Latin American literature, and I think much of the literature is far better than most of the history books for teaching about Latin America. (Besides, they are excellent books).

Title

Professor

Name

KALMAN H. SILVERT

University

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

In Search of Theoretical Room for Freedom: North American Social Science
Thinking about Latin American Development

The article's thesis is that social scientists have no theoretical space for democratic concerns in their work, for they have broken the 19th century identification between democracy and development. Thus, complaints about violations of human rights and civil rights are mere statements of political taste. The major hypothesis is that the models employed by North American social scientists are based on systems-analysis, Utilitarian in origin, and thus deny politics as a system of "becoming," making of it only a static system of "being." The analysis will be strengthened by references to the standard literature, but the paper is not a "research paper" in the usual sense; rather, it is speculative in tone.

LASA ABSTRACT, Sixth National Meeting, Atlanta, March 25-28, 1976

Instructions: The Abstract must be typed, single space, within the box provided above. It should summarize research reported in the paper, including a statement of the thesis, major hypotheses, research methods, nature of evidence, and major findings. This form will be reproduced "photographically" exactly as returned to the LASA Secretariat, Sixth Meeting, Box 13362 University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32601. Deadline for Abstract: January 15, 1976.

Angel Rama

copy
Title Human Rights and the Rule of Law

Name J. P. Morray University Attorney, Corvallis, OR

Thesis: Traditional homage to the historically-determined "rule of law" in capitalist countries confuses and weakens the struggle for human rights in today's world.

Major hypothesis: In Chile devotion to the rule of law and to human rights has varied inversely during the regimes of Allende and the military junta.

Major findings: The government headed by Allende attached great importance to the promotion of human rights, particularly the Marxist rights to work and to universal culture for all-around development. Freedom of expression and of political activity was maintained for all classes. The rule of law was used by Allende's opponents as a basis for impeaching his ministers. Since the military coup of 1973, the human rights of working people and their political supporters have received short shrift, and the coup leaders justify their actions in the name of the rule of law. Conclusions are based on a study of the programs, documents, speeches and actions of the two regimes and attendance as observer at court-martial trials of defendants charged by junta with treason and sedition.

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Title The State Department and Human Rights in Latin America

Name George Lister

University State Department

The State Department has been giving a higher priority to human rights considerations in foreign policy decisions, partly in response to Congressional pressure led by Don Fraser (D.-Minn.). In 1974 the Department designated a Human Rights Officer in each of its five geographic Bureaus, plus the Office of the Legal Adviser. Last year an Office of Humanitarian Affairs was created.

State Department spokesmen repeatedly have voiced support for human rights. Secretary Kissinger's July 15 Minneapolis speech, and Deputy Secretary Ingersoll's June 27, 1974 letter to Chairman Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, set forth principles guiding our action. But in practice we often fall short of our proclaimed standards. There are also knotty problems of judgment, tactics and methods. Some advocate stopping all military and economic aid to governments with a consistent pattern of gross human rights violations. But that may result only in depriving deserving people of badly needed help. The Department feels that quiet diplomacy usually proves a more effective means of achieving results.

The cooperation of interested private organizations and individuals is badly needed. Also their constructive criticism. But the criticism should be reasonably accurate and intellectually honest. Many are critical of right wing authoritarian governments, but not of leftist dictatorships, or vice versa. This double standard undermines credibility.

LASA ABSTRACT, Sixth National Meeting, Atlanta, March 25-28, 1976

Instructions: The Abstract must be typed, single space, within the box provided above. It should summarize research reported in the paper, including a statement of the thesis, major hypotheses, research methods, nature of evidence, and major findings. This form will be reproduced "photographically" exactly as returned to the LASA Secretariat, Sixth Meeting, Box 13362 University Station, Gainesville, Florida 32601. Deadline for Abstract: January 15, 1976.

Palo Alto, California

5 de marzo, 1976

Estimado Angel,

Le remito adjunto con esta carta el programa de LASA, y otra informacion relevante. No tenga cuidado respecto al hotel. Nosotras (Jean Franco y yo) arreglaremos estos detalles. Tampoco tiene que pagar la inscripcion para la reunion, porque Ud. es invitado especial de LASA.

Jean me conto que hay todavia problema con la visa, pese a las promesas que nos dieron en Washington. Yo llame directamente a George Lister, del Department of State. Como ve, el es miembro del Panel, y tiene interes especial (o se supone que tiene interes). De todas maneras, el me prometio mandar un cable a Caracas, pidiendoles en el Consul que entreguen la visa sin esperar la informacion de Montevideo. Ojala que ya tenga la visa en mano, sin mayor tramite burocratico.

Cuando se arreglen estos problemas, sea tan amable de avisarme de la fecha ena que piense llegar. Ademas, espero recibir lo mas pronto posible una copia de su paper, para poder hacer las copias xeros necesarias.

Espero tener pronto el placer de verle en Atlanta, y mientras tanto, recibe un saludo muy cordial,

Patricia

April 18, 1976

Angel Rama
Director Biblioteca Ayacucho
Edificio Banco Exterior, of. 322
Caracas, Venezuela

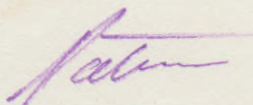
Dear Angel,

I am writing to thank you for participating on the LASA Human Rights panel. Upon my return from Atlanta I found your letter announcing that you would not and could not attend because of the Consulate's refusal to give you a visa. But I am glad you persisted in the face of so disagreeable an experience, because your presence and your talks were much appreciated and needed. I hope you are recovering successfully from your operation in Houston and that the care you received was adequate to your needs. By the way, were you in the hospital when they brought in old Howard Hughes?

The panel seems to have been well received, though I am skeptical that it will have had much impact in "raising the consciousness" of many of the assembled academics. If it helped to legitimate some new lines of intellectual inquiry, I suppose a purpose will have been served. I am sorry that the "official presence" turned out to have so little to say worth hearing, especially if his participation on the panel inhibited you from voicing any of your ideas.

Perhaps one day you and Marta will come back to the United States and we will have more time to talk. I very much regret that there was so little time for conversation in Atlanta. It is one of my strong hopes that someday I will have an opportunity to visit Venezuela. What a shame that we must all depend on invitations to conferences which in themselves accomplish so little!

Both Richard and I send our warmest regards to you and Marta.


Patricia

Palo Alto

May 14, 1976

Querido Angel,

Acabo de recibir tu carta hace una hora. Mandar una carta "expreso" parece no asegurar nada de rapidez. Espero que esta carta no demora más que otra semana en llegar, y que te sirve la declaración.

Hubo varios cambios en el curso del Congreso en la Declaración sobre Chile y Uruguay. Creo que la copia que te mando ahora incluya todos los cambios, pero pueda que haya una o otra frase que va a salir en otra forma. No hemos recibido todavía noticia de las actividades del Executive Council respecto a las declaraciones.

Estamos al tanto de las muchas detenciones en Argentina, pero si tu conoces casos especificos de desaparecidos, te recomiendo que mandes todos los datos a Amnesty International. La Secretaria está en Londres: 53 Theobalds Road London, WC1X 8SP. Han tenido algun exito en trabajar a favor de individuos.

Miliones de gracias para el libro Formación de una cultura indoamericana. Lo recibí algunos días despues del Congreso en Atlanta. Pense que ya te habia escrito para agradecirte. Disculpa!

Tengo otra copia de la declaración para mandar a Carlos Quijano.

Muchos saludos a Marta, y un abrazo de

Palmira

Palo Alto, California
11 de noviembre de 1976

Querido Angel,

Gracias mil para la reseña de mi libro y también para "El dictador letrado" que llegó hace como tres semanas. Agradezco mucho los varios libros y folletos que me has mandado. Reconozco que he tenido una formación demasiado orientada en las ciencias sociales-- un campo en que los nuevos trabajos me impresionan cada vez menos por ser tan mecánicos en sus análisis de la sociedad y la cultura. En cambio, me parece que las obras tuyas y el trabajo de Jean Franco y otros como ella abarcan temas realmente importantes, y quiero familiarizarme más con toda esta literatura.

Jean me contó la noticia tan buena pero tan frustrante: Tu llegas a Stanford para los meses de enero-marzo, y yo estaré en Washington D.C. entre enero y junio! Decidí que era importante pasar un rato fuera de la universidad y del ambiente intelectual para dedicarme más directamente a la situación política. Ahora que "human rights" ha llegado ser un tema muy "fashionable", quiero ver lo que se puede mover bajo ese lema, especialmente durante los primeros meses de la nueva administración presidencial. Ojalá que puedas hacer una visita a la Capital de esta nación, porque si no, no nos vemos. Por suerte, Richard estará en Palo Alto a partir de febrero, y a través de él, podamos mantenernos en contacto. Viene también Marta?

Fue muy generoso lo que escribiste sobre mi libro. Claro que nunca pensé escribir para otra generación de "transterrados," y me hace algo triste que el libro sea tan relevante hoy en día. Lo escribí como una alumna un poco romántica y políticamente inocente.

Saludos a Marta, y un cordial recuerdo de tu amiga,

Patricia