

LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

Vol. XXI, No. 4

Winter 1991

Report from the Program Committee LASA'91

Washington, D.C.
April 4-6, 1991

by
Michael E. Conroy, Program Chair

LASA'91 will be unique in several regards. This will be the first meeting of LASA in Washington, D.C. in more than a decade, and that may account for the greater-than-average outpouring of interest on the part of Latin American participants. The congress theme "Hemispheric Dialogue for the 1990s" reflects the evolution of political, economic, and social processes in the region.

The Program Committee for the XVI Congress by December 1 completed its work of selecting, creating, and forming panels, workshops, performances, and other presentations for LASA'91. A list of 242 panels and workshops was published in the previous (Fall 1990) issue of the *LASA Forum*. The committee now has an updated list of 264 panels and workshops. On page 17 of this issue appear changes made in the previous listing. The final program is scheduled to be sent to every LASA member the third week of January.

The Program Committee has had extraordinary success in stimulating proposals for participation from Latin American individuals and institutions. This congress also will provide an unprecedented opportunity for participation by women at every level. LASA'91 will have nearly as many women as session chairs or session organizers as men (45 percent of the total) and more papers presented by women than ever before in LASA. This represents both the increased activity by women members of LASA and a modicum of affirmative action, exercised at the level of selecting session organizers for panels organized by the Program Committee from among disparate individual paper proposals. The Committee also complied with its mandate from current LASA President Jean Franco to include more minorities and younger members of the association on panels and in workshops.

see Updating, page 17

LASA and SALALM Strengthen Relationship Through New Task Force on Scholarly Resources

At the September meeting of the LASA Executive Council, Deborah Jakubs, President of the Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) and a LASA member, presented a proposal to establish a formal cooperative relationship between SALALM and LASA. The proposal was jointly prepared by Jakubs and LASA Vice-President Lars Schoultz.

SALALM was founded in 1956 as an international association of librarians, scholars, booksellers and publishers dedicated to the development of library collections of Latin Americana, to facilitating access to those collections, and to implementing creative, cooperative approaches to strengthening national and international resources to support study and teaching on Latin America. Its membership currently numbers some 500, many of them also LASA members.

Given their shared focus upon Latin American studies, a cooperative working relationship between LASA and SALALM is in the interest of both organizations. The Jakubs-Schoultz proposal recommended immediate steps to increase cooperation in two areas: (1) enriching the LASA congresses, and (2) expanding LASA's interest in scholarly resources.

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The *LASA Forum* is published quarterly. Deadlines for receipt of copy are December 1, March 1, June 1, and September 1; articles should be submitted one month earlier. All contributions should be directed to Reid Reading, Editor, *LASA Forum*, at the address below. Opinions expressed herein are those of individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Latin American Studies Association or its officers. We welcome responses to any material published in the *Forum*. For membership information, please see page 33. Direct subscriptions to the 1991 *Forum* only, without LASA membership, are \$30.00 per year. ISSN 0890-7218.

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Luncheon Panel
Sponsored by the LASA Task Force on
Women in Latin America
XVI International Congress
Washington, D.C., April 4-6, 1991
 by
Sonia E. Alvarez, Co-Chair

In an effort to promote networking among feminist activists and scholars, the LASA Task Force on Women has planned a luncheon panel on "Independent Feminist Research Institutes and Documentation Centers" for the upcoming XVI Congress. Since the mid-1970s, Latin American feminist activists have created a vast network of independent research institutes, action-research centers, women's news services, and movement archives. Though these women's organizations often operate on shoestring budgets and are sometimes staffed by volunteers, they are invaluable resources for feminist scholars and activists alike. The cutting edge of research on gender and social change in Latin America is carried out by this burgeoning network of nonuniversity-based feminist research and documentation centers. Yet North American academics have little information about the activities of such women's movement-oriented organizations and thus have not fully made use of the services they provide for researchers.

Formal papers presented by our panelists will survey the wide variety of action-related initiatives, oral history and documentation projects, popular education campaigns, and other activities of these innovative Latin American women's organizations. Thus, our proposed special session hopes to foster greater collaboration and exchange between feminist scholars working in North American academic institutions and independent feminist researchers, archivists and popular educators from Latin America. We must have an estimate of women and men who plan to attend this Task Force activity; therefore, if you wish to attend the luncheon on April 5 from 12:30-2:30 P.M., please send a check or money order in U.S. funds for \$18 *before March 15, 1991*. Mail to: Professor Sonia E. Alvarez, Co-Chair, LASA Task Force on Women in Latin American Studies, Board of Studies in Politics, University of California, Santa Cruz, CA 95064. Telephone: (408) 459-2855.

Call For Participants and Update on
LASA Task Forces

Much of LASA's work is conducted by the following ten task forces each composed of six to twelve members: Human Rights and Academic Freedom, Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua and Central America, Scholarly Relations with Cuba, Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union, Scholarly Relations with Spain, Women in Latin American Studies,

Mass Media, and the new Task Force on Scholarly Resources (see page 1).

Identifying appropriate individuals to serve on LASA's task forces has always been an important responsibility of the LASA president. Not only must the members be strongly motivated to perform the duties assigned to each task force, but they must be broadly representative of LASA's membership.

The task forces are also the site of LASA's ongoing struggle to avoid stagnant leadership. Indeed, one of LASA's strongest traditions is the continuous infusion of new faces, new energy and new ideas on LASA task forces. This tradition especially includes the active encouragement of younger LASA members who might not have previously participated in any LASA activity. All LASA task forces are reconstituted every 18 months, with a transition occurring at the LASA congresses.

Most LASA task forces operate on a shoestring, but on occasion have received external grants for special projects. The Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Cuba has been blessed with outside funding over the last few years. Members meet at LASA congresses and communicate by mail and telephone. LASA members who are interested in serving on one of the task forces listed above are requested to contact LASA Vice President Lars Schoultz by mail at the Institute of Latin American Studies, CB 3205, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599, or by *fax*: (919) 962-0398 *before February 1, 1991*.

Two additional members were recently named to the Task Force on Scholarly Relations with the Soviet Union. They are ADAM PRZEWORSKI (University of Chicago and University of Paris) and DANIELA SPENSER (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en la Antropología Social, México).

Need to Find a Roommate for LASA'91?

If you want to share a room at LASA'91, please make every possible attempt to find roommates via your own contacts. If you are unsuccessful, the LASA secretariat will attempt to help pair you with someone. When you call, we may be able to match you with someone on the spot. Otherwise, we will take your information and keep trying. Some LASA members already have called. We cannot guarantee results, but will make a good faith effort to help.

LASA and SALALM, continued

To implement the first recommendation, there will be two LASA/SALALM events at the April 1991 LASA Congress in Washington, D.C. One will be a workshop focusing on the impact of electronic technology on library resources. It will be organized by Dolores Mayano Martin, editor of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, and will be listed in the congress program as "Latin American Information On-Line: Benefits to Scholars."

The second event at LASA'91 will be an open roundtable to discuss ways that LASA and SALALM can cooperate to address specific problems in the area of scholarly resources. There has long been discussion within SALALM of various ideas for a national plan for Latin American collecting, especially in light of the decline in the value of the dollar, the dramatic increase in publishing in Latin America, the shrinking or, at best, static budget for area studies at many research institutions, and the consequent inability of most libraries to keep up with the needs of their clientele. Our goal now is to bring interested LASA members into these discussions.

To further enrich LASA congresses, Deborah Jakubs is working to expand the book exhibits to include more Latin American publishers and bookdealers, as well as distributors of databases. The exhibitors at the annual SALALM meetings almost exclusively represent Latin American publishing, and as a group differ significantly from the LASA exhibitors. Contacts have now been arranged between Harve Horowitz, LASA Exhibits Coordinator, and the bookdealer members of SALALM. Even if the bookdealers and publishers themselves find the prospect of traveling to two meetings in the United States this year to be too difficult and expensive, some will be able to take advantage of the option of having a table staffed for them at LASA's exhibits.

To implement the second recommendation to expand LASA's interest in scholarly relations, the Executive Council authorized the creation of a Task Force on Scholarly Resources for a two-year trial period. The initial members of the task force are DEBORAH JAKUBS, chair (Duke University); RUSS DAVIDSON (University of New Mexico); CARL DEAL (University of Illinois); DAN HAZEN (Harvard University); GILBERT MERKX (University of New Mexico); DOLORES MOYANO MARTIN (Library of Congress); LARS SCHOULTZ (University of North Carolina); SANFORD THATCHER (Pennsylvania State University Press), and BARBARA VALK (UCLA). In keeping with LASA's tradition, membership will change frequently. LASA members interested in working with the Task Force are invited and encouraged to contact Dr. Jakubs.

In addition to initiating and coordinating the event at LASA congresses, the Task Force will be responsible for communicating to LASA members the development of mechanisms for the cooperative management of Latin American scholarly resources, such as the Latin American Microfilming Project (LAMP), to explore avenues for funding the creation and dissemination of scholarly resources (particularly in the areas of translations and publishing subventions for beleaguered subfields), and for coordinating work with other task forces in the area of preservation and microfilming. Reports on these activities as well as feature articles on special issues involving scholarly resources will be disseminated regularly through the *LASA Forum*.

The Task Force looks forward to hearing from LASA members on areas of concern or particular interest. Please contact any of the members named above or Deborah Jakubs, Head, International and Area Studies Collections, 117 Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC 27706. Telephone: (919) 684-3675; or, fax: (919) 684-2855.

"Faces of Slavery"
24-minute documentary on VHS

Robert M. Levine, Chair, History Department, University of Miami, has produced an original videotaped documentary, "Faces of Slavery," comparing slavery in Brazil and in the United States. It was produced explicitly for classroom use in courses in Latin American and Afro-American Studies. The 24-minute documentary uses contemporary photographs, some of them rarely seen before, as well as a Yoruba musical score.

"Faces of Slavery" examines the ways in which photographers, reflecting the social attitudes of their times, depicted Afro-Brazilian and Afro-American slave men and women. The video, screened at the 1989 LASA meeting in Miami, has been substantially revised. Copies (½" VHS) are available for \$50 + \$5 postage and handling from Brazilian Studies, c/o History Department, University of Miami, Box 8107, Coral Gables, FL 33124. Telephone: (305) 284-3660.

Task Force on Scholarly Resources Report: Crisis in Foreign Periodicals Acquisitions

by

Deborah Jakubs, Duke University
Gilbert Merkx, University of New Mexico

Within days of the formation of the new LASA Task Force on Scholarly Resources in September 1990, a somewhat urgent target of opportunity was identified as a means of addressing the growing crisis in library acquisitions of foreign materials that has resulted from the 30% decline of the dollar on the world currency markets over the last year. An increase in appropriations for Title VI of the Higher Education Act (HEA) of over five million dollars raised the possibility of persuading the Department of Education to address the acquisitions problem, at least in part, through Section 607 of Title VI, generally known as the "Foreign Periodicals" section.

Section 607 authorizes the appropriation of federal funding to make grants to universities, libraries or consortia of such institutions to acquire periodicals published outside the U.S., to enter and maintain machine-readable bibliographic information on such periodicals, to preserve them, and to make them accessible to researchers. Awards are limited to institutions that have established libraries with collection strengths in specific foreign areas or in world affairs.

Section 607 was added to HEA Title VI in 1986, and has never received funding. The entire Higher Education Act expires in 1991 and must be reauthorized, which means that Title VI may be substantially revised. Congressional appropriations for Title VI since 1986 have not prohibited funding for Section 607, but have not earmarked it either. The international education community, apparently oblivious to Section 607, did not work to persuade officials of the Department of Education (ED) to allocate funding to this program (one official said recently, "We didn't know anyone cared."). Section 607 is to be reauthorized in 1991; Congress ordinarily cancels unfunded programs.

The Task Force has organized a small but effectively targeted campaign with two aims: (1) to persuade key ED officials to initiate a "Foreign Periodicals" grants competition using some of the new appropriations increase, and (2) to insure that the draft legislation the Administration will present to Congress in 1991 reauthorizing HEA retains Section 607. Letters calling for initiation of such a grant program have been sent by groups such as the National Council for Soviet and East European Research, the Council of Title VI National Resource Center Directors, SALALM, the Archives-Libraries Committee of the African Studies Association; by librarians and center directors from several

universities; and, by officials of other government agencies including the Defense Department and the Department of State. Lobbyists of the Association of American Universities (AAU) and the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (NASULGC) have been kept informed about the Task Force initiative and have been supportive throughout the appropriations process.

While the success of this effort remains to be seen, it has already served a catalytic role in developing working relationships between the Latin American studies community and other foreign area communities, on the one hand, and between these foreign area communities and the research library communities, on the other. Another consequence of the effort is that the position on Title VI reauthorization adopted by the NASULGC International Division at the November 12 NASULGC meetings in Kansas City supports federal funding for foreign area collection development. Officials of NASULGC and AAU have welcomed the new spirit of cooperation among the groups that have supported the efforts of the Task Force. The Task Force hopes to expand on this experience by forming similar alliances in support of other projects to improve the scholarly resource base. We will report these efforts to the LASA membership as they develop.

**Arriving in Washington, D.C.
on Wednesday?**

**You are invited to a
RECEPTION**

**at
Georgetown University
in the Galeria
of the
Intercultural Center
7-9pm**

**Hosted by local arrangements chair
Arturo Valenzuela
and the staff of the
Latin American Studies Program,
Georgetown University.**

The Chamorro Government After 200 Days

by

Jack Spence, University of Massachusetts/Boston

and

George Vickers, Brooklyn College/CUNY

LASA Task Force on Nicaragua and Central America*

President Violeta Chamorro's administration was beset in November by militant demands from nine mayors in Region V, a conservative, cattle-raising area with centers of contra strength. Chamorro had won her biggest margin (75 percent of the vote) in Region V, and all of the protesting mayors had been elected last February on Chamorro's UNO coalition ticket.

The mayors called for the dismissal of Sandinista Humberto Ortega (head of the armed forces), Antonio Lacayo (Presidential Minister and Chamorro's chief of staff), and Minister of Gobernación Carlos Hurtado (this position was formerly called Minister of Interior). They also demanded the elimination of government military bases in the region, removal of Sandinista-appointed local police, and provision of food and land to the several thousand contras (members of the *resistencia*).¹ In previous days demonstrators had protested in some towns and had marched through several municipalities in the more remote sections of the region. A skirmish in Nueva Guinea between previously demobilized contras and government police resulted in four contra deaths. Other contras occupied two churches. The main road through the region to Rama, a frequent target of the contras during the war, was blocked.

The rapid spread of agitation and violence moved the government to grant the Region V mayors an audience, on the mayors' turf, with the President, Lacayo (also Chamorro's son-in-law) and Hurtado. The President pledged to close 18 of 34 military bases and retire 500 military officers in the region, form a rural police force of ex-contras in some areas, and add 39,000 manzanas to the land already pledged to the contras. According to anti-government *Nuevo Diario* the mayors emerged dissatisfied with a lack of dialogue and only partial fulfillment of their demands.²

Not the first serious disturbances to confront the 200-day old Chamorro government, the series of events in Region V depict the political and economic problems that undermine the government's strength and even threaten its stability.

Chamorro's Challenges

●The Chamorro administration must govern a polity and reconstruct an economy battered by almost twelve years of continuous war, and a population both embittered and exhausted by the conflict. Chamorro's election campaign promised reconciliation and quick economic recovery.

●The revolutionary Sandinista government, and some of the negative reactions to it by economic elites, led to profound restructuring of property ownership and the growth of grassroots economic organizations. Those who lost property, most still economically strong, actively supported Chamorro's candidacy and now want to regain lost economic and political turf.

●The contra campesino army, staffed largely (until mid-1989) by ex-Somoza National Guard officers and financed throughout by the United States, could not, after nine years of fighting, gain and hold territory. However, the war created economic conditions which arguably contributed, more than anything, to Chamorro's victory. The contras expect to be rewarded. Despite \$50 million in aid sent from the U.S., by the end of 1990 the vast majority of the contras and their families possessed primitive shelter, little food and no land. They remain organized, and likely retain arms not turned in during the demobilization.

●Although they have some competition from two pro-UNO confederations, Sandinista trade unions dominate the organized work force in the public sector—including state farms and nationalized industries, as well as in larger urban and rural workplaces. These groups, together with peasants on agricultural cooperatives formed during the Sandinistas' agrarian reform movement, seek to hold on to what they have gained.

●The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) can choose to challenge or support the actions of the Chamorro government because the FSLN remains the only coherent political organization with an organized and active political base. However, it is entangled in its own internal crisis over

*The Task Force sponsored our November 20-27 fact-finding delegation. The members, in addition to the authors, were John Booth, University of North Texas; Jennifer McCoy, Georgia State University and the Carter Center; Patti Richard, Ohio University; Philip Williams, University of Florida; and, David Krusé, Boston College. Carlos Cartagine provided excellent translation help. We would like to thank Alice McGrath, once again, for procuring partial funding for the trip and for efficiently and enthusiastically making arrangements. Academic institutes and individual members of the delegation also contributed to the costs of the site visit. The authors are solely responsible for the content of the report.

disagreements on past and future, divisions between top and bottom, and depleted resources. Lacking an alternative economic plan to the government's austerity measures, the FSLN alternates between defending the economic demands of its organized base and cooperating with the Chamorro government in pursuit of its main priority: political stabilization and reconciliation. It controls the armed forces, though constitutionally they remain under the orders of the President.

●The Chamorro government has been badly divided since well before it was inaugurated, in part due to the inherent instability of a 14-party coalition. The division seems to have polarized between the circle of advisors surrounding the president (add Alfredo César to those mentioned above) and those at least symbolically connected to Virgilio Godoy, the vice president and arch-enemy of Lacayo and César. The president is still politically untouchable, but those around her who run the show are not. The Lacayo group controls the executive branch and an increasing portion of the UNO bench in the National Assembly. The impoverished government has few, though some, resources to trade. Violeta Chamorro demonstrated a broad electoral base of support, but the Lacayo wing seems to have little organized base in political parties that were part of the UNO coalition, or at the grassroots.

●The Godoy faction is pushing the government to diminish or eliminate rapidly and drastically the Sandinista political influence and economic base, to gain full control of the military and to privatize the economy. Although it exhibits shifting alliances, this group includes a substantial portion of UNO deputies in the Assembly, and most of COSEP, the main business confederation. As seen below, it seeks an organized base among the contras and by building upon the political structures of the UNO mayors.³

The presidential visit to Juigalpa in Region V marked a temporary quieting of a growing problem. Elsewhere, roads in the north in Segovias were blocked for a time, and in November the FSLN mayor of Macueliso was taken prisoner and the town hall occupied by ex-contras. In October ex-contras had invaded or squatted on several dozen cooperatives requesting that members grant them land around Matagalpa and Waslala, provoking, in Waslala, an occupation of the town hall by members of the cooperatives. They in turn were routed by a large crowd who drove from town a priest and several others considered pro-Sandinista. In a subsequent attack on the police two ex-contras were killed.⁴ Days before our arrival four police officers lost their lives in Sebaco (Region VI) in a melee that began when a protester apparently tossed a grenade in their midst.

To hear Virgilio Godoy discuss these events, they were the product of a genuine and spontaneous grassroots movement

brought about by a lack of land and food for the contras, and a government that had made too many agreements with the defeated party. Godoy and UNO deputy Azucena Ferrey are particularly angry over a series of pacts the Lacayo camp negotiated with the defeated FSLN, the most egregious of which was to agree to leave the FSLN temporarily in charge of the military in exchange for reducing the size of the army.⁵ Our delegation heard Ferrey argue that almost all FSLN officers should be removed from the military and replaced by the contras, a position beyond that of Godoy.

By Godoy's account the *resistencia*, understandably outraged to see their candidate win but their enemies remain in control of the military at both the national and local levels, had risen up. The mayors, elected and active for the first time in history, had skillfully channeled the protest into a civic demonstration to avoid violence.

Sandinistas and some in the Lacayo camp had a different view. They see the events, part of the Godoyista movement, as engineered from above. Days before our arrival, Hurtado's ministry had arrested Arístedes Sánchez (a contra political leader during the war) and accused him, in somewhat vague terms, of coordinating the disruptive events with sophisticated radio equipment, charts, maps and lists of personnel, from his home in Managua. After Sánchez's wife accused Hurtado's people of psychological torture, he was released to Miami, supposedly because of a heart condition. Hurtado denied the allegations of psychological torture, and noted that road stoppages had slowed after the arrest.⁶

Sandinista Protests

At the outset of her term, Chamorro's government staged a series of assaults on Sandinista positions. Repeated devaluations, rampant inflation and an effort to lay off large numbers of public sector workers (most of them in Sandinista trade unions) led to a general strike in May, the first month of the new Government. An accord was reached to end the strike, but was immediately breached with more layoffs, more devaluations and layoff pressures, and pressures to privatize. A broader strike began in July, and the Godoyistas organized a more violent response.

Believing the government was too inclined to compromise with the Sandinistas, Godoy factions formed "National Salvation Committees" of street shock troops who in some pro-UNO neighborhoods were armed. Strikers erected barricades in the streets, recalling symbolically the struggle against Somoza. Chamorro ordered the police and military to take down barricades. They did so. When the air force chief indicated disagreement with the military taking action

against pro-Sandinista unions, Humberto Ortega dismissed him. Once again, accords were reached.

Caught between external pressure (principally from the U.S.) to accelerate the pace of layoffs and privatization of the public sector, and the evident determination of organized union sectors to fight such policies, the government organized a national dialogue among all organized political and economic factions to seek a social pact. With considerable behind-the-scenes negotiations between FSLN leaders and Lacayo a national agreement, phrased in very general terms, was signed by all except COSEP, who announced general agreement with the terms of the accord but complained that it did not include provisions to take back property from Sandinista leaders. The basic framework of the accord involved softening the government's monetary and austerity programs in exchange for social peace from the Sandinista trade unions.

To Godoy, COSEP, and to the U.S. press, the protests preceding this *concertación* were organized and led by the Sandinista National Directorate. In their view the protests illustrated the Sandinista pledge, made just after the election, that although UNO won the election, the Sandinistas would be able to govern from below.

To members of the Sandinista directorate, and to a leader from the pro-Sandinista labor confederation FNT, the protests were a grassroots-led defense against a government assault. National Directorate member Luis Carrión noted that the Sandinista austerity program in 1988-89 had placed tremendous pressure on the unions to seek improved conditions. During the campaign, Sandinista leaders begged the unions not to go on strike until after the election. Had Ortega won the election, a Sandinista government would also have faced the likelihood of strike actions. In the face of election defeat and UNO austerity measures and layoffs, Carrión argued that strikes could not have been avoided, but he insisted that Sandinista top level leaders supported the strikes *after* they broke out and were not the original organizers of the protests.⁷

The Contras

Genuine material, and perceived political deprivation no doubt fuel agitation by the contras. Given the results of the election it is not surprising, in areas where contras are concentrated, that they do not have a sense of being a defeated army. In congratulating Chamorro on her victory, Comandante Franklin (Israel Galeano)—who had ousted Somozista commander and CIA asset Enrique Bermúdez as military head of the contras—pointedly tied the victory to contra battlefield sacrifices over the years.

This is an interpretation to which Sandinistas might agree. They too have attributed their loss to the war, and the war-devastated economy. Their main goal in advancing the date of the election and negotiating election conditions both nationally and internationally was to marginalize and dissolve the contras as a fighting force.

Moreover, the contras were an effective, though repressive, election campaign apparatus. As FSLN analyst Paul Oquist noted, international observers focused so much on whether the FSLN was behaving properly in the election that they paid little heed to the armed campaigning of the contras.⁸ His research notes that in each of the municipalities in which UNO won over 80 percent, contra presence made it virtually impossible for FSLN candidates to campaign without heavy armed protection.⁹ In an extended analysis of Wiwilí, a municipality won by the FSLN, René Mendoza finds heavy UNO pluralities in areas where contras had been recruited or could roam free.¹⁰

From their perspective, the contras have gotten no spoils of war, and little assistance from the government. At the time of our visit, OAS officials responsible for contra reintegration programs estimated that approximately 5500 ex-contras had received land (an average of 50 manzanas each), but that 8500 more were still waiting. The land problem differs from region to region. OAS officials say that most ex-contras in Region V have received land, while little land has been distributed in Region VI.¹¹ Much of the land being offered was in agricultural frontier areas, where little of the infrastructure needed to support farming is available, and there were indications that contras in Region V were not happy with their allocations. Some contras in Region V had abandoned farms in the north, but were afraid to risk losing group security in Region V to go home to claim their lands. And in Region VI, it is not clear that sufficient land can be found for the number of contras grouped there. Even Godoy, in his polemic against Lacayo, admitted the complexity of the land problem.¹² Food and medical benefits were running low and were scheduled to end in December. Apparently less than half of the \$50 million in U.S. aid earmarked for contra reintegration programs actually went to programs inside Nicaragua.

In addition to feeling ignored and abandoned by the government, ex-contras were caught up in an internal power struggle between Comandante Franklin and Comandante Rubén. Franklin supported the *concertación* accord and held meetings with Sandinista cooperative leaders to seek a common approach to solving land questions, while Rubén criticized the government for failing to purge all Sandinista influence. This split also reflected long-term tensions between the Honduran-based contras led by Franklin and the southern front of Rubén.

There are conflicting accounts of how involved ex-contras were in the Region V protests. Godoy and the mayors insist that it was ex-contras who led the road cutting and manned the barricades, while an OAS official says that there were not many ex-contras on the barricades.¹³ It does appear that local political grievances against Sandinista police and military figures were more important than the broader demands for getting rid of Humberto Ortega, Lacayo, and Hurtado.

The Godoyistas

The term refers to a loose, somewhat shadowy, series of tactical alliances and parallel pressures on the Lacayo wing of the government to get the FSLN out of the defense ministry and police forces, to diminish the power of Sandinista-led unions, and to privatize the properties held by the state, turning them back to those from whom they were confiscated. The influence of this group was clearly on the rise during our visit, although it appears to represent a consolidation of the most anti-Sandinista elements in the UNO coalition more than a growth in popular support.

LASA election observer Charles Stanifer impressed upon the 1989-1990 observation teams the historic importance of the 1990 municipal elections. Prior to these elections mayors were appointed rather than elected. The rise of mayors as a new political force is without precedent and at least some of the disputes between mayors and the central government reflect a new institutional dynamic in Nicaraguan society. While Godoy and his allies have tried to exploit this dynamic, the nature of the mayors' ties to national level Godoyistas, the business groups in COSEP, their local constituents and the contras remains unclear.

New institutional dynamics are also evident in the UNO divisions in the National Assembly. The power struggles between pro-Chamorro UNO delegates and Godoyistas is intertwined with competition between the legislative and executive branches over their respective powers. Thus, even pro-Chamorro delegates like Luis Sánchez disputed the President's claim that the Assembly could only accept or reject, but not modify, the proposed budget.

The Godoyistas are united in ideological dislike, even hatred, of the FSLN. The core of the group is made up of hardliners—those who left for Miami, members of the contra directorate (but not fighters), and those who abstained from the elections in 1984. Still, they are divided into different parties.

Godoy himself is known as a politician who shifts alliances. In an interview with a LASA delegation before Violeta was nominated, a conservative COSEP leader dismissed Godoy as "a Marxist, pure and simple."¹⁴ Even the business group

is divided between those who kept plantations and businesses and negotiated with the FSLN, those whose negotiations were driven by a political agenda and not by economic considerations, and those who decapitalized and left. One reason Lacayo is so distrusted, even though he is a big businessman, is that he worked out a *modus vivendi* with the Ortega government. Those who still plant their lands might pressure the government on the issue of privatization, but their material interests would lead them to lobby for different things—easy credit, favorable exchange rates and access to dollars, a subdued labor force—than individuals who have not yet had their lands restored. The government strategy of dealing with those seeking "their" lands on a case by case basis could further divide them.

While each of these economic groups also has an interest in mobilizing contras as an organized (and potentially armed) pressure group, again their interests diverge. If the contras invade a Sandinista cooperative would they then be content to see the government turn over the land to a Somoza-era owner who sat the war out in Miami? Not likely. Large landowners whose lands were not confiscated could also be a target of the landless. One theory about Region V held that large cattle ranchers egged on the contras (whom they supported with food during the war) to go after state farms and cooperatives, so that the contras would not be tempted to squat on their ranches.

Sandinista Trade Unions and Cooperatives

The public sector trade unions have been most threatened by the Chamorro government's economic plan, which rests primarily upon cutting the government deficit, privatization, and trimming the size of the state sector. The interests of unionized rural workers also have been endangered by government plans to sell off the state farms. Cooperative members, as noted, have contras on one side, and the old owners on the other, eyeing all or part of their lands. Even in places more distant from contra forces and despite pledges by the government not to deprive peasants of their land (but rather, in justifiable cases, to compensate the old owners), cooperative members holding titles granted by the Sandinista government want titles reaffirmed and recognized by the new government.¹⁵

After case by case deliberations, the government in September handed back 16 urban enterprises to the old owners, claiming the confiscations had been arbitrary. Workers took over five of the factories claiming that they had paid off the old owners debts and had worked hours of voluntary labor. This was not just a claim for compensation, but an assertion that these "investments" also gave them ownership rights.

The workers further argued that if privatization was the order of the day, the government should privatize to the workers as rightful owners, or at least sell them 51 percent of the stock. Similarly, state farm workers claim that, despite early inefficiencies (which led the government to parcel out some state farms or give portions of them to large growers) the remaining state farms are more efficient than their private sector counterparts. They should either remain with the state or go to the workers. Finally, some cooperatives producing export crops favor the formation of private banks and privatizing the marketing of their crops.¹⁶

Despite two major strikes, which virtually shut down the government, the public sector unions have lost thousands of jobs. That trend will likely continue. The most unified aspect of government policy is to cut the deficit and drastically downsize the state sector. The leadership of the FSLN undertook similar policies in 1988; thus, it has not called for Lacayo to abandon them. At best, and when pushed by the workers, the Sandinista national leadership has been able to cushion the blows, delaying layoffs and winning severance pay.

The ATC and UNAG (the peasant producers' association) will likely be able to defend against a government or contra attempt to roll back the agrarian reform. Though the contras have attempted to take a few cooperatives in "armed squatting" operations, the ATC and UNAG have made a bid to gain support from the contras. Saying that ex-contras are peasants and deserve land, the ATC and UNAG have called for sharing surplus lands, including those of large private landowners. These issues will be negotiated by local agrarian commissions in which all sides are represented.

The FSLN

The party is in crisis. The unexpected election defeat by such a large margin has brought about unprecedented internal criticism of past policies and distributions of power. Elements of the crisis include the following:

- A sudden and severe lack of material resources, mostly in the form of state sector jobs. Thousands of party members, from top to bottom, have had to scramble for a livelihood in an economy with 40 percent under- and unemployment. One joked that the reason the party congress had been postponed from February to June was that "everybody is looking for a job and hasn't had time to work on it."¹⁷

- Broad criticism of a closed structure with excessive centralization and top down leadership. Three National Directorate members and the ex-vice president we interviewed¹⁸ shared this critique. They attributed these patterns to wartime conditions and pre-1979 clandestine practices.

- Criticism that mid-level cadre and those at the grassroots also had a top down relationship to the people and became separated from them. They talked, but did not listen.¹⁹

- Criticism, ironically mirroring that of Godoy, that the leadership is too prone to make deals with the government and not defend the interests of those at the base.

- Criticism that those who make the prior argument do not appreciate the need for stability and the potential for more war.

- A lack of a clear alternative economic plan to that of the government.

- No clear-cut plan about how to resolve all of the criticisms.

Despite the crisis there are signs of resilience and renovation. We were struck by the number of top-level Sandinistas we interviewed who recalled how little they knew about governing when they took over power, and how little time they had while in government to reflect on what they were doing.²⁰ They have been recalling and reflecting.

There are clear signs of democratization in the party, but it is not clear how far it will go. Prior to the election campaign in some municipalities, selection of FSLN municipal council candidates was done in open local assemblies not restricted to party *militantes*. The *Juventud Sandinista* conducted open elections for national leadership positions in September in an assembly of 700, the delegates of which had been elected by local branches.²¹ Two thousand delegates, elected from block committees recently named leaders for the Managua wing of the party. Five candidates contested for the top spot.²²

Not yet decided, however, are new rules for selecting leaders at the national level including the National Directorate (now consisting of eight *comandantes* after the untimely death of Carlos Núñez). While Luis Carrión told us they would be selected by a democratic process, he added that, "the modality has not yet been decided."²³

Partially as a way of meeting the resource crisis, the party is going into business, and some sectors even are backing a law permitting the formation of private banks. Workers at the top-ranked, government-owned Voz de Nicaragua radio station left to form the private Radio Ya. It now commands the largest audience. Dionisio Marengo, the FSLN campaign strategist and media whiz, has capital to start a new television station. Sandinista entrepreneur Herty Lewites started Central American Airlines, and promptly undercut the state-owned Aeronica on its fares to Miami. A new Sandinista national agricultural marketing cooperative is forming.

Many Sandinistas formed international ties while in government that apparently have served them in capital-raising ventures.

However, the use and misuse of resources generated by these new enterprises may further the crisis, not solve it. Criticisms are heard of international junketeering by top level Sandinistas who lead comfortable life styles.²⁴ One UNO government figure in the Central Bank expressed the hope that the Sandinistas would develop a stake in the domestic private sector and become a procapitalist party, like the PRI in Mexico.²⁵ And one hears criticisms at the top of the party toward those at the bottom of being "intellectuals" and "immature" because they haven't had the experience of governing and negotiating. Some party figures feel the leadership has caved in to monetarist anti-inflationary measures without developing plans that would support producers at the expense of some inflation.²⁶

Chamorro's Government

Buffeted by these forces and economic crises, Violeta Chamorro and her top advisors have attempted to play off all their challengers against each other, while attempting to stabilize the polity, reduce inflation, attract investment capital and buy time. They have had some successes.

In the Assembly, César has managed to win over ten to fifteen Godoyista supporters, through use of the resources available to the state. (One Sandinista told us, "We know how effective this can be!") On most issues he can muster 30 to 35 of the UNO votes, which still makes it necessary, however, to deal with the FSLN bench.

Although inflation remains at monthly double digit rates, it has been reduced somewhat. The gradual introduction of the *córdoba oro*, pegged at one to one with the dollar, has not brought widespread confidence in the new currency, however. Devaluations are occurring on a weekly basis.

Lacayo has shown considerable skill at negotiating his way out of crises: the May strike, the July strike, the *concertación*, the mayor's movement in Region V. On the other hand there is a distinct lack of an overall strategy, produced by the surprise nature of the victory, the critical economic crisis, and sharp divisions among supposed UNO allies.

Economic policy boils down to drying up the supply of currency and, thereby, hoping to get foreign credits and grants. The *concertación* accord is primarily viewed as a calling card showing international lenders that the government can find political stability. But the lenders will likely be more disturbed by the fact that the government needed this in the first place. As the president of the central bank

told us, while ticking off factors in the economic situation, "Bolivia had some success with a similar currency stabilization plan, but of course they had it easier because that government was in control of the army."²⁷

The government has no apparent legislative strategy, nor an apparent foreign policy.²⁸ Though there is a policy on the crucial land questions, it is not clear the government has resources to implement it. The agrarian ministries lack staff. There are no real resources to compensate the old owners found to have just claims. The sources of lands for the *contras* are not clear. It is quite likely that some of this "policy" will simply be worked out at the grassroots levels with local agrarian commissions "mediating" disputes between landed groups who seek political stability for their economic well-being, and *contra* groups who have the ability to create instability.

The United States, which was so central a player in the effort to forge a united campaign headed by Chamorro to oppose the Sandinistas, has been less than fully supportive of her government. At the time of our visit only about \$160 million of the \$300 million in U.S. aid authorized by Congress last May had actually been delivered and only about \$36 million of that was available for balance of payments support. AID officials were conditioning aid on further austerity measures and privatization of state enterprises, and reportedly were pressing the Chamorro government to withdraw Nicaragua's case against the U.S. in the International Court of Justice before promising further aid for next year. U.S. officials continued to criticize the retention of Sandinista leadership in the army, echoing the main battle cry of the Godoyistas.

Conclusion

How are things going? The future success of the Nicaraguan experiment in institutionalizing democracy remains in considerable doubt. Both political and economic factors contribute to the current crisis, but it is the continued economic deterioration that is most worrisome.

In the political sphere, destabilization efforts by the Godoyistas remain an important problem, but the social base of the extreme right is limited. Much of the current political turmoil reflects the emergence of new institutional conflicts between municipal and central government powers, and the failure of the *concertación* accord to resolve campesino demands for access to land. The influence of Godoy and his allies results from their attempts to exploit institutional power struggles between the mayors and the central government and to give the land and security concerns of *ex-contras* a prominent place in the political challenge to Chamorro's continued control of the reins of government.

While these efforts have been partially successful, so have efforts by the Lacayo wing to negotiate new understandings with the mayors and with the ex-contras to try to reduce and resolve sources of conflict. They have received significant support from the FSLN in these efforts.

The critical problem remains a lack of material resources. The government is in desperate need of hard currency for productive investments and to help stabilize the monetary system and expand social services. The \$300 million pledged by the United States has been very slow in arriving, and the U.S. undermines the Chamorro regime by conditioning aid on further privatization and austerity measures. U.S. pressure to further reduce Sandinista influence and to withdraw Nicaragua's World Court case appears to support demands by the extreme right against the Chamorro government.

Despite the magnitude of the instability, there is a danger of overestimating the current crisis. Nicaragua's economic condition is terrible and likely to get worse, but that is also true of the economies of other countries in the region. Politically, after ten years of FSLN government it is not surprising that a redefinition of alliances and jockeying for power among representatives of different interests is proving a somewhat tumultuous experience. The recent violence and passions of war complicate and threaten reconstruction, reconciliation and democratic participation, but it could be that the shots fired in October and November are the final volleys in a long, devastating war.

NOTES

1. The term *resistencia* is usually employed by supporters of the contras. Others habitually use the term *contras*, though in a formal setting, may employ the term *resistencia*.
2. "Gobierno responde y alcaldes acechan" *El Nuevo Diario*, November 22, 1990, pp. 1,6.
3. Under the electoral law the 90-seat National Assembly was enlarged by two seats, which went to losing presidential candidates who received more than one percent of the vote. One seat went to Daniel Ortega; the other went to Moisés Hassán, then of the Movement of Revolutionary Unity but since expelled from his party. Of the 92 seats, UNO won 51, the FSLN 39, the Social Christian Party (PSC) 1, and the MUR 1. Of 131 Municipal Councils UNO won 99 including Managua, Granada and Matagalpa. The FSLN won the remainder including León and Estelí. Third parties won only a handful of municipal council seats, none in municipalities over 20,000.
4. For an account of the Waslala events see *envío*, November, 1990, pp. 11-15.
5. Interview with Vice President Virgilio Godoy, November 22, 1990. November 23, 1990, interview with Azucena Ferrey, UNO Deputy to the National Assembly and leader of the Democratic Party of National Confidence (which split off from the Social Christians).
6. Interview with Carlos Hurtado, November 26, 1990.
7. Interview with Luis Carrión of the FSLN National Directorate, November 23, 1990.
8. Interview with Paul Oquist, November 22, 1990.
9. See Paul Oquist, "Dinámica socio-política de las elecciones nicaragüenses 1990," Instituto de Estudios Nicaragüenses (IEN), Managua, October 27, 1990.
10. René Mendoza, "We Erred to Win", *envío*, October, 1990, pp. 30-40. The entire article is a sharp critique of FSLN mistakes at the grassroots featuring two case studies, Wiwilí and El Arenal.
11. Interview with Fernando Sera, November 26, 1990.
12. Interview with Virgilio Godoy, November 22, 1990.
13. Interview with Fernando Sera, November 26, 1990.
14. Interview with Eduardo Bolaños, August 1989.
15. Interview with leaders of the Aranjuez cooperative, fifteen kilometers north of Matagalpa, November 24, 1990.
16. Interview with Círculos Robinson, of UNAG, the campesino producers organization, Matagalpa, November 24, 1990.
17. Interview with Manolo Cordero, November 22, 1990.
18. Interviews with Luis Carrión, Víctor Tirado, Henry Ruiz and Sergio Ramírez, November 23-26, 1990.
19. We had occasion to observe this on the Aranjuez co-op where a young Sandinista delivered lengthy analyses and failed to notice the cues from older peasant leaders that he should speak less. We learned that the FSLN had lost badly at the nearest polling place.
20. Interviews with Milú Vargas, Víctor Hugo Tinoco, Jorge Samper, Rosa Marina Zelaya, Luis Carrión in Managua and Salvador Mayorga in Cambridge. All are twenty-year veterans of the party and none appears to be over 40.
21. "Sandinista Youth Holds First Election," *envío*, November 1990, pp. 20-21.
22. Dora María Téllez won. Víctor Hugo Tinoco finished second and was subsequently elected to the second position of leadership. Interview with Tinoco, November 23, 1990.
23. Interview with Luis Carrión, November 24, 1990.
24. Carlos Vilas, "What Went Wrong," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, June 1990, pp. 10-19.
25. Interview with Raúl Lacayo, November 21, 1990.
26. See interview with Arturo Grigsby in "The UNO Economic Plan: Is There a Popular Alternative?" *envío*, November 1990, pp. 26-33.
27. Interview with Raúl Lacayo, November 21, 1990.
28. Mauricio Diaz, ambassador designate to Peru, when asked to describe the foreign policy of the new government as he understood it after a month of briefings, just laughed. Interview, November 25, 1990.

Highlights of the Nation's Capital and its Historic Surroundings

by

Georgette M. Dorn
Library of Congress

Early April is springtime in the Washington, D.C. area. The famed Japanese cherry blossoms around the Tidal Basin may well be at their peak when LASA convenes near the banks of the Potomac, and trees and bushes will be in flower.

A sleepy southern town until the 1960s, Washington, D.C. today is a multicultural and sophisticated city with some of the best museums in the United States (most of them free to visitors), a great variety of foreign restaurants, and above all its tree-lined avenues, parks and open spaces. By congressional law, buildings are kept lower than the Capitol building which produces a graceful skyline. It is an exhilarating city and an area well worth exploring.

The Crystal City Hyatt Regency Hotel is about nine blocks from the nearest Metro-rail station (to which the hotel runs complimentary shuttles). The site is ideally located for easy reach to research centers, entertainment, and restaurants in the Washington, D.C. area.

Nearest to Crystal City is the city of Alexandria, VA (established in 1749), which was an important colonial port, as well as a social and cultural center long before the city of Washington was founded in 1791. Old Town Alexandria is a shopping and residential district, boasting historic houses, art galleries, and a wide choice of restaurants. King Street, the main thoroughfare, is often congested, but the side streets are quiet and charming. The most pleasant strolling area of Old Town is towards the Potomac River, where one may wish to visit Potomac Landing with a splendid view of the river and the District of Columbia.

Historical sites in Alexandria include the Carlyle House (1753) at 121 N. Fairfax Street, one of the first Georgian homes built in Alexandria; the Townhouse, Court House and Market (1749) at Royal and Fairfax Streets, which is the

oldest operating market in the United States; Gadsby's Tavern (1792), at 134 N. Royal Street, a restaurant which has been serving game, beef, and trifles for two centuries; the Torpedo Factory at the intersection of King and Cameron Streets (now featuring works by contemporary painters, sculptors, photographers and textile artists); the Fort Ward Museum and Park, at 4301 West Braddock Road, one of the largest Civil War fortifications protecting Washington; and the George Washington Masonic National Memorial, at King Street and Callahan.

A little further by Metro to Arlington, VA, points of interest include the Arlington National Cemetery where both John F. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy are buried, and the nearby Arlington House, the Robert E. Lee Memorial. Next to the cemetery in Arlington is the World War II Marine Corps War Memorial or the Iwo Jima Monument. Just above the memorial sits the Netherlands Carillon, a gift from the Dutch, and also the official final point for thousands of runners who every fall participate in the Marine Corps Marathon. These sites can also be reached from Washington, D.C. via the Memorial Bridge.

On the other side of the Potomac lies Georgetown (founded in 1751 by the Maryland General Assembly), which was a thriving tobacco port. It has always kept its separate identity even after it became part of Washington, D.C. in 1878. The tree-lined Chesapeake and Ohio (C&O) Canal, long the lifeline for commerce with the interior, is now a popular jogging and bicycling trail. Georgetown is noted for its quaint historic houses, most of them hailing from the Victorian era, its cobblestone streets, and its many shops and international restaurants ranging from Afghanistani and Argentine to Ethiopian, Filipino, Indian and Peruvian.

On Georgetown's river front sits the Washington Harbor complex of restaurants and luxurious offices. The best feature here is the spectacular riverside promenade. Of special interest to foreign visitors is Blues Alley, at 1073 Wisconsin Avenue, NW, a lively nightspot which features major jazz stars and serves dinner. Georgetown University, the oldest Catholic University in the United States (1789), located in the town, has a first-rate Latin American Studies Center and also houses the Woodstock Center with a research emphasis on human rights. The Woodstock Library is especially strong on materials relating to the modern church in Latin America.



*Gadsby's
Tavern*

Just beyond Georgetown sits the just-completed National Cathedral (Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul) of the Anglican Church. Work on this unique example of twentieth-century Gothic architecture began nearly one hundred years ago. The edifice has grown slowly in grace and splendor.

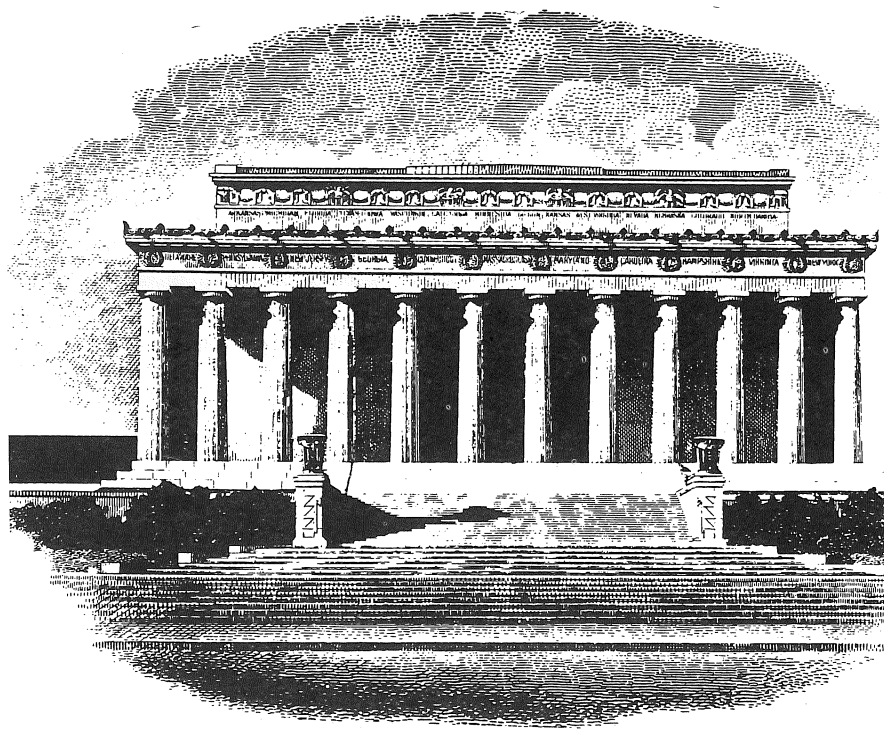
Crossing the Potomac into Washington, D.C. either by car or under the river via Metro, the first-time visitor should see the classically styled Lincoln Memorial, across the Memorial Bridge from Arlington National Cemetery. The substructure of the original building, known as The Cave Under Lincoln, a stalagmite and stalactite-filled cave, will be reopened in 1991.

Near the Lincoln Memorial and the Reflecting Pool, the Vietnam Memorial is the newest and perhaps most moving of the monuments. Visitors have been leaving many hand-crafted mementoes, medals, and messages. Visible from the Vietnam Memorial is the White House (1792), official residence of the President of the United States. Since the time of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and under subsequent administrations, the White House has also become a showcase and a museum for priceless North American objects of art and furnishings. During spring, lines for touring the White House are exceedingly long.

The Jefferson Memorial is an adaptation of the Roman Pantheon which Thomas Jefferson so loved. The graceful monument sits on the shores of the Tidal Basin, especially popular during late March and early April for the spectacular cherry trees that surround the body of shallow water.

The city of Washington was designed by Pierre L'Enfant as a grid overlaid with diagonal spokes converging in major traffic circles. The focus of the new capital at the end of the eighteenth century was the U.S. Capitol, not the White House. From the Capitol the city is divided into four quadrants: SW, SE, NW and NE. Each quadrant is divided into grids of lettered and numbered streets, while the diagonal avenues are named after the states of the U.S.

The spacious green Mall extends from the Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial on the banks of the Potomac. The Mall boasts the Washington Monument, a series of museums well worth visiting, and at the east end, the United States Congress's Capitol building (begun in 1793 but the House and the Congress did not move into the still-unfinished structure until 1800). The Capitol Hill area can be reached by Metro (Capitol South station). The first-time visitor should see the U.S. Capitol's rotunda and peek into the chambers of each house. The Capitol is surrounded by a spectacular park designed by Frederick Law Olmstead.

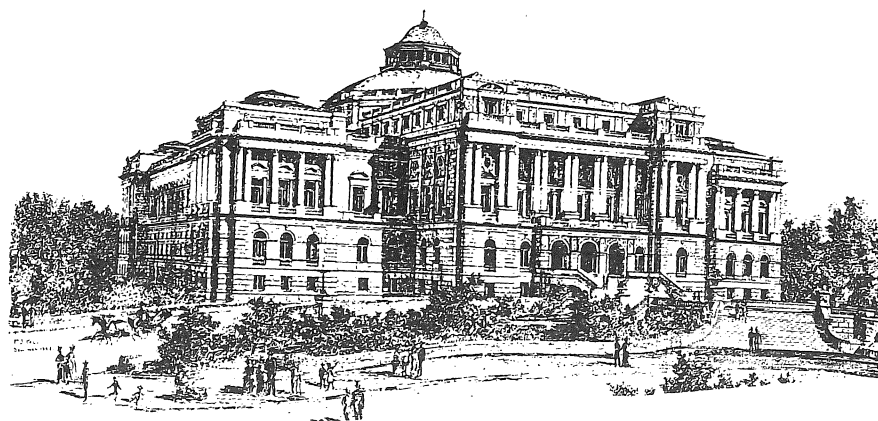


The Lincoln Memorial

There are several institutions of special interest to Latin Americanists. As far back as 1904, Hiram Bingham, in addressing the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, spoke about Washington as an unparalleled area for the study of Latin America. In his talk he mentioned the "Congressional Library." Located across from the Capitol, the **Library of Congress** (101 Independence Avenue, SE) will probably be high on the list of some Latin Americanists. Founded in 1800, the Library now houses a collection of approximately two million volumes related to the Luso-Hispanic and Caribbean world (total holdings hover around 21 million volumes). The collections are housed in

ment. The National Archives also house records in Suitland, MD, to which shuttle bus service is provided.

Along the Mall and within the aegira of **Smithsonian Institution** is the **Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars**, located in "The Castle," the oldest Smithsonian building. The center runs a program devoted to Latin American studies. Also near the Mall (201 18th Street, NW) is the **Museum of Modern Latin American Art** (founded in 1976), a little gem administered by the Organization of American States. The museum is devoted entirely to contemporary Latin American and Caribbean art.



The Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress

three buildings. The **Hispanic Division**, where *The Handbook of Latin American Studies* is prepared, can be found in the **Thomas Jefferson Building** (the oldest) on the second floor, facing the U.S. Capitol. Owing to massive restoration work in progress, the Jefferson Building can be entered only through the SE 2nd Street entrance.

The **Navy Department Library** and the **Marine Corps Historical Center** (9th and M Streets, SE) are about twelve blocks from Capitol Hill, located in the Navy Yard on the banks of the Anacostia River. These collections are strong in naval history, U.S. Navy and Marine Corps operational records, twentieth-century naval intelligence records, and oral histories. Also here are personal papers of U.S. naval officers.

Down from Capitol Hill towards the Mall is the imposing building of the **National Archives and Record Service** (8th and Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, near two Metro stations), the official repository for the records of the U.S. government. The collections contain a wide range of documents relating to Latin America. The holdings are organized in 400 record groups each containing the papers of an agency or depart-

ment. Leaving the downtown area in Northwest Washington one encounters the **Textile Museum** (2320 S Street, NW), near the Dupont Circle Metro station. Almost half of the textiles in its collections are from Latin America. The Dupont Circle area, in the middle of Embassy Row, is a charming neighborhood with a number of spectacular Victorian houses. Across town, at the upper end of Georgetown, sits **Dumbarton Oaks** (owned by Harvard University) which houses the **Pre-Columbian Research Center**, a museum of pre-Columbian art and is surrounded by formal gardens. Dumbarton Oaks Park slopes down to Rock Creek Park, a beautiful 1700-acre stretch of unspoiled woodlands, once the home of Algonquin Indians, which cuts across the northwestern quarter of the city, stretching from the Potomac River into Maryland.

All the universities in the Washington area offer programs in Latin American studies. Universities in the area include the **School of Advanced International Studies**, **Johns Hopkins University** (housing a major Latin American studies program); **The George Washington University**; **The American University** (with an important School of International Service); **Howard University** (which has a major Caribbean library collection); **The Catholic University of America**

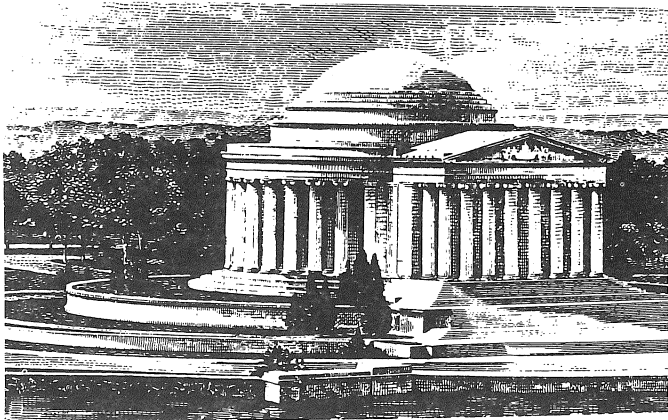
(home of the Oliveira Lima Library of Brazilian materials); the University of Maryland (in College Park); and the newest, George Mason University, in Fairfax, VA. The Universities are linked by an academic and a library consortium and the libraries are beginning to have access to a computerized data base reflecting their joint collections.

In the Adams-Morgan area, now largely inhabited by Latin Americans, an especially attractive feature is **Gala Hispanic Theater**. This small professional company produces Spanish and English-language plays by contemporary and classic playwrights from Latin America and the Iberian Peninsula.

Among the many international agencies concerned with Latin America, perhaps the most prominent is the **Organization of American States** or OAS (17th Street and Constitution Avenue, NW), which has a good library dealing with inter-American affairs. Under the OAS umbrella are the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights which publishes yearly reports on human rights situations in individual countries, the Inter-American Commission of Women which promotes women's issues, and the Departments of Educational and of Cultural Affairs. The Pan American Health Organization or PAHO (525 23rd Street, NW), Foggy Bottom Metro station, is part of the OAS and it also serves as the United Nations World Health Organization regional office for the Americas.

The Inter-American Development Bank is now housed in attractive new quarters at 1300 New York Avenue NW, within walking-distance from the White House. It can be reached by subway from the Metro Center station. The bank was established to "foster socio-economic development in Latin America on a multi-lateral basis."

Getting around the Washington area is not easy whether on foot, public transportation or by automobile. Signs are few and often confusing. During "rush hour" traffic reverses on



The Jefferson Memorial

many main arteries and you will have to read signs very carefully. It is advisable for all to acquire a good street map because many taxi drivers do not know the city well. This is especially true when one visits friends in the far suburbs. When getting a taxi at the airport settle on the fare beforehand, unless it has a meter. Bear with the inconveniences and rise to the challenge. The Washington, D.C. area is interesting and invigorating to visitors with varied interests.

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Volume II

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The ESSAYS is published annually by the Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies. Volume II contains a selection of papers presented at the 9th Annual Conference, Virginia Commonwealth University, April 1988.

Cost of an annual subscription or an individual copy: \$25. Make checks payable to MACLAS.

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Updating LASA'91

The final program is scheduled to be mailed to every LASA member by the third week of January. Following are deletions, changes and additions to the listing that appeared in the Fall 1990 LASA *Forum*:

Deletions

Healing Ritual, Enchanted Beings, and the Indigenous Populations of the Amazonia

Organizer: CANDACE SLATER, University of California at Berkeley

Latin American Transitions: Lessons for Eastern Europe
Organizer: LASA Task Force on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

Conservation and Sustainable Development: A Utopia?
Organizer: ARTURO GOMEZ-POMPA, University of California at Riverside

Tropical Deforestation: Different Approaches to the Same Problem

Organizer: ARMANDO E. RODRIGUEZ, Federal Trade Commission

Class Struggle and Self-Valorization in Latin America: A Working Class Perspective

Organizer: CONRAD HEROLD, University of Texas at Austin

Continuity and Change in "Post-Clientelist" Politics: Alternative Organizations of Venezuela's Poor

Organizer: MINA SILBERBERG, University of California at Berkeley

Women and the Literary-Art-Culture System in Latin America

Organizer: ADRIANA ROSMAN-ASKOT, Columbia University

Changes

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Organizer: RICARDO SALVATORE, Southern Methodist University (formerly Traders, Accountants, and Social Order in 18th and 19th Century Latin America)

U.S. Role in Nicaraguan Democratization

Organizer: JOHN BURSTEIN, Washington Office on Latin America (formerly Nicaragua: Democratization and National Reconciliation)

Additions

La politización de la pertenencia: emergencia política de los grupos indígenas en Guatemala

Organizer: JESUS GARCIA-RUIZ, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

Assimilação e rejeição na cidade modernista do Brasil

Organizer: BEATRIZ RESENDE, CIEC

Rereading the Spanish American *Boom* in Barcelona

Organizer: WILL H. CORRAL, Stanford University

Guatemala después de las elecciones: la esperanza de la reconciliación nacional

Organizers: MARIO ANIBAL GONZALEZ, FLACSO-Guatemala, and HENRY FRUNDT, Ramapo College

Nicaragua: One Year Later

Organizer: MARY VANDERLAAN, Hartwick College

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Organizer: CARLOS SOJO-OBANDO, CEPAS (CRIE-CAPCA)

The Sandinista Economic Model: A Retrospective Analysis

Organizers: ROSE J. SPALDING, DePaul University, and RICHARD STAHLER-SHOLK, University of California at Berkeley

Cambio socio-económico y control político en Venezuela

Organizer: RITA GIACALONE, Universidad de los Andes

Democracy Between Elections: Parties at the Grass Roots

Organizers: MICHAEL COPPEDGE, Johns Hopkins University, and CAROL GRAHAM, The Brookings Institution

Transnational Activity and Ideological Migration—The Relationship Between Europe and Latin America

Organizer: EUSEBIO MUJAL-LEON, Georgetown University

Cuba's International Economic Relations

Organizers: CARMELO MESA-LAGO, University of Pittsburgh, and PEDRO PABLO CUSCO, Centro de Investigaciones de la Economía Mundial

From Debt to Democracy and Development in Latin America: The Role of Education

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Organizer: FABIOLA FRANCO, Macalester College

The Work and Recommendations of the Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development

Organizer: SERGIO DIAZ-BRIQUETS

Contradictions of Conventional Environmental Planning

Organizer: DAVID BARKIN, Universidad Metropolitana

Democracy and Human Rights: Is Accountability Destabilizing?

Organizer: MARGARET E. CRAHAN, Occidental College

Human Rights and Democracy in Mexico Today

Organizer: LISA FUENTES, Boston College

Legal Coercion and State Violence: Exploring the Dynamics of Repression in Twentieth-Century Latin America

Organizer: EDWARD EPSTEIN, University of Utah

Higher Education in Latin America: The Prospects for Change and Reform in the 1990s

Organizer: JOSEPH S. TULCHIN, The Woodrow Wilson Center

Self-Representation of Latin American Marginal Cultures

Organizer: WILLIAM MEGENNEY, University of California at Riverside

Crossing Borders: Latin America Across the Curriculum (A Workshop for K-12 Teachers)

Organizer: JULIE KLINE, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee

Cuba and the United States in Historical Perspective. Part 1: Ideología y la formación de la conciencia nacional, and Part 2: Mecanismos de dominación y resistencia

Organizers: LOUIS PEREZ, University of South Florida, and RAMON DE ARMAS, Instituto de Historia

Latin American Studies in the 1990s: Where is the Funding Coming From?

Organizers: JOSEFINA TIRYAKIAN, Duke University, and SHARON MUJICA, University of North Carolina

Problems and Perspectives of U.S.-Mexican Integration in Agriculture

Organizer: GUSTAVO VERDUZCO, El Colegio de México

What Policy Does Latin America Need from the United States?

Organizer: CYNTHIA MCCLINTOCK, U.S. Institute of Peace

Women of the Americas: Hemispheric Dialogue in the 1990s. Part 3: Change Over Time: Present and Future Issues

Organizer: FRANCESCA MILLER, University of California at Davis

Women's Studies Network of University Programs in Latin America

Organizers: YAMILA AZIZE, Pro Mujer, and GLORIA BONDER, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

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**Seventh Annual LASA Field Seminar
in Nicaragua
June 15-29, 1991**

The LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Nicaragua will conduct a seventh two-week field seminar for LASA members in Nicaragua during the last two weeks of June of this year. As was the case with the previous six seminars, this one is designed to introduce established Latinamericanists and advanced 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.

A second objective will be to give LASA scholars a close-up view of the multifaceted reality of contemporary 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, the grassroots organizations, the diplomatic community, the government, the military, etc. Accordingly, the seminar can serve both as a general introduction to non-Nicaraguanists and a refresher-updater for established specialists.

Though much of the time will be spent in Managua, trips outside of the city to a variety of rural communities are also envisioned. The activities of the group as a whole will be tailored to the major interests of the participants. In addition, throughout the seminar an effort will be made to accommodate individual interests through special interviews, etc. To understand how this type of seminar works in practice, prospective participants are advised to read the report on the 1990 seminar published in the Fall 1990 issue of the *LASA Forum*.

Unless there are unforeseen price changes, the entire seminar, including living expenses and in-country transportation will cost around \$1050 per person. (Bona fide graduate students will receive a \$200 discount.) It is likely that there will be a U.S.-based facilitator who will help participants obtain inexpensive transportation to and from Nicaragua. The group will be limited to 15 participants plus the Coordinators. Though exceptions can be made, participants should be Spanish-speaking LASA members. *All philosophical and political points of view are welcomed.*

Each applicant will be 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. In order to facilitate the successful quest for institutional funding, qualified applicants will be accepted *as they apply*. If past experience is an indicator, we should, nevertheless, be

able to accept late applicants up to a week or so before departure. For more information, contact one of the two coordinators: Professor Thomas W. Walker, Department of Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701. Telephone: (614) 593-1339; or, 593-4372. Professor Harvey Williams, Sociology Department, University of the Pacific, Stockton, CA 95211. Telephone: (209) 946-2931.

New Staffers in the Secretariat

LASA Pittsburgh recently bid a very reluctant farewell to two fine people who went on to better things. In early July Anna DeNicolo, former publications director, accepted an IAF fellowship to do research for a Masters degree. She is in Brazil to investigate the role of the church in development, with Bahia as a case study. Best of luck, Anna.

Glenn Sheldon is the new LASA Publications Director. He holds a Masters degree in English/American Literature, and held two editorships in political journalism before moving to Pittsburgh. Welcome, Glenn!

Later in July Lisa Duckworth, former assistant to the executive director, married and moved to Cleveland. It was Lisa whose third day on the job was a hurricane, and whose life—along with that of all of us in the secretariat—has been an unrelenting whirlwind ever since. Lisa did yeoperson duty for LASA and we in the association will be forever in her debt. Our best, Lisa.

Kimberly Hurst is the new Assistant to the Executive Director. Kim graduated last spring from Duquesne University with honors with a major in communications and a minor in Spanish. Although she is just learning the ropes, she is learning them rapidly and maintaining cheeriness all the while. Thanks, Kim, and welcome to LASA!

New 1991 LASA Forum Advertising Rates

Page size	Rates
Full page	\$300
Half page	\$150
Quarter page	\$75

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Bowdoin College seeks assistant professor or instructor for Fall 1991 semester sabbatical leave replacement in Latin American History. Possibility of continuation through Spring 1992 semester. Ph.D. or ABD, teaching experience preferred. Members of minority groups and women are especially encouraged to apply. Applications should be sent to Professor Paul Nyhus, Chair, Department of History, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME 04011. Review of credentials will begin February 15, 1991. Bowdoin College is committed to equal opportunity through affirmative action.

California State University at Long Beach, Department of Mexican American Studies, seeks full-time lecturer for temporary one-year lectureship, or assistant or associate professor level for tenure-track position with knowledge of Spanish at university intermediate level and Ph.D. in literature or social science with a specialty in Chicano and comparative ethnic/gender studies. Screening will begin *April 15, 1991* and remains open until the position is filled. Also seeks part-time lecturer in Bilingual Communications Skills (English/Spanish) and Comparative Linguistics (English/Spanish) with Ph.D. in one or a combination of the two fields preferred, although applicants with an M.A. degree or with considerable graduate-level course work will be considered. Screening will begin *May 1, 1991* and remains open until the position is filled. Letter of application, resume, three letters of recommendation, and transcript or requests for more information should be sent to: Federico A. Sanchez, Chair, California State University at Long Beach, 1250 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach, CA 90840.

The Graduate Institute of the Liberal Arts (ILA) of Emory University invites nominations and applications for a tenured position at the level of professor or associate professor. We are seeking nominations and applications for a scholar-teacher of national reputation with a substantial record of publication whose work is comparative and interdisciplinary. Distinguished NEH Chair is open with regard to field and period but preference will be given to candidates whose research includes the study of non-Western cultures. Areas of special interest include cultural geography; feminist studies; science, technology and culture; post-colonial studies. The ILA is an interdisciplinary graduate program for students whose interests include cultural theory, criticism, and history. The initial review of applications will begin on *January 15, 1991*. Applications should be sent to: Dana F. White, Director, ILA, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322. An AA/EOE employer.

Florida Atlantic University seeks an assistant professor beginning in August 1991 for a tenure-track position in Modern Latin American History. Any specialty, but preference for nineteenth and twentieth centuries with some background in Latin American Studies. Ph.D. in history and strong teaching and research credentials required. Scholarly productivity and publications expected for advancement. Appointee will be expected to teach lower-division courses, upper-division and graduate courses in specialty, and participate in Latin American Studies Program. Salary negotiable depending on credentials with a minimum of \$30,000. The department seeks a candidate willing to explore the history of gender and race in the classroom. Women and minority candidates are especially encouraged to apply. Deadline for applications is *February 15, 1991*. Send letter of application, dossier or vita, and three letters of reference to: Dean John F. Schwaller, Latin American History Search, Department of History, Florida Atlantic University, P.O. Box 3091, Boca Raton, FL 33431-0991. An AA/EOE employer.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

The Department of Puerto Rican Studies at Brooklyn College invites applications for the position of Visiting Assistant Professor/Instructor effective September 1991. A Ph.D. is required in one of the social sciences with specialization in the political and economic development of Puerto Rico and the Hispanic Caribbean. Knowledge and teaching experience in Latin American Studies and/or the social policy issues affecting Latinos in the United States is highly desirable. Candidates must demonstrate proficiency in the Spanish and English languages. Salary: \$26,260-\$28,630, commensurate with qualifications and experience.

SEND RESUMES
NO LATER THAN MARCH 1, 1991 TO:
Professor V. Sanchez Korrol
Department of Puerto Rican Studies
Brooklyn College
Bedford Avenue and Avenue H
Brooklyn, NY 11210

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Simon Fraser University announces a Tenure-Track position in Latin American Studies in the Department of Spanish and Latin American Studies commencing September 1, 1991. This position is targeted to the senior ranks of Full Professor or Associate Professor. The candidate must have interdisciplinary interests preferably related to economics, communication and popular culture, and/or social sciences. Latin American Studies is a cross-disciplinary programme focussing on the study of contemporary Latin America. The department offers B.A. degrees in Spanish and in LAS, as well as an LAS joint major with selected disciplines (Archaeology, Communication, Geography, History, Political Science, Sociology/Anthropology, and Spanish). The Department is also planning a multidisciplinary Master of Arts degree in LAS. In addition, the department fulfills an important public education function by means of extra-curricular academic and cultural activities, and has a very active Student Union. The Latin American Studies Programme has institutional contacts with the University of Havana and conducts a multidisciplinary Field School in Latin America. Applicants must hold a senior university rank in a related discipline, strong commitment to research and to graduate studies teaching and supervision. Applicants must also have an outstanding publications record and the ability to promote the Graduate Studies Programme. Application deadline: *February 1, 1991*. Salary: Commensurate with qualifications and experience, Associate Professor (\$47,847-\$73,365) and Professor (\$59,011-\$94,737). Please address inquiries and applications including c.v., and have three letters of recommendation addressed to: Jorge García, Chair, Department of Spanish and Latin American Studies, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada, V5A 1S6. Fax: (604) 291-5950. In accordance with Canadian Immigration requirements, this advertisement is directed in the first instance to those individuals entitled to work in Canada. Simon Fraser University is committed to the principle of equity and employment and offers equal employment opportunities to qualified applicants.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

Latin American Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago seeks applicants for two visiting or tenure track assistant professorships in Latino Community Studies and/or Southern Latin America beginning September 1991 with likelihood of joint appointment in relevant disciplines. Requirements: Ph.D. or ABD in Social Sciences or History, or other appropriate field; primary research and teaching interests in Latinos in U.S. urban settings; Latin American migration to the U.S., the Southern Cone, or the Andean Region; background in quantitative methods desirable. Candidates should have a strong commitment to research and undergraduate education for Latino and other urban students; work with graduate students is also expected. Salary competitive, commensurate with qualifications and experience. Send letters of application and c.v. to Search Committee, Latin American Studies Program (M/C 219), University of Illinois at Chicago, P.O. Box 4348, Chicago, IL 60680. For fullest consideration, applications should be received by *February 15, 1991*. Please specify the position for which you want to apply. For further inquiries, telephone (312) 996-2445. The University of Illinois at Chicago is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer.

RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

In conjunction with the opening of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, the Museum will host a one-day symposium with a focus on archaeological Andean textile research. Slide presentations may range from 10-20 minutes. A registration fee will be required. Abstracts should not exceed 100 words and should be sent to Margot Blum Schevill, Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Bristol, RI 02809. Telephone: (401) 253-8388 for more information.

Since its inception eighteen years ago, the Summer Seminars for College Teachers program of the National Endowment for the Humanities has provided opportunities for more than 15,000 college faculty members and unaffiliated humanities scholars to study in a collegial atmosphere under the direction of distinguished scholars in their own or a related discipline. NEH seminars are held at major research centers where participants can pursue their own research and writing projects. Stipends of \$2,950-\$3,750 for the 6-8 week seminars are intended to help cover travel to and from the seminar site, books, and research and living expenses. Applications are invited from prospective participants (or prospective 1992 directors) and must be filed by *March 1, 1991*. Requests for further information should be addressed to: Summer Seminars for College Teachers, Room 316, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC 20506. Telephone: (202) 786-0463. Of particular interest to LASA members is a seminar directed by Professor David Rock on "Economic Development and Democratization in Argentina and Latin America, 1890 to the Present" to take place June 24-August 16, 1991 at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Deadline for applications is *March 1, 1991*, and application materials can be obtained directly from Professor David Rock, Department of History, University of California at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA 93106. Telephone: (805) 893-3662; 893-2991; or, 569-7649.

The Institute for Nicaraguan Studies (IEN) is a non-governmental, non-profit organization that formed just after the 1990 elections. Its advisory board brings together Nicaragua's foremost progressive social scientists, including the rectors of Nicaragua's three largest universities, and the directors of nine research centers on economics, rural issues, parliamentary studies, international affairs, education, human advancement, and democracy. Its president is Dr. Bergio Ramírez Mercado and its director is Dr. Paul Oquist, a political scientist and advisor to the FSLN government. IEN administers research programs on democracy, human rights and justice, and structural processes in Nicaraguan society. Much of the work is public opinion research in the form of surveys, focus groups and interviews. Research associates of

IEN catalogue new information learned through primary research into electronic databases, and offer professional analyses of the material, merging coherent theoretical explanations with modern statistical techniques and context-sensitive historical documentation. In addition to research, the Institute provides training and consultancy services related to database management and computer network coordination. Under the democracy program, IEN is currently conducting a two-stage study of public opinion about the elections held last February, the transition period and first one hundred days of the new UNO government. Other programs are not yet operative. In the future, the human rights and justice program will develop information databases to inform research on current legislation, constitutional issues, and the development of an independent judiciary. The structural processes program will detail the consequences of the 1979 revolution and the Contra war, drawing on information about war damages already gathered for Nicaragua's suit against the United States in the World Court. IEN would like to host visiting scholars from abroad. They should preferably be computer literate, and skilled in research methods, especially public opinion methodology and statistical packages. Although IEN is in the early stages of its institutional development, and is short on funding for visitors, it can provide office space, contacts and help with some logistical items (mail, and perhaps visa matters). Interested persons should write to Dr. Paul Oquist, Apartado 308, Managua, Nicaragua, or telephone: 505-2-22147.

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 1991 at either Chicago or Urbana, or both. Awards include \$1,500 for living expenses for the month of residence and up to \$500 in travel expenses. 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 1991 is *March 15, 1991*. Send applications or inquiries to: Visiting Scholars Program, The University of Chicago, Center for Latin American Studies, 5848 S. University Avenue, Chicago, IL 60637. Telephone: (312) 702-8420.

As a contribution to the Columbian Quincentenary, the Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh is

sponsoring a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute on Mesoamerican Civilizations. The institute will take place in Pittsburgh, June 24-August 2, 1991. The Institute will enable participants to expand existing courses and develop new ones by presenting a synthesis of current understandings of the pre-Columbian societies which thrived for 3,000 years before Cortés. Recent research in archaeology, art history, architecture and ethnohistory has significantly changed and enhanced our knowledge, but this material is not yet readily available. There are twenty-five places for eligible college teachers who will receive a small stipend and expenses. The six week Institute will be structured by illustrated lectures, seminars and readings, towards the preparation of course syllabi, which may focus on Mesoamerican civilizations or on interdisciplinary topics such as warfare, urbanism, or the development of class society. Applications are encouraged from well-qualified candidates, not only anthropologists but geographers, sociologists, historians, art historians and other related disciplines. Please note that applications must be received by *March 1, 1991*. If you require any further information, telephone: (412) 648-7500; or *fax*: (412) 648-7535. Jeremy A. Sabloff, Professor of Anthropology and History & Philosophy of Science, Chair, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

**WORKSHOP
ON DEMOCRATIZATION**
in Santiago de Chile
29 July to 28 August 1991

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

Co-Directed by:

Phillippe C. Schmitter and Terry Karl (Stanford University), Manuel Antonio Garretón (FLACSO), Oscar Godoy (Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad Católica) with participation from other distinguished visiting scholars from Latin America.

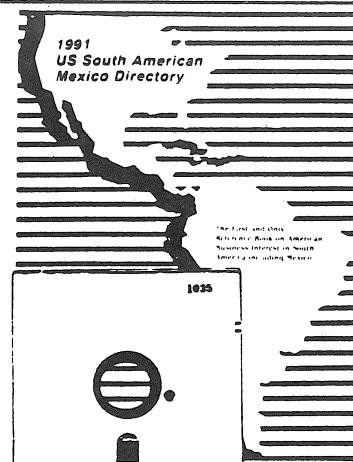
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See p. 25 of this *Forum* for details on content, eligibility and procedures for this unique study opportunity.

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FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

"Rethinking the Cold War: An Interdisciplinary Conference in Honor of William Appleman Williams," to be held October 18-20, 1991, is being organized by the Havens Center (Sociology), the Goldberg Center (History), the State Historical Society Library, and the Center for International Cooperation and Security Studies at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Papers are invited on all aspects of the cold war and especially encouraged on such topics as: the politics of cold war historiography; the current status of cold war revisionism; theories, explanations, and models of the cold war era; origins and course of the cold war in light of its end; decentering the cold war: beyond East and West; domestic costs of the cold war in the U.S. and elsewhere; the nuclear threat in the cold war and after; voices of dissent from the cold war; cold war cultural politics; the cold war as a phase in the history of socialism. Proposals for papers or entire sessions are requested by *March 15, 1991*. To submit proposals or request more information please contact: Allen Hunter, Havens Center, Room 8117 Social Science Building, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Madison, WI 53707; or, Thomas McCormick, History Department, Humanities Building, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Madison, WI 53706.

Stanford University's Program Committee of the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America seeks papers on all subjects, but particularly encourages submissions on the theme of "Cross-Cultural Encounters" to be held March 26-28, 1992. Possible topics include the interactions between Europeans and non-European peoples; the preconditions that shaped these encounters; interactions among cultural groups within Europe; internal and external frontiers; the consequences of cross-cultural encounters; how Europeans and non-Europeans used Renaissance ideas to interpret the encounters and to reshape their world views. Submissions from a wide range of fields and geographic scope are welcome, especially if they involve interdisciplinary panels. The committee will be very pleased to see the participation of scholars from history, literature, art, anthropology, cultural geography and history of science. Send abstracts of papers or proposals for full panels by *April 30, 1991* to: Renaissance Society Program Committee, History Department, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305.

The XVII Latin American Informatics Conference will be held between July 8-12, 1991, along with the IV Venezuelan Conference on Artificial Intelligence and Experts Systems. Conference papers describing original research and novel applications are solicited. For submission guidelines, suggested areas of interest and conference speakers, write to: Professor Edgardo Broner, Comité Organizador Panel '91, Universidad Simón Bolívar, Departamento de Computa-

ción y Tecnología de la Información, Apartado 89000, Caracas 1080-a, Venezuela. Telephone: 58(2) 2848875, or 2835156; Fax: 58(2) 9621695, or by electronic mail: *SUN!EMSCA!USB!PANEL@SUN.COM*.

The Society for Iberian and Latin American Thought and the Center for Latin America at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee will cosponsor a conference on "Bridging the Atlantic: Iberian and Latin American Thought" to be held at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee from March 14-16, 1991. For information, contact: Iván Jáksic or Julie Kline, Center for Latin America, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201. Telephone: (414) 229-5986.

The 47th International Congress of Americanists will be held at Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118, from July 7-11, 1991. For more information and for registration and housing forms, contact: Secretariat, 47th ICA, Center for Latin American Studies, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA 70118-5698.

The Iberian Studies Institute of the University of Miami, in conjunction with the European Community, issues a call for abstracts and papers for a March 13-16 conference on "The Reconstruction of Central America: Role of the European Community." Sessions will cover the following subtopics: "The Role of European Initiatives in the Pacification Process of Central America," "The Current Economic and Political Situation of Central America," "Participation of International Organizations in the Reconstruction of Central America," "United States Policy Toward Central America," and "Coordination of United States and European Community Policies in Central America." Abstracts should be received by *February 13, 1991*. Final papers (10-15 pages) should be submitted by *March 8*, in both English and Spanish, if possible, for bilingual publication in the proceedings. Limited funding is available. For further information contact Joaquín Roy, International Studies, University of Miami, Coral Gables, FL 33124. Telephone (305) 284-3266, or fax (305) 284-6370.

The University of Florida Center for Latin American Studies is sponsoring its 40th Annual Conference. "Andean Crises: Traditional Dilemmas and Contemporary Challenges" will be held March 26-29, 1991 in Gainesville, Florida. Sessions will explore the following themes: the economic crisis and cocaine capitalism, regional impact of coca and cocaine production, politics and social movements, grassroots development and human rights, and international relations and policy. For more information, contact: Dr. Paul Dougherty or Dr. Deborah Pacini, Center for Latin American

Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. Telephone: (904) 392-0375.

Lehigh University and the Martindale Center for the Study of Private Enterprise are sponsoring a conference in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, April 24-26, 1991 on the theme "The Colombian Economy: Issues of Debt, Trade and Development." Papers, in English and Spanish, will be presented by Colombian, American and English researchers. Unfortunately, attendance must be limited. Persons with a serious interest in the economic and political issues surrounding development in Colombia are invited to contact Professor A. Cohen, Department of Economics, Rauch Business Center #37, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, PA 18015. Telephone: (215) 758-3420.

The Santiago Workshop on Democratization, scheduled for last year, will take place July 29-August 28, 1991. Sponsored by the Ford Foundation, and several Chilean research institutes, and co-directed by Professors Terry Karl and Phillippe C. Schmitter of Stanford University, Manuel Antonio Garretón of FLACSO, and Oscar Godoy of the Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad Católica, this informal workshop is designed for a small group of young, advanced scholars. The focus will be on the comparative study of recent transitions from authoritarian rule as well as the prospects for the consolidation of democracy and the emergence of different types of democratic regimes. Distinguished visiting scholars from Latin America will be invited to discuss their recent research. All advanced social science graduate students from Latin America and North America, as well as younger faculty, with or without Ph.D.s are eligible. Applicants should 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 *February 15, 1991*. Students who have already applied, need not reapply. Application forms can be obtained from one of the following addresses. Chileans should apply to: Taller Sobre Democratización, c/o FLACSO, Leopoldo Urrutia 1950, Santiago, Chile. Fax: (2) 460-433. All others should apply to: Santiago Workshop on Democratization, Dept. of Political Science, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2044. Fax: (415) 725-1992.

The Association for the Study of the Cuban Economy will hold its annual meeting on August 15-16, 1991, at Florida International University. Papers on any topic relevant to the Cuban economy are welcome. Potential participants should send a one-page abstract or indication of areas of interest and expertise to Professor Roger R. Betancourt, Department of Economics, University of Maryland, College

Park, MD 20742 by *May 15, 1991*. Information on program decisions and advance registration will be sent by June 1, 1991. Please include *summer address* in your correspondence.

The State University of New York at Albany will hold a conference on "Integrating Class, Race, and Gender into the Curriculum and Research" on June 7, 1991. For more information write: Dr. Christine E. Bose, Institute for Research on Women (IROW), Social Science 324, University of New York at Albany, Albany, NY 12222.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

On April 7, 1991 the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, will open a new exhibition of predominantly Chancay textiles from the collection of Dr. Lloyd Young and Dorothy Young, which was recently donated by the Weavers Guild of Boston. The exhibition will be curated by Gulli Kula of Boston and is titled *Out of the Sands: Selections from the Young Andean Archaeological Textile Collection*. The exhibition will be on view through December 1991. The formal opening will take place at 4 P.M., and at 5:30 P.M., Andean textile scholar William Conklin, Institute of Andean Studies, Berkeley, will deliver the Jane Dwyer Memorial lecture, *Ancient Networks from the Coast of Peru: The Textiles of Chancay*. A reception will follow the lecture. For more information, telephone: (401) 253-8388.

Between 1968 and 1981 the Tinker Foundation endowed Edward Larocque Tinker Visiting Professorships at five major universities: Columbia University, Stanford University, University of Chicago, University of Texas at Austin and the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Each year distinguished scholars and practitioners from Latin America and Iberia serve as Tinker Professors. These prominent individuals may represent a wide range of disciplines including journalism, architecture, the hard sciences, environmental sciences, literature, economics, political science, history, etc. Their participation in research, teaching and outreach activities continues to benefit both the scholarly community and the general public. Those interested in contacting the Tinker Professors should write to them directly at the institution of their appointment. Listed below are the names of the scholars who will be in residence during the 1990-91 academic year: FRANCISCO LEAL BUITRAGO, Department of Political Science, Fall 1990, Columbia University; RODOLFO STAVENHAGEN, Department of Political Science and Center for Latin American Studies, Institute for International Studies, September 1990-February 1991, Stanford University; BRIGIDA MARGARITA VON MENTZ DE BOEGE, Department of History, Fall 1990, University of Chicago; MARCO A. PALACIOS ROZO, Department of History, Fall 1990, University of Chicago; OSVALDO A. REIG, Department of Zoology, Fall 1990, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Tinker Foundation institutional grants provide assistance to organizations and institutions conducting group efforts such as research projects, conferences and workshops. All projects are concerned with topics or activities related to Spain, Portugal, Latin America or Antarctica. While foundation-supported projects span many diverse disciplines, emphasis is placed particularly on those having public policy implications in three broad areas of interest—social sciences, international relations and natural resources. Grant applications are considered biannually by the Board of Directors,

in mid-June and mid-December. The deadline for the receipt of proposals for the summer meeting is *March 1, 1991*; for the winter meeting it is *October 1, 1991*. Those interested in contacting the Tinker Fellows, Interns and Scholars, or who wish to learn more about the projects listed should write directly to the organizations and individuals concerned. Listed below are individuals who will be in residence in the United States during the 1990-1991 academic year under the auspices of current Tinker Foundation grants: ALFREDO REHREN, Political Science, Brown and the University of Connecticut; BEATRIZ F. SCHMUKLER, Sociology, the Universities of Massachusetts and Connecticut; ELIZABETH BORTALAI SILVA, Sociology, Brown and the University of Massachusetts; LISIA VANACOR BARROSO will research "Land use in an aging Amazonian frontier: Paragominas, Pará, Brazil" at The Woods Hole Research Center, MA; and, GUSTAVO RUIZ will conduct research at Yale University on "A System Ecology Approach to Inter-organizational Analysis: The Manu Biosphere Reserve."

On August 11, 1990 the Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios Sobre los Estados Unidos (ALESEU) was established as a non-profit academic association in Austin, TX. Its aims are to promote research, organize seminars and congresses, promote professional exchanges, prepare publications and carry out academic activity that may contribute to a better knowledge and understanding of the United States, its reality, its institutions and its cultures, among the citizens of Latin America. Those present at the first meeting of ALESEU elected a temporary Executive Committee to be in charge of carrying out the organizational tasks necessary to reach its stated goals. The Executive Committee consists of: RICARDO ISRAEL-ZIPPER, Coordinating Secretary (Chile), ROSALVA RUIZ (Mexico), ELAINE LEVINE (Mexico), SALVADOR ROMERO PITTARI (Bolivia), DANIEL GARCIA-PENA, Assistant Secretary (Colombia) and MARIO RAPOPORT, Assistant Secretary (Argentina). ALESEU plans to have a seminar at Buenos Aires ("La evolución de Estados Unidos después de la post-guerra") by the end of 1990 and its first Congress in Mexico City by 1991. One of its objectives is to contact Latin American specialists and Centers for Latin American Studies "because in relation to us, they are a mirror of what we would like to do in relation to the United States." For more information, write to Dr. Ricardo Israel-Zipper, Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de Chile, Belgrado No. 11, Santiago de Chile, Chile.

PUBLICATIONS

The LASA Task Force on Women announces the publication of *Integrating Latin American and Caribbean Women into the Curriculum and Research*, a resource volume edited by Edna Acosta-Belén and Christine E. Bose of the State University of New York at Albany. The volume includes brief articles on the status of women's research across the disciplines, curriculum integration strategies, and course syllabi. Among the article contributors are: Yamila Azize, Lynn Bolles, Norma Chinchilla, Elsa Chaney, Margarite Fernández-Olmos, Asunción Lavrín and Lynn Stephen. The publication of the volume is a joint effort of the LASA Task Force on Women, the Center for Latin America and the Caribbean (CELAC) and the Institute for Research on Women (IROW) at SUNY/Albany, and the Red Universitaria de Estudios de la Mujer en la América Latina y el Caribe. The volume will be available at the next LASA Congress in Washington, D.C. It can be ordered at prepublication price of \$17 postpaid from CELAC/IROW, SUNY/Albany, Social Science 250, Albany, NY 12222.

Call for articles for a special issue marking the events and aftermath of 1492 in Europe and the Americas, *Radical History Review* solicits articles including but not limited to the following topics: European expansion, the conquest of the Americas, slavery and the slave trade, the origins of European racism, and the formation of multi-cultural "New World" societies. Send to: *Radical History Review*, Quincentenary Issue, Tamiment Library, 70 Washington Square South, 10th Floor, New York, NY 10012.

The Historian, published by Phi Alpha Theta History Honorary for 53 years, with a circulation of more than 12,000 individual subscribers, seeks to globalize its historical coverage by soliciting manuscripts and books for review in Latin American history. Two copies of manuscripts, under 6,000 words, excluding endnotes, should be sent to: Professor Roger Adelson, Editor, *The Historian*, History Department, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ 85287-2501. Two copies of books for review should be sent to Dean Phillip Thomas, Book Review Editor, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Wichita State University, Wichita, KS 67208.

La revista *Historia Crítica* aparece semestralmente y es publicada por el Departamento de Historia de la Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia. Entre sus principales objetivos se encuentra la difusión de investigaciones que se desarrollan en todas las áreas de la Historia, haciendo énfasis en América Latina, promover discusiones y debates entre los investigadores y suscitar la reflexión sobre temas históricos. En revista colaboran investigadores tanto colombianos como extranjeros. Se invita a colaborar con

artículos, reseñas, noticias de libros y eventos. Los trabajos deben ser inéditos y su extensión de 30-40 páginas. Para mayor información acerca de la revista y del material a publicar, al igual que sobre la posibilidad de suscribirse, dirigirse a: *Historia Crítica*, Departamento de Historia, Universidad de los Andes, AA.4976, Bogotá, Colombia o al código Bitnet: HCRITICA@ANDESCOL.BITNET.

The *Latin American Monograph Series* at Ohio University is now soliciting scholarly works in all disciplines related to Latin America. Manuscripts should range between 80-150 single-spaced, typed pages (or the equivalent for other manners of spacing). 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 Penn State Press wishes to announce that it is embarking on a new program of publishing original scholarly works about Latin America. Three books are now in production: *Spirits and Scientists: Ideology, Spiritism, and Brazilian Culture* by David J. Hess (forthcoming in June 1991); *A Space for Science: The Development of the Scientific Community in Brazil* by Simon Schwartzman (forthcoming in September 1991); and *Western Hemisphere Immigration and United States Foreign Policy* edited by Christopher Mitchell (with contributions by Lars Schoultz, Jorge Dominguez, Alex Stepick, and Carlos Rico), which will appear early in 1992. Authors with manuscripts to offer should send a prospectus (including a summary, table of contents, and their c.v.) to: Sanford G. Thatcher, Director, *The Penn State Press*, Suite C, 820 North Hollywood Drive, University Park, PA 16802. Fax: (814) 863-1408. Mr. Thatcher will be attending the next LASA International Congress in Washington D.C. to talk with prospective authors. Telephone: (814) 865-1327.

Radical Teacher, a socialist and feminist journal on the theory and practice of teaching, will devote an upcoming issue to the political, social, cultural, and economic consequences of the 1492 encounter of two worlds. Send inquiries for suggested topics or a prospectus of no more than one page to: Leonard Vogt, 19-19 21st Road, Astoria, NY 11105; or, Arthur B. Powell, Academic Foundations Department, Rutgers University, Newark, NJ 07102.

946 William Pitt Union
University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260
FAX: (412) 624-7145 BITNET: LASA@PITTVMS

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City, State, Zip Country

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Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number

Institutional Affiliation Country Interest

If student, professor's signature certifying student status

For statistical purposes only: Date of Birth (m/d/y): Gender:

Membership Categories and Rates: 1991 (choose only one category) Amount
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
Between \$40,000 and \$49,999 annual income \$52
Between \$50,000 and \$64,999 annual income \$61
\$65,000 and over annual income \$72
Student Member (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

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 \$15 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; (505) 277-7043]

We encourage you to contribute to the LASA Endowment Fund.

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED

Make checks payable to LASA. Mail check and this form to LASA (address at top of page). Members residing outside the U.S. must send a money order, a check in U.S. dollars drawn on a U.S. bank, or a UNESCO coupon as payment.

1991

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
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1991

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Mailing Address

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Business Telephone

Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number

Name of Contact Person

Categories and Rates: 1991 (choose only one category) Amount

Consortium of Latin American Studies Programs (CLASP)	\$75	\$ _____
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Institutional Sponsor, Nonprofit	\$75	\$ _____
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Institutional Sponsor, Profit	\$500	\$ _____
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If the institution is outside the U.S., Canada or Mexico, and air mail delivery of the Forum is desired, please add \$15 per year for postage. [For 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; (505) 277-7043] ... \$ _____

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A complete set of materials on

LASA'91

has been sent to each LASA member.

**Should you not have received yours,
please contact the secretariat.**

**A duplicate advance registration form is
reproduced on the following page.**

Please note the

ADVANCE REGISTRATION DEADLINE

of

February 8, 1991

ADVANCE REGISTRATION FORM: LASA'91

Latin American Studies Association
XVI International Congress

Washington, DC area
April 4-6, 1991

Please Print

Last Name First Name Initial
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City State Country Zip
Telephone Numbers:

Office Fax (if available) Home

Affiliation (for badge):

ADVANCE REGISTRATION FEES
(Until February 8, 1991)

*Member (US\$39) \$ _____
Nonmember (US\$54) \$ _____
*Student member (US\$17) \$ _____
Student nonmember (US\$22) \$ _____

[Note: All attendees are required to register;
no exceptions can be granted. On-site registration
costs considerably more: members, \$53; nonmembers, \$66;
student members, \$20; student nonmembers, \$26]

*Registrants must be LASA members for 1991 to qualify for member
registration rates. Please use the enclosed form, accompanied by a separate check.

TOTAL PAYMENT ENCLOSED: US\$ _____

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DEADLINE: FEBRUARY 8, 1991

For secretariat use only: Accts.Rec. ___/___/___; Processed by _____; Check # _____
Membership dues paid ___/___/___; Name tag made ___/___/___; Number _____
Tag sent ___/___/___; Refunded \$ _____; Date ___/___/___; Check # _____
Reason _____

Don't forget to advance register for LASA'91
Avoid on-site delays and substantial regret
Deadline: February 8, 1991

The Hyatt Regency Crystal City will provide complimentary shuttle service to and from the Washington National Airport, and throughout the Crystal City area, which includes the Crystal City station as well as local area shops. They promise no more than a 10-minute wait.

We project a mid-January mailing of the final program booklet for LASA'91 to all LASA members. Take it with you to Washington, D.C. It will be your only copy. Addenda will be available on-site.

**HASTA/SEE YOU IN/NOS VEREMOS EM
WASHINGTON!**

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