



LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

Vol. XX, No. 4

Winter 1990

The Development of Latin American Studies Outside the United States in Recent Years

by
Lewis Hanke
1989 LASA Silvert Award Winner

(Editor's note: The following is a transcript of remarks made by Lewis Hanke at the Silvert Award panel, LASA XV International Congress in Miami, December 5, 1989.)

As we come together for the XV International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, let us rejoice first of all in the fact that LASA has become increasingly international since its early pioneer days, without losing any of its yeasty character. The discovery and colonization of America have been international events since 1492, and two of the earliest pictures of the great silver mine in Potosí were drawn in Turkey and in China, not long after Spaniards stumbled on this mountain of silver high up in the Andes. It is not surprising then that many cultures and many peoples have been involved since 1492. Nor is it surprising that since the end of World War II Latin American studies have been increasingly cultivated outside the United States, as is demonstrated by AHILA (Asociación de Historia Latinoamericana) and its publication *Historia Latinoamericana en Europa*.

It would be appropriate and relatively easy, in my opinion, to enlarge LASA's international activities by taking a few modest steps such as the following:

1. To extend an invitation to a representative of AHILA to attend, with travel expenses paid, the XVI International Congress of LASA in Washington, DC. To invite also the Academies of Sciences in the People's Republic of China and in the USSR to designate representatives with the expectation that their appearance would be made possible by their respective institutions. At the XIV International Congress in New Orleans I met by chance a representative of the People's Republic of China; we probably could count in the future on Chinese representatives and, if *glasnost* continues, on Soviet representatives as well. Of course, only patience and perseverance would achieve these results.

At the XVI International Congress these representatives
(continued on page 3)

Report of the Program Committee XV International Congress

by
Mark B. Rosenberg
Florida International University

LASA'89/MIAMI

LASA's XV International Congress finally was convened in Miami on December 4-6, 1989. Despite the difficulties of rescheduling the Congress, originally set for September 21-23, 1989 in San Juan, over 1,500 people attended the Miami meeting. The program featured nearly 300 panels, workshops and meetings.

It was clear from the outset that LASA'89 would be a large meeting. The Program Committee met initially in November, 1988, to evaluate 239 panel proposals, 275 requests for individual papers, and 37 workshop proposals. While 35 panel proposals and 40 paper proposals were turned down, 50 new panels were created by combining papers submitted individually. Volunteer chairs were solicited from among the members of the new panels.

To accommodate this expanded participation, the Program Committee made a number of innovations. For the first time a Finance Committee was established to coordinate and direct the fund-raising efforts. Under the capable leadership of Steve Sanderson of the University of Florida, the Committee made early contact with a number of foundations, whose subsequent support was at the highest level in LASA Congress history.

(continued on page 6)

IN THIS ISSUE

Interim Report of the LASA Commission to Observe the February 25, 1990 Nicaraguan Election.....	p. 33
XV Congress Papers Available.....	p. 23

CONTENTS

Latin American Studies Outside the U.S. 1 by Lewis Hanke Report of the 1989 Program Committee 1 LASA BITNET address 4 Senator Dodd Replies to LASA Statement 4 Research Seminar in Nicaragua 5 Call for Book Award Nominations 5 Call for Papers for LASA'91 7 Report of the LASA Business Meeting 9 Nominations Invited for 1991 Slate 13 Call for Silvert Award Nominations 13 Member News 13	Announcements 14 Forthcoming Conferences 14 Employment Opportunities 15 Research and Study Opportunities 17 Letters 20 Refunds of Advance Deposits 20 LASA Members Respond Generously 21 XV Congress Papers Available 23 Interim Report of the LASA Commission to Observe the February 25, 1990 Nicaraguan Election 33 1990 Membership Forms 45
--	--

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

President:	Jean Franco (Columbia University)
Vice President:	Lars Schoultz (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)
Past President:	Paul Drake (University of California, San Diego)
Executive Council (For term ending October 1992):	Susan Bourque (Smith College) John H. Coatsworth (University of Chicago) Larissa Lomnitz (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)
(For term ending April 1991):	Peter Evans (University of New Mexico) Adolfo Figueroa (Universidad Católica del Perú) Cynthia McClintock (George Washington University)
(Ex officio):	Richard Greenleaf (Tulane University) Gilbert Merckx (University of New Mexico) Reid Reading (University of Pittsburgh)
Executive Director:	Reid Reading (University of Pittsburgh)
Assist. to the Executive Director:	Lisa M. Duckworth (University of Pittsburgh)
Publications Director:	Anna M. DeNicolo (University of Pittsburgh)
Forum Editorial Advisory Board:	Enrique Mayer (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign) Marta Morello Frosch (University of California, Santa Cruz) Alexander W. Wilde (Washington Office on Latin America)

The *LASA Forum* is published in the winter, spring, summer and fall. Deadlines for receipt of copy are November 20, February 20, May 20 and August 20 respectively; articles should be submitted one month earlier. All contributions should be directed to Reid Reading, Editor, *LASA Forum*, William Pitt Union-9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. We welcome responses to any material published in the *Forum*. Direct subscriptions to the *Forum* only, without LASA membership, cost \$25 per year.

(Hanke, cont.)

would be accorded a meeting with LASA officers to make possible an exchange of views. If they wished to do so, they might participate in the program at which they could describe the activities and purposes of their respective groups, or speak on other topics.

2. To recommend that LASA continue to consider selecting recipients for future Kalman Silvert Awards from outside the United States, whether or not they are members of LASA. There are many to choose from, if we include eminent scholars who have made contributions to the European background as well as to Latin American studies. Largely owing to the influence of Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress who enabled me to make many trips to Latin America during my years at the Hispanic Foundation there, 1939-51, I met a rich variety of Latin American scholars. Just 50 years ago I was so impressed by that remarkable Brazilian intellectual Gilberto Freyre, that I prepared an article which appeared in Spanish entitled "Gilberto Freyre: vida y obra. Bibliografía--antología." At that time, I was convinced that Latin Americanists in the U.S. as well as scholars in Spanish-speaking countries needed to know more about Brazil and Brazilians. Today the situation has improved somewhat, and the panels approved for this meeting give cause for satisfaction so far as numbers of Brazilians are concerned.

During the World War II years, MacLeish had available funds to invite outstanding Latin American figures to serve on a flexible basis as consultants in the Library of Congress. The Brazilian artist Cândido Portinari arrived in Washington to paint some remarkable scenes as murals at the entrance to the Hispanic Room. They are so powerfully evocative that even now I cannot see them without remembering those far-off days.

There was a human side to this project too. The Superintendent of Buildings in the library was a burly figure of Irish descent; Robert Smith, my colleague in the Hispanic Foundation who was responsible for promoting the project, and I feared what might happen when Portinari needed some special materials for his task. For the superintendent was a powerful figure in the library administration who of course knew no Portuguese, and Portinari had only a modest knowledge of English. But fortunately the personal chemistry between them was right. If Portinari needed some special treatment of the walls, the superintendent was only too happy to oblige.

The Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral occasionally visited the Hispanic Foundation, to see her countryman on our staff, Francisco Aguilera. It was probably through her influence that Aguilera was able to develop his unique program of recording poets in Latin America reading their own work. Luther H. Evans, who succeeded MacLeish as Librarian, continued the policy and helped to make possible the first

Assembly of Librarians of the Americas as well as the first Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies in Washington. He also sponsored the first meeting of Mexican and U.S. historians in Monterrey, Mexico, in September, 1949. Alfonso Reyes and Daniel Cosío Villegas, both eminent in various fields, helped greatly to make the Monterrey meeting possible, and to establish the meetings on a regular basis.

If the Kalman Silvert Prize had been available and if the regulations governing the award were sufficiently flexible, some of these earlier figures would surely have been considered. Today there are plenty of distinguished figures outside the U.S. who have made their mark in Latin American studies. My personal list would include Charles Boxer, the English scholar who has done so much for Brazilian and Portuguese studies; Shozo Masuda, the anthropologist of the University of Tokyo, who established there a Latin American center; Magnus Mörner, whose ecumenical spirit has developed Latin American studies in Sweden; and Josefina Vásquez of Mexico, who is widely known and respected. If LASA decides to look outside the U.S., these and a number of others would surely be considered.

3. Another recommendation has to do with the need for archival guides to materials on Latin American studies outside the United States. Latin America became an important player on the world scene after the Spanish-American War of 1898. Yet the archives and the archival publications in Latin America largely concern the years before. Much research on Latin America is hampered because the basic materials are not cataloged or made available. Fortunately Celso Rodríguez of the Organization of American States has been planning the preparation of information on manuscript materials for Latin American studies since about 1900 in the national libraries, national archives, and other research institutions of Latin America. This would have to be a cooperative effort, and fortunately the OAS has national committees in the various Latin American countries which would be in a position to provide valuable assistance. I can think of no better way to aid researchers in all fields of Latin American studies than by providing such a valuable tool for many scholars in many lands.

4. Finally, it would be well to discuss with the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress whether the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* could not be even more widely distributed. I would be surprised to learn that more than ten percent of the Latin Americanists attending this meeting have access in the libraries of the institutions they represent to a complete set of the last 49 volumes. Yet the *Handbook* is one of the most continuously published, annotated, scholarly bibliographies in the world. It has always included some foreign specialists among the more than one thousand experts who have labored over the years, without financial compensation, beginning with

Rafael Karsten, the Finnish anthropologist, in 1937. Moreover, there are now six foreign corresponding editors.

Yes, the cost is high for individual volumes, but cannot the University of Texas Press and the Library of Congress combine to make possible a greater purchase of copies to be sent on a carefully selected bases to libraries outside the U.S.? The present initiative of Cole Blasier in arranging for the sale of the sections of the *Handbook* on "Political Science and International Relations" seems to me an important development which I hope will appeal to members of LASA.

Let me close these scattered remarks by referring to Bartolomé de Las Casas, as many probably expected me to. I am now engaged in my last project on Fray Bartolomé, a volume probably to be entitled: "The Fundamental Contributions, Convictions, and Ideas of Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484-1566): A World Viewpoint."

Las Casas wrote one of the fundamental works on the conquest of the new world, the *Historia de las Indias*, and also saved for posterity the *Diario* of Columbus as he sailed on that fateful voyage westward. No wonder that Samuel Eliot Morison declared that the *Historia* was so fundamental that of all the accounts it was the one he would have saved on this discovery period.

Today we lack a balanced viewpoint on the contributions of this controversial Dominican in anthropology, international law, political theory, and on his descriptions of Spanish cruelty to the Indians.

An Advisory Board has been chosen to help me select the writings of Las Casas to be included. A few are North American, some are Spaniards, and some are Spanish Americans. In addition, there is a young Finnish scholar, and a Japanese *las casista* who will soon publish in Tokyo the first life of Las Casas in Japanese. This diverse group will have 2,500 words each, to enable them to speak their own minds.

Las Casas was not afraid to change his mind. He once advocated limited slavery of blacks to save the lives of the Indians. Later on he declared that "Negro slavery was just as wrong, and for the same reasons." His fundamental policy, for which he has long been honored was: "All the people of this world are human beings."

NEW WAYS TO CONTACT LASA

BITNET: LASA@PITTVMS
FAX: (412) 624-7145

Senator Dodd Replies to LASA Statement

On December 7, 1989, Senator Christopher J. Dodd wrote the following letter to LASA President Paul Drake in response to the statement issued by LASA denouncing the killings in El Salvador. The statement in its entirety appears in the report of the LASA business meeting in this issue of the Forum. The letter is published with permission.

Dear Mr. Drake:

Thank you for contacting me to express your thoughts regarding the situation in El Salvador.

The latest round of violence and bloodshed in El Salvador is yet another grim reminder of the political polarization which grips that war-torn nation. These developments further demonstrate the extent to which a decade of war has shredded the fabric of that society. They also make the mission of returning to the bargaining table that much more difficult, yet that much more urgent. In the meantime, the continuing violence, including the horrifying brutal murders of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter at José Simeón Cañas Central American University, makes it increasingly clear that, for the people of El Salvador, there is no safe harbor. On November 21, I joined my Senate colleagues in unanimously passing a resolution condemning the continuing violence on both sides, and vowing to reconsider U.S. aid if the killers of the Jesuit priests are not brought to justice.

I have had the opportunity to meet with El Salvador's President Alfredo Cristiani on several occasions, and I believe him to be an honorable and decent man; however, the time has come for him to evidence his commitment to controlling those officials within his own government and within his own party who are in very large part responsible for the civil conflict that is the hallmark of El Salvador today. The most fundamental task that falls to President Cristiani is to govern, to govern fairly and to govern justly.

In order to maintain U.S. support, I have encouraged President Cristiani to allow international relief workers to make arrangements to care for those wounded in the fighting; to suspend or bar the use of helicopter gunships and similar weaponry in populated areas; to investigate and prosecute the Jesuit murder case and the bombing of a labor union headquarters; and to pursue a resolution to this conflict at the negotiating table, not on the battlefield. If President Cristiani does not take these steps, aid will be restricted and eventually eliminated.

Again, I appreciated your sharing your views.

Sincerely,

Christopher J. Dodd

RESEARCH SEMINAR IN NICARAGUA

June 2-16, 1990

The LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua will conduct a sixth two-week field seminar for LASA members in Nicaragua from June 2 through June 16 this summer. As was the case with the previous five seminars, this one is designed to introduce established Latin Americanists and graduate students to some of the variety of institutions, people, resources, protocols, and methods for studying Nicaragua, teaching about it, and doing research there. Participants will be exposed to various social science "think tanks," academic institutions, and research facilities.

In addition, Latin Americanists with a general interest in Nicaragua, not necessarily tied to specific research objectives, may also participate. In this regard, a second objective of this seminar will be to give LASA scholars a close-up view of the multifaceted reality of revolutionary Nicaragua. The group will have discussion and interview sessions with important political and social actors from across the political spectrum, including representatives of the churches, the mass media, the business community, grassroots organizations, the diplomatic community, the government, and the military.

Though much of the time will be spent in Managua, trips will be taken to a variety of rural communities. The activities of the group as a whole will be tailored to the major interests of the participants. In addition, through the seminar an effort will be made to accommodate individual interests through special interviews. To understand better how the seminar is conducted, please read the reports on the last seminar published in the Fall 1989 issue of the *LASA Forum*.

Unless there are unforeseen price changes, the entire seminar, including living expenses, in-country transportation, round-trip group airfare between Mexico City and Managua will cost around \$1,250 per person. (Bona fide graduate students will receive a \$200 discount.) The group will be limited to 15-18 participants plus the coordinators. Participants must be Spanish-speaking LASA members. *All philosophical and political points of view are welcomed.*

Each applicant is requested to submit a current resume and a 250-500 word letter of application explaining what she or he expects to gain professionally from the seminar. The participants will be selected primarily on the basis of the potential relevance of the seminar to their professional plans as outlined in that letter. An effort will also be made to balance the group in terms of gender, discipline, region of origin, etc. The deadline for the first round of selection is May 1. Qualified late applicants will be included if space permits.

For more information write or call:

Professor Thomas W. Walker, co-coordinator
Department of Political Science
Ohio University
Athens, OH 45701
(614) 593-1339 (or 4373) OR

Professor Harvey Williams, cocoordinator
Sociology Department
University of the Pacific
Stockton, CA 95211
(209) 946-2101

CALL FOR BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD NOMINATIONS

At each International Congress, the Latin American Studies Association presents the Bryce Wood Award to the outstanding book on Latin America in the social sciences and humanities published in English in the United States. Eligible books will be those published in an eighteen-month period prior to the congress. Although no book may compete more than once, translations may be considered. Normally not in contention for the award are anthologies of selections by several authors or reprints or re-editions of works published previously. Books will be judged on the quality of the research, analysis, and writing, and the significance of their contribution to Latin American studies.

Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Whoever does the nominating is responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. For the April 1991 LASA XVI International Congress in Washington, DC, books published from January 1, 1989 to June 30, 1990 will be eligible. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by *August 1, 1990*.

One month before the International Congress, the committee will select a winning book. It may also name an honorable mention. The author or authors of the winning book will have their expenses paid by LASA to attend the congress, where the award will be presented during the Business Meeting. Ideally the winner should be a member of LASA, but that is not a requirement to receive the award. The only criterion is scholarly excellence.

The members of the Bryce Wood Book Award Committee for 1990 are Georgette Dorn (Library of Congress, Hispanic Division, Washington, DC 20540); Cynthia Steele (University of Washington, Department of Romance Languages GN-60, Seattle, WA 98195); and George Priestly (Latin American Studies, Queens College, Flushing, NY 11367).

(LASA'89, cont.)

Second, the meeting format featured primarily panels, workshops and committee meetings. Although some special sessions were planned, they were not allotted exclusive time periods given the heavy demand for participation and the limited space available at the meeting site. The unusual--but this time inevitable--scheduling of panels and workshops opposite the business meeting reflected the wealth of high quality submissions.

Finally, the Program Committee developed a data base management program to facilitate the initial ordering and review of proposals and later to communicate directly with all Congress participants. It has been passed on to the next Congress Program Chair.

AN INTERNATIONAL EVENT

The 1989 Congress definitely sparked international interest. Brazil and Mexico had the largest number of scholars on panels, about 75 each. International travel grants were made to 222 scholars, with Hurricane Hugo forcing reticketing for all but a handful of the grantees. LASA-funded participants who actually reached San Juan were afforded the opportunity to travel to Miami if their schedules permitted.

Active participation of 13 scholars from Cuba during the three days of the meeting generated intense local interest. The LASA Congress presented the first opportunity for scholars from the island to speak publicly in the city. Despite a few minor incidents, the Cuban visitors were generally well-received and were given ample opportunity to air their views through the Miami media. A coalition of Cubans residing in Miami presented a statement at Tuesday's business meeting.

Several scholars from Nicaragua who had problems obtaining visas for San Juan were permitted to travel to Miami. LASA is pleased that U.S. authorities saw fit to process visa applications for these academics and facilitate their attendance.

SCHOLARLY COMMUNICATION

Panels were generally well attended, with good communication between panelists and audience. Further evidence of interest in the XV Congress came in the form of the great number of scholarly papers available to Congress attendees--over 475 by the time of the meeting. This compares to 80 in Boston and 160 in New Orleans, and took the Congress staff somewhat by surprise, especially as late arrivals flooded in. By the second day of the meeting all papers received were ready for distribution.

HIGHLIGHTS

Special attractions of the Miami meeting included the presentation of the Kalman Silvert Award to Lewis Hanke, the Bryce Wood Book Award to Thomas Skidmore and the LASA Media Award to Pamela Constable. U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States Luigi Einaudi and Carlos Rico of the Colegio de México exchanged views on U.S.-Latin American relations in the 1990s. Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas offered his perspectives on the deterioration of El Salvador's human rights environment, and a memorial ceremony on behalf of that country's murdered Jesuit priests (and LASA members) was held prior to the panel entitled "El Salvador: Ten Years Later."

The book and film exhibit and the film festival were up to their usual star quality. Over 40 firms displayed their newest publications, including the university presses and publishers as diverse as the Cuban American National Foundation and Pathfinder Books. The film festival featured 17 films and the exhibit, 13; many were shown for the first time in Miami.

OUR SUPPORT

The Congress would not have been possible without the financial support of the Ford Foundation (with allocations from Ford/New York, Ford/Mexico and Ford/Rio), the Inter-American Foundation and the Tinker Foundation. Support also was provided by the Inter-American Development Bank, the Wilson Center, American Express Travel Related Services/Latin America and Caribbean, Esso Caribbean Central America, Dole Fresh Fruit, and Dow Chemical Latin America. Leading language and area studies centers from the following universities also provided generous support: Arizona State University; University of California-San Diego/San Diego State University Consortium; Columbia University; Cornell University; University of Florida; University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; and the University of Pittsburgh.

The Program Committee is especially grateful to the many meeting chairs who expanded their panels to accommodate those whose panels could not be convened.

Program Committee members were helpful particularly in the early stages of the Congress. Doug Kincaid, Steve Stein, Patricia Pessar, Gary Gereffi, Joan Dassin, Sérgio Miceli, Marcia Rivera, and César Rey worked well as a team and helped to set the correct academic tone for the Congress. Marcia Rivera and César Rey also served on the local arrangements committee for San Juan, chaired by Luis Agraít. We regret that so much excellent effort in San Juan could not come to fruition. We hope that LASA can soon reconsider Puerto Rico for a future Congress.

(continued on page 13)

CALL FOR PAPERS FOR LASA'91
XVI International Congress
Washington, DC
April 4-6, 1991

by
Michael E. Conroy
Program Committee Chair

Although we have just begun to recover from LASA's highly successful rescheduled fifteenth international congress, it is already time to begin planning our next meeting, scheduled for April 4-6, 1991 in Crystal City, Virginia, just outside Washington, DC.

In recognition of the crucial importance of Washington for U.S.-Latin American relations, on every level, the Program Committee decided to provide a theme for the 1991 meeting:

"Hemispheric Dialogue for the 1990s."

This theme is designed to stimulate proposals for panels, workshops, and special events that take advantage of the Washington location, but no panel will be rejected simply because it does not fit the theme. *The full range of LASA themes and topics will be included in the program.*

The Program Committee wishes to communicate to the LASA membership, in advance of the development of the program, some of the criteria that will be used in building the program. The first criterion to be applied in the selection is the strength of the scholarly contribution that each panel would make. Contributions to the program that advance our understanding, provide new insights, reflect new perspectives, and stimulate scholarly debate across a full range of existing perspectives will be given strongest consideration.

Preference also will be given to panels with one or more of the following characteristics:

- (a) participation by panelists from more than one country;
- (b) organization or participation by younger scholars, women, or members of ethnic minorities;
- (c) a focus on literature, the arts, or women's issues;
- (d) organization or participation by Washington-area individuals, groups, agencies, or organizations; and
- (e) organization by individuals who have not previously proposed sessions for LASA congresses.

Three types of sessions will constitute the major part of the program:

1. *Panels*: presentations of formal papers, prepared especially for the occasion, and discussion of them.
2. *Workshops*: exchanges of ideas by several individuals

about common research problems, techniques, and perspectives, or teaching interests in new fields of study.

3. *Meetings and Special Events*: sessions organized by groups of LASA members, LASA Task Forces, and affiliated organizations, where the extent of the invitation must be specified.

If you wish to organize a session for the LASA'91 meetings, please fill out the appropriate form on the sheets enclosed with this issue of the *LASA Forum*.

New Scheduling Approach

One of the most frequent suggestions in the LASA'91 survey (printed in the last issue of the *Forum* and distributed at the Miami meetings) was to avoid scheduling sessions with similar themes at the same time. For 1991, the Program Committee will attempt to create a number of "tracks" for the final program. Each person who proposes a session will be required to identify the track within which he or she wishes to have that session included. An effort will be made, within the constraints of room availability and the length of the track, to avoid scheduling sessions in any given track at the same time. Special pages will be added to the program listing to assist those who wish to follow one or more tracks through the XVI Congress.

Possible Television Broadcast

The Program Committee is investigating the possibility that some sessions (probably no more than 15) will be videotaped and/or broadcast live to Latin America. The possibility will depend, in part, on the innovativeness and the quality of the sessions available for broadcast. Please indicate on the proposal forms whether you would be willing to have your panel taped and/or broadcast.

GUIDELINES FOR SESSION ORGANIZERS

Membership and Registration

LASA derives nearly all its operating funds from annual membership dues and fees from registrations at its international congresses. All those who appear on the LASA'91 program should be current (paid-up) members of LASA and all, without exception, must be registered for the congress. Program participants from Latin America and the Caribbean will be expected to pay membership dues at the meeting, if they have not done so previously. Session organizers from outside Latin America and the Caribbean must be LASA members at the time their sessions are proposed in order for their proposals to be considered by the Program Committee. Advance registration by all participants is strongly urged.

Session Size

Panels and workshops will be limited in size to assure orderly and timely presentations and full discussions. An "ideal" panel would consist of three paper presenters and two discussants; an "ideal" workshop would consist of five or six persons.

Multiple-session panels will, in general, be discouraged. But LASA members working together on common themes may request that their individual sessions be scheduled sequentially within a thematic or regional track or that they be scheduled in the same room, one after another.

Organizers of proposed sessions should indicate the number of persons likely to attend the session (on the basis of his or her experience with comparable sessions) in order to assist the Program Committee in assigning rooms. It is not possible to guarantee, however, that a room large enough to meet those expectations will be available in every case.

Number of Appearances

Program participants from Latin America or the Caribbean may appear on the program more than once, but two listings on the program should be the maximum for any participant. In order to obtain participation by as large a number of LASA members as possible, program participants from outside Latin America and the Caribbean *will not be allowed* to appear on the program more than once.

Travel Funding

LASA will, once again, raise funds for travel to the meetings by participants from Latin America and the Caribbean. It is doubtful, however, that more than 200 participants--an average of less than one per panel--will receive funding through LASA. The Program Committee has established the following guidelines for travel funding:

- (a) For sessions organized by LASA members not residing in Latin America or the Caribbean, LASA travel funding will be available for *no more than one participant* per session.
- (b) For sessions organized by LASA members resident in Latin America or the Caribbean, LASA travel funding *may* be available for more than one participant, but it is unlikely to be available for more than two.

Proposal Submission via FAX

Proposals submitted from the Latin American and Caribbean region will be accepted by FAX; please do not submit proposals by FAX if you are resident outside the region, for it will be excessively costly to produce all the copies needed by the members of the Program Committee. FAX submissions should be sent to (512) 471-7737.

Program Committee Decisions

The Program Committee will meet in late May 1990 to develop the program. Session organizers will be notified of the outcome *no earlier than* mid-June 1990.

Papers

After the congress LASA will duplicate and sell (at cost, \$3.00) copies of papers from LASA'91. For this purpose participants appearing in the program as paper presenters are required to send *one copy* of their paper to the LASA Secretariat, 946 William Pitt Union, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260 by April 1, 1991. In order to make papers available at a centralized location at the congress (for a nominal \$1 charge), paper presenters are requested to take *50 copies* of their papers to the paper sales area of the hotel upon arrival at the meeting.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF SESSION ORGANIZERS

Session organizers will be expected to fulfill the following responsibilities:

1. Submit 6 copies of their proposal form and of any supporting materials they may send with it (including cover letters that they wish to have the full Program Committee read) to the address listed on the form. Proposals submitted by FAX (see above) are exempted from this multiple copy requirement.
2. Submit all copies of proposals prior to April 1, 1990.
3. Be LASA members, and also ensure that all participants in the proposed session understand that they are required to register for the conference and to be paid-up members of LASA by the time of the congress.
4. Provide complete, accurate, and up-to-date information for each participant, including full mailing (courier) address and *at least two different reliable* telephone numbers for any participant for whom travel funding is being sought.
5. Notify the Program Committee of any audiovisual needs on the proposal form, and of any changes in those needs *no later than* March 1, 1991.

PROPOSAL FORMS

Proposal forms are enclosed separately with this mailing of the *Forum*.

**REPORT OF THE LASA BUSINESS MEETING
XV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
MIAMI, DECEMBER 5, 1989**

President Paul Drake opened the meeting by introducing LASA officers seated on the stand: Peter Evans, Executive Council (EC) member and LASA Treasurer; Cynthia McClintock, EC member standing in for Vice President Jean Franco; Reid Reading, Executive Director of LASA; and Arturo Valenzuela, parliamentarian.

REMEMBERING OUR SLAIN COLLEAGUES AND A LASA STATEMENT

A moment of silence was observed to remember the victims of violence in El Salvador, particularly LASA members Ignacio Martín Baró and Segundo Montes, two of six Jesuit priests and academics who were murdered, along with two of their staff at their residence on the campus of the Universidad Centroamericana on November 16, 1989. Martín Baró and Montes were to have given papers at this meeting.

Drake noted that the LASA Executive Council, members of which were contacted by telephone, approved the following statement on November 16. The statement was widely distributed (see a response to the statement by Senator Christopher Dodd on page 4 of this *Forum*.)

Statement from the Latin American Studies Association

The Latin American Studies Association condemns the brutal murders at the Central American University (UCA) in San Salvador, November 16, 1989. The rector, vice rector, the head of the human rights center, and three faculty members--all Jesuit priests--as well as two staff members in the Jesuit residence, were killed during the hours of the curfew. Two of those killed were members of our association. Eyewitness accounts of the attack implicate the Salvadoran military.

These scholars and their university have long been a center of academic excellence in Central America. Shortly before their murders, the priests along with the archbishop and his auxiliary were threatened on the armed forces-controlled radio station. The murderers tried to extinguish rational scholarly discourse and the cause of peace and reconciliation. As an international body of scholars specializing in Latin America, we mourn the murders of our colleagues and friends.

The Latin American Studies Association, with its more than three thousand members internationally, urges the government of the United States to:

1. immediately investigate these murders;

2. condemn the bombing of civilian neighborhoods;

3. demand that the Salvadoran military permit relief agencies unconditional access to areas where casualties occur;

4. press both sides to initiate a cease fire;

5. offer unequivocal support for good faith negotiations to reach a permanent solution.

Meg Crahan noted that the Reverend Leo O'Donovan, President of Georgetown University, has agreed to head a committee of presidents of colleges and universities in the United States and has appointed the Reverend Charles Currie to work full time on providing various opportunities for these education leaders to speak out on issues regarding the integrity of academic institutions and personnel in El Salvador. She requested that members of LASA contact the presidents of their colleges and universities to urge them to participate on this committee. Reverend Currie's telephone and FAX numbers were provided.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

LASA President Paul Drake asked attendees to note the written report he submitted for the Summer 1989 *Forum*, prior to the congress scheduled for Puerto Rico. He added that LASA owes a huge vote of thanks as well as an expression of sympathy to our colleagues in Puerto Rico. They worked hard to bring LASA there, and were prepared to put on a highly successful meeting, but Hurricane Hugo forced a postponement and a change of venue. Drake noted that the possibility of another meeting in Puerto Rico in the future would be considered.

A special vote of thanks was extended to Mark Rosenberg, Florida International University, and Reid Reading for going above and beyond the call of duty in their efforts to reconvene the XV Congress in Miami in just two months' time. Drake also warmly thanked the LASA membership for its solidarity and loyalty, demonstrated in the fine turnout in Miami. This support came in spite of the disaster and long odds LASA faced. Nearly 1500 people were registered at this point in the three-day meeting, and Drake noted that LASA proved resilient and vibrant in the face of adversity.

SECRETARIAT, FINANCES and ELECTION RESULTS

Executive Director Reid Reading noted that relevant news

about the secretariat has been reported in the last few issues of the *LASA Forum*. He added an acknowledgement of the fine work Lisa Duckworth, Assistant to the Executive Director, has done on LASA's behalf since she joined the secretariat staff in late September. Reading also extended a vote of gratitude to Lynn Young, Lisa's predecessor, who served LASA at the University of Pittsburgh for three years.

In the absence of a formal written report, it was noted that all the energies of the secretariat over the last two months were bound up in reconvening the congress. He seconded Drake's acknowledgement of the tremendous show of support for LASA by its membership.

Reading noted that LASA Treasurer Peter Evans would shortly report on LASA finances for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1988 and ending September 30, 1989. He commented that it would take several weeks to assess the impact of Hurricane Hugo on LASA finances in the present fiscal year.

Had the meeting taken place in San Juan, as scheduled, election news would have been broken in the business meeting there. Reading referred members to the last issue of the *Forum* for the outcome of this latest LASA election.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Peter Evans pronounced LASA in sound financial footing as of the September 30 close of the last fiscal year. He attributed the surplus of some \$7,000 in great part to the rise in membership and congress registrations and thanked those present for their support of the association. As Hugo-related costs are added, LASA should expect a small deficit for the present fiscal year, he said. While this is not threatening, it calls for careful monitoring of LASA finances, which Evans said would be done.

MIAMI PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Chair Mark Rosenberg gave a brief report from the floor. For his full written report, see this issue of the *Forum*, beginning on page 1. Rosenberg, acting for the Program Committee, presented Reid Reading with a plaque to recognize his efforts in reconvening the XV Congress.

President Paul Drake noted LASA's triple indebtedness to Rosenberg, who not only served as Program Chair for the ill-fated San Juan meeting and then for the Miami meeting, but also as Local Arrangements Chair for Miami. Drake next introduced Michael Conroy, Program Chair for the 1991 Washington, DC congress, and commented that Conroy must be facing the task with some trepidation, given the events of 1989.

WASHINGTON, DC PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Michael Conroy likewise recognized the awe-inspiring performance of Rosenberg. He encouraged all attendees to respond to the XVI Congress surveys being distributed at the Miami meeting. See a full written report by Conroy in this *Forum*, page 7.

TASK FORCE and COMMISSION REPORTS

Drake referred the attendees to the recent reports by and about task forces in the *Forum* (see President's Report, Summer 1989 *Forum*). He noted also the addition of a new task force on Scholarly Relations with Latin Americanists in Japan, chaired by Barbara Stallings. The Working Group on the Environment now also will function as a task force on Scholarly Relations with the Natural Science Community. One of their goals will be to involve more natural scientists in LASA congresses.

Drake reported that the EC approved a LASA Commission to Observe the Nicaraguan elections of February, 1990, headed by Rose Spalding. This is the latest of several commissions, the first of which observed the Nicaraguan elections of 1984. Official commissions also were named to study compliance with the Central American peace accord, to observe last year's Chilean plebiscite, and most recently, a LASA team to observe the Paraguayan election of last May.

PRESENTATION OF THE SILVERT AWARD

Immediate Past President Cole Blasier presented the Kalman Silvert Award, LASA's highest, to Lewis Hanke. Blasier noted Professor Hanke's exceptional lifetime contribution to scholarship on Latin America and to the profession, and took special note of how generously Lewis Hanke has given of himself to his colleagues, his students and to a much broader public. Professor Hanke responded with a sincerely expressed "Thank you."

PRESENTATION OF THE MEDIA AWARD

Douglas Kincaid, acting for chair of the LASA Task Force on the Mass Media Richard Nuccio, presented the LASA Media Award to Pamela Constable of the *Boston Globe*. He noted that the award is presented to the print, radio, or television journalist who, in the judgment of the Media Task Force, has done the most to foster a deeper public appreciation of Latin American affairs through his or her reporting on that region.

Kincaid noted not just the breadth of Pamela Constable's writing, but her perceptiveness and probing style, and how she conveys the "human dimension beneath the rush of

political events." In accepting the award Constable expressed appreciation to LASA members who have contributed to deepening her understanding of Latin America and who share her concerns for the dignity of humankind.

THE BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD

Kay Wood, widow of Bryce Wood, expressed her appreciation to LASA for creating this award, an appropriate recognition of Professor Wood's contribution to the field of Latin American Studies. She congratulated the first awardees. Paul Drake then thanked the award committee, chaired by John Wirth, Stanford University, and committee members Francine Masiello, University of California at Berkeley, and Karen Remmer, University of New Mexico.

He then recognized Patricia Seed, Rice University, who received an honorable mention for *To Love, Honor and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* published by Stanford University Press. Next, the first recipient of the Bryce Wood Book Award, Thomas Skidmore, Brown University, came forward to receive a certificate in recognition of his book, *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-1985*, published by Oxford University Press. In accepting the award, Skidmore acknowledged Bryce Wood's singular contribution to internationalizing Latin American studies in the United States.

RESOLUTION

Paul Drake noted that only one proposed resolution, on El Salvador, was submitted to the secretariat prior to the deadline specified in LASA's bylaws. The proposed resolution was sent to the resolutions subcommittee of the Executive Council, who reported out the El Salvador statement. The statement subsequently was approved as a resolution of the Executive Council.

Drake called on Cynthia McClintock, acting for Vice President and chair of the resolutions subcommittee Jean Franco, to read the resolution, originally proposed by LASA members Tommie Sue Montgomery, Martin Diskin, Nora Hamilton, Timothy Harding, William Bollinger and Marjorie Bray. Tommie Sue Montgomery, acting for the signers of the original statement, and noting recent events in El Salvador, offered the following substitute, which was seconded:

Resolution on El Salvador

Whereas, the Central American presidents declared at their Tela summit in Honduras that there should be an immediate cessation of hostilities in El Salvador in order to

begin a dialogue that would allow national reconciliation with political pluralism, social justice, and respect for human rights and

Whereas, during subsequent months there followed a serious deterioration in the human rights situation, including arrests and assassinations of labor leaders, followed by an intensification of the hostilities which engulfed the capital, indiscriminate aerial bombardment of civilian populations, attacks on and occupation of the University of El Salvador, repression of humanitarian and religious organizations, and the bestial murders of six Jesuit scholars and two of their staff and

Whereas, two of the murdered Jesuits, Ignacio Martín Baró and Segundo Montes, were active members of our association and

Whereas, the United States has failed to speak forthrightly about evidence known so far implicating members of the Salvadoran armed forces in the murders of our colleagues, nor has the United States acted effectively to protect the rights of religious workers, as in the case of Jennifer Jean Casolo.

Be it resolved that the Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

1. Calls upon the Salvadoran government and the FLMN to begin good faith negotiations, under international supervision, in search of a political solution that would definitively end the hostilities;
2. Calls upon the Bush Administration and the United States Congress to:
 - a. Immediately halt all military aid to the armed forces of El Salvador;
 - b. Demand adherence to Geneva Conventions and condemn the bombing of civilian neighborhoods and violations of the rules of war;
 - c. Launch a thorough investigation of the murders of our colleagues and those responsible for any coverup;
 - d. Protect the rights of humanitarian and religious workers and the autonomy of the university communities;
 - e. Energetically support a negotiated settlement of the civil war.

It was determined that a quorum was in attendance, and the vote on the resolution was: affirmative, 105; negative, 8; abstain, 2; blank, 1. This resolution will take effect upon ratification by mail ballot of the LASA membership.

NEW BUSINESS

El Salvador

Chester Wickwire, Johns Hopkins University, requested that the following be read and voted on as a sense-of-the-meeting motion:

"As an organization of scholars and professionals in Latin American Studies, we are deeply concerned about the recent violence in El Salvador, especially that which is directed against the intellectual community. We condemn the terrible assassinations of the Jesuit professors of the Central American University, and the military attack on the University of El Salvador. On the night of November 11 the armed forces occupied the University of El Salvador and abducted 13 night watchmen whose whereabouts are still unknown. On the following day, buildings of the medical and dental schools were bombed, causing considerable damage. Since that time, the University has been occupied by military forces and looted by military personnel. Coronel Francisco Fuentes, commander of the First Brigade, who directed the occupation of the University has declared that it shall remain closed the remainder of the year, and then be reopened under direction of authorities named by the government. We therefore urge that:

1. The autonomy and integrity of the University of El Salvador be respected both by the Salvadoran government and by all other participants in the conflict;
2. The military occupation and looting of the campus be ended and all the University's equipment be returned;
3. All the members of the University community who have been detained be released;
4. The University be declared a neutral zone, and protected against all hostile actions on the part of the government or the FMLN;
5. The University be reopened under its present administration;
6. The University be provided with the normal operating budget necessary for its proper functioning and development.

We also urge all members of LASA to take whatever actions they would consider to be possible and appropriate within their own university communities, both to make these communities aware of this regrettable incident and situation, and to organize tangible aid for the University of El Salvador and the intellectual community of the country."

Professor Wickwire noted that Maribel Rosales of the University of El Salvador was present and would be pleased to speak with any interested persons.

The motion was seconded, and it carried unanimously by voice vote.

Panama

An additional statement was read by Tim Harding, to be considered as a sense-of-the-meeting motion:

"The Latin American Studies Association laments the refusal of visas to Panamanian scholars invited to attend and participate on panels at the XV International Congress in Miami. LASA strongly opposes the authorization of funds by the U.S. government to intervene and destabilize Panamanian politics, since this violates U.S. commitments to non-intervention. The Latin American Studies Association urges the U.S. government to end the shipping and other economic boycotts designed to cripple the Panamanian economy."

This motion was seconded, and carried by voice vote.

Cuba

Enrique Baloyra, who had participated in pre-meeting discussions with some of the representatives of the Cuban community in Miami, moved that the document to be read next into the record of the business meeting proceedings:

1. be received by the LASA Executive Council;
2. be submitted subsequently to the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba;
3. and that the Task Force maintain contact with three individuals that were nominated by the group that formulated the document.

He also moved that the Task Force request a more precise document from the formulators of the document, and that the Task Force invite the government of Cuba to deliver a response, both documents to be made available for the next LASA congress.

Paul Drake further suggested that the document also be referred to LASA's Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom.

Prior to the reading of the document, attendees were referred to a written statement formulated by the Sociedad de Escritores y Artistas Cubanos en el Exilio, "Cuba at the Crossroads of the Times," that has circulated widely throughout the past two days of the congress.

The document then read by Reynaldo Arenas, on behalf of the Sociedad de Escritores y Artistas Cubanos en el Exilio was an expanded version of that document, which was then turned over to Paul Drake for referral as indicated in

Baloyra's motion.

Business Meeting Schedule

Tim Harding made the following motion:

"The Program Committee is advised that the business meeting should not be scheduled at the same time as sessions, so that a maximum number of members can participate in LASA's only membership plenary."

After the motion was seconded, Mark Rosenberg explained that the unprecedented number of panel and paper proposals submitted for the XV Congress and a limited number of meeting rooms made it necessary to schedule sessions around the clock for three days. Short of extending the meeting another day or holding meetings later at night, the overlap was unavoidable, Rosenberg noted.

This sense-of-the-meeting motion was approved by voice vote.

A Future Puerto Rico Meeting

Helen Safa proposed that LASA make another attempt to hold a meeting in Puerto Rico, in consultation with colleagues there, as soon as possible. Peter Winn suggested avoiding hurricane season. This sense-of-the-meeting motion was approved by voice vote.

NOMINATIONS INVITED FOR 1991 SLATE

LASA members are invited to suggest potential nominees for vice president and three members of the executive council, for terms beginning May 1, 1991.

Criteria for nomination include professional credentials and previous service to LASA. Candidates must have been a member of the association in good standing for at least one year prior to nomination. Biographic data and the rationale for nomination must accompany suggested names, which must be sent by *July 1, 1990* to: Thomas Skidmore, Chair, LASA Nominations Committee, Department of History, Brown University, Providence, RI, 02912.

The winning candidate for vice president will serve in that capacity until October 31, 1992, and as president for an additional eighteen months. Executive council members will serve from May 1, 1991 to April 30, 1994.

The members of the Nominations Committee are Thomas Skidmore, Chair; Kathleen Newman, University of Iowa; Marianne Schmink, University of Florida; John Sheahan, Williams College; William Smith, University of Miami; and Carlos Waisman, University of California at San Diego.

CALL FOR SILVERT AWARD NOMINATIONS

The Kalman Silvert Award Committee invites LASA members to nominate candidates for the 1991 award, to be made at the XVI International Congress in Washington, DC, April 4-6, 1991. Nominations should be sent to the LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260, by *March 15, 1990*. Proposers should include biographic information and a rationale for each nominee.

The Silvert Award recognizes senior members of the profession who have made a distinguished lifetime contribution to the study of Latin America.

The selection committee consists of Paul Drake (chair), past president; Cole Blasier and Wayne Cornelius, immediately preceding past presidents; and Gilbert Merckx, editor of the *Latin American Research Review*.

MEMBER NEWS

William M. LeoGrande has been named the American University's 1989 Scholar/Teacher of the Year. A Central and Latin American scholar, LeoGrande joined AU's faculty in 1978. He served on the U.S. House of Representatives' Democratic Caucus Task Force on Central America in 1985 and 1986. The author of the forthcoming *The War at Home: The Unmaking of Reagan's Policy in Central America*, and several other books, book chapters, monographs and articles, LeoGrande earned his B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. from Syracuse University.

(LASA'89, cont.)

Finally, without LACC, the Congress could not have happened at either of the sites. María Baeza, Sandra Murado, Mary Fernández, Daima Pico, Teresita Marill, Maria Blanco, Sofía López, René Ramos, Berta Fandiño, Melanie Smalley and Yvonne Pérez each made major contributions to the Congress' success.

I am personally relieved that our LASA duties are over. We worked on the Congress for about 22 months and left many other opportunities and responsibilities wanting. However, throughout the entire period, all of you were marvelously patient (and creative).

The Program Committee for LASA's XVI Congress is under the capable leadership of Professor Mike Conroy of the University of Texas at Austin. We wish him and his colleagues well as they undertake what is bound to be an excellent LASA gathering.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Latin American Monographs Series at Ohio University is currently soliciting scholarly works in all disciplines related to Latin America. Manuscripts should range between 80 and 150 single-spaced, typed pages (or equivalent). Final selection will be on the basis of quality of scholarship, clarity of expression, and the estimated importance of the topic to the scholarly community. Manuscripts (with self-addressed, stamped envelope for return) or inquiries should be sent to Thomas W. Walker, editor, Latin American Monograph Series, Center for International Studies, Burson House, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701.

The LASA Task Force on Women is in the process of compiling material for the volume *Incorporating Latin American and Caribbean Women into the Curriculum*. The volume will gather syllabi and other teaching materials, as well as brief curriculum-related articles on courses dealing with women's issues. It will be published in collaboration with the Institute for Research on Women (IROW) at the University at Albany, SUNY. Please submit your contributions for consideration to: Dr. Edna Acosta Belén, Department of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Social Science 250, University at Albany, SUNY, Albany, NY 12222 no later than *February 15, 1990*.

The Columbus Quincentenary Archive, housed in the University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Research, serves as a permanent documentary record of the 1992 commemoration and of the events leading up to it. The scope of the archive is world-wide and reflects the multiplicity of activities organized and carried out to mark the 500th anniversary of the Columbian voyages and the legacies they left. The contents of the archive include newsletters, bulletins, and scholarly journals; reports and documents issued by international and domestic Quincentennial commissions and agencies; the proceedings of seminars and conferences; records and publications produced by scholarly and governmental organizations, foundations, and private groups; brochures, handbills, posters and other ephemera; and the pertinent papers and correspondence of individuals who have participated in the Quincentennial observance.

The materials contained in the Columbus Quincentenary Archive will be cataloged following standard archival practice, conserved under proper environmental conditions, and fully accessible to the public. Materials will continue to be collected and added to the archive after 1992. For additional information, please contact: Columbus Quincentenary Archive, Center for Southwest Research, General Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 86131-1466; 505/277-6898; FAX 505/277-6019.

The Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) is pleased to announce the creation of the **Centro de Investigaciones sobre Estados Unidos de América**. The

center intends to follow an interdisciplinary approach to bring together people from UNAM and other institutions. The center is divided into three main areas: the United States, U.S.-Mexican Relations, and the U.S. in the International Context. For more information, contact **Mónica Vereá Campos**, Directora del Centro de Investigaciones sobre Estados Unidos de América, Piso 11, Torre II de Humanidades, Cd. Universitaria, México, D.F., C.P. 04510; Tel. 550-03-79.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville is sponsoring **The United States and Latin America: An Agenda for the 1990s**, a major conference to take place March 1-3, 1990. Sessions will cover such issues as narcotics, ecology and development, Mexico, Central America, the role of the media, and U.S. policy. Speakers include U.S. Ambassador Viron P. Vaky (former Assistant Secretary of State), Francisco Villagran Kramer (former vice president of Guatemala) and Guy Gugliotta (*Miami Herald*). For more information, contact Dr. Richard Millett, Department of History, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, IL 62026; 618/692-2414.

The Association of Caribbean Studies will hold its XII Annual Conference, on the theme of **The Caribbean Environment: Limitations and Possibilities** July 29-31, 1990 in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. For information about the conference, contact the Association of Caribbean Studies, University of Kentucky, P.O. Box 2202, Lexington, KY 40522; 606/257-6966.

The next meeting of the **Associação Brasileira de Estudos Americanos** will be held in Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil from July 22-25, 1990. This meeting will be a congress with lectures, round tables, and at least one mini-course. Proposals relevant to the theme "Americas: Discoveries and Concealments," are not restricted to any historical period and may be submitted to: Profa. Nancy Priscilla S. Naro, Presidente da ABEA, Rua Francisco Otaviano 185-22, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil, CEP 22.080.

Implicit Ethnographies: Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Wake of Columbus is a conference supported by the National Endowment of the Humanities, which will take place October 5-7, 1990 at the University of Minnesota. For information about the conference, contact Stuart B. Schwartz, Department of History, University of Minnesota, 267 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455; 612/624-2800.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The University at Albany (SUNY) invites applications for a tenure-track position in the Department of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, with a possible joint appointment in an appropriate disciplinary department. Pending administrative approval, the position is at the advanced assistant or associate professor level. Teaching responsibilities will include an interdisciplinary core course on Latin American Cultures and Societies for the M.A. program, a seminar in the field of specialty, plus two undergraduate courses per year. Ph.D. required. The candidate should have a topical interest in institutional and social history or public policy/applied social science. Disciplinary background may be in history or in any other social science discipline. Preferred regions are the Caribbean, Central America or Mexico. Specialists in other regions who have a broad comparative orientation are also encouraged to apply. Salary will be competitive, commensurate with qualifications and experience. (Position is subject to budgetary approval.) To apply, send letter of application and curriculum vitae only to: Dr. Carlos E. Santiago, Chair, Department of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Social Science 250, University at Albany, State University of New York, Albany, NY 12222. Application deadline is *February 28, 1990* or until position is filled. The University at Albany is an equal opportunity affirmative action employer. Applications from women, minority persons, handicapped persons, and disabled or Vietnam-era veterans are especially welcome.

The Department of Spanish and Latin American Studies of Simon Fraser University announces a tenure-track position commencing September 1, 1990 in Latin American Studies. Current areas of interest are: the Southern Cone, Cuba, and Central America. First choice candidates will be in the area of political economy and development theory. Candidates with expertise in the areas of communication, ethnic relations, the arts and popular culture are also urged to apply. This position is targeted, though not restricted, to the assistant professor's rank. Applicants must hold a Ph.D. in a related discipline, strong commitment to research and ability to supervise graduate students. Teaching experience and publications are desirable. Salary is commensurate to qualifications and experience. In accordance with Canadian immigration requirements, this announcement is directed in the first instance to those individuals entitled to work in Canada. Send applications including curriculum vitae and three letters of recommendation by *March 1, 1990* to: Search Committee, Department of Spanish and Latin American Studies, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada V5A 1S6. Simon Fraser University offers equal employment opportunities to qualified applicants.

The University of Pittsburgh announces the extension of the search for the position of Hispanic/Latin American Cataloger. This is a faculty librarian position in the

Original Cataloging Section of the Catalog Department of the University Library System. Primary responsibility is the original cataloging of monographs, documents, and non-print materials in the Spanish and Portuguese languages, and the enhancing of some OCLC member copy cataloging. Candidates must hold an M.L.S. from an ALA accredited library school program or recognized equivalent. Fluency in Spanish required, Portuguese helpful. Must have knowledge of AACR2 and LC classification. Experience in original cataloging and using OCLC preferred. Applicant must have a strong interest in work in an academic research library. Must have strong interpersonal, oral and written communication skills, and be able to work with diverse groups in an ever-changing automated environment. Salary and rank of appointment as a faculty librarian commensurate with qualifications. *Search will continue until suitable person is found.* Apply in writing, including a resume and three letters of reference, to: Secretary, Search Committee, (Hispanic/Latin American Cataloger), 271 Hillman Library, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. The University of Pittsburgh is an affirmative-action, equal opportunity employer. Minorities are actively sought.

The University of Texas at Austin announces an opening for a Visiting Assistant Professor, beginning September 1990, for a Latin Americanist with a Ph.D. in social sciences or humanities, and with a broad interest in the culture, society, and problems of the region. Will handle undergraduate teaching and advising program and some graduate teaching in Latin American Studies. Appointment is initially for one year, with extension possible to four years maximum. Please send letter describing areas of interest, three names for recommendations, and curriculum vitae to: Dr. Richard N. Adams, Institute of Latin American Studies, Sid Richardson Hall 1.310, the University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712. An AA/EOE employer. Preferential deadline is *15 February 1990*.

The University of Florida College of Fine Arts announces an opening for an assistant professor in ethnomusicology in the Department of Music. Appointment begins August 1990. Clear preference given to candidates with the ability to perform on indigenous instruments. Duties: Teach courses in ethnomusicology, specializing in African and Latin American music; conduct and publish research in ethnomusicology; teach courses in historical musicology/music literature on occasion as needed, based on candidate's expertise. In addition, the incumbent will work cooperatively with the Center for African Studies, the Center for Latin American Studies, and the Department of Music in building awareness of African and Latin American music within the University and in the community, state, and region. A Ph.D. in ethnomusicology with specialties in African and Latin American music is required. Salary is competitive. To apply, send letter of application, cur-

riculum vitae, at least three current letters of reference, and appropriate supporting materials to: Dr. David Kushner, Chair, Ethnomusicology Search Committee, Department of Music, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611 by *February 1, 1990*. The University of Florida is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer.

The Department of Mexican American Studies at San Diego State University seeks applicants for a tenure-track position. The candidate would ideally be interested in developing courses dealing with *mexicana*, *latina* and Chicana women, but we will also consider other areas of interest including: U.S.-Mexico border studies, immigration, and U.S.-Mexico relations. All fields, including multidisciplinary Ph.D. will be considered. Rank/step of appointment contingent upon experience and qualifications. Submit letter of intent, curriculum vitae, and three letters of recommendation *as soon as possible* to: Richard Griswold del Castillo, Chair, Mexican American Studies Department, San Diego State University, San Diego, CA 92128. San Diego State University is an affirmative action/equal opportunity Title IX employer and does not discriminate against the physically handicapped.

The University of Kansas seeks candidates for a tenure-track position in Latin American history at the assistant professor level effective August 1990. Nineteenth and/or twentieth century Spanish American history research emphasis required, with preference for Spanish-speaking South America, and for an economic and social history perspective. Ph.D. in hand by August 1990. Teaching experience preferred. Position requires evidence of a strong commitment to scholarship as demonstrated by publications or potential to publish. Teaching includes both undergraduate and graduate courses. Emphasis will be broadly on post-independence Latin America, including courses on South America and the economic history of Latin America. Inter-disciplinary training and perspective highly desirable; comparative interests strongly encouraged. *Files began to be reviewed December 1, 1989 and will continue until position is filled or until May 15, 1990*. Send letter of application, resume, and three letters of recommendation to: Elizabeth Kuznesof, Chair, Latin American Search Committee, Department of History, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2130. Women and minorities are especially urged to apply. AA/EOE.

The Centers for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Connecticut-Storrs and the University of Massachusetts-Amherst invite applications for a one-year teaching position, beginning September 1990, for an individual specializing in twentieth century Latin American Art (fine arts--painting, sculpture, photography--and popular or folk arts). Candidates need not be art historians *per se*, and may be practicing artists, but must be qualified to teach a survey course as well as a special topic seminar on twentieth century Latin American art. This position will entail teaching the fall semester at the University of

Connecticut (two courses) and the spring semester at the University of Massachusetts (two courses). Ph.D. (A.B.D.) with a Latin American specialization preferred. Evidence of scholarship, teaching ability, and/or artistic work necessary. The Universities of Connecticut and Massachusetts are equal opportunity/affirmative action employers. Closing date for applications is *March 15, 1990*. Annual salary: \$28,500 with full benefits. Send letter of application, supporting materials, and three letters of reference to Professor Scott Cook, Director, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of Connecticut, U-161, 241 Glenbrook Road, Storrs, CT 06269-2161; 203/486-4964.

The Centers for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Connecticut-Storrs and Brown University invited applications for a one year teaching position, beginning September 1990, for a political scientist or sociologist specializing in Mexican Studies. Preferred areas of expertise include state and society, class and stratification analysis, public opinion, electoral process, and regional or local level politics. Ability to teach a survey course on Latin American politics is desirable. This position will involve teaching during the fall semester at Brown and during the spring semester at the University of Connecticut. Teaching load is negotiable. Ph.D. (or A.B.D.) with a Mexican Studies focus preferred. Evidence of scholarship and teaching ability necessary. The University of Connecticut and Brown University are equal opportunity/affirmative action employers. Closing date for applications is *March 15, 1990*. Annual salary: \$28,500 with full benefits. Send letter of application, supporting materials, and three letters of reference to Professor Scott Cook, Director, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, University of Connecticut, U-161, 241 Glenbrook Road, Storrs, CT 06269-2161; 203/486-4964.

The Department of Political Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign invites applications for a full-time tenure-track position at the assistant professor rank for fall 1990 with a specialization in Latin American or Caribbean government and politics (domestic or regional). Candidates should have strong analytic skills and should be able to carry out advanced research and teaching. The position will be affiliated with the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University. The appointment, to become effective August 21, 1990, will be made at a competitive salary commensurate with the candidate's experience and research record. Candidates who have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. by August 21, 1990, are strongly preferred. Send curriculum vitae, three letters of reference, samples of written work, evidence of teaching effectiveness if available, and other relevant materials to: Professor George T. Yu, Head, Department of Political Science, University of Illinois, 361 Lincoln Hall, 702 S. Wright, Urbana, IL 61801; 217/333-3880. For full consideration, application should be made by *February 21, 1990*. Applications may be accepted after

this date, but a full and complete review cannot be guaranteed. We strongly encourage applications from female and minority scholars. The University of Illinois is an affirmative action/equal opportunity employer.

The American University announces a tenure-track position available for the 1990-91 academic year as assistant professor of Spanish in the Department of Language and Foreign Studies beginning August, 1990. Responsibilities include: teaching undergraduate and Master's students in Spanish language and Latin American Studies; program development in Latin American literature and culture; student advising; scholarship; and department University service. Qualifications: Ph.D. by September 1990; fluency in Spanish and English required; specialization in contemporary Latin American literature and culture; commitment to language teaching at the elementary and intermediate level; previous college-level teaching preferred. Must show evidence of scholarly interest and potential. Competitive salary, depending on qualifications and experience. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae and dossier or three letters of recommendation to: Dr. Jack Child, Chair, Spanish Search Committee, Department of Language and Foreign Studies, The American University, Washington, DC 20016. The Committee will begin reviewing applications *January 15, 1990*. Position subject to final budgetary approval. The American University is an EOE/AA university; minority and women candidates are encouraged to apply.

The Department of History of the University of Florida and the Florida Endowment Fund for Higher Education invite applications for two positions, each for up to two years of dissertation writing as McKnight Minority Fellows in history. Appointees will normally have finished all work except the dissertation and will spend up to two years completing it. Fellows will be appointed to tenure-track lines with full faculty benefits and with the rank of provisional assistant professor. They will become regular assistant professors upon completing the Ph.D. within the two-year period, subject to departmental review. The field of history is open. Teaching responsibilities are very narrowly limited. Starting August 1990. Send letter of application, vita, and three letters of recommendation to Professor Steven Feierman, Search Committee Chair, Department of History, 4131 Turlington Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. The deadline for applications is *April 1, 1990*.

East Carolina University seeks an eminent figure in the field of international studies as the first holder of the Thomas W. Rivers Distinguished Chair in International Studies. The individual selected can be from any disciplinary background, but must have attained an international reputation for contributions to global and/or multicultural studies. Scholarly achievements, as evidenced by valued publications, and excellence in the areas of international diplomacy, commerce, or private voluntary organizations

will be taken into account. Outstanding abilities as a teacher and as a public communicator are expected. The professorship will be on a fixed-term basis (with one- or two-year terms the norm) within the College of Arts and Sciences and will command a substantial negotiable salary. The individual selected will teach one course per semester and be available to deliver lectures, conduct workshops and provide consultations to the university and local community. The search committee welcomes applications and nominations from both foreign and American distinguished international educators. Send letters of application/nominations, curriculum vitae and names of five references to: Professor Maurice D. Simon, Distinguished Chair Search Committee, Office of International Studies, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC 27858-4353. *The screening process began on November 1, 1989, and will continue until the position is filled.* The position will begin on August 20, 1990. As an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer, East Carolina University invites and encourages applications from women and all minorities. Federal law requires proper documentation of identity and employability upon employment.

RESEARCH & STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

The Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies of Princeton University announces the subject of its 1991-92 seminar will be "Imperialism, Colonialism and the Colonial Aftermath." The Davis Seminar invites applications for fellowships or proposals for papers on any aspect of this theme. The time frame and geographical range envisaged are wide-ranging, from ancient empires to the twentieth century. Scholars looking at such issues from the perspective of cultural history are urged to apply as well as those focusing on politics, religion, law and medicine; on the conceptualization and relations of lineage groups, class, gender, and race; and on markets and economic organization. Comparative perspectives are welcome. Inquiries and requests for fellowship application forms should be addressed to the Secretary, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, 129 Dickinson Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ 08544-1017. The deadline for applications and letters of recommendation for 1991-92 is *December 1, 1990*. Scholars who would like to offer a paper to the seminar are asked to send a brief description of their proposal and a current curriculum vitae to Natalie Z. Davis, Director 1990-94.

Columbian Quincentennial Fellowships are being offered by the Newberry Library during this academic year 1989-90 for scholars working on topics related to the Transatlantic exchange of ideas, projects, and peoples in the period 1450-1650. This program is funded in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Stipends of \$800 per month are offered for periods of up to four months. The deadline for application is *March 1, 1990*.

For further information and application materials contact: Transatlantic Program, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton, Chicago, IL 60610; 312/943-9090.

The University of Illinois/University of Chicago Joint Center for Latin American Studies announces its annual Visiting Scholars Program for faculty from U.S. colleges and universities without major research facilities. The program enables visiting scholars to do research and write on a Latin American topic for a month during the summer of 1990 at either Chicago or Urbana, or both. Awards include up to \$1,000 for living expenses for the month of residence and \$400 for travel. Visiting scholars will be associate faculty of the joint center and will enjoy full access to libraries, faculty, and other resources at both universities. Applicants should submit a letter of application, curriculum vitae, a separate letter of reference, and project proposal of no more than 500 words; the proposal should show how a period of residence at either or both institutions would relate to the project. The deadline for receipt of applications for summer 1990 is *March 15, 1990*. Send applications and inquiries to Visiting Scholars Program, The University of Chicago, Center for Latin American Studies, 5848 S. University Ave., Chicago, IL 60637.

The Florida-Caribbean Institute and the Latin American and Caribbean Center of Florida International University announce the third Summer Study Abroad Program in the Eastern Caribbean June 22 - July 6, 1990. The program will provide a basic understanding of Caribbean economies, societies, and politics as they relate to U.S. business strategies and foreign policy. Seminars and guest lectures will be offered at the University of the West Indies Cave Hill campus in Barbados. Field trips, including the Caribbean Development Bank, the Caribbean Tourism Organization, the Barbadian Central Bank, and the U.S. Embassy in Barbados, will complement classroom activities. This program offers six semester-hours from either the College of Business or the College of Arts and Sciences of FIU, at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. Classes will be taught by Professor Dennis Gayle of FIU's College of Business Administration. Dr. Gayle, an international relations specialist and political economist, has extensive international experience and has authored several books and articles related to the Caribbean. For applications or more information, contact Barbara Cruz at the Latin American and Caribbean Center, Florida International University, University Park Campus, Miami, Florida, 33199, (305) 348-2894. Space is limited, so applications should be submitted *as soon as possible*.

The next academic term of FLACSO-México's Master's Program in Social Sciences will begin in September 1990. FLACSO is an international organization, regional and autonomous in nature, established by the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean to promote teaching and research in the field of social sciences. Research areas in

the master's program include education and society, agrarian structures, social movements, population, and public policy. The registration deadline is *January 31, 1990*, and the admission examination is *March 15, 1990*. For more information, contact FLACSO, Apartado Postal 20-021, Delegación Alvaro Obregón, 01000, México, D.F.; Tel 568-66-99; Telex 01772150 FLACME.

A grant from the U.S. Department of Education will fund the fourth Summer Intensive Portuguese Institute at the University of Wisconsin-Madison June 18-August 12, 1990. Fellowships providing tuition and a \$1,250 stipend are available to graduate students, with an application deadline of *February 15, 1990*. The institute is an eight-week course in beginning Brazilian Portuguese, useful to students and researchers needing to develop communication skills and reading knowledge for research. Instruction is four hours a day, five days a week, and the institute features a newly-revised text and a cultural component with guest lectures on Brazilian affairs, videotapes, films, etc. Advance application is required, with an *April 15, 1990* deadline. Forms are available from the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, 1018 Van Hise, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Madison, WI 53706. Fellowship applications are available from the institute's sponsor, Ibero-American Studies Program, 1470 Van Hise, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Madison, WI 53706.

A Summer Seminar for College Teachers, under the sponsorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities, will be organized around the theme of "Cultural Pluralism and National Integration in Comparative Perspective," from June 18 to August 10, 1990. Under the direction of Professor M. Crawford Young, the seminar will take place at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. The proposed seminar will explore patterns of cultural pluralism (understood as social affinities and solidarities based upon ethnicity, language, race, caste or region) within the political setting of the contemporary state. The approach will be broadly comparative and multi-disciplinary, and will be global in scope. Both overall patterns and trends, and particular case studies drawn from different world regions will be examined. Applications are welcome from those of any disciplinary background with an interest in this topic. Any regional specialization is equally welcome. The application deadline is *March 1, 1990*. NEH will provide a stipend of \$3,500 for participants chosen for the seminar. Those eligible to apply are faculty at non-doctoral institutions whose primary duties are undergraduate teaching, and independent scholars, including both American citizens and permanent residents. For further information and application details, please write: Professor M. Crawford Young, Department of Political Science, North Hall, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Madison, WI 53711; 608/263-2040.

The National Endowment for the Humanities in partnership with a fund established by DeWitt Wallace, founder

of *Reader's Digest*, has instituted a program for elementary and secondary school teachers. Under the Teacher-Scholar Program, 53 teachers will receive support for an academic year of full-time independent study in history, literature, foreign languages, and other disciplines of the humanities. For guidelines and application forms contact: Teacher-Scholar Program, Div. of Education Programs, Rm. 302, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20506; 202/786-0377.

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars has announced the opening of competition for 1991-92 Fulbright grants in research and university lecturing abroad. The awards for 1991-92 include about 1,000 grants in research and university lecturing for periods ranging from three months to a full academic year. There are openings in over 100 countries, and, in many regions, the opportunity exists for multicountry research. Fulbright awards are granted in virtually all disciplines, and scholars in all academic ranks are eligible to apply. Applications are encouraged from retired faculty and independent scholars. Grant benefits, which vary by country, generally include round-trip travel for the grantee and, for most full academic-year awards, one dependent; stipend in U.S. dollars and/or local currency; tuition allowance for school-age children in many countries; and book and baggage allowances. The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright award are U.S. citizenship; Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications; university or college teaching experience; and, for selected assignments, proficiency in a foreign language. It should be noted that there is no limit on the number of Fulbright grants a single scholar can hold, but there must be a three-year interval between awards. The application deadline is *June 15, 1990* for Latin America except lecturing awards to Mexico, Venezuela, and the Caribbean, which have a deadline of *August 1, 1990*. For more information, contact the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3400 International Drive, Suite M-500, Washington, DC 20008-3097; 202/686-7866.

The Santiago Workshop on Democratization will take place July 17 - August 18, 1990. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation, and co-directed by Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Karl of Stanford University, Angel Flisfisch of FLACSO, and Carlos Huneeus of CERC, Universidad Católica, this informal workshop is designed for a small group of young scholars. The focus will be on the comparative study of the recent transitions from authoritarian rule in Latin America, as well as in Southern Europe, Eastern Europe and Asia, in order to draw conclusions regarding the consolidation of democracy and the emergence of different types of democratic regimes. Special attention will be paid to the experience of Chile. Distinguished visiting scholars including Guillermo O'Donnell (University of Notre Dame, CEBRAP) and Julio Cotler (Instituto de Altos Estudios Peruanos) will be invited to discuss their recent research. All advanced social science students from Latin and North America as well as younger faculty with or without Ph.D.

are eligible. Applicants should have taken prior course work or, better, demonstrate an active research interest in democratization. All students must be fluent in Spanish and English. The Ford Foundation has provided funds to support the travel to Chile and maintenance in Santiago of non-Chilean participants. Those selected from Chile can attend without paying tuition. The deadline for applications is *March 10, 1990*. More information and application forms can be obtained from the following addresses: Non-Chileans-- Santiago Workshop on Democratization, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2044; FAX 415/725-2592. Chileans-- Taller Sobre Democratización, c/o FLACSO, Leopoldo Urrutia 1950, Santiago, Chile; FAX 2/460433.

The Fourth Annual Summer Program on Contemporary Mexico will take place June 18 - August 17, 1990 at El Colegio de México. For undergraduate and graduate students, the program provides participants with an opportunity to follow current developments in Mexico and to be in touch with specialists in their areas of interest. Students are expected to attend a minimum of three courses from among the offerings, which include Mexican Literature, Mexican Migration to the United States, and Mexican Economic Problems, among others. The cost of the course is \$800 for college fees and approximately \$500 for living expenses. A limited number of grants are available, but most students will have to find their own resources. For more information and application forms, contact Prof. Rafael Segovia, Coordinador General Académico, El Colegio de México, Camino al Ajusco núm. 20, Pedregal de Santa Teresa, 01000 México, DF, Mexico; TEL 525/568-2425; FAX 652-6233.

An Institute of Literature on "Latin American Early Texts: Indigenous and Spanish Cultural Exchange: will be directed by Professor Julio Ortega of Brown University. Sponsored by Brown, the institute is supported by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and is part of the Columbian Quincentenary program for higher education in the humanities. The institute is planned for 30 professors from colleges and universities, and will take place June 4-29, 1990. The faculty involved in the institute will be Professors Walter Mignolo (University of Michigan), Enrique Pupo-Walker (Vanderbilt University), Rolena Adorno (University of Michigan), and Roberto González-Echevarría (Yale University). Classes will focus on the first encounters of Europeans and Indians, the main accounts of the process of colonization, the aboriginal perception and representation of the conquest, and the influence of the early texts in modern authors such as Alejo Carpentier, Gabriel García Márquez and Carlos Fuentes. A series of additional lectures will deal with historiography, utopian discourse, ethnicity and popular culture, and the interaction of native cultures and modernization. For information about the fellowships write to Professor Julio Ortega, Box 1961, Hispanic Studies, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.

LETTERS

To the Editor, *LASA Forum*:

Last June, as part of its 1989 program, the participants in the LASA Nicaragua Seminar spent a pleasant and informative afternoon with the members of the agricultural co-op "Augusto César Sandino" and town officials of the municipality of San Isidro, Pittsburgh's sister city in Nicaragua, about two hours north of Managua on the road to Estelí in the department of Matagalpa. We learned subsequently through the staff of the Sister City group in Pittsburgh that eighteen San Isidrans were killed in a contra ambush on October 21, 1989 (this was one of the incidents that led to the Nicaraguan government's decision to suspend the cease-fire). Apparently the San Isidrans had been called up as members of the militia, and were returning home from this duty when the truck they were travelling in struck a mine and came under attack by contra forces near Río Blanco in the northern part of the department of Matagalpa.

The initial reports of the attack suggested that six of the persons killed were from the co-op the seminar visited, and that therefore the victims might well have included one or more of the persons we met with. The latest information I have been able to get indicates that while four of the victims were from the local federation of four co-ops "Augusto César Sandino" belongs to, none were from the co-op itself.

We heard many testimonies of the effects of the contra war supported and financed by our own government while we were in Nicaragua; because of the seminar's own brief involvement with San Isidro, however, this incident brings particularly close the war's viciousness and random destructiveness. (It has been tragically echoed by the murder of our colleagues at the Jesuit-run Universidad Centroamericana in El Salvador and the recent killing of church workers in northeastern Nicaragua.) It means that both the participants in the seminar and LASA generally, as its sponsoring group, now share in a small way directly in the tragedy of that war. I know that despite our differences on many issues all of us are bound together in our affection for the people of Nicaragua and our desire for their eventual peace and prosperity. Perhaps there is some way we can act as LASA in this matter, even if it is only to express our sorrow to the families in San Isidro affected by the massacre.

John Beverley
Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literatures
University of Pittsburgh
January 5, 1990

To the Editor, *LASA Forum*:

The United States government through its public policies, coupled with the anti-labor rulings of the NLRB and the aggressiveness of major corporations, have made the 1980s a period in which the American trade union movement has clearly been on the defensive. Nowhere has this been clearer than in the airline industry. This period of union-busting began with the smashing of the air traffic controllers under President Reagan in 1981. Then in 1983 Continental Air declared bankruptcy and proceeded to restructure itself with a non-union work force at slashed wages. The very latest contribution to this anti-labor onslaught was President Bush's veto in November 1989 of a congressionally-sponsored measure to create a fact-finding commission to recommend within 45 days possible solutions to the dispute between Eastern Airlines and its striking unions. The veto forced the pilots and flight attendants to go back to work under onerous conditions. Only the machinists remained on strike.

I would like to appeal to the LASA membership to protest these anti-union developments by seeking alternative air carriers to Continental and Eastern Airlines both as individuals and as a professional association and to try to convince our families, friends, colleagues and students to do the same. I make this plea for two reasons. First, sometimes we must take positions as citizens, taxpayers, employees, consumers, and (as some of us are) union members. Second and more important, it is contradictory to take progressive stands in our area of specialization (such as on human rights, repression, fair and democratic elections in Latin America), yet to sit on our collective hands when it comes to critical questions of social and human rights policies at home.

Peter Ranis
Professor, York College and Graduate School, CUNY
December 12, 1989

REFUNDS OF ADVANCE DEPOSITS San Juan Hotels

If you guaranteed a room at a San Juan hotel for the cancelled September congress with a check or a credit card and have not yet received a credit or refund, call or write:

Harve Horowitz
11620 Vixens Path
Ellicott City, MD 21403
Phone: (301) 997-0763
Fax: (301) 997-0764

LASA Members Respond Generously

After the forced cancellation of the San Juan congress, LASA published a request that advance registrants who would not be able to attend the rescheduled congress donate to LASA the fees they paid to help cover the losses of rescheduling. The mechanism for doing so was to not request a refund. LASA is most grateful to the following individuals who, according to secretariat records, heeded the call.

Our apologies for any errors.

Thomas Abercrombie	Thomas Bruneau	Stevens	Luis González-Vales
Lourdes Acevedo	Stephen Bunker	Sandra Dixon	Shifra Goldman
Ramón Acevedo	Virginia Burnett	John Donahue	Linda Goodman
Richard Adams	David Bushnell	Elizabeth Dore	Paul Goodwin
Mary Addis	Karl Butzer	Steven Dorr	Richard Goldstein
Marjorie Agosin	María Caballero	Carol Drogus	Paul Gootenberg
Jorge Aguilar-Mora	Wanguemer	Joanna	Janice Gordils
Severino	Pedro Cabán	Drzenwieniecki	Lourdes Gouveia
Albuquerque	René Campos	Ernest Duff	Wolf Grabendorff
Manuel Alcántara	Gilberto Cárdenas	Shirley Eaton	Linda Green
Idsa Alegría-Ortega	Laura Carlsen	Susan Eckstein	Richard Greenleaf
José Oscar Alers	Vivian Carro	Joe Edmistein	Merilee Grindle
Robert Alexander	Figueroa	Gary Elbow	Roy Gutman
Norma Alvarez	Cristina Casanueva	Judith Elkin	Frances Hagopian
Silvia Alvarez-	Juan Castaner	Laura Enríquez	Charles A. Hale
Curbelo	María Chacón	María Estades	Charles R. Hale
Barry Ames	Lyman Chaffee	Debra Evenson	Hugh Hamill
Robert Anderson	Leo Chávez	Pamela Falk	Priscilla Handy
Robin Anderson	Tun-Jen Cheng	Robert Farrell	Elizabeth Hansen
Gustavo Andrade	Linda Chen	Alicia Fernández	Ilse Hartman
Thomas Angotti	Bell Chevigny	Martínez	Mary Helms
Merrilee Antrim	Alan Cibils	Margarite	Ann Helwege
Peggy Antrobus	Alberto Ciria	Fernández Olmos	Peta Henderson
Silvia Arrom	Joan Clemons	Rosario Ferré	Peter Herlihy
Werner Baer	Leondro Colón	William Fisher	Mark Hernández
Florence Babb	Maria Cook	Herman Flax	Luis Hernández
Efraín Barradas	Antonio Cornejo-	Charles Fleener	J. Noé Herrera
María Barcelo-	Polar	Borda	Anita Herzfeld
Miller	Fernando Coronil	Cornelia Flora	Carol Hinds
Ernest Bartell	Regina Cortina	Estevan Flores	Harold Hinds
Richard Bath	Lúcia Helena	Heather Foote	Irene Hodgson
David Becker	Costigan	Merlin Forster	Roland Hoksbergen
Gene Bell-Villada	Stephen Cox	David Foster	Jack Hopkins
Juan Manuel	María de los A.	Barbara Freitag-	Evelyn Hu-Dehart
Beltrán	Crummett	Rouanet	Carlos Huneecus
Lynn-Darrell Bender	Arnaldo Cruz	Maria Frenkel	Shane Hunt
Aviva Ben-Ur	Nelly Cruz	Harald Fuhr	Anita Isaacs
Charles Bergquist	Jean Danielson	Gervasio García	Ivan Jaksic
Marta Bermúdez-	Robert Dash	Jesusa García	Karin Jaspers
Gallegos	Alfonso Dau	Humberto García-	Jorge Jeria
Lawrence Biscontini	Thomas Davies	Muniz	Susanne Jonas
Thomas Bogenschild	Martin De La Rosa	Donald Gaylord	Carol Jopling
Orlando Bolland	Helen Delpar	Antonio Gaztambide	Terry Karl
Frank Bonilla	Robin Derby	Elsa Gelpi	Kaoru Kato
Stephen Brager	Todd Diacon	Juan Gelpi	Margaret Keck
Luis Carlos Bresser	Sergio Díaz-Briquets	David George	Bruce Kelly
Pereira	Arcadio Díaz-	Dennis Gilbert	John Kirk
E. Leonard Brown	Quiñones	Ed Glab	Gregory Knapp
	Ana María Díaz-	Patrick Gomes	Robert Knowlton

Yasuhiro Koike
 Sherrie Kossoudji
 Jacob Kovadloff
 Iyo Kunitomo
 Elpidio Laguna-Díaz
 Anthony Lane
 Jane Landers
 Kenneth Langton
 Teresa Leger
 Paul Lewis
 Jennie Lincoln
 Sheldon Liss
 Marcela Little
 Nancy Llach
 Luis Llambi
 Ana López
 Iraida López
 José Gabriel López
 Brian Loveman
 Elizabeth Lowe
 Ilja Luciak
 Murdo Macleod
 Elizabeth Mahan
 Janice Mahlberg
 Scott Mahler
 Harry Makler
 Stanley Malinowitz
 Patricia Manning
 Maxine Margolis
 Roberto Márquez
 Wanda Marrero
 Gerald Martin
 Giselle Martin
 Cristina Martínez
 Francine Masiello
 Donald Matthews
 Félix Matos
 Sylvia Maxfield
 Muriel McAvoy-
 Weissman
 Marian McClure
 Chand
 Jennifer McCoy
 Mary McCoy
 Ellen McCracken
 Peter McDonough
 Gayle McGarrity
 Alexander McIntire
 Marian McKechnie
 Patricia McRae
 Teresa Meade
 Edwin Meléndez
 Margarita Melville
 Carmen Menéndez
 Mieke Meurs
 Beatrice Meyerson
 Kevin Middlebrook
 Daniel Miller

Francesca Miller
 Margo Milleret
 Christopher Mitchell
 Lynda Mobley
 Rita Molinero
 Sylvia Molloy
 Marilyn Moors
 Frank Mora
 Lynn Morgan
 Nancy Morris
 Francisco Moscoso
 Juan Mosquera
 Serena Moss
 Vivian Mota
 Eusebio Mujal-Leon
 Gerald Murray
 Pamela Murray
 Diana Negrón
 Kathleen Newman
 Richard Nuccio
 William Nylan
 Rafael Ocasio
 Guillermo
 O'Donnell
 Arturo Ortiz
 Vilma Ortiz
 Jane Orttung
 Ole Ostergaard
 María Otero
 Neri Pacheco
 Alfred Padula
 Emilio Pantojas
 Manuel Pastor
 Robert Pastor
 Daphne Patai
 Pedro Pedraza
 Paola Pérez-Alemán
 Irma Perlman
 Sharon Phillipps
 Blanca Podesta
 Guido Podesta
 Alejandro Portes
 María del Carmen
 Portillo
 José A. Punsoda-
 Díaz
 Janet Purdy
 Louis Quackenbush
 Sarah Radcliff
 Carolyn Ramírez-La
 Faso
 Alvaro Ramos
 Rebecca Reichmann
 Juan Rey
 Donna Rich
 Palmira Ríos
 Rubén Ríos-Avila
 Marcial Riquelme

Benjamín Rivera
 María Rivera
 Beatriz Rizk
 Ken Roberts
 Jaime Rodríguez
 Linda Rodríguez
 María Cristina
 Rodríguez
 Victoria Rodríguez
 María E.
 Rodríguez-Castro
 Julio Rodríguez-Luis
 William Rosa
 Mayra Rosario
 William Roseberry
 Lorraine Roses
 Kathleen Ross
 Magali Roy-
 Fequiere
 Luis Rubio
 Fannie Rushing
 Alvin Rutledge
 Russell Salmon
 Cynthia Sanborn
 José Luis Sánchez
 Virginia Sánchez
 Korrol
 Leonardo Santana-
 Rabell
 Joni Saxon
 Francisco Scarano
 Joseph Scarpaci
 Cynthia Schmidt
 Samuel Schmidt
 Ann Schneider
 Cathy Schneider
 Susan Schroeder
 Ivan Schulman
 Joseph Sciorra
 Aaron Segal
 Sharon Seivers
 Linda Seligmann
 Anibal Sepúlveda
 Rivera
 Peggy Sharpe-
 Valadares
 Sara Sharratt
 José Sifontes
 Samuel Silva-Gotay
 Henry Silvert
 Harold Sims
 Richard Sinkin
 Stanley Skudneski
 Julie Skurski
 David Slater
 Richard Slatta
 Neil Snarr
 Dina Solis de

Peralta
 Elizaga Sosa
 Saul Sosnowski
 Aurea Sotomayor-
 Mile Hi
 Anthony Stevens-
 Arroyo
 Robert Stockton
 Paul Susman
 David Sweet
 José Távora
 John Tepaske
 Cathryn Thorup
 Jim Timmermann
 Jon Tolman
 Edelberto Torres-
 Rivas
 Rosa Torruellas
 Thomas Trebat
 Judith Tucker
 Richard Turits
 Pauline Tuttle
 Sharon Ugalde
 Guillermo Valencia
 Erika Valenzuela
 Samuel Valenzuela
 E. Ariane Van
 Buren
 Irma Vázquez
 Mignone Vega
 Sánchez
 Diana Vélez
 Ilya Vilar
 Alfredo Villanueva-
 Collad
 Renato Villela
 Steven Volk
 Kal Wagenheim
 Olga Wagenheim
 Barbara Waggoner
 Marsha Wagner
 Giles Wayland-
 Smith
 Alison Weber
 John Weeks
 Barbara Weinstein
 Christopher Welna
 Mark Wenner
 Fran White
 Daniel Wilson
 Jerome Wood, Jr.
 Ralph Woodward
 Marc Zimmerman

XV CONGRESS PAPERS AVAILABLE

The following papers from the XV International Congress in Miami may be ordered from the Secretariat for \$3.00 each. LASA attempted to retain at least one copy of every paper submitted. If your paper is not listed below, please send a copy to the Secretariat, and we will include it in a future listing. Due to a lack of space, this is the only time the complete list will be published in the *Forum*. A limited number of programs are also available for \$10 each while supplies last. Prices include postage.

If you do not find a particular author, please search under all possible last names for that person.

- Acevedo, Luz del Alba.** El desarrollo capitalista y la nueva división sexual del trabajo: el empleo de la mujer en los servicios en Puerto Rico.
- Achong Paz, Andrés y William Hughes.** Deuda externa y transformaciones estructurales en Centroamérica 1980-1987: el caso de Panamá.
- Acuña, Carlos H.** Intereses empresarios, dictadura y democracia en la Argentina actual.
- Alagia, Ricardo A.** El caso Malvinas: La diplomacia implementada desde el siglo XVI hasta nuestros días.
- Alemán, José Luis.** Aspectos éticos de la deuda externa en las relaciones interamericanas.
- Alemán, José Luis.** De la Populorum Progressio a la Sollicitudo Rei Socialis: 25 años de crítica al economicismo y de desarrollo cultural.
- Alers, José Oscar.** Puerto Rican Shares in Anglo-Hispanic Rivalry.
- Altamirano, Teófilo.** Identity and Crisis: Peruvian Immigrants in New Jersey, USA.
- Alvarez, Andrés S.** Respuesta ética al desafío ecológico.
- Alvarez, Sônia E.** Conceptual Problems and Methodological Impasses in the Study of Contemporary Social Movements in Brazil and the Southern Cone.
- Alvarez Curbelo, Silvia.** Populismo y nacionalismo: La conflictividad en el discurso político de Luis Muñoz Marín en la década de 1930.
- Alvarez González, Enid.** El desafío de *La Señora Ordóñez*.
- Amayo, Enrique.** The Peruvian Indebtedness of the Nineteenth Century: Its Settlement and Outcome.
- Anderson, Joan B. and Martín de la Rosa.** Economic Survival Strategies of Poor Families on the Mexican Border.
- Anderson, Leslie.** That Which Is Left Out: Micro and State Perspectives on Structural Determinism.
- Ansorena Montero, Aixa.** El proyecto de igualdad real de la mujer en Costa Rica: Democracia y lucha por la ampliación de los derechos de la mujer.
- Antrobus, Peggy.** Alternative Strategies for Development in the Caribbean.
- Antúnez, Rocío.** Apuntes sobre Uruguay, narrativa y represión.
- Aparicio, Frances R.** La música popular en la poesía neorriqueña.
- Archer, Ronald P.** The Transition from Traditional to Broker Clientelism in Colombia: Political Stability and Social Unrest.
- Archila, Mauricio.** La memoria histórica de los trabajadores de Medellín y Bogotá, Colombia, 1910-1945.
- Averill, Gage.** Anraje to Angaje: Political Implications of Haitian Popular Music under the Duvalier Dictatorship.
- Azzoni, Carlos Alberto.** O novo endereço da indústria paulista.
- Baerga, María del Carmen.** Industrial Homework: The Articulation of Industry and Women's Work on a World Scale Since the 19th Century.
- Bailey, Wilma.** The Social and Economic Context of Undernutrition in Jamaican Children.
- Bak, Joan.** Social Control and Social Transformation: Immigrants, the State and the Politics of Ethnicity in Rio Grande do Sul, 1824-1918.
- Baquero, Marcello.** Um velho tema e um problema permanente na América Latina: Os partidos políticos.
- Baralt, Guillermo A.** El consulado y los negocios, juntos en el mismo bote: La historia de Latimer y Fernández y Cia., 1836-1859.
- Barkin, David.** Resolving the Dilemma of the Internationalization of Mexican Agriculture.
- Barillas, Herberth Wilfredo.** Libertad académica y la pobreza.
- Barrow, Geoffrey R.** Verse Panegyric in Cardenal.
- Bartell, Ernest.** Business Perceptions and the Transition to Democracy in Chile.
- Bartra, Eli.** Las mujeres en la pintura popular votiva mexicana.
- Bastien, Joseph W.** Healers of the Andes: Bridging the Communication Gap in Nutrition Education in Bolivia.
- Battistozzi, Isolda.** Pérdida del paraíso y ejercicio de la libertad en *Zona de clivaje* de Liliana Heker.
- Bendesky, León.** Sobre el debate de las transferencias de América Latina.
- Bendfeldt Z., Fernando.** Torture as Intensive Repression in Latin America: The Psychology of its Practice.
- Benítez Manaut, Raúl.** El proceso de paz en América Central.
- Benítez Manaut, Raúl.** El Salvador: Guerra civil, economía y política.

- Berg, Mary G. *Writing Biography of Nineteenth Century Women: The Lives of Juana Manuela Gorriti and Clorinda Matto de Turner.*
- Betancourt, Ernesto F. *Cuba en Africa.*
- Bissett, Judith Ishmael. *Brazil and Argentina: On Stage After the Repression.*
- Blanchard, Peter. *The Employment of Blacks in Nineteenth-Century Peru.*
- Blank, David E. *Democracy Reassessed: Public Enterprises and the Response to the Urban Crisis.*
- Bleil de Souza, Susana. *Integração na América Latina: Perspectivas e desafios no cone sul Brasil/Uruguai).*
- Blondet, Cecilia. *Las organizaciones femeninas y la política en época de crisis.*
- Bolland, O. Nigel. *Pluralism and the Politicization of Ethnicity in Belize.*
- Bollinger, William. *Taking the Pulse of Social Justice in Central America: The Public Opinion Research of Ignacio Martín Baró.*
- Borja T., Arturo. *El estado como inductor del cambio en los NICs: Una comparación de la industria de computo en Corea del Sur, México y Brasil.*
- Botelho, Virgínia. *Associativismo como possibilidade de gerar ocupação para o pequeno produtor e a intervenção do estado.*
- Bourgois, Philippe. *Politicized Ethnicity: From Marcus Garvey to Mamachi and Miskitu Autonomy.*
- Brachet Márquez, Viviane. *Theoretical Constraints to the Explanations of Sociopolitical Change: The Case of Mexico.*
- Braga, Helson C., Gilda Maria C. Santiago, and Luiz César M. Ferro. *The Structure of Effective Protection in Brazil: 1985.*
- Braun, Herbert. *Hierarchy and Community: The 1968 Middle Class Revolt Against Modernity in Mexico.*
- Britto García, Luis. *Historia oficial, historia novelada y novela histórica.*
- Brockett, Charles D. *Cycles of Protest and the Impact of Repression in Central America.*
- Bronfman, Mario. *Migración y SIDA en México.*
- Bruneau, Thomas C. *The Church and Politics in Brazil: Retrospect and Prospects.*
- Bruneau, Thomas C. *Constitutions and Democratic Consolidation: Brazil in Comparative Perspective.*
- Buckman, Robert. *Conflict Between Young Democracy and Press Freedom in the Third World: A Case Study of Guatemala.*
- Bunker, Stephen G. *Staples, Links and Poles in the Construction of Regional Development Theories.*
- Burdick, John. *"We are All Equal:" Social Differentiation in a CEB in the Brazilian Urban Periphery.*
- Burnett, Virginia Garrard. *Jerusalem Under Siege: Protestantism in Rural Guatemala, 1960-1987.*
- Bustamante, Fernando. *La modernización de las FFAA latinoamericanos y las nuevas formas de violencia política de la década de los ochenta: El caso de los militares peruanos frente a Sendero Luminoso.*
- Butzer, Karl W. *Spanish Regionalism and its Simplification in the New World.*
- Caballero, María M. *Alejo Carpentier: "Concierto barroco" o la ficción ensayística.*
- Caballero Zeitun, Elsa Lily. *La connotación económica del trabajo de la mujer en la sociedad hondureña.*
- Calderón, Fernando y Patricia Provoste. *La construcción institucional de las ciencias sociales en América Latina.*
- Calvin P., María Eugenia. *Capacitación de monitores en Chile: ¿Asistencialismo o protagonismo?*
- Cardoso, Eliana and Ann Helwege. *Below the Line: Poverty in Latin America.*
- Caro Hollander, Nancy. *Mental Health Militants Confront the Repressive State: Argentina, 1968-83.*
- Carrillo, Teresa. *Women in Mexican Unions: Patterns in Leadership and Collectivity.*
- Carvajal, Manuel J., F. Kay Morris, and Lillian M. Davenport. *Economic Determinants of Academic Failure and School Desertion in the Guatemala Highlands.*
- Castaldi, Juan Carlos. *Las empresas campesinas de la reforma agraria hondureña: Algunos hallazgos preliminares.*
- Castells, Manuel and Roberto Laserna. *The New Dependency: Technological Change and Socioeconomic Restructuring in Latin America.*
- Castilhos Brito, María Noemi. *Una lucha de hormigas.*
- Castro, Donald S. *El sainete porteño and Argentine Reality: The Tenant Strike of 1907.*
- Castro P., Roberto. *Aspectos psicosociales del SIDA en México: Estigma, prejuicio y reacción social.*
- Catterberg, Edgardo. *La consolidación de la democracia en la Argentina y el sistema de partidos políticos 1983-1989.*
- Cavarozzi, Marcelo and María Grossi. *From Democratic Reinvention to Political Decline and Hyperinflation.*
- Chahad, José Paulo Zeetano. *Os custos e o financiamento do programa brasileiro de seguro-desemprego.*
- Chasteen, John Charles. *Land of No Tomorrow: The Process of Inheritance and Subdivision in Brazil's Southern Borderland, 1801-1893.*
- Chávez, Leo R. *Households, Migration and Settlement: A Comparison of Undocumented Mexicans and Central Americans in the United States.*
- Chernela, Janet M. *Marriage and Language Among Eastern Tukanoan Speaking Peoples of the Northwest Amazon.*
- Chilcote, Ronald H. *Contradictions in the Latin American Experience: Fundamental Themes in the Formulation of a Research Agenda.*
- Chipoco, Carlos J. *El Perú entre dos senderos: Un movimiento popular en defensa de la vida.*

- Chiriboga, Manuel. El empresario lechero norte serrano y la agroindustria: Nuevas relaciones en el marco de la crisis económica reciente en Ecuador.
- Cintron, Myrna. Facing the Drug Crisis: Puerto Rico's Role in the United States' Strategy to Control an International Menace.
- Clements, Benedict J. and J. Scott McClain. Large Firms and Multinational Corporations in the Brazilian Export Sector.
- Close, David. Responding to Low Intensity Conflict: Counterinsurgency in Nicaragua.
- Collado Herrera, María del Carmen. Las elecciones mexicanas de 1988.
- Colón, Alice. Mujeres puertorriqueñas: Empleo, subempleo y pobreza.
- Comune, Antônio and Luiz Ables. Zonas de processamento de exportações: Análise de seus impactos regionais.
- Conaghan, Catherine M. Dreams of Orthodoxy, Tales of Heterodoxy: León Febres Cordero and Economic Policymaking in Ecuador, 1984-88.
- Cook, Maria Lorena. Organizing Opposition within Official Unions: Structure and Strategy in the Mexican Teachers' Movement.
- Cooney, Jerry W. The Great Swindle: How to Destroy the Paraguayan Tobacco Monopoly, 1787-1792.
- Coppedge, Michael. Presidents and Factions in Venezuela.
- Córdova M., Ricardo. El Salvador: El tema de la paz en el debate electoral.
- Cornelius, Wayne A. Impacts of the 1986 U.S. Immigration Law on Emigration from Rural Mexican Sending Communities.
- Cubano, Astrid. Paz pública y propiedad territorial: La discusión sobre política agraria en Puerto Rico, 1880-1895.
- Dash, J. Michael. The Art of Darkness: Images of the Body in Recent Haitian Writing.
- de Alencar Rocha, Osvaldo. O direito encontrado na luta.
- de Alonso, Irma T. Industrialization and Trade in the English-Speaking Caribbean.
- de Azevedo Brandão, Maria. A urbanização brasileira: a modernidade de um sempre quase-caos.
- de la Cuesta, León A. Los exámenes de habilitación de traductores e intérpretes en los Estados Unidos.
- De la Torre Rangel, Jesus Antonio. Los pobres y el uso del derecho.
- Del Monte Garrido, Federico. La evolución del sistema espacial urbano de la República Dominicana.
- Dent, David W. Exploring and Explaining Reagan's Latin American Policy Through Political Cartoons.
- de Sa Rego, Stella M. Photographic Resources: Use, Conservation, Access.
- del Arenal, Celestino. Las relaciones de España e Iberoamérica y la política exterior de los Estados Unidos: Cambio y autonomía en la política iberoamericana de España.
- Devoto, Fernando J. Los estudios sobre la inmigración europea en la Argentina: Tradiciones historiográficas y problemas en debate.
- Díaz, Leticia. Julia de Burgos and the Discourse of Inner Exile.
- Dietz, Henry A. Urban Electoral Behavior: The Examination of Three Elections in Lima, Peru.
- Dodge, Steve. The Bahamas: The British Legacy in Form and Events.
- Dosal, Paul J. The Politics of Guatemalan Industrialization, 1944-1954.
- Dresser, Denise. Twilight of the PRI? Economic Reform and Party Restructuring in Mexico.
- Duany, Jorge. El impacto de la inmigración extranjera en el mercado laboral de Puerto Rico.
- Duff, Ernest A. Transculturation in Puerto Rico.
- Durand, Francisco. Mario Vargas Llosa o la nueva derecha peruana.
- Eakin, Marshall C. Industrialization on the Periphery: Belo Horizonte, Brazil and Monterrey, Mexico.
- Ebel, Roland H. The Struggle to Succeed the "Liberator": The Disputed Guatemalan Elections of 1957 and 1958.
- Echeverri-Gent, Elisavinda. Class Formation and Political Representation in Costa Rica and Honduras.
- Eckstein, Susan. Revolutions and Their Socioeconomic Impact in Latin America.
- Edelman, Marc. A Rural Protest Against Economic Adjustment in Northeastern Costa Rica.
- Edmisten, Patricia T. The Political Writings of Pedro J. Chamorro Cardenal.
- Edwards, Beatrice. The Repopulation of Rural El Salvador.
- Elliott Armijo, Leslie. Postwar Brazilian Economic Policymaking: A Theoretical Framework.
- Ellner, Steve. Political Party-Labor Linkage in Venezuela, 1958-1988.
- Elton, Charlotte. Japan and Panama: Who Is Setting the Agenda?
- Enriquez, Laura J. From Cotton to Corn: Popular Pressure Transforms a Region.
- Epstein, Edward C. Democracy and Political Conflict in Alfonsín Argentina: Relations with Peronism and Organized Labor.
- Ergood, Bruce. The British Heritage in Belize: Different Realities.
- Erisman, H. Michael. Cuban Developmental Aid: South/South Diversification and Counterdependency Politics.
- Escala, Miguel J. Two Decades of Planning in Latin American Universities: Trends and Perspectives.
- Escobar, Arturo. Social Science Discourse and New Social Movements Research in Latin America: Trends and Debates.
- Estades Font, María E. Poder militar y política en Puerto Rico, 1898-1918.

- Estrada, Daniel M.** Nicaragua's Worker-Peasant Alliance: A Case Study in Economic Democracy.
- Evans, Peter B.** Predatory, Developmental and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State.
- Everingham, Mark W.** Economic Development Under Dictatorship and Revolutionary Coalitions.
- Fals Borda, Orlando.** Movimientos sociales y poder político.
- Fanelli, José María and Omar O. Chisari.** Restricciones al crecimiento y distribución del ingreso: El caso argentino.
- Febres, Carlos Eduardo.** Democracia y sindicalismo en Venezuela.
- Femenia, Nora.** Vías hacia la participación en el poder sindical de las trabajadoras argentinas.
- Fernández M., Blanca.** Perú, Bolivia y Ecuador, 1974-1989: Una mirada después de 15 años.
- Fernández-Kelly, María Patricia.** Broadening the Scope: Gender and the Study of International Economic Development.
- Fernández Olmos, Margarite.** Las poetas cubanas y el "erotismo revolucionario."
- Fernández Zavala, Luis.** Estado, empresas públicas y cultura organizacional: La visión de los gerentes públicos en Perú.
- Ferrao, Luis Angel.** El nacionalismo en Puerto Rico en la década de 1930.
- Ferrin, Cynthia L.** Problems of Autonomy and Economic Self-Sufficiency in Small Farmer Organizations: Cooperative Marketing Experiences in Uruguay.
- Fink, Marcy.** Popular Education as a Vehicle for Empowering Women in Latin America.
- Fitch, J. Samuel.** Military Professionalism, National Security, and Democracy: Lessons from the Latin American Experience.
- Fleet, Michael and Brian Smith.** Rethinking Catholicism and Politics in Latin America.
- Fleischmann, Ulrich.** Miguel Barnet, etnógrafo y narrador.
- Fonseca, Claudia.** Children and Social Inequality in Brazil: A Look at Child Circulation in the Working Classes.
- Fontes Piazza, Maria de Fátima.** América Latina: O Brasil e os "outros" (a percepção da elite política brasileira sobre os países da América Espanhola, 1935-45).
- Foster, David William.** The Manipulation of the Horizons of Reader Expectation in Two Examples of Argentine Lesbian Writing: Discourse Power and Alternate Sexuality.
- Freitag, Barbara.** Alfabetização e linguagem.
- Frid de Silberstein, Carina L.** Comerciantes, líderes y comunidad italiana en Rosario (1860-1890).
- Friedman, Douglas.** Industrialization and the State: Argentina in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.
- Friedman, Mary Lusky.** The Chilean Exile's Return: Donoso versus García Márquez.
- Fritsch, Winston and Gustavo H.B. Franco.** Key Issues on Industrial Promotion: The Current Brazilian Debate.
- Fruhling, Hugo.** El movimiento de derechos humanos y la transición democrática en Chile y Argentina.
- Frundt, Henry J.** AIFLD in Guatemala: Backing Away from "El Sindicato Blanco."
- Gandolfo, Romolo.** Immigrants and Politics in Argentina: The 1890 Revolution and the Campaign for the Automatic Naturalization of Foreigners.
- Garavaglia, Juan Carlos.** El pan de cada día: El mercado del trigo en Buenos Aires, 1700-1820.
- García Castro, Mary.** Mulheres chefes de família, racismo, códigos de idade e pobreza: São Paulo e Bahia, Brasil.
- García de Fanelli, Ana M.** Empleo femenino en el sector público argentino.
- García de León, Antonio.** La internacional comunista en Chiapas y Centroamérica, 1928-1934. (abstract only)
- Garretón M., Manuel Antonio.** La evolución de las ciencias sociales en Chile y su internacionalización: Una síntesis.
- Garretón M., Manuel Antonio.** Los partidos políticos chilenos en la perspectiva de la transición y consolidación democráticas.
- Gatti, Gustavo C.** El papel político de los militares en el Paraguay 1870-1989.
- Geldenhuis, Deon.** A Comparative Analysis of the International Isolation of Chile and South Africa.
- Gereffi, Gary.** Rethinking Development Theory: Insights from East Asia and Latin America.
- Giacalone, Rita.** Las elecciones jamaicanas de 1989 y el "estado democrático clientelista."
- Giacalone, Rita.** Microstates and Integration in the International Relations of the Caribbean.
- Gil Kinzo, Maria D'Alva.** Political Parties and the Democratic Transition in Brazil.
- Gillespie, Charlie G.** The Reconsolidation of Democracy in Uruguay: Politics as Usual or Learning from Mistakes?
- Goldring, Luin.** Transnational Migration and U.S. Immigration Reform: Examining and Rethinking the Effects of the Simpson-Rodino Bill.
- Gollas, Manuel.** El comercio de México con Centroamérica.
- Gómez-Tagle, Silvia.** La demanda democrática del 6 de julio.
- González, Libia M.** Identidades nacionales en la iglesia, el estado y el cafetal: El caso de los mallorquines en Puerto Rico en el siglo XIX.
- González Block, Miguel A., Ana Luisa Liguori, y Luís Felipe Bazúa.** SIDA, estratos sociales y respuesta estatal en México.

- González P., Alejandro. La experiencia de la Vicaría de la Solidaridad del Arzobispado de Santiago de Chile.
- González P., Edgardo. Urbanization and Urban Poverty in El Salvador.
- Graham, Carol. Peru's APRA Party in Power: Impossible Revolution, Relinquished Reform.
- Grasmuck, Sherri. International Migration, the State and Households: The Case of the Dominican Republic.
- Graziano, Frank. Messianism and Atrocity: The Eschatology of the Argentine "Dirty War."
- Grugel, Jean. Spanish Foreign Policy in the Caribbean: Into the 1990s.
- Guy, Donna. Gendered Danger: Public Health and Private Morality in Buenos Aires.
- Guzmán Merced, Rosa. El núcleo familiar y las relaciones afectivas en *Felices días, tío Sergio* de Magali García Ramis.
- Haber, Paul L. Cárdenas, Salinas and Urban Popular Movements in Mexico: The Case of the CDP de Durango.
- Haddad, Paulo Roberto. Planejamento regional no Brasil: Crise e perspectivas no limiar do Século XXI.
- Handy, Jim. Reform and Counter-Reform: Agrarian Policy in Guatemala, 1952-1957.
- Handy, Priscilla. Casual Labor and Stevedoring in the Port of Rio de Janeiro, 1888-1930.
- Hanes de Acevedo, Rexene A. ¿La "mexicanización" de la política venezolana?
- Harada, Kinichiro. Mixed Economy and Transition in the Periphery: Nicaragua, Hungary and China.
- Harvey, Neil. La lucha por la tierra en Chiapas: Estrategias del movimiento campesino.
- Harvey, Penelope. Violence Between the Sexes: The Discourse and Practice of Gender Relations in an Andean Village.
- Hassett, John. Dictatorship, Memory and the Prospects for Democracy: The Fiction of Ariel Dorfman.
- Helg, Aline. Struggle and Repression: Afro-Cubans After Independence.
- Helms, Mary W. Symbols of Ethnicity: Geopolitics and Cosmography Among the Miskitu of Eastern Central America.
- Helsper, Norma. Los quehaceres domésticos y poéticos: Gender Roles in Contemporary Cuban Society.
- Herlihy, Peter H. Mapping the Cultural Landscape of a Lowland Rain Forest Population: The Comarca Emberá Example.
- Hernández Angueira, Luisa. El trabajo a domicilio femenino y la industria de la aguja en Puerto Rico, 1914-1940.
- Herrera, Amilcar O. The Technological Prospective for Latin America Project: A Summary.
- Hill, Jonathan D. Demystifying Structural Violence: A Case Study in the Domination of Indigenous Ethnic Minorities in the Venezuelan Amazon Territory.
- Hillman, Richard S. University Protests and Social Discontent in Venezuela.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn. State and Society: Organizing about the Environment in Brazil and Venezuela.
- Hoefte, Rosemarijn and Gert Oostindie. The Netherlands and the Dutch Caribbean: Dilemmas of Decolonization.
- Holian, John. Infant Mortality and Health Care in Mexican Communities.
- Holloway, Thomas H. Foreigners and the Emerging State: Police and Non-Brazilians in Rio de Janeiro, 1830-1890.
- Holt Giménez, Eric. NGOs in Central America: The Crisis and the Potential.
- Hulme, Peter. The Rhetoric of Description: The Amerindians of the Caribbean Within European Discourse.
- Ibarra C., Hernán. Notas para una sociología de la música rocolera ecuatoriana.
- Isaacs, Anita. The Obstacles to Democratic Consolidation in Ecuador.
- Jacobi, Pedro. Atores sociais e estado: Movimentos reivindicatórios urbanos e Estado - dimensões da ação coletiva e efeitos político-institucionais no Brasil.
- Jeffrey, Henry B. Political Developments in Guyana After Burnham: A Prognosis for the Future.
- Jeria, Jorge. Education for Liberation in Latin America.
- Jiménez, Michael F. "In the Middle of the Mess:" Rereading John J. Johnson's *Political Change in Latin America* Thirty Years Later.
- Jiménez Muñoz, Gladys M. Nicholasa Mohr y la cuestión de la identidad femenina: enlace con Clarice Lispector.
- Jiménez Wagenheim, Olga. Constructing Identities of Community and Self: The Puerto Ricans of Dover, New Jersey.
- Judd, Karen. White Man, Black Man, Bayman, Creole: Racial Harmony and Ethnic Identity in Belize.
- Judson, Fred. Ideology, Social Science and Foreign Policy: Cuban Thinking about the World Economy.
- Katsushigue Kadota, Decio. A nova estrutura tributária nacional: Efeitos sobre regiões ricas e pobres.
- Kim, Kwan S. The Political Economy of Trade, Industry, and Basic Needs: The Case of Mexico.
- King, Robin A. The Mexican Proposal for a Continent-Wide Debt Moratorium: Lessons from the 1930s, Contrasts with the 1980s.
- Kirk, John M. Waiting for John Paul II: The Church in Cuba, 1989.
- Kirton, Mark. Changing Relations in South America: Guyana's Relations with Brazil and Venezuela--The 1980s and Beyond.
- Kleymeyer, Charles David. The Uses and Functions of Cultural Expression in Grassroots Development.

- Knapp, Gregory. Mapping Andean Cultures: Analysis of Modern Census Data.
- Kornblith, Miriam. Deuda y democracia en Venezuela: Los sucesos del 27 y 28 de febrero de 1989.
- Korzeniewicz, Miguel. Commodity Chains and Footwear Exports in the Semiperiphery.
- Korzeniewicz, Roberto P. The Social Origins of Peronism: Labor Unrest in Argentina, 1935-1943.
- Lacabana, Miguel Angel. La organización de los trabajadores del sector informal: El caso de los vendedores ambulantes en Venezuela.
- La Forgia, Gerard M. Challenging Health Service Stratification: Social Security and Health Ministry Integration in Panama: 1973-1986.
- Langton, Kenneth P. Becoming an Industrial Worker: The Effect of Rural/Urban Origins and Migratory Paths on Industrial Integration, Social Consciousness, and Protest.
- Lawrence, Ralph. Comparing Patterns of Governance in Argentina, Brazil and South Africa.
- Leiva, Fernando Ignacio. New Social Actors and Popular Education Around Economic Issues in Chile.
- Lemaitre, Monique J. La identidad asumida y el texto subversivo en *La Flor de Lis* de Elena Poniatowska.
- Lemel, Harry. Land Use Intensity and Investment as Related to Title Security: Evidence from the LRTP Baseline Survey.
- León, Juan. Ecuador 1978-1988: Diez años de elecciones.
- León Trujillo, Jorge. Cambios estructurales y escena política en Ecuador, 1978-1988: Un ciclo político.
- Leons, M. Barbara. At Odds with the Establishment: Cocaine and Local Politics in Bolivia.
- Lerner de Sheinbaum, Bertha. El movimiento neocardenista: Perspectiva a corto plazo.
- Lewis, David E. La iniciativa de la Cuenca del Caribe (ICC) y la política de Estados Unidos hacia Puerto Rico: Colonialismo e interdependencia regional.
- Lewis, David E. Non-Governmental Organizations and Alternative Strategies: Bridging the Development Gap Between Central America and the Caribbean.
- Lindstrom, Naomi. Narrative Display and Social Statement: Helena Parente Cunha.
- Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya. Indians, Water, and Resistance in Colonial Puebla.
- Lira K., Elizabeth. Derechos humanos en América del Sur: Contextos en proceso de cambio y nuevas iniciativas.
- Lisi, F.L. Oralidad y escritura en la crónica de P. Cieza de León.
- Loeza, Soledad. Derecha y democracia en el cambio político mexicano, 1982-1988.
- Logan, Kathleen. Empowerment within a Female Consciousness: Collective Actions in Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico.
- Looye, Johanna W. Real vs. Ideal and the Brazilian *Jeitinho*: A Study of Microenterprise Registration Under the Microenterprise Statute.
- Lopez, Ana M. Revolution and Dreams: Today's Cuban Documentary.
- Lopez, José R. Central America's Structural Adjustment: A Comparative View
- Love, Thomas. Political Ecology of Green Movements in Western Amazonia: Applying the Extractive Reserve Concept in Southeastern Peru.
- Loyola Díaz, Rafael. La liquidación del feudo petrolero en la política moderna: México, 1989.
- Lozano, Lucrecia. Balance de la estrategia de la guerra de baja intensidad en Centroamérica: 1979-1989.
- Luque, Carlos Antônio and Luis Martínez Lopes. Conflito distributivo, déficit público e inflação.
- Luque de Sánchez, María Dolores. La interrelación social de los corsos con la población criolla de Yauco durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX.
- Maier, Elizabeth. La coordinadora de mujeres "Benita Galeana" (las Benitas): Una Experiencia en el desarrollo de la lucha de genero/clase en México.
- Mallmann, Carlos A. Societal Dynamics, Powers and Relations: The Prospective Future of Latin America.
- Malloy, James M. Democracy, Economic Crisis and the Problem of Governance: The Case of Bolivia.
- Mann, Arthur J. and Manuel Pastor, Jr. Orthodox and Heterodox Stabilization Policies in Bolivia and Peru: 1985-1988.
- Manzetti, Luigi. Argentine-Brazilian Economic Integration: An Early Appraisal.
- Maríñez, Pablo A. El Caribe y América Latina: La búsqueda de estrechas relaciones políticas y económicas.
- Mariz, Cecília L. The Brazilian Pentecostals' Economic Values.
- Martín Baró, Ignacio. Los medios de comunicación masiva y la opinión pública en El Salvador de 1979 a 1989.
- Martínez, Juan A. Modernism, Tradition, and Nationalism: Carlos Enriquez's *El rapto de las mulatas*.
- Matsushita, Hiroshi. La política japonesa hacia América Latina en la década de 1980: Discrepancia y colaboración con los Estados Unidos.
- Mayorga, René Antonio. Tendencias y problemas de la consolidación de la democracia en Bolivia.
- McDonough, Marcia L. Designing for Biodiversity: Agricultural Production and Forest Protection in Baja Talamanca, Costa Rica.
- Megeney, William W. The African Heritage in Popular Venezuelan Lyrics.
- Melcher, Dorothea. Democracia y movimientos populares.
- Melesio Nolasco, José Carlos. Los refugiados guatemaltecos en la frontera sur de México.

- Méndez, José Luis. The Decentralization Process in Perú, 1985-1989.
- Milberg, W. and M. Twomey. The Debt Crisis and Transnational Corporations: The Case of the Mexican Automotive Sector.
- Miller, Francesca. Internationalist Politics and Women's Journalism.
- Montes, Segundo. El problema de los derechos humanos en El Salvador.
- Montgomery, Tommie Sue. Fighting Guerrillas: The United States and Low Intensity Conflict in El Salvador.
- Morales, Juan Antonio. Las políticas de estabilización en Bolivia, 1982-1989.
- Morris, Michael A. Great Power Military Relations in the Southern Cone.
- Morris, Nancy. Broadcast Media Use and Social Structure in Guatemala.
- Morrissey, Michael. Reflections on the Political Dimensions of an Education Project.
- Motta, Roberto. Xangô and Economic Strategies.
- Moya, José C. Cousins and Strangers: Attitudes toward Spanish Immigrants in Argentina during the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.
- Mraz, John. Towards a History of Mexican Photojournalism.
- Mumme, Stephen P. and Roberto Sánchez. Mexico's Environment Under Salinas: Institutionalizing Policy Reform.
- Muñoz Guillén, Mercedes. Estado, ejército y democracia.
- Myhre, David. Agricultural Credit and the Changing Structure of Mexican Agriculture.
- Nagy, Silvia. *Apu Ollantay* y las circunstancias de su creación.
- Nesman, Edgar. Paraprofessionals in Rural Development: The Use of Middle Level Technicians in Costa Rican Coffee Grower's Cooperatives.
- Nofal, María Beatriz. Economic Integration Program Between Argentina and Brazil.
- Norden, Deborah L. Democratic Consolidation and Military Professionalism.
- Ocampo, José Antonio and Catalina Crane. Ahorro, inversión y crecimiento en Colombia.
- Ortega, Eliana. *Materfamiliae*: Discurso poético de las escritoras puertorriqueñas en U.S.A.
- Ortiz, Edgar. The Global Economy and Prospects of Modernization Responses in Mexico.
- Ortiz, Edgar y Alejandra Cabello. Fomento económico de nacional financiera mediante sus fideicomisos públicos, 1974-1987.
- Osborn, Wayne. The Role of the United Nations Peace University of Costa Rica in the Central American Peace Process.
- Ostergaard, Ole. Entre el lodo y el fuego: Omar Cabezas y la renovación del viejo hombre nuevo.
- Pacheco Méndez, Guadalupe. Los perfiles electorales de 1988: Los sectores del PRI y el entorno distrital rural-urbano.
- Pacini Hernandez, Deborah. Dominican Popular Music under Authoritarian Regime.
- Paes de Barros, Ricardo and José W. Rossi. Aspectos da distribuição de renda pessoal no Brasil com base em dados da PNAD, 1985.
- Palacio, Joseph O. Exploring the Question of Ethnic Tension in Belize Between Natives and Recent Central American Arrivals.
- Palmer, Ransford W. Tourism and the Tax Burden: The Case of Barbados.
- Pamplona, Francisco. El SIDA en la Prensa Mexicana.
- Parodi, Carlos A. The Domestic Determinants of Foreign Debt Policy in Brazil.
- Pasara, Luis. Perú: La izquierda legal en la precariedad democrática.
- Paus, Eva. The Failure of the APRA New Economic Policies.
- Peeler, John A. Deepening Democracy and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America.
- Peniche, Eduardo A. International Trade and Cross-Cultural Education: Partners in Economic Progress.
- Perales, Rosalina. Evolución estética y permanencia temática en el teatro puertorriqueño de oposición.
- Pereira, Anthony W. Agrarian Reform and the Rural Workers' Unions of the Pernambuco Sugar Zone, Brazil 1985-88.
- Pérez Flores, Xiomara. Notas sobre la participación de los trabajadores en la revolución popular sandinista: Caso de la ATC y CST.
- Pérez Marín, Carmen I. Estratégias emancipadoras en "Pico rico mandorico" de Rosario Ferré y "Goblin Market" de Christina Rossetti.
- Pérez Priego, Rosalba. Los caracteres femeninos en la novela de la revolución mexicana.
- Pérez Vega, Ivette. La condición social y económica de emigrantes de Venezuela en el sur de Puerto Rico: El caso de la sucesión Vargas en Ponce, 1831.
- Peschard, Jacqueline. Modernización electoral en México: El caso del Distrito Federal.
- Pescio, Sergio. Trabajadores de la salud frente a la tortura.
- Picon Garfield, Evelyn. Periodical Literature for Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century Cuba: The Case of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda's *Album cubano de lo bueno y lo bello*.
- Pion Berlin, David. A House Divided: Segmented Professionalism and Security Ideology in the Argentine Army, 1984-1989.
- Potash, Robert A. Alfonsín and the Argentine Military.
- Pressburger, T. Miguel. Direito insurgente: O direito dos oprimidos.
- Pressburger, T. Miguel. Brasil: Violência e impunidade.

- Punsoda Díaz, José A. Estado y estructura urbana en Puerto Rico.
- Quesada C., Juan Rafael. Democracia y educación en Costa Rica.
- Quirós, Oscar E. From Aesthetics of Hunger to Hunger for Aesthetics in Cuban Cinema.
- Radcliffe, Sarah A. Between Persons and Women: Organized Peasant Women in Peru.
- Ramsey, Cynthia. Feminism and Third Cinema: *Salt of the Earth* and *The Official Story*.
- Rappaport, Joanne. Dialogues about History, Law and Ethnicity in Andean Colombia.
- Reati, Fernando. Las limitaciones del discurso feminista en *Con el trapo en la boca* de Enrique Medina.
- Rey, Juan Carlos. Pasado, presente y futuro de la democracia en Venezuela.
- Reydon, Bastian P. Dinámica do mercado de terras: Algumas evidências a partir de regiões irrigadas do nordeste.
- Rich, Donna and Paul H. Nitze. Cuba's Role as Mediator in International Conflicts: Formal and Informal Initiatives.
- Richardson, Bonham C. Nineteenth Century Labor Mobility in the Eastern Caribbean: A Threefold Typology.
- Rivera y Damas, Arturo. Nuestra experiencia pastoral dentro del conflicto que vive El Salvador.
- Roberts, Bryan R. Urbanization, Migration, and Development.
- Rodríguez Berutti, Camilo H. Aspectos legales e históricos de las islas Malvinas.
- Rodríguez Castro, María Elena. Las máscaras del cronista.
- Roggiero, Roberto. El sector informal como objeto de la atención pública en el Ecuador durante los ochenta.
- Roggiero, Roberto. Las pequeñas actividades mercantiles urbanas como objeto de la atención pública en el Ecuador a través de la noción de sector informal.
- Romero, Laura Patricia. El papel de los sectores medios en la transformación del sistema político mexicano.
- Rosell, Mónica y Arturo Haro. Situación de las *trading companies* peruanas.
- Rospigliosi, Fernando. Perspectivas del proceso democrático peruano.
- Rowe, William. Oralidad y literatura: interferencias discursivas y modelos literarios heterogéneos.
- Rutheiser, Charles. Cultural Colonization and Educational Underdevelopment: Changing Patterns of American Influence in Belizean Schooling.
- Sadek, Maria Tereza. Fair Elections and Democratization.
- Salazar, Jorge Mario. El modelo político electoral de la democracia costarricense, 1880-1980.
- Saltz, Joanne. Heroe - Heroína: Formal Sedimentation and Subversion in "Cuarta Versión" by Luisa Valenzuela.
- Sanabria, Harry. The Aftermath of Economic Development in Bolivia: Coca, Migration, and Land Tenure in a Highland Community.
- Sánchez Ramos, Irene. Caracterización del diálogo-negociación en El Salvador.
- Sandoval, José Miguel. Housing Needs and Public Policy: A Case Study of Ecuador.
- San Miguel, Pedro L. El campesinado del Cibao en la República Dominicana, 1910-1960.
- Santana, Adalberto. Política y narcotráfico en el Caribe y Centroamérica.
- Santana Rabell, Leonardo. Análisis histórico del proceso de urbanización y las relaciones sociales en una comunidad puertorriqueña: Vega Alta de Espinosa (1775-1899).
- Santiago, Carlos E. Minimum Wages and Migration in Puerto Rico.
- Santiago-Valles, Kelvin. The Transformation of the Poor Peasantry in Puerto Rico, 1898-1950: Social Structure and Survival Mechanisms.
- Scarpaci, Joseph L. Primary Care Decentralization in the Southern Cone: New Challenges for the Old Welfare State.
- Scherer Warren, Ilse. Projetos de grande escala: A ocupação do espaço e a reação popular.
- Schmidt, Gregory D. Regional Governments in Peru: Transcendental Reform or Electoral Demagoguery?
- Schneider, Cathy. The Communist Party and the Poblador Movement Before, During and After Pinochet.
- Schneider, Ben Ross. The Politics of Privatization in Brazil and Mexico: Variations on a Statist Theme.
- Schutte, Ofelia. Feminismo y filosofía latinoamericana: perspectivas contemporáneas.
- Sciorra, Joseph. Metaphors of Home: Puerto Rican *Casitas* in New York City.
- Selbin, Eric A. The Consolidation of Social Revolutions: Societal Transformation in the Nicaraguan Revolution.
- Selser, Gregorio. Estados Unidos contra Panamá: Las violaciones a las normas del derecho internacional.
- Serra, Luis. Participación campesina en el movimiento cooperativo nicaragüense.
- Seyler, Daniel J. The CBI and Caribbean Industrialization: An Assessment of the First Five Years and the Outlook Under CBI II.
- Sheahan, John. Reducing Poverty in Latin America: Markets, Democracy, and Social Choice.
- Sherradan, Margaret Sherrard. Influences on Health Policy Development in Mexico: The Case of IMSS-COPLAMAR.
- Shoman, Assad. Central American Immigrants in Belize: Threat or Opportunity.

- Sigmund, Paul E. Christian Democracy, Liberation Theology, and Political Culture in Latin America.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. Ideas, Institutions, and Leadership: Developmentalism in Argentina and Brazil.
- Silva, Patricio. Democratization and Foreign Policy: The Cases of Argentina and Brazil.
- Sims, Harold D. Collapse of the House of Labor: Ideological Divisions in the Cuban Labor Movement and the U.S. Role (1944-1949).
- Slater, David. Territorial Power and the Peripheral State: The Issue of Decentralization.
- Slatta, Richard W. Historical Images of Plains Frontiers in Latin America.
- Smith, Robert C. The Social Structure of Accumulation, Immigration Pathways and IRCA: The Construction of Labor Markets in the Pennsylvania Mushroom Industry, 1969-89.
- Smith, William C. Notes on the Political Economy of Alfonsinismo.
- Smulovitz, Catalina. En busca de la fórmula perdida: Argentina, 1955-1966.
- Smulovitz, Catalina. La reforma constitucional en la Argentina: Un sueño recurrente.
- Soares, Glaucio A. D. A censura e o contrôlo de informação durante o regime autoritário.
- Sojo-Obando, Carlos. Costa Rica en el segundo año de Esquipulas II: Lucha social y política exterior.
- Sonesson, Birgit. Catalan Migration to Puerto Rico in the Nineteenth Century: The Links to Sitges and Vilanova y Geltru.
- Sosa Elizaga, Raquel. La lucha del comunismo mexicano: Alianzas y conflictos en el período de Lázaro Cárdenas, 1935-37.
- Sparks, Amy J. A Glimpse of the Art of Francisco Toledo.
- Spoor, Max. Reforma económica y crédito rural en Nicaragua (1988-89).
- Stanfield, David. Land Registration and Security of Land Ownership in St. Lucia.
- Stavenhagen, Rodolfo. Los derechos indígenas: Nuevo enfoque del sistema internacional.
- Stephen, Lynn. Not Just One of the Boys: From Female to Feminist in Popular Rural Movements in Mexico.
- Stephens, Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens. The Political Economy of Jamaican Development: From Manley to Seaga to Manley.
- Stoller, Richard J. Alfonso López Pumarejo and Liberal Radicalism in 1930s Colombia.
- Street, Susan. The Role of Social Movements in the Analysis of Sociopolitical Change in Mexico.
- Suárez, Blanca. La transformación de la porcicultura en México.
- Sutton, Paul. The European Community and the Caribbean: Main Dimensions and Key Issues.
- Tamayo Rodríguez, Jaime. Los movimientos sociales y el proceso electoral de 1988 en México.
- Tarrés B., María Luisa. Formas de organización popular urbana en la crisis económica de México: Una mirada a partir de los de abajo.
- Teubal, Miguel. Hambre y alimentación en la Argentina.
- Thome, Joseph R. Grassroots Movements and the Democratization Process in Chile.
- Thrupp, Lori Ann. The Political Ecology of Natural Resource Strategies in Central America: A Focus on Costa Rica.
- Tollefson, Scott. Brazil, the United States, and the Missile Technology Control Regime.
- Torres Ribeiro, Ana Clara. Comunicação e metrópole: A questão da participação social.
- Tucker, Stuart K. The Caribbean Basin Initiative and Job Creation in the Basin.
- Valdes Zurita, Leonardo. Las elecciones presidenciales de 1988: Crisis y reforma del sistema político mexicano.
- van Eeuwen, Daniel. Francia de América o Europa tropical? Los departamentos ultramarinos antillano-guayanes frente al Mercado Unico Europeo.
- Van Vugt, Johannes P. Democratic Organization for Social Transformation: A Comparative Case Study of Nicaragua's Christian Base Communities in the Revolutionary Process.
- Vaughan, Mary Kay. Women School Teachers in the Mexican Revolution: The Story of Reyna's Braids.
- Vega Cánovas, Gustavo. Prospects for Mexico-U.S. Relations in an Era of Economic Crisis and Restructuring.
- Vega Carballo, José Luis. Límites y retos a la profundización de la democracia en Costa Rica.
- Vellinga, Menno. The Dynamics of Peripheral Capitalist Development: Socioeconomic Effects of Industrialization in Monterrey, Mexico.
- Ventura, Jorge de Moraes. A esperança dos homens: Sindicato e assistência social.
- Vernon, Dylan. National Identity, Multi-Ethnicity and Liberation: The Case of a Post-Colonial Belize.
- Vickers, William T. Traditional Concepts of Power among the Siona-Secoya and the Advent of the Nation-State.
- Viero Schmidt, Benício. Integração e estudos comparados da América Latina e do Caribe.
- Vilas, Carlos. Crisis, ajuste y perspectivas de reactivación económica en Nicaragua.
- Vilas, Carlos M. Clase, estado y etnicidad en la costa atlántica de Nicaragua.
- Volnovich, Juan Carlos. Psicoanálisis y socialismo: Cuba.
- Vunderink, Gregg L. Peasant Participation and Mobilization During Economic Crisis: The Case of Costa Rica.
- Wade, Peter. Black Servants in a Colombia City: The Political Economy of Domestic Service in Medellín.

- Wade, Peter. The Language of Race, Place and Nation in Colombia.
- Wali, Alaka. Holding on to the Land: Ethnicity and Development among Mapuche and Aymara Communities in Chile.
- Walker, William O., III. After Camarena: U.S. Drug Control Policy and Mexico.
- Wallace, James M., III. Incorporating Brazil into the Curriculum Through Project Icons, the International Negotiation Project Simulation Game.
- Waterston, Alisse. Drugs and Public Policy: The Political Economy of Street Addict Life in Loisada, New York.
- Weil, Connie and Jim Weil. Differential Acceptance of Oral Rehydration Therapy in a Multi-ethnic Setting in Bolivia.
- Weinstein, Marvin. Plebiscite, Primary and Elections: Uruguayan Democracy in a Year of Decision.
- Welch, Cliff. Rural Workers and the Law in Brazil: A Study of the Mobilization of Rural Labor and the Institution of Rural Labor Law in São Paulo, 1945-64.
- Welch, John H. The Future of Financial Services in the Context of a Brazil-Argentina Common Market.
- Will, W. Marvin. British Institutional Transplants in the New World: The Case of Barbados.
- Williams, Gwendoline. Tourism Development in Trinidad and Tobago: The Process of Building Public Support for a Tourism Policy in a Period of Economic Decline and Structural Adjustment.
- Williams, Patrick E. Decentralization and Regional Development in Guyana: Problems and Prospects.
- Williams, Phillip. Ten Years of Revolution: The Nicaraguan Church.
- Williams, Robert G. Coffee, Class, and the State in Honduras: A Comparative Sketch.
- Wilson, Larman C. Military Rule and the Hopes for Democracy in Haiti: The Limits of United States Foreign Policy.
- Winter, Robert. The Political Dynamics of Educational Planning: The Participatory Approach.
- Wolf, Daniel H. The Institutionalization of Competition in Nicaragua: "Winning" the 1990 Elections (Part One).
- Woods, Richard D. The Substratum of Mexican Autobiography.
- Woy-Hazleton, Sandra and William A. Hazleton. Political Violence and the Future of Peruvian Democracy.
- Wright, Bruce E. Political Theory and Political Practice in the Nicaraguan Revolution: The Relation Between Sandino and Fonseca.
- Yelvington, Kevin A. The Support Networks of Female Factory Workers in Trinidad: Some Preliminary Considerations.
- Yopo H., Boris. La concertación latinoamericana y el manejo de situaciones de crisis en el hemisferio.
- Zalkin, Michael. Rural Workers or "Peasants?" Agrarian Class Structure in Nicaragua.
- Zanotta Machado, Lia. A heterogeneidade cultural e os estudos comparados na América Latina e Caribe.
- Zermeño, Sergio. El regreso del líder: Crisis, neoliberalismo y desorden.
- Zimmerman, Marc. Puerto Rican Poetry in Illinois: The First Wave.
- Zini, Alvaro Antônio, Jr. Brazil: External Debt and Fiscal Exhaustion.

No author listed. Popular Organizations and Political Transformations: An Historical Perspective.

ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE FROM LASA

The following publications are available from the LASA Secretariat for \$3.00 each plus 50 cents for first class or air mail delivery in the U.S., Canada and Mexico; \$1.50 for surface mail or \$3.00 for air mail to all other countries:

The Electoral Process in Nicaragua: Domestic and International Influences. Report of the LASA Delegation to Observe the Nicaraguan General Election of November 4, 1984. 36 p.

Martin Diskin, Thomas Bossert, Salomón Nahmad S. and Stéfano Varese. *Peace and Autonomy on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua.* A Report of the LASA Task Force on Human Rights and Academic Freedom, 1986. 36 p.

Final Report of the LASA Commission on Compliance with the Central American Peace Accords. March 1988. 44 p.

The Chilean Plebiscite: A First Step Toward Redemocratization. Report by the International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association to Observe the Chilean Plebiscite. February 1989. 19 p.

**International Commission of the Latin American Studies Association
to Observe the February 25, 1990 Nicaraguan Election**

**Interim Report*
December 15, 1989**

INTRODUCTION

The 1990 elections in Nicaragua, and the international perception of them, will be crucial for Nicaragua as well as for the prospects of peace in Central America. Although many groups will be observing the Nicaraguan election, the LASA delegation is the only one composed of experienced scholars who have specialized in the study of the region. The LASA Commission's findings will reflect a comparative perspective that few other groups can hope to present. To accomplish this LASA has appointed a delegation of 12 experts.¹

In 1984 LASA sent a team of observers to monitor the Nicaraguan elections and report on how they were conducted. LASA's report provided a balanced and judicious view of a complex process and set an outstanding standard for team research. Since then, LASA has sent teams to observe an election in Paraguay, a plebiscite in Chile, and the compliance with the Esquipulas Central American Peace Accord. The LASA team monitoring the 1990 Nicaraguan Presidential, National Assembly, Municipal, and Regional Autonomous Assembly elections aims to meet previous LASA standards of meaningful, timely reporting and group research.

The LASA Commission will observe the process on more than one occasion. The first trip, the subject of this report, took place between November 21 and 27.² The delegation conducted interviews with representatives of a broad array of opinion, focusing more on the opposition than on the incumbents.³

The second trip will take place in the second week of January to observe the campaign in eight of the nine regions of the country. Finally the group will go to Nicaragua near the close of the campaign, and stay through the voting and counting. We will submit a final report to be published in the *LASA Forum*.

As scholars we are cognizant of our obligation to present to our colleagues a faithful image of what we see during our visits as well as conclusions based on the significant comparative experience embodied in the group. Our collective goal is to produce a document whose usefulness will endure beyond this electoral process.

This interim report describes conditions as we observed them through the end of November. The final product of the Commission will include this as well as reports on the next two periods of observation. Our final report will be issued at the end of March 1990.

REPORT SUMMARY

Based on the group's experience so far, these are our principal impressions:

--The 1990 Nicaraguan elections are taking place after significant international and national efforts have been made to reduce tensions and develop consensus.

--The rules for the conduct of the campaign have been worked out and accepted by all the participants. They reflect many concessions made by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), some in response to external pressure, to ensure universal participation.

--During the pre-campaign period there was significantly less hostility and disagreement among parties than there was in 1984. No political party is boycotting the 1990 election.

--A national voter registration drive has been successfully concluded; an estimated 89 percent of eligible voters registered; problems were relatively few and minor.

--Although all parties have lodged complaints with the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE), most problems have been relatively minor and do not constitute a systematic pattern of intimidation or denial of access to the electoral process. Lately there have been concerns about increased violence.

--The CSE has been handling complaints and issuing rulings in a fair manner.

--The Nicaraguan government has insisted that it intends to see this process through, no matter what complicating national or international situations may arise.

--The economy is fragile, and is a key election issue against the FSLN. However, recent improvements in the economy and earlier land distributions and social programs may help

*This report is reproduced as received by the *Forum*.

the FSLN.

--The increase in military activity, due to renewed contra activity and the lifting of the cease-fire, is worrisome since it may impede voting in some areas, but it does not appear severe enough at present to influence the election's outcome.

--Large amounts of foreign financing could exert a distorting effect on the outcome of the election. Much of that money, as well as the possible use of state resources in the campaign, will be very difficult to monitor.

--Several polls have been conducted; many of them are flawed; the latest and most professionally conducted poll shows an FSLN lead.

--Given the inter-party consensus concerning the rules of the electoral game, the lack of systematic intimidation, the access to campaign resources, the presence of a large number of international observers, and the uncertainty of voter preferences, as of late November we saw no impediments to an election in February that, by historical and regional standards, would be judged free and fair.

RECENT ELECTION HISTORY

Somocismo Replaced

With the 1979 revolution and the end of over four decades of Somoza family rule, the subject of what constituted democracy was intensely debated in Nicaragua. For many Nicaraguans, bitterly familiar with Somoza's electoral system, especially for the FSLN (Sandinista Front for National Liberation) elections alone could not constitute full democracy. They rated empowerment of the poor majority through the promotion of education and grass-roots organizations as at least as important as formal elections.

In contrast, for many critics of the Sandinista Revolution, democracy was only to be measured in terms of electoral competition. The political opposition interpreted the FSLN's mass organizations not as normal constituency development, but rather as an unfair use of incumbency to guarantee continuation in power.

In 1980 the FSLN promised that elections would be held in 1985. With this step they made a commitment both to grass roots participatory democracy, and representative elections.⁴ The interim Council of State, the legislative body with representation from the mass organizations, enacted electoral laws modeled after Western European institutions and, in early 1984, set Presidential and National Assembly elections for November 4 of that year.

The 1984 Election and New Constitution

Three months before the 1984 balloting President Reagan called the Nicaraguan election a "Soviet style sham." Nevertheless, the LASA observers delegation concluded that "the range of options available to the Nicaraguan voter on most issues was broad, but it would have been broader if the U.S. government had not succeeded in persuading or pressuring key opposition leaders to boycott or withdraw from the election."⁵ Observer teams from the British Houses of Commons and Lords, the Irish Parliament, the Dutch Government, the Socialist International, and LASA generally agreed that the elections were clean, competitive and meaningful.⁶ In these elections, the FSLN candidates Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez won 67 percent of the valid vote for president and vice president respectively, and 61 of 96 seats in the National Constituent Assembly.

The assembly presented a draft constitution in 1985. This document was examined and debated by the public in town meetings (*cabildos abiertos*), internationally discussed, modified, and enacted into law in January 1987. The new constitution called for regularly held elections, of which the first for national and municipal offices would take place in 1990.⁷

Negotiations - National and International

It is now clear that, in spite of elections in many Latin American countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, Peru, Guatemala, and El Salvador), many national problems, such as lack of civilian control of the military, and failure to punish human rights abuses, remain unsolved. In Nicaragua, with constitutional mechanisms in place, the ground was prepared for a series of agreements that could create wider understandings about the rules of the political game. These agreements, both nationally and internationally derived, could serve to establish common ground in the many areas of national tension, and may help to increase national consensus sufficiently so that the winners of the February election will have a meaningful mandate with a greater chance for long run political stability.

On August 7, 1987, the presidents of Central America signed a regional peace agreement, known as the Central America Accord, or Esquipulas II. At the regional level, the accord prohibited outside support for irregular forces that destabilize governments (in Nicaragua's case, the U.S.-sponsored forces known as the *contras* or the National Resistance). The accord obligated each signatory country to release political prisoners, terminate states of siege, restore full civil and political rights, and implement normal electoral processes. By early 1988, according to the LASA Peace Commission report, Nicaragua had gone a long way toward compliance. President Ortega appointed the FSLN's most powerful domestic critic, Cardinal Miguel

Obando y Bravo, to head the National Reconciliation Commission as an oversight body. The government also reversed its refusal to negotiate with the contras and held talks in March 1988 with the contra leadership at Sapoá where an informal cease-fire and a framework for talks were discussed. It appeared that an agreement was reached wherein contra forces would gather into demarcated zones. This did not work out as discussed and talks broke off, but the Nicaraguan government began a voluntary monthly unilateral cease-fire that was regularly extended until November 1989.

In October 1988, the National Assembly passed a revised electoral law, adopting much of the 1984 framework. Opposition parties, particularly those which boycotted the 1984 election and regarded the assembly as illegitimate, were dissatisfied and called for a national dialogue outside the assembly to form a new law. At Tesoro Beach, El Salvador, in February 1989, the presidents agreed to a plan to demobilize the contras by December 5, 1989, before Nicaragua's 1990 elections. After this, the Nicaraguan government agreed to dialogue with the opposition about further changes in the electoral law.

As a result of this dialogue, several agreements were reached between the government and the opposition and an amended electoral law was approved by the National Assembly on April 18, 1989. Known as Law 56, the changes dealt with electoral authorities, legal status of political parties, voter registration and poll watchers, campaigning and the media, campaign financing, and campaign ethics. In the view of the Library of Congress legal specialist, this law "appears technically to improve the conditions that would allow the development of a pluralistic system that has multiple parties and that guarantees the right of the opposition parties to operate."⁸ On April 21, 1989, the assembly approved a General Law On Media and Social Communication.

In a marathon, televised negotiation, in August 1989, the FSLN agreed to some two dozen additional changes in electoral and media laws proposed by the opposition. In exchange, all opposition parties endorsed a call for the demobilization of the contras. With this accord in hand, on August 7, 1989, at Tela, Honduras, the Nicaraguan president with the other Central American presidents agreed to a UN-supervised demobilization of the contras by December 5, the opening day of the election campaign.

The United States has interpreted the Central American Accord and the Tela accords as consistent with its provision of the contras with \$4 million a month in humanitarian aid. After the Tela accords, the contras moved 2000 more troops into Nicaragua and stepped up attacks leading to numerous deaths of Nicaraguan civilians and Army reservists. In response, at an international meeting in San José, Costa Rica, in October, President Ortega suspended the cease-fire, maintained voluntarily and unilaterally by the

Nicaraguan government for the previous 19 months. The suspension of the cease-fire was criticized abroad but was defended by the Nicaraguan government as a necessary measure to prevent the contras from disrupting the election process.

POLITICAL PARTY REGISTRATION

The April 1989 electoral accords responded to opposition demands and required fewer signatures and less organizational representation for party registration than was needed in 1984. But this also drew opposition charges that the government was making it easier to dilute the field with many parties. Ironically, most of the new parties were factions split from old parties, complicating the registration process as disputes arose over which group controlled the party symbols, offices and resources. The Independent Liberal, Conservative and Social Christian parties each divided into at least four groups. A total of 21 parties eventually registered. Twelve of them later grouped into an ideologically diverse coalition called the National Opposition Union (UNO).

Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN). Formed in 1961, this party eschewed electoral participation during the Somoza era, given its conviction that Somoza would not permit an opposition victory. Its military victory in 1979 over Somoza and the past ten years of incumbency have helped make the FSLN by far the largest and best organized party. But incumbency carries the disadvantage of being blamed by the opposition for the economic crisis that currently besets the country. Also, the FSLN's campaign slogan, "everything will be better" assumes that with the contra war behind it, the new government will be able to resume attention to its eroded social programs, reduce the economic crisis and move toward economic development.

The FSLN contains Marxist and nationalist tendencies as well as a root in the liberation theology of the Catholic Church. During the last ten years, it presided over significant structural economic changes and recently has implemented economic adjustment policies that have reduced state intervention and emphasized market forces. Running mates Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez are joined by candidates for 90 National Assembly seats. Only the FSLN was able to field a full slate of 895 candidates for 131 municipal council positions. It runs on a platform calling for a mixed economy.

The opposition includes two coalition groups and seven political parties:

The National Opposition Union (UNO): Sharing an anti-Sandinista common ground, this 11-party coalition's ideologies range from conservative to socialist.⁹ According to its presidential candidate Violeta Chamorro, UNO has

no relationship to the contras or Nicaraguan Resistance. However, several top leaders of UNO were members of the contra political directorate until recently.

UNO has issued a general platform. While rumors of heavy infighting over platform planks, candidate choices and finances persist, as of November UNO had belied predictions that it would fall apart. The Popular Social Christian Party quit the coalition over the issue of accepting extensive foreign funds. Power, within UNO, seems to be centralizing around Alfredo César, top campaign advisor to Chamorro, and head of the Managua National Assembly slate. César once served as Director of the Central Bank under the Sandinista government, then later as political leader of the contras.

UNO's platform calls for the elimination of state farms, an end to the military draft, cessation of land confiscations, the full integration (as opposed to autonomy) of the Atlantic Coast and a restructuring of the Army, currently officered by Sandinistas. The latter issue, and the question of UNO's informal ties to the contras, could be a particularly explosive issue during the campaign. UNO fielded candidates for all 90 assembly seats and all but one municipality.

The Social Christian Party (PSC) - Popular Social Christian Party (PPSC) - YATAMA Alliance: The PPSC split from the PSC in 1976 and assumed a more liberal position than its parent. The PSC abstained from the 1984 election; the PPSC did not, placing third with 9 percent of the vote. The PSC never joined UNO; the PPSC did initially but withdrew from UNO in October 1989 at which time it formed a coalition with the PPSC. Both hope to receive support from the Christian Democratic International, promise an end to the draft and support continued development of the autonomy process on the Atlantic Coast.

YATAMA, formed from remnants of Atlantic Coast Miskito rebel groups, is led by two formerly opposed self-exiled leaders of the Miskito armed opposition, Brooklyn Rivera and Steadman Fagoth.

The PPSC joined the alliance too late to place its members on the alliance slates, and at least two of its members opted to remain on UNO assembly slates. The presidential ticket consists of Erick Ramírez and Rina Córdoba, both from the PSC. The alliance has 90 assembly candidates and 477 municipal candidates in seven regions.

The Conservative Democratic Party (PCD): The PCD finished second with 14 percent of the vote in 1984. Many point to its inability to field many municipal candidates as an indication of decline. Its ticket: Eduardo Molina and Hugo Torres, for president and vice president, 88 candidates for the assembly, and 208 for the Municipal Councils.

The Social Conservative Party (PSOC): This new party runs Fernando Aguero and William Robleto, and only 46 assembly and 32 municipal candidates.

The Liberal Party of National Unity (PLIUN): Born from a 1987 split from the Independent Liberal Party (in UNO), it runs Rodolfo Robelo and Lombardo Martínez, with 84 assembly candidates and 127 municipal candidates, all from the Pacific coast regions.

The Marxist Leninist Popular Action Movement (MAP-ML): The MAP believes the Sandinistas have been too conciliatory to the private sector. The MAP won one percent of the vote in 1984. It runs Isidro Téllez and Carlos Cuadra, 84 assembly candidates and 122 municipal candidates.

The Revolutionary Workers' Party (PRT): A Trotskyist party born in 1971 but without legal status until after 1984. It runs Bonifacio Miranda and Juan Carlos Leytón, 84 assembly candidates and only 47 Municipal candidates.

Revolutionary Unity Movement (MUR): Formed in 1989, its candidates are ex-Sandinista Managua mayor Moisés Hassán, and Francisco Samper, it runs on an anti-corruption platform. It also fields 90 assembly and 188 municipal council candidates.

The Central American Unionist Party (PUCA): It favors Central American unity, environmental protection, and independence from the super powers. It runs Blanca Rojas and Daniel Urcuyo, 90 assembly candidates and, in what a functionary of the CSE told LASA was the political surprise of the year, has fielded over 800 Municipal candidates, the third highest total after the FSLN and the UNO.

VOTER REGISTRATION

On four Sundays in October, 1,700,000 people, an estimated 88.7 percent of the eligible voters, registered nationwide. The October United Nations (UN) report was positive, and Elliot Richardson, the Personal Representative of the UN Secretary General, announced that the voter registration process had gone "extremely well."¹⁰ Another observer, former U.S. President Carter Jimmy Carter said, "My confidence in the Supreme Electoral Council has been greatly reinforced based upon their performance so far. The conduct of the registration was almost without blemish, except for 63 *juntas* or registration places where the registration was interrupted at least partially by contra activity and other causes."¹¹

In contrast to other international reports on voter registration, the Washington-based Center for Democracy emphasized that "several serious electoral problems remain unresolved."¹² This includes the presence of armed

deputies at some registration places and non-registration of contras in Honduras. President Fiallos of the CSE has told us that the Center's call for reopened registration for contras could be accommodated once the contras demobilize. According to the Organization of American States (OAS), around 500 complaints were reported during the four Sundays of the registration process. In the OAS assessment, the number of incidents was relatively small, and most involved minor problems.

The large turnout, underestimation of the population in some locales, and transportation difficulties in remote areas, caused occasional shortages of registration materials and long lines. On the Atlantic Coast, upper Río Coco region, several communities were not served, according to the government, because of contra threats of attack. The opposition claims that these gaps were due to political motives. The National assembly is considering a petition to reopen registration on the Atlantic Coast. The number of potential voters without opened registration places was estimated at less than one half of one percent (.5 percent).

Registration was hampered by the lack of accurate demographic data (the most recent census was 1971), and financial difficulties. Since many people in rural areas do not have documents certifying their age and address, many people were allowed to register if accompanied by two witnesses. Several opposition parties dispute the overall registration figures, intimating such conditions permitted fraud in the form of multiple registrations. However, with money from the U.S., UNO will have the opportunity to verify the registration lists with a door to door canvass. But all groups we spoke to, including UNO, have found no systematic pattern of abuse and agreed that there was massive participation and enthusiasm by the population.

ISSUES OF PARTY RESOURCES

Mariano Fiallos, President of the CSE, told us the two most difficult monitoring and enforcement issues facing the CSE were foreign campaign contributions and the possible FSLN use of state funds for its campaign.

Many countries, including the United States, prohibit financing of political campaigns by foreign powers. But largely through United States pressure, Nicaragua overrode its own law prohibiting foreign campaign financing. The amended law requires that 50 percent of each foreign contribution go to cover the expenses of the CSE. However, many provisions of the law are difficult to enforce.

The U.S. Congress passed a roughly \$9 million appropriation, with a significant portion going to UNO, another to support independent groups promoting democracy, and a portion to observer groups. None of the money, even that appropriated for UNO, is to be used "for media promotion of a political party or to finance the campaign of any

candidate for public office." ¹³ The National Endowment for Democracy (NED), through the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs and Republican Institute for International Affairs (NDI/NRI) will award:

\$1,524,000	to the Institute for Electoral Promotion and Training (IPCE). This new foundation is associated with Alfredo César, a member of the board of directors and a close advisor to Violeta Chamorro. The funds are to be used to "expound on the <i>benefits of pluralism and self-government through non-partisan messages</i> " and to "ensure the integrity of the electoral process, by verifying voter registration lists and observing the casting and counting of ballots" (emphasis theirs). ¹⁴
\$1,841,000	will go to UNO, described as "a broad-based alliance of Nicaraguan parties to enable it to perform normal party functions" (emphasis theirs). These functions include; "research, communicating with activists, and organizing" as well as "office space, office equipment and supplies, vehicles, and non-campaign support staff". A matching amount should go to the CSE. ¹⁵
\$ 493,013	will go through the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) and the Confederación de Unificación Sindical (CUS).
\$ 220,000	will go through the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) to Vía Cívica, a recently founded civic organization. Vía Cívica's Board of Directors contains well known leaders from UNO.
\$2,801,312	reserve fund to supplement any of the above groups as necessary.
\$ 97,400	NED grant management costs.
\$ 757,720	NDI/NRI grant management costs.
\$7,735,000	GRAND TOTAL

The money for IPCE, CUS, and Vía Cívica will not be subject to CSE scrutiny. Those funds will be monitored by the donors and, in theory at least, the Nicaraguan Central Bank, Attorney General's office, and the Ministry for External Cooperation. In this politically charged context, it is almost impossible to guarantee that money will be used for exclusively non-partisan purposes. For instance, it will be difficult to ensure that IPCE's door-to-door canvass to verify voter registration will be a non-partisan effort. As an election observer for Freedom House noted,

"this is a wonderful exercise in gathering the faithful."¹⁶ Even if all the watchdogs were to function diligently, it would probably take until well after the election to discover irregularities.

U.S. assistance to UNO has been criticized not only by the FSLN but by other opposition parties as well. The Social Christian party, perhaps the third largest party, has less than \$10,000 in non-governmental campaign funds. It claims that the U.S. aid distorts the electoral process by giving UNO a significant monetary advantage.

The public financing available through the CSE to parties is, by comparison, minimal due to severe CSE budget problems. The entire pool for CSE funds for ten parties is \$700,000. Half of this (\$350,000) is divided equally among the ten parties (the UNO coalition counts as one party). The other half is divided according to the proportion of votes obtained in the 1984 election. Thus, the Social Christian Party would get some \$35,000 from the first half of the pool and, as it abstained from the 1984 election, nothing from the second half.

The use of state funds by the FSLN also presents problems to the CSE. While it would be relatively easy for the CSE to discover, for example, government vehicles being used to truck people to campaign rallies (it is legal for parties to rent some of these vehicles), other types of misuse of funds, such as government workers doing campaign work on government time, are much more difficult to detect. It is not clear that the CSE has the legal power to open the books of political parties. Even if it does, it is less clear that it has the political power to enforce heavy sanctions against either the FSLN or the other parties. For example, although it technically has the power to do so, it is almost inconceivable that it would eject a party from the race or deny it access to the media even for extreme violations of the electoral law.

ACCESS TO MEDIA

With the end of government censorship of the media in early 1988 and the April and August 1989 election accords, the intensity of debate over media access has been reduced. Representatives of *La Prensa*, the opposition daily, and *La Crónica*, a new opposition weekly, told LASA delegates that they print what they want with no pressure from the government. Newspapers are not required to run party ads and so far *Barricada* and *La Prensa* have refused to run any ads for other than the party they respectively back. Neither covered the December return to Nicaragua of ex-Sandinista, ex-contra Eden Pastora, no doubt because he was casting his lot with the Social Christian alliance.

The opposition claims pro-Sandinista radio stations outnumber theirs. In a country where the daily newspaper circulation is perhaps one-sixth of the voting age popula-

tion, and probably no more than a minority have television, the ability to reach a radio audience is crucial. Two opposition stations (including Radio Católica, which is supposed to be non-political) have national signals. No major local area is without an opposition station. In addition, the contra radio station 15 de Septiembre and anti-Sandinista Radio Impacto beam in powerful signals from Honduras and Costa Rica respectively. Listeners could easily hear anti-Sandinista viewpoints long before the opening of the campaigns.

Access to television remains an area of strong contention. But the August accords seem to have shifted opposition complaints from persistent demands for an "independent" TV channel to particular instances of perceived unfairness.

The state runs both TV channels (2 and 6). While most programming is not political, the nightly news is clearly biased toward the Sandinistas. President Ortega and Vice President Ramírez receive lavish, upbeat coverage; short and mocking stories mark coverage of the rallies of Violeta Chamorro. Moreover, during the broadcast day, the Sandinistas plug in spots which, if they do not push their candidates, paint a favorable picture of the society and FSLN leadership.

The television and radio access rules established in the various 1989 accords reduce the Sandinista TV advantage. Starting in late August, Channel 2, under the supervision of the CSE, aired three daily ten-minute political slots, between 6:30 and 7:00 (just prior to the prime time, avidly followed *telenovelas* or soap operas, on Channel 6). The CSE allocated these slots to parties in rotation. A similar, though longer, program is aired on state radio. Parties can use these slots as they choose, with free air time and studio use.

Opposition parties complained that ten minutes every four days was not sufficient. And, they affirmed, Channel 2's signal was weak in some areas of Managua, and barely existent in important population centers of León and Matagalpa. In late November, the government agreed to an additional (but overlapping) hour, from 6:00 to 7:00 on the more powerful Channel 6. From Monday through Friday two parties get a free half hour of television time per day. The show's format features a seven minute opening presentation by the party, followed by questions from reporters selected from various journalist groups. UNO charged that most reporter groups were on the left of the political spectrum. Negotiations about media access continue, but UNO has now appeared in its first time slot. Its show, aired after the LASA delegation left Nicaragua, was scheduled to include a viewer call-in format.

Starting December 5, parties were to be able to purchase a minimum of three minutes a day for television spots and five minutes on radio. As of November 27, the CSE had not yet formulated regulations about how time would be

divided (i.e. who would get prime TV time on which days) and the price. Market rates will determine radio prices. A radio or TV station cannot refuse any party's request to buy air time, and if it sells more than the minimum to one party, it must do the same to all others.

The rules have reduced the FSLN television advantage, but smaller opposition parties are helped much less than UNO. The smaller parties get free TV time, but only UNO and the FSLN can afford slick video productions. Most opposition parties complain that their slots place them at a competitive disadvantage to FSLN daily television control. From the FSLN perspective, ninety percent of the allotted time is anti-Sandinista polemics as all opposition parties focus their fire on the FSLN.

The media campaigns and coverage are polemical, as is political rhetoric generally. The opposition calls the Sandinistas totalitarians or even *piricuacos* (rabid dogs), the epithet used by the contras for Sandinista soldiers. UNO's ten minute spot contrasts happy scenes of pro-UNO crowds seemingly floating down the streets, with grim faced shots of Sandinista leaders, associated with buzzards picking at garbage, desperately poor people and images of soldiers carrying away dead bodies.

Some FSLN ads associate UNO with the contras and Somoza's National Guard. One ad mimics a full page UNO ad, but changes all UNO references to GN (Guardia Nacional) and concludes with "GN can kill" followed by photos of dead bodies. The CSE has suggested to *El Nuevo Diario* and *Barricada* that this ad exceeded the bounds contemplated in the media ethics law. In late November a resolution of this dispute was pending.

The CSE seems to have the legal power to publicly admonish and ultimately suspend publication of material that violates legal campaign ethics. On one occasion, a Channel 2 producer omitted a section of an UNO spot considered offensive to the FSLN. The CSE ordered it reinstated and rebroadcast. But the CSE has limited political power. There would be storms of protest if any publication were suspended for long. Instead of using its power to suspend ads, the CSE has summoned media representatives and lectured them.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT CAMPAIGN BEHAVIOR

During this first trip of the LASA delegation, the nature of complaints heard from the parties seemed much worse than what we directly observed. We heard strong rhetoric concerning mobs, illegal detentions, beatings, and rock throwing. In many cases, however, electoral councils or international observer teams facilitated solutions. The OAS characterized most such incidents as minor, spontaneous, and without evidence of central direction.

On a visit to León, we discovered that the regional electoral council (CRE) was making efforts to settle complaints through negotiation. Most of the complaints dealt with political slogans painted in inappropriate places. The parties had agreed to a code of behavior during political rallies, and urged the media not to be inflammatory.

UNO members in León told us that serious mistreatment and repression had recently occurred in a remote municipality. Two members of our delegation accompanied the complainants, at their request, to the regional police chief's office. The two hour discussion that ensued ranged from issues of jurisdiction to arranging several meetings with political parties, the CRE, and the local OAS team to investigate facts in the remote community and, in a further dispute, to settle questions of permission to hold rallies during days of religious festivities. Both sides expressed satisfaction with the meeting.

In the Matagalpa region we saw two UNO rallies. At one, we witnessed a stone throwing incident. Though *La Prensa* ran a photo of the victim claiming FSLN mobs were to blame, it was clear that the stone thrower acted completely alone, was very likely apolitical and perhaps emotionally disturbed, and that the police quickly intervened. At the second rally, vice presidential candidate Godoy claimed FSLN members had punctured tires of UNO trucks before the rally, and turned crowd attention to a nearby FSLN center from which Sandinista tunes were being loudly played. A crowd of UNO youths picked up stones and headed for the center. The local UN observer intervened to avoid a confrontation. This was a constructive outcome, coming as it does during a heated electoral contest in a country in which there are still belligerent military activities. In other countries, there might well have been deaths at this point. The LASA Commission concluded that there was clearly room for all parties to improve their campaign etiquette and ethics, but no party had committed abuses serious enough to interfere with access to the voters or to jeopardize the electoral process.

A disturbing event occurred on December 10, after the commission had left. Newspaper reports indicated that a violent confrontation took place at Masatepe, a town about one hour's drive from Managua. Rocks were thrown, firearms and machetes were used, causing the death of one person and at least fourteen injuries.

The newspaper accounts were derivative from two eyewitness reports, one from the permanent observers group from the OAS and the other from the Washington-based Center for Democracy, one of the accredited election observer groups whose delegation visited Nicaragua December 9-11.

The OAS report states that it was "impossible to determine who were responsible for the initiation of the violent acts."

Nevertheless, they believe from their observations that these acts "were provoked in a deliberate manner."¹⁷ The Center for Democracy report quotes an OAS staffer as blaming a "small group of Sandinistas"¹⁸ for throwing stones with an immediate response from UNO activists. The Center delegation was present when machete attacks occurred and they assert that the machete wielders were Sandinista supporters.

Although the two reports differ on the crucial aspect of who started the trouble, they concur that this incident is extremely worrisome. The OAS report states that the local police were reticent to intervene in this disturbance for fear of being accused of favoring one side. The OAS recommends that guidelines be worked out so that authorities can legitimately intervene to prevent violence. Both groups call for an investigation of this event and both ask for dialogue among the parties to reach agreements to prevent further occurrences of this nature.

THE ECONOMY AS A FACTOR IN THE ELECTIONS

Economic deterioration since the 1984 elections, as measured by falling urban wage levels, scarcities of basic commodities, unemployment, reduced government services, and a continually falling value of the córdoba, will undoubtedly hurt FSLN re-election chances, despite FSLN claims that the war is largely to blame. In 1988 total income levels fell by 8 percent and inflation topped 30,000 percent.

On the other hand recent severe (and distinctly orthodox) austerity measures have produced notable relative improvements that may benefit the FSLN. In 1989, income still declined, but at a slower rate (3-5 percent). Inflation fell to a more manageable 10 percent per month in the latter half of the year. During the last two years there has been a dramatic increase in the presence of goods in the marketplace--new cars and trucks, fruits and vegetables and medicines. But this "abundance" of goods in part reflected the fact that few could afford to buy. The new policies returned Nicaragua to pre-revolutionary conditions under which access to goods was rationed strictly by income rather than being mitigated by government subsidy and redistribution programs. On balance, the electoral impact of continued deterioration in the statistical standard of living may have been significantly offset during 1989 by a reduction in the acute anxiety about the combination of hyperinflation and absolute scarcity of goods.

At the end of the year the current economic balance was delicate. The imposition of greater austerity in 1989 brought Nicaragua very little additional external assistance to help control price levels. (This was "surgery without anesthesia" according to one commentator.) Several FSLN sources indicated the U.S. had blocked pre-election loans from European and Middle Eastern sources. Continued U.S. pressure on other governments to withhold financial

assistance from Nicaragua or any dramatic new U.S. attempt to do financial damage to Nicaragua could destabilize the economy very quickly, potentially tilting voter opinion away from the incumbent government. But it could take only relatively small amounts of additional credits, new short-term loans, or increases in export earnings to maintain relative economic stability through the elections. (The devaluation of the córdoba from 25,000 per dollar to 42,000 in November was caused by shortfalls in the foreign exchange market of as little as \$5,000,000 per month.)

The FSLN might also benefit in the election from some of its past successes. In the first four years of the revolution the standard of living of the poor majority increased. Programs in agrarian reform, universal free health care, subsidized foodstuffs brought historically new benefits to many. And the FSLN slogan, "Everything will be better," can be linked to the promise of more European and other non-U.S. aid, as well as to a definitive end to the contra war.

UNO promises dramatic improvements, extensive U.S. financial support, an end to the U.S. blocking of multilateral loans and cessation of the U.S. trade embargo. President Bush has pledged an end to the embargo if Chamorro wins, signalling that, even if the FSLN should win fairly, the United States might well maintain hostile economic policies. On the other hand, the advantage of UNO's economic promises could be diminished by its rather amazing ideological heterogeneity. Some Nicaraguans question the ability of an UNO government to create coherent, improved economic policy and to maintain political order, under continued austerity, in the face of a well-organized and determined FSLN opposition.

OPINION POLLS

Not permitted in the 1984 election, public opinion polls have become a vital yet highly controversial part of the current election. Since June 1988, at least six Nicaraguan and international organizations have conducted over a dozen major polls and many smaller polls. These have been conducted as internal polls to shape campaign tactics¹⁹, surveys as instruments of voter persuasion,²⁰ news and public information surveys to assess the relative strength of contenders,²¹ and surveys for academic, scholarly, commercial, or other informative ends.²² Several polls fall into more than one category. Methodologies vary, complicating the interpretation of results.

Concerns among research organizations about the manipulation and distortion of polling data have led to discussions of research standards and a conference scheduled for December 13, 1989.²³

There was no reliable national sampling frame available

until November 1989 (when the new voter registration list was compiled), nor were there accurate maps of dwellings, or reliable population estimates. Polls conducted before November 1989 had statistically deficient sampling frames, and, therefore, questionable results despite the professionalism with which several of the polls were conducted.

Until November 1989, samples have been exclusively or predominantly urban. But the cities sampled varied from one poll to the next, making comparisons between polls difficult. Rural preferences (30-40 percent of the electorate) could have dramatically affected results.

Questions asked about candidate and party preferences have been worded differently between polls (even by the same organizations) possibly measuring rather different phenomena and further reducing comparability. Screening for intention to vote was not always done, nor done in the same way by different polls, reducing comparability.

Some pollsters have refused to release information about questions, samples, or other methods, making their published results impossible to evaluate for accuracy. The July 1989 *La Prensa* poll did not report its methodology and claimed much higher support for opposition candidates than other, contemporaneous, more methodologically forthcoming surveys. A similar criticism was made about the CID poll in October 1989. CID is sometimes referred to as CID Gallup, but is not a subsidiary of the U.S. based Gallup.

Despite these problems, the climate for survey research seems very good. Most survey organizations report subjects' willingness to cooperate and share their opinions. Refusal rates on several surveys have been virtually negligible (1-2 percent). Survey teams move and interview without interference.

Although these problems rendered it virtually impossible to assess with confidence the relative strengths nationwide of the contenders from pre-November 1989 results, an inkling of public opinion may be gleaned from available data.²⁴ Most surveys reported that about ninety percent of respondents intended to vote. (Unlike 1984, no organization has called for abstention.) Conservative readings of (shifting) urban samples since August suggest that the FSLN began with 25 percent and increased to perhaps 40 percent of the urban vote by the November Univision poll. The UNO and other opposition began with a decided disadvantage but, with candidates selected, had closed ground to near 40 percent of the urban vote by November. The undecided urban vote remained on the order of 20 percent. The rural vote, roughly a third of the total, remained completely unknown.

A poll done for the election observer group Hemisphere Initiatives by the Washington-based Greenberg-Lake polling organization was the first to use a randomly selected

national sample based upon voters lists from the voter registration completed in October. Taken in late November, it showed Ortega with 44 percent, Chamorro with 27 percent, other opposition parties with a total of 5 percent, and 23 percent undecided. Greenberg-Lake estimates of the leanings of undecided voters suggested their eventual votes would result in an FSLN margin of 50 percent to 35 percent.

OBSERVING THE OBSERVERS

To ensure international acceptance of elections the Sandinista government has invited an unprecedented array of international organizations to send observers. Seven groups have been invited: the United Nations, the Organization of American States, the Latin American Studies Association, the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, Hemisphere Initiatives, the Center for Democracy and the International Human Rights Law Group.²⁵ Horacio Boneo, Deputy Chief of the UN Election Mission, estimated that there will be 1000 accredited observers to witness the election. Many more groups will send unofficial observers.

International validation of the elections would give the winner important recognition. For the FSLN, that could mean much-needed international loans and assistance. For the opposition, observers should help reduce potential intimidation and, in the event of an opposition victory, guarantee the FSLN's legal compliance, including a transfer of power.

The UN and the OAS have fielded the most developed observation teams.²⁶ Both have observer teams in each region.²⁷ Although these teams do not investigate conflicts, they are often urged to actively observe and even to settle disputes (see p. 39). Also, when adequate documentation is provided, they forward complaints to the CSE and track them. Boneo told us the CSE has dealt promptly with the most serious problems. For example, although poll-watchers are exempt from military duty, a prominent UNO activist was called to reserve duty. This individual complained to Boneo, who relayed the complaint to the CSE and within four hours of receiving the complaint the CSE had the order rescinded. UN and OAS regional teams have facilitated meetings of parties in Matagalpa and León which resulted in accords about comportment at rallies.

By election day the size of the OAS team will grow from 50 to 150, that of the UN from 40 to 160. The UN teams will end election day in a secretly drawn random sample of 300 polling places (8 percent of the total). They will oversee ballot counting and use their projections to draw a conclusion about the accuracy of the official results.

The Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government delegation, headed by former President Jimmy Carter, and

the Center for Democracy, have both received funds from Congress to monitor the election and have established offices in Managua. The Center for Democracy monitored the 1986 Philippine election and the 1989 Panamanian election and sent the first of the international observers to Managua. Center President Allen Weinstein witnessed the August 4 signing of the historic National Accord by all political parties. By election time, President Carter's group will likely gain the most press attention.

The Boston-based Hemisphere Initiatives (HI), has sent regular monthly delegations to Nicaragua to observe the electoral process since June. HI has released a report on the formation of electoral rules and two updates and is now conducting the first of three public opinion polls.²⁸ HI has concluded that the rules of the election have created a "balanced and even playing field" and that the first phase of the electoral process was conducted in an open and fair manner. HI has endorsed the positive findings of the UN, OAS and the Carter group.

In general, the reports and press releases issued by the current international observers have tended to emphasize the positive character of the electoral process to date. Although several criticisms and suggestions have been made, most analysts have concluded that the CSE has responded well to serious complaints, and that pre-election conditions in Nicaragua provided a basis for guarded optimism concerning the electoral process.

CONCLUSIONS

The regional and national agreements to hold internationally supervised elections in February 1990 constituted a set of social pacts designed to produce a minimal consensus within which meaningful elections could occur. This began a new mechanism through which to express and resolve tensions in Nicaraguan society. The presence of the contras, the United States embargo and its economic-diplomatic policies toward Nicaragua, reflect the old mode. The changes in the election laws, the composition of the CSE, the successful registration process, the public presentations through the media (even the increased trading of verbal charges), represent a possible conversion from military to civic struggle. In contrast with the 1984 election, all opposition parties are now participating.

Lengthy negotiations and dialogue among adversaries established a consensual framework concerning the electoral and media laws, campaign ethics, registration and voting procedures, and vote counting. Thus far, the implementation of these agreements through the CSE continues the impulse to negotiate differences and maintain consensus. There have been complaints from all parties about campaign irregularities, both concerning harassment and ethical violations. Further, all opposition parties have accused the FSLN of misusing its position as incumbent.

Thus far, the electoral commissions, both national and regional have been conscientious in responding to these complaints.

The February 1990 election will decide the presidency by a simple plurality, assign seats in the National Assembly through a system of proportional representation, and determine the composition of municipal councils by a modified proportional representation rule. The voters face a main choice between one highly organized party, the FSLN, that must be judged by ten years of rule, and the new UNO coalition, very well financed, with less organizational experience and a tendency toward fission, and a welter of smaller contending groups.

The difference in civic atmosphere between this moment and 1984 was palpable to the entire delegation. The vitality of the process, coupled with the fact that there have been no serious incidents or deaths, marks this process, so far, as distinct from recent elections in other Latin American countries.

APPENDIX I

MEMBERS OF LASA COMMISSION (* indicates member of November delegation)

John Booth*, Political Science Department, North Texas State University
 Michael Conroy*, Economics Department, University of Texas
 William Crotty*, Political Science Department, Northwestern University
 Martin Diskin*, Anthropology\Archaeology Program, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
 Laura Enriquez*, Sociology Department, University of California at Berkeley
 Richard Fagen, Political Science Department, Stanford University
 Jean Franco, Spanish Department, Columbia University
 Laura O'Shaughnessy, Political Science Department, St. Lawrence University
 Rose Spalding*, Political Science Department, DePaul University
 Jack Spence*, Political Science Department, University of Massachusetts at Boston
 Charles Stansifer, Air War College\DSJ, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama
 Thomas Walker*, Political Science Department, Ohio University

APPENDIX II

LIST OF INTERVIEWS/ACTIVITIES FOR LASA NOVEMBER DELEGATION (In chronological order)

Alfredo César (press conference), campaign advisor to Violeta Chamorro, National Opposition Union

(UNO)

David Dye, Journalist
 Dr. Doug Schirch, Witness for Peace
 Carrie Parker, Researcher, Central American Historical Institute
 Dra. Rosa Marina Zelaya, General Secretary, Supreme Electoral Council (CSE)
 Lic. Jorge Samper, Legal Advisor, National Assembly
 Mark Feierstein, Program Assistant, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)
 Jennifer McCoy, Carter Center representative in Nicaragua
 Alysha Klein, Center for Democracy Representative in Nicaragua
 Ariel Reyes and Medardo Mendoza, Sistema Sandinista Television, Channel 6
 Sixto Ulloa, Deputy, National Assembly (a non-Sandinista on the FSLN bench)
 Dr. Luis Lizondo, Sub-Coordinator of OAS Election Project in Nicaragua
 Manolo Cordero, Foreign Ministry
 Robert Collier, *Newsday*
 Lic. Blanca Rojas, Presidential Candidate, Central American Unity Party (PUCA)
 Arturo Galese and Trish O'Kane, Researchers, Coordinadora Regional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales (CRIES)
 Dr. Moisés Hassán, Presidential Candidate, Revolutionary Unity Party (MUR)
 Dr. Mariano Fiallos, President, CSE
 John Boardman, Acting Deputy Chief of Mission and Political Officer, U.S. Embassy
 Comandante Bayardo Arce, Member, National Directorate, Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)
 Roberto Everts, Legal Advisor, CSE Technical Staff
 Ing. Noel León, Cartographer, CSE Technical Staff
 Sra. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, Presidential Candidate, UNO
 Dr. Hernaldo Zuñiga, Legal Advisor, UNO
 Dr. Adolfo García Esquivel, UNO, campaign committee
 Antonio Lacayo, UNO, Campaign Advisor
 Gilberto Cuadra, President, Superior Private Enterprise Council (COSEP)
 Father Xabier Gorostiaga, Director, CRIES
 Rev. Norman Bent, Moravian Church Leader, Atlantic Coast
 Lic. Hermann-Josef Pelgrim, Representative, Freidrich Ebert Foundation
 Dr. Alejandro Bendaña, Secretary General, Foreign Ministry
 Lic. Filiberto Sarría Padilla, Vice President, Social Christian Party (PSC)
 Dr. Horacio Boneo, Deputy Chief of the United Nations Mission
 Luis Sánchez Sancho, Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN)
 Agustín Jarquín, National Democratic Confidence Party (PDCN)
 Adolfo Evertsz Vélez, Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN)
 Capitán Alberto Acevedo, Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense

Lic. Dionisio Palacios, President, Regional Electoral Council, Region II (CRE)
 Xiomara Paguagua, Member, CRE, Region II
 Ramón Berrios, Member, CRE, Region II (from PSC)
 Adonai Jiménez, Press Officer, CRE, Region II
 Lic. Luis Brenes, UNO representative, Region II
 Salvador Idiáquez, UNO representative, Region II
 Dr. Eduardo Molina, Presidential Candidate, Democratic Conservative Party (PCD)
 Dr. Clemente Guido, President, PCD
 Sub-Comandante Cuadra Federrey, Interior Ministry Region II
 Comandante Omar Cabezas, President, Communal Movement
 Paul Oquist, Director, Information Center, FSLN
 Observed First Forum for Democracy in Nicaragua
 Observed three UNO rallies at Nandaime, Ciudad Darío and Sébaco

NOTES

- Names of commission members appear in Appendix I.
- The delegation is grateful to Jack Spence and Martin Diskin for compiling and editing this report from the contributions submitted by each member of the delegation. The finished product was approved by each member of the delegation present during the November trip. We also wish to express gratitude to Darío Moreno, Florida International University for his valuable input to an earlier draft.
- See Appendix II for the names of interviewees.
- Cf.* Jules Lobel, "The Meaning of Democracy: Representative Participatory Democracy in the New Nicaraguan Constitution." *University of Pittsburgh Law Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3, 1988.
- Latin American Studies Association, *The Electoral Process in Nicaragua: Domestic and International Influences: Report of the Latin American Studies Association Delegation to Observe the Nicaraguan General Elections of November 4, 1984*, (Austin, Texas: LASA, 1984) p. 1.
- Thom Kerstiens and Piet Nelissen (official Dutch Government Observers), "Report on the Elections in Nicaragua, 4 November, 1984" (photocopy); Irish Inter-Party Parliamentary Delegation, *The Elections in Nicaragua, November, 1984* (Dublin: Irish Parliament, 1984); Parliamentary Human Rights Group, "Report of a British Parliamentary Delegation to Nicaragua to Observe the Presidential and National Assembly Elections, 4 November, 1984" (photocopy); Willy Brandt and Thorvald Stoltenberg, "Statement [on the Nicaraguan elections in behalf of the Socialist International]", Bonn, November 7, 1984.
- See Lobel 1988, fn 1; Andrew Reding, "Nicaragua's

New Constitution: A Close Reading," *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Spring 1987), pp. 257-294.

8. "Nicaragua: Amendments to the Electoral Law." Prepared by Gisela von Muhlenbrock, Senior Legal Specialist, Hispanic Law Division, Law Library, Library of Congress, April 1989, p. 9.

9. The UNO parties are (an asterisk indicates participation in the 1984 elections): National Conservative Party (PNC); Conservative Popular Alliance (APC); Social Democratic Party (PSD); Independent Liberal Party (PLI*); Neo Liberal Party (PALI); Liberal Constitutionalist Party (PLC); Democratic Party of National Confidence (PDCN); National Action Party (PAN); Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN); Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN*); and the Communist Party of Nicaragua (PC de N*).

10. *New York Times*, October 26, 1989.

11. Carter Center Symposium on the Nicaraguan Elections, November 14, 1989, Atlanta, Georgia.

12. *Wall Street Journal*, November 10, 1989.

13. From *Report to Congress (P.L. 101-119)* of USAID grant to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and Summary of NED's Intended Subgrants, November 1989.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Talk given by John MacAward, an election observer for Freedom House, December 1, 1989, Boston, Massachusetts.

17. "Apreciación de los hechos en Masatepe." Organization of American States Report, Managua, December 11, 1989, 5 pp.

18. "Violence at Masatepe: An Eyewitness Report by a Center for Democracy Observer Delegation to the Nicaraguan Election." Center for Democracy, Washington, DC, December 14, 1989, 15 pp.

19. Examples include unpublished polls by the FSLN in 1989, and polls by opposition-affiliated newspapers *La Prensa* (July 1989), and *La Crónica* (April 1989, August 1989).

20. Such polls are sometimes published with insufficient methodological data or problematical findings (possible examples include *La Prensa*, July 1989, and CID-Gallup, October 1989).

21. Examples include three polls by INOP-Itztani (May,

July, and October 1989), the April and August 1989 *La Crónica* polls, and the November 1989 Univision poll.

22. Examples include UCA-ECO (October 1989), *La Crónica* (August 1989), and the November 1989 Hemisphere Initiative poll (data not yet available).

23. Herman-Josef Pelgrim, Executive Director, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Managua, November 11, 1989; one delegation member's interviews with several representatives of polling organizations, Managua, August 1989; *Barricada Internacional*, November 11, 1989, pp. 10-11.

24. For example, see Bill Barnes, working memorandum for Hemispheric Initiatives, Boston, Massachusetts and for the Central American Research Institute, Berkeley, CA, dated July 30, 1989 and updated through October 1989, xerox; cited with permission.

25. Several others, including the European Parliament, have been invited to send a delegation, but have not yet completed the formal application process. According to Mariano Fiallos, around fifteen groups have requested official observer status.

26. To cover the costs of this project, the OAS received a special appropriation of \$1.5 million from the U.S. Congress. The UN is drawing on \$2 million from the discretionary funds of the UN Secretary General.

27. The OAS regional teams were set up in September. Those of the UN will be in place in December.

28. See "Establishing the Ground Rules: A Report on the Nicaraguan Electoral Process" (August 1989); "Nicaraguan Election Update: Implementing the Ground Rules--Phase I;" and "Nicaraguan Election Update #2: Foreign Funding of the Internal Opposition, October 16, 1989."

[Institutional Form on Reverse Side]

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

William Pitt Union, 9th Floor
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Individual Membership for Calendar Year **1990**: _____ Renewal; _____ New Application
(Dues are for the 1990 calendar year: January 1 - December 31.)

<u>Membership Categories and Rates: 1990 (choose only one category)</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Introductory (for new members only)	\$25 \$ _____
Regular:	
Under \$20,000 annual income	\$30 \$ _____
Between \$20,000 and \$29,999 annual income	\$36 \$ _____
Between \$30,000 and \$39,999 annual income	\$43 \$ _____
\$40,000 and over annual income	\$52 \$ _____
Student Associate (five year limit)	\$19 \$ _____
Latin Americanists permanently residing in Latin America or the Caribbean (including Puerto Rico)	\$18 \$ _____
Emeritus Member (for retired members)	\$19 \$ _____
Joint Membership (for second member at same mailing address as first member; one copy of publications sent.) Choose this plus one other category. Add to rate for highest income of the two:	\$15 \$ _____

All members receive three issues of the **Latin American Research Review** and four issues of the **LASA Forum** per year.

If you live outside the U.S., Canada or Mexico, and wish to receive the **Forum** by air mail, please add **\$13 per year** for postage. (If you desire air mail delivery of **LARR**, please contact the **LARR** office at the Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131.) \$ _____

We encourage you to contribute to the **LASA Endowment Fund**. \$ _____

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED \$ _____

Please make checks payable to the **Latin American Studies Association** and mail along with this form to: **LASA Secretariat**, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Members residing outside the U.S. must send either a money order, a check in U.S. dollars drawn on a **U.S. bank**, or a **UNESCO coupon** for the U.S. dollar amount payable. There will be a \$10 charge for all returned checks.

PERSONAL DATA

(If this is a new application for membership, please provide the information requested below; if a renewal, please fill in your name, electronic mail address/FAX number, and any information that has changed since you last renewed.)

Name _____ Discipline _____

Mailing Address _____

City, State, Zip Country _____

Business Telephone _____ Home Telephone _____

Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number _____

Institutional Affiliation _____

Country Interest/Specialization _____

If student, professor's signature certifying student status _____

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
 William Pitt Union, 9th Floor
 University of Pittsburgh
 Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Institutional Membership for Calendar Year **1990**: _____ Renewal; _____ New Application
 (Dues are for the 1990 calendar year: January 1 - December 31.)

<u>Membership Categories and Rates: 1990</u>	<u>Amount</u>
Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP)	___\$65 \$ _____
Institutional Sponsor, Nonprofit	___\$65 \$ _____
Institutional Sponsor, Profit	___\$500 \$ _____

If you live outside the U.S., Canada or Mexico, and wish to receive the **Forum** by air mail, please add **\$13 per year** for postage. (If you desire air mail delivery of **LARR**, please contact the **LARR** office at the Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131.)

We encourage you to contribute to the LASA Endowment Fund

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED

All members receive three issues of the **Latin American Research Review** and four issues of the **LASA Forum** per year.

Please make checks payable to the **Latin American Studies Association** and mail along with this form to: LASA Secretariat, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. Members residing outside the U.S. must send either a money order, a check in U.S. dollars drawn on a **U.S. bank**, or a UNESCO coupon for the U.S. dollar amount payable. There will be a \$10 charge for all returned checks.

INSTITUTIONAL DATA

Name _____

Mailing Address _____

City, State, Zip, Country _____

Name of Contact Person _____

Telephone Number _____

Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number _____

EL SALVADOR ON LINE

The only reliable, comprehensive, English-language newsweekly of events and developments in El Salvador published in the United States.

Areas covered include political developments, church news, labor and peace issues, military activities and human rights.

Information is compiled from Salvadoran and U.S. media, as well as government, military and opposition sources.

El Salvador On Line is available to scholars and individuals for US\$100; and to libraries and institutions for US\$250. Special Documentation Services also available.

Subscribe today to EL SALVADOR ON LINE!

Make checks payable to:

Washington Center for Central
American Studies (WC-CAS)
P.O. Box 7248, Silver Spring, MD 20907
Tel. (301) 270-9577

WORKSHOP ON DEMOCRATIZATION in Santiago de Chile

16 July to 18 August 1990

An informal workshop for young scholars to explore comparatively the transitions from authoritarian rule in Latin America as well as Eastern Europe and Asia.

Research discussions by:

Guillermo O'Donnell (Notre Dame University, CEBRAP), Julio Cotler (Instituto de Altos Estudios Peruanos), and other distinguished visiting scholars from Latin America.

Co-directed by:

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Karl (Stanford University)

A unique opportunity for qualified graduate students and junior faculty, with travel and maintenance provided. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation.

See p. 19 of this *Forum* for additional co-directors and details on content, eligibility and procedures for this unique study opportunity.

AZUL

"Georgeously photographed, lyrically edited, ...director Roland Legiardi-Laura renders the text with exquisite imagery."

Renee Tajima, *The Village Voice*

a documentary by Roland Legiardi-Laura

"A remarkable job...at once sensuous and cerebral."

Sam Ho, *Houston Public News*

"The camera of Legiardi-Laura captures startling new images of a people."

Alberto Minero, *El Diario*

-1989 WINNER OF LASA AWARD OF MERIT

-Best Film by a New Director/Global Village Documentary Film Festival

-International Documentary Association/Distinguished Documentary Achievement Award

-Yamagata Documentary Film Festival/Award of Merit

-1989 NYFA Fellowship Recipient

SALUTES THE 15TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF LASA

We are now scheduling our Spring and Fall 1990 touring and screening programs.

For further information on booking screenings, lectures, and/or workshops:

Please call: (212) 529-9327

or write: AZUL Productions
295 East 8th Street
New York, New York, 10009

"In Miraragua you're either a son of a poet or a son of a bitch"

Support LASA With Your Dues

RENEW NOW FOR 1990!

A 1990 membership form is enclosed with this mailing of the *Forum* and a duplicate form appears on page 45 of this issue. Renewing now assures timely receipt of *LARRs* and *Forums* and saves LASA money on administrative costs.

FOR LASA MEMBERS ABROAD

UNESCO coupons make it possible to pay LASA dues in national currency rather than U.S. dollars in some countries; check the Spring 1989 *Forum* for a list of UNESCO coupon distributors.

Thank you for continuing to support LASA!

LASA MEMBERS

are invited to

AID PUERTO RICO

in its efforts at reconstruction.

Please contribute to **Dale la mano a Puerto Rico**. Send donations to: Mrs. Lila Hernández Colón, La Fortaleza, P.O. Box 82, San Juan, PR 00901.