

LASA Forum

Latin American Studies Association

Vol. XXIV, No. 4

Winter 1994

President's Report

by

Carmen Diana Deere

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

The LASA Endowment Campaign is now underway. Let me bring you up to date on where we stand.

First, the Endowment Campaign is being coordinated by the LASA Ways and Means Committee (a sub-committee of the Executive Council which includes the President, Past President, Vice President, and the Treasurer, who is an elected member of the EC—currently Michael Conroy; the Executive Director also serves on the Committee as an ex-officio member). Ways and Means focused its efforts this past fall on the recruitment of an Assistant Director for Development and the hiring of a fund-raising consultant.

We have conducted a national search for the Assistant Director position, which is still in progress. This position has been advertised as a one-year position, subject to renewal, depending on the success of our initial fund-raising and membership recruitment efforts. At the Ways and Means planning meeting on December 10-11, 1993, we interviewed two of the candidates on our short list, but have now decided to continue with our search for the right person to fill this important new position.

As of this writing, we are also still in the process of hiring the fund-raising consultant. We have received proposals from three fund-raising consulting firms and have interviewed a number of free-lance consultants. Whom we eventually contract depends on the skills and experience of the Assistant Director for Development that we finally hire.

The recruitment process for these positions has been most educational for LASA's officers. In effect, through this process we have gotten a lot of free advice regarding endowment campaigns. We are now convinced that the main source of endowment funding must come from individual

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Report from the LASA '94 Program Committee

by

Edna Acosta-Belén, XVIII Congress Program Chair

University at Albany, SUNY

As I write this brief pre-Congress report to the membership, the official *LASA '94 Congress Program* goes to press, the product of the hard work, intellectual concerns, and creativity of the Program Committee Section Chairs and the hundreds of panel or event organizers and Congress participants. The official *Congress Program* will be mailed to all LASA members and Congress preregistrants prior to the Congress. Look for intellectually stimulating plenaries and panel sessions dealing with some of the major issues of our day and reflecting our Congress theme, *The Americas and the Globalization Process: Trends and Strategies for a New Millennium*. The Atlanta Congress is also enriched by a series of cultural events including an art exhibit, a dramatic performance, a concert, and LASA's traditional *Latin American Film Festival* and *Gran Baile*.

The record number of panel and paper proposals made it more difficult than ever for Section Chairs to accommodate

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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 applications, see pages 29 and 30. Direct subscriptions to the 1994 *Forum* only, without LASA membership, are \$30.00 per year. ISSN 0890-7218.

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Text and Subtext of the Guatemalan Political Drama

by

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In order to fully understand the political drama played out on the Guatemalan stage during 1993, we must look beyond the events most visible in the foreground. The "subtext" of this drama is the ongoing struggle by multiple social actors and movements to democratize an exclusionary system. From this perspective, the change of government in May/June 1993, while surprising and initially inspiring hopes for real change, has not by itself democratized Guatemalan politics. A crucial precondition for genuine democracy is demilitarization and civilian control over the army's activities; this in turn can be achieved only through a negotiated, internationally binding peace accord to end Guatemala's 33-year civil war—the longest and bloodiest such war in Latin America.

The unfolding of recent events has been convoluted and unpredictable. In May 1993, President Jorge Serrano attempted to resolve the accumulated crises of his government through an *auto-golpe*; but 12 days of upheaval brought into office Ramiro de León Carpio, who as Human Rights Ombudsman, had been among the sharpest critics of the government and army. Perhaps even this measure of progress had to come to Guatemala in the most indirect way possible, through implosion or self-destruction of the old regime. But did this, as everyone hoped, initiate a real democratic "spring?" Or is it yet one more false start? After so many years of violence and repression, Guatemalans are reluctant to give up their hopes for a new day; but their optimism of the heart—and mine, after spending a month there this summer—is modulated by considerable pessimism of the intellect.

Background to the "Serranazo"

The 1990-91 Presidential election (the second since the restoration of nominal civilian rule in the mid-1980s) included no significant force to the left of center, and the real winner was abstentionism, since over two-thirds of the eligible electorate did not cast valid ballots. On the positive side, the election represented the first peaceful transfer of power from one civilian government to another since 1951. But it was far from genuinely democratic. The U.S.-based National Democratic Institute, which observed the election, suggested that Guatemala was consolidating an "exclusionary democracy," still lacking in basic guarantees.

Serrano's government quickly began to be plagued by the accumulated contradictions of the top-down transition. By

1992, all branches of the government showed signs of a critical institutional crisis—the logical outcome of very low citizen participation. Established civilian political institutions were so thoroughly discredited as to raise questions of "ungovernability" among all sectors of the population. To mention the principal manifestations, as documented in the Guatemalan press, in analyses by various research institutions and in wide-ranging interviews:

- In the executive branch, nepotism, corruption, and drug-related scandals turned the Cabinet into a virtual revolving door. By 1993, the President himself was directly involved in making his personal fortune from the privatization of the electrical industry. At the same time, according to reports in the Guatemalan press, only 20-30 percent of the population believed in the efficacy of the judicial system, because it perceived the entire system (up to the Supreme Court) to be politicized and corrupt, and unable to successfully prosecute human rights or other crimes.

- Congress, meanwhile, degenerated into a miasma of influence-peddling and corruption, including several serious drug-trafficking scandals. Underlying the crisis of Congress was a deeper crisis among the traditional political parties (which had managed to garner affiliation from only 4.34 percent of the adult population). They were oriented purely toward winning elections, rather than channeling popular demands or generating consensus. In addition, none of them had the vision to expand its base by uniting with popular, indigenous, or human rights organizations—in large part because such organizations were dubbed "subversive" by the army, and the parties did not dare to defy the army's de facto ban. As analyst René Poitevin put it, the lack of representativity of the parties was directly related to the low level of organization permitted in Guatemalan civil society overall.

- Most serious as a threat to democracy and legitimacy was the army's continuing impunity for human rights crimes, as Serrano's ability to maintain civilian control over the military diminished and his policy decisions increasingly reflected the army's priorities. Hence, there persisted a generalized

*This article is based on extensive interviews in Guatemala during the last three summers; it also benefitted from helpful comments on earlier drafts by colleagues at the University of California Santa Cruz and *LASA Forum* editors. The manuscript was prepared in early December 1993.

perception that the practices of past military dictatorships were continuing, and that Guatemala still did not *effectively* enjoy the rule of law.

●Under pressure from many quarters, Serrano had taken initiatives for peace talks with the insurgent URNG (Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca), understanding that this was one of his few hopes to establish legitimacy for his government. In April 1991, he opened formal negotiations, raising hopes for a serious peace process to end the war that had left some 200,000 civilian casualties. But after initial advances in 1991-92 (agreements in principle on democratization and partial agreements on human rights), Serrano subsequently attempted to dictate the terms of peace unilaterally, and to impose deadlines for a cease-fire without resolving many of the substantive issues. By May 1993, the peace talks had broken down. Meanwhile the war intensified, with the army bombing civilian communities in conflict zones.

●As an indicator of continuing social deterioration, 90 percent of the population lived in poverty by the early 1990s; according to 1991 information from CEPAL, UNICEF, and the government's own planning office, the share of national income received by the poorest 10 percent of Guatemala's population declined from 2.4 percent in 1980 to an almost unimaginable 0.5 percent in 1991. Serrano's neoliberal adjustment policies further penalized the poor; not surprisingly, then, social protest became chronic, keeping the government and society in a permanent crisis.

Cumulatively, the crisis revealed the fragility of the army-controlled, top-down "opening" begun in 1982, in which the ruling coalition ceded (and the politicians accepted) very restricted spaces. In order to conduct serious politics, the parties would have had to challenge the army's impunity and open up the political process. By not doing so, the center-right political class contributed to political polarization, making a lasting democratic consolidation unthinkable for the immediate future.

Even amid the political ruins, however, there were signs of incipient life. The Serrano period saw the functioning of several counter-institutions that contrasted sharply with traditional political institutions in their autonomy, transparency and credibility. The most visible was the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office, which was government-funded, but developed a remarkable degree of independence in exposing and investigating human rights violations.

But the most significant counter-tendencies were developing in the "informal" political arena of civil society, outside the formal political system—as seen in the growing public outcry against impunity and human rights abuses, in the public

clamor for participation in peace negotiations, and in the increasing activity of indigenous organizations at many levels. The awarding of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize to exiled indigenous opposition leader Rigoberta Menchú symbolized the international community's recognition of Guatemalan civil society, particularly the indigenous population. In early 1993, the first collective and organized return of 2,500 refugees from Mexico further focused world attention on indigenous Guatemala.

In the context of the peace process, other non-electoral forces began to shape political discussions and agendas. Even though illegal, the URNG moved center-stage into the political debate. Furthermore, because the peace process addressed many issues that were not discussed in the formal political arena, it sparked growing involvement by popular/civilian coalitions—despite the serious weaknesses of these movements, and despite the Serrano government's strong opposition to their participation.

By 1993, then, previously excluded sectors of the population were attempting to insert themselves and their agendas into Guatemalan politics, primarily through extra-electoral struggles. Despite the very restricted nature of formal politics, the return to institutional democracy had in fact enhanced the ability of these sectors to wage such struggles, by creating some space for discussion, and for the reemergence—albeit slow and costly—of social organizations. As the magazine *Envío* observed in September 1992, the "Guatemala wall" was beginning to be torn down, stone by stone.

The Crisis of May 1993 and its Resolution: A New "Spring" or a Lost Opportunity?

In the early morning hours of May 25, 1993, Serrano—initially with support from hardline sectors of the army high command—staged an *auto-golpe*, suspending sections of the constitution, dissolving Congress and the Supreme Court, imposing a media blackout, and moving to arrest the Human Rights Ombudsman. This autocratic, desperate move was a response to multiple conjunctural factors: Serrano's false triumphalism over his party's relative victory in early May municipal elections (marked by over 70 percent abstentionism); political isolation after the fracturing of his party's alliance with the Christian Democrats and UCN in Congress; Serrano's attempt at self-enrichment from privatization of the electrical industry, which prompted him to move preemptively against Congress; a stream of criticism in the press; growing popular discontent over neoliberal austerity measures (previous weeks were marked by widespread mobilizations against increases in electricity rates and bus fares); and the breakdown of the peace negotiations in early May. At a deeper level, the coup was a response to

the accumulation of structural crises that had made Guatemala increasingly ungovernable. The contradictions of the top-down transition since 1982 had made the system far too brittle to withstand the force of rising demands for change.

From the first moment, the lack of public support for the coup was clear. In the following days, the many forms of resistance from civil society, combined with strong international pressures, turned even Serrano's allies in the private sector and the army against him. After Serrano was deposed a week later, those same sectors supported hardline Vice President Espina in his attempt to take power, but they were stopped once again by the virtually unanimous opposition from the organized forces of civil society. As a sign of which way the winds were blowing, the army did not go into the streets to suppress protests. Throughout the crisis, the Constitutional Court, and to a lesser extent the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, played a central role in defining a legal road out of the crisis and returning the country to a constitutional order. Diverse currents of public opinion reached consensus in new forums such as the Instancia Nacional de Consenso (INC), a broad alliance of civilian sectors ranging from the business community to popular organizations, and the Foro Multisectorial Social, a new coalition among the popular organizations. The succession was ultimately resolved by a June 5 election in Congress; after the 12-day cyclone, Guatemala awoke to find Serrano's erstwhile enemy, de León Carpio, the new President.

What produced this improbable outcome? First, after decades of extreme political polarization, Guatemala experienced one of those rare historical moments in which virtually all organized sectors of society (at least in the capital) agreed not to permit yet another violation of the constitutional order. This consensus or convergence of opinion eventually had to be respected even by hardliners in the army high command. Second, this "citizens' movement"—at some moments reminiscent of the democratic Revolution of 1944—was combined with unusually strong international pressures, including threats from the U.S. and the European Community to suspend trade privileges, economic aid and access to international credit. The specter of these sanctions convinced waverers in the private sector to be "constitutionalist." Third, at key moments, tactical divisions surfaced within the army officer corps—hence what Gabriel Aguilera has called the "*carrusel de golpes*." In a sense, army hardliners lost control of the process and/or became convinced that their interests lay in a return to the constitutional order.

At the international level, these events manifested the wondrous ironies of the post-Cold War era. Washington and the OAS—the same team that in 1954 had overseen the ouster of the democratic nationalist government of Jacobo

Arbenz—insisted on a legal resolution of the crisis unleashed by Serrano. In the aftermath of recent coups in Peru and Haiti, and with Venezuela teetering on the brink of one, they recognized that if consolidated, the Guatemalan coup would threaten stability throughout the continent. Certainly, in Central America, it could initiate an unraveling of the hard-won, carefully stitched together peace in El Salvador which the U.S. had (belatedly) come to endorse. In Guatemala itself, the primary concern of the U.S. was to restore and consolidate the institutional order.

But a number of Guatemalans of various political orientations consider that the crisis of May could have had a very different outcome—a semi-revolutionary rupture as in 1944, rather than a recomposition (preservation) of the system. One of the key players in "saving" the system subsequently observed that they may have "entrapped" themselves in legality. In a similar vein, others viewed the outcome as *a lost opportunity for far-reaching change without bloodshed*. (One central actor even spoke of an "aborted (peaceful) revolution;" another reflected that it could have been an opportunity "to put the army in its proper place politically.") In the heat of the crisis, the long-range stakes were perhaps obscured by the search for an immediate solution. At crucial moments, moreover, the improvised coalition of popular forces, although more united than ever before, was not strong enough to shape the outcome, leaving the initiative in the hands of more conservative domestic and international actors.

Guatemala's Symphonie Fantastique: *La Danza de la Depuración*

Once the initial euphoria passed, the moment when anything seemed possible, Guatemala settled back to a kind of "normalcy"—this time, it was hoped, a somewhat less repressive normalcy, but still extremely volatile and precarious. The early July assassination of leading politician and newspaper editor Jorge Carpio—the new President's cousin—was a chilling reminder of the obstacles to change in Guatemala. Since then, the level of human rights violations has increased, and there have been several serious incidents involving the paramilitary "civilian self-defense patrols" (PACs), in which over half a million peasants are forced to serve under army control. Even more disturbing, President de León Carpio now defends the PACs as vigorously as he criticized them when he was Human Rights Ombudsman. The U.N., the OAS, and virtually all international observers have called for abolition of the PACs, with the U.N. branding them as an "institutionalized element of uncontrollable violence." They were also singled out in the report issued this September by the OAS' Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, a blistering indictment of the continuing

militarization of Guatemala and the accompanying dangers to democracy and human rights.

Equally serious questions have been raised by the new government's stance on peace talks with the URNG, which had been interrupted in May. The official position since June has ranged from statements that the peace process is not a priority at all to proposals that, far from advancing negotiations, would ignore past agreements and undo the progress made during the Serrano years. The government proposal presented at the U.N. in October amounted to a demand that the URNG disarm without any substantive settlements. Widely regarded as "a plan for war, not peace," it was rejected not only by the URNG but almost unanimously throughout Guatemalan society (except by the army and private sector). It was also viewed as nonviable by key international players. Indeed, to many observers this stance seems anachronistic in a world where the governments of El Salvador (and the U.S. in regard to El Salvador), South Africa, Israel, even Great Britain (in Ireland) have all accepted that the only way to end a prolonged and stalemated war is to negotiate with their enemy.

De León Carpio came into office with political space to take his own initiatives; however, he apparently chose to leave the peace process in the hands of the army. And for its part, the "institutionalist" wing of the army high command, whose alliance with the President has become the pillar of the new government, agrees with "hardliners" about prioritizing counterinsurgency over peace. Perhaps they had hoped to use de León Carpio's legitimacy to achieve what they could not get previously: unilateral surrender by the URNG. But to the contrary, the war has been heating up again in late 1993, with both sides launching new military offensives. Politically, if the government does not undertake a serious peace process soon, it risks losing the strong legitimacy it initially enjoyed in the international arena.

Against this backdrop of unresolved problems, the center-stage this Fall has been dominated by the dance of *depuración* or "cleansing" of the principal political institutions. In late summer, de León Carpio launched a campaign to purge corrupt and discredited elements of Congress and the Supreme Court, calling for a national referendum on the issue. Although the move initially enjoyed broad public support, the resulting standoff between Congress and the President soon degenerated into daily turmoil and even physical confrontations among different factions. The political/institutional crisis became so serious as to raise once again the specter of "ungovernability;" during October and November there were continual rumors of a "state of exception" or alternatively, a coup. The Bishops' Council of the Catholic Church, one of Guatemala's few credible institutions, finally stepped in as mediator, and a compromise

was reached in mid-November.

The complex settlement, to be voted up or down in a January referendum, calls for reforms in the election of Congress and the Supreme Court, controls over Congressional immunity as well as new Congressional elections in mid-1994, and elimination of confidential expenditures in Ministerial budgets—all of which are designed to reduce the level of corruption in public life. Beyond resolving the political power struggle, this compromise avoided another breakdown of the institutional order; it gained the political system a new lease on life, but not lasting legitimacy. Indeed, if this solution does hold, it only clears the way for the rest of Guatemala's multiple crises to come to center-stage.

The overwhelming public support for change when de León Carpio took office gave him space to act independently of the army, whose control and autonomy had been limited during the May/June crisis. But events since June suggest that an historic opportunity is being missed to loosen the iron grip of the old power bloc over Guatemalan politics and open up this exclusionary system—which in this country would be a monumental achievement. Hence, for many Guatemalans who watched history repeat itself as farce this fall, initial hopes have given way to widespread skepticism—and an acute appreciation for the absurd, the contradictory, the diabolical. When I asked one Bishop in July what would be his priority if he were President, he replied without hesitation and only half in jest, "Resign tomorrow." How ironic that this same Bishop was called upon in November to mediate the dance of the *depuración*.

Pluralism and Peace as the Subtext

The dramas of 1993 are best interpreted as growing out of a struggle, already in progress before the *auto-golpe* and continuing today, for genuine political pluralism and freedom to organize for all sectors of the population. In Guatemala, this requires addressing the great unresolved problems left by decades of exclusionary counterinsurgency politics; and it is a precondition for the flowering of the cultural and ideological diversity that characterize real-life Guatemalan society.

One key to genuinely competitive politics lies in the struggle for full *ideological* pluralism, the lack of which has polarized Guatemalan politics. Opening up politics to all social forces has been one of the implicit issues of the peace process. For this very reason, the peace process has been (and remains) a focus of intense debates within the private sector and the army about whether to tolerate autonomous political actors (the URNG, once the war is over, or any other popular

movement). Hardliners are obsessed with the problem of the URNG's insertion into civilian political life—and more generally, with what forces in civil society will become the social and political bases for leftist or popular parties. Their fears are well founded, in the sense that new movements untarnished by the existing political crisis could likely gain support rapidly, once their participation is permitted.

Because the logic of the peace process (broadly understood, beyond the government-URNG negotiating table) challenges exclusionary politics, it remains a source of tensions within the army and the private sector. There have been constant pressures to end the process, and thus to close the spaces that it began to open. This is the logic underlying many of the human rights violations of recent years: hardliners in the security forces have been striking out against groups that might function autonomously, *in order to avoid pluralistic politics*.

But above all, the peace negotiations have been a crucial forum because all of Guatemala's principal problems are on the agenda. The core issues are demilitarization (dismantling the counterinsurgency apparatus) and the establishment of civilian authority over the military. These are preconditions for the construction of normal (voluntary, non-coerced) politics, especially in the countryside, and for permitting the rule of law to function in practice. For example, the PACs were supposedly made voluntary in the 1985 Constitution; but in fact, they remain coercive and a source of continuing human rights violations. Nothing less than an internationally brokered, binding peace agreement will be able to impose limitations on the army and its appendages.

Also under negotiation is the problem of impunity. As in El Salvador, the discussion focuses on establishment of a Truth Commission to determine responsibility for past human rights crimes. Although this Commission will almost certainly lack the power to punish past abusers, its existence could shine the spotlight on the structures of repression and establish guarantees against continuing impunity in the future. Finally, the negotiations highlight the need for constitutional reforms—also being called for by indigenous and other organizations—to make existing institutions more representative. In short, a just peace is a precondition for changing the rules of the political game and ending the Cold War polarization in Guatemala.

Given Guatemala's majority indigenous population, genuine pluralism also implies the construction of a multiethnic, multicultural nation, based on recognition of the heterogeneity and diversity that *is* Guatemala, and of the strong indigenous component of Guatemala's identity. Current campaigns for indigenous rights involve numerous projects for legal and constitutional reforms (beginning with approval

of the International Labor Organization's *Convenio 169*), as well as new forms of political organization. The participation of the indigenous population *as* Maya will profoundly enrich the content of Guatemalan politics by incorporating indigenous traditions of community democracy.

Finally, few Guatemalans seriously discuss democracy without addressing social-economic issues, because they believe that, so long as nearly three-fourths of the population lives in extreme poverty, formal democracy will remain forever fragile. As Human Rights Ombudsman, de León Carpio had redefined human rights to include economic, social and cultural rights. ("Justice in Guatemala," he told me in a 1992 interview, "is like a serpent; she only bites the barefoot, not those who have shoes.") The Latin American concept of "integral democracy" is a necessary complement to strictly political democracy, if the goal is a society that is viable and stable as well as humane.

Ongoing Structural Changes

Recent years have also seen significant structural changes in the economy and in Guatemalan relations with the United States—two dimensions that are closely interrelated. The major new developments in the economy are precisely those which have to do with Guatemala's international relations, i.e., its insertion into the world economy and its internationalization through immigration to the United States. Conversely, its relations with the U.S. are increasingly driven by economic considerations, and are increasingly being mediated by Mexico.

In this era of economic transnationalization, and hemispheric free trade and interdependence, the externally oriented poles of the Guatemalan economy are central: "non-traditional" exports include not only winter vegetables, etc., but also a growing *maquiladora* industry and drug-trafficking (with its increasing impact on Guatemalan politics). At the same time, the economy as a whole is increasingly dependent on remittances (reaching half a billion dollars a year by 1993) from the rapidly growing immigrant/refugee community in the United States. As of 1993, an estimated one million Guatemalans live in the U.S. (with or without formal legal status).

By themselves, of course, these externally oriented tendencies have not addressed Guatemala's fundamental social and economic contradictions, which stem from the lack of an *internal* consumer market. Guatemala's socio-economic structure is so skewed that even the World Bank recommends more state spending. Given the rapid increase in poverty levels, basic reforms in landholding and tax structures are more necessary than ever. In the 1990s, such

reforms cannot be a replay of those initiated by Arbenz during the 1950s. But without tax reform, for example, future governments will continue to be plagued by the lack of resources for public services. (The major general hospital of Guatemala City was closed for all but emergency services in September.) And without a thorough reform of the banking and credit systems as well as land-holding, production cannot really increase.

The Serrano years demonstrated clearly the perils of neoliberal policies. Yet the Guatemalan private sector, in sharp contrast with its counterparts in Mexico and El Salvador, has not developed visible projects even for a modernized capitalism. Proposals for a "social market economy" are the closest thing to a modernizing project, but they are coming from independent research institutes, not from the private sector. Perhaps the new free trade context, as well as competition from El Salvador, will intensify the pressures to modernize; this would by no means resolve the raging problems of poverty, but it would at least diversify the options for Guatemalan politics.

The changing international context and new cross-border realities also indicate a continued restructuring of U.S.-Guatemalan relations. The United States, itself in the midst of an economic crisis, needs to develop new markets in Latin America—all the more so in the "new world order" of regional blocs. But U.S. policies toward Latin America have changed very slowly, and thus far the U.S. emphasis remains on neoliberal structural adjustment policies, cheap-labor havens, and debt repayment—all of which impede the development of such regional markets. How can it make sense to build a free trade zone with countries where 90 percent of the population lives in poverty? Where will the markets be? On what basis can the flow of immigration be rationalized when Latin Americans have no access to decent jobs in their own countries? And what will prevent the outbreak of future conflicts, fueled by poverty? It seems logical that long-range U.S. interests could become a pressure on U.S. policy, forcing the policy establishment to begin asking these questions; but that logic does not necessarily make such a reassessment likely.

In general (although with very significant lapses, e.g. toward the Sandinistas even after they lost power in Nicaragua), U.S. Central America policy under Bush and Clinton has evolved in the direction of being driven relatively less by the old ideological obsessions and more by practical economic interests—above all, by an interest in stability in Central America as a basis for developing free trade arrangements. Thus far, this has translated into pressures on the Guatemalan government to strengthen the institutions of formal democracy and eliminate the worst human rights abuses. Nevertheless, recent proposals to renew U.S. military aid to the Guatemalan government once again send a mixed or

double message. In any case, it is far from a policy oriented toward peace with justice and attention to the region's gaping social wounds; such a policy, which would require tolerance for power-sharing with left or popular forces, remains a precondition for viable development and stability in Central America.

A Time for Rethinking

Even though the events of 1993 have not transformed the Guatemalan state or power structures, in the civil society there are now spaces for popular action less permeated by fear. Certainly there are spaces left by the inadequacy of existing political parties and institutions. Minimal though they may seem, these spaces can be used by left and popular organizations (labor, peasant, indigenous, community, student, human rights, religious, refugee, and non-governmental organizations). In the past, these forces have been able to generate continual protests, but not a sustained movement capable of competing for power (or even a share of power). In the May/June crisis, they played a more central role than before, but were still unprepared to seize the moment. No doubt, that experience itself served as a "school," giving the participants a mirror of their strengths and weaknesses and a new sense of what is possible when (even temporarily) the army's authority is limited.

Since June, popular organizations have become increasingly vocal and militant in their demands—as symbolized in the extended sit-in at the OAS office by several popular and indigenous organizations this fall, demanding dissolution of the PACs. There has also been growing activity by organized movements of those displaced by the war—refugees returning from Mexico and the semi-clandestine Communities of Population in Resistance. The government finds itself under growing domestic and international pressure to negotiate with these movements on issues as delicate as limiting army activities in the northern conflict zones.

This heightened sense of empowerment is crucial at a time when conditions exist for building new movements and coalitions. But these possibilities can only be realized if Guatemala's left and popular forces address past weaknesses and adapt to changing conditions. In addition to playing an active role in the peace process, they must think critically, flexibly and creatively about issues of the post-war future: Beyond critiques of neoliberalism, what are viable proposals for Guatemalan economic development within a regional (Central American) context and in relation to NAFTA? What are appropriate, democratic organizational forms for building broad coalitions or *frentes* that are mobilizational as well as electoral, that genuinely represent the diverse interests of Guatemala's dispossessed majorities? What will

be the political culture of such movements/parties, in order to overcome old, rigid political practices that have produced endless splits? Under what conditions can they make alliances with more established political players and operate effectively in multi-sector arenas? How will they relate to Guatemalan immigrant/refugee communities in the U.S.?

Beyond the obvious need for new political strategies and programmatic alternatives, renovation involves a broadening from the traditionally "political" arena to the cultural. In Guatemala, cultural issues have become central during the last decade of resistance struggles by the indigenous majority. Beyond its demand for social justice (basically a class demand), any program for democracy in Guatemala must develop strategies for organizing in function of multiple and overlapping identities of class, ethnicity and gender. In the process of opening up political space, then, Guatemala's popular forces must reconstitute themselves as social actors.

For Guatemala this implies the increasing prominence of Mayan organizations in their many currents. Their demands for inclusion in Guatemalan political life necessitate continual reformulations of working-class and popular strategies. Indigenous communities, organizations, and intellectuals are insisting on a serious dialogue among equals (not lip-service or tokenism), and their demands, as well as their active participation, will have to be included in any progressive national agenda. Indigenous organizations are also a source of democratic ideas and political practice; in their fluid, ever-shifting coalitions, they have demonstrated considerable ability to work together and maintain a permanent dialogue, despite different orientations and priorities.

In regard to gender, objective realities have completely outrun the consciousness of traditional actors at all points along the political spectrum. Long-range trends (e.g., "informalization" of the economy and growing *maquiladora* industries) have thrust women to the center of Guatemala's social/economic stage. Women have increasingly become leaders of community, human rights, and other struggles of civil society. Yet there has been almost no progress in democratizing political practice or discussion with respect to gender. Women attempting to organize around women's issues (not to mention feminist issues) continue to be ignored or regarded as "divisionist." In the words of one woman involved in these struggles, "they simply don't hear us." As women continue fighting to break this "great silence" and open up spaces for organizing around gender issues, they could unleash a great reserve of social action and contribute to transforming the country's political culture.

Decades of struggle and a prolonged (ongoing) peace process have been required to establish the minimum bases for a demilitarized and pluralistic society in Guatemala.

Genuine democracy, in turn, could be the basis for future discussions of more profound socio-economic transformations. As Guatemala moves (however slowly) toward peace, the advance of this unfinished democratic revolution will also remove a great obstacle to demilitarization and democracy throughout the entire Central American region. ■

Want to be one of LASA's
founding
Life Members?

A \$2,500 VALUE
for only
\$5.00!

Watch for the LASA 1994
RAFFLE
in Atlanta!

LATIN AMERICAN/ CARIBBEAN STUDIES PROGRAM

The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of The Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. invites applications for a non-tenured teaching position in Latin American and Caribbean Studies, to commence in the Fall Semester of 1994. The appointment is for three years and is renewable. Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the Nitze School is a multi-disciplinary program with an emphasis on political/institutional development, economic modernization, and 20th century historical growth. The individual appointed will also serve as Assistant Director of the program. Preference will be given to those with research and/or teaching experience in Spanish America. Preference will be given to applicants with a Ph.D., teaching experience and publications and who have a political economics approach to Latin American development issues. Fluency in Spanish is required.

A letter of application, a curriculum vitae, three letters of recommendation, and samples of publications should be sent to: **Mr. Gerald W. Stover, Director of Human Resources, SAIS, 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.** SAIS and the Johns Hopkins University is an Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Employer and Educator and encourages applications from people of color and women.

SAIS

Program Committee Report continued

all worthy submissions. The official Program includes close to 460 panels, meetings, and other events that promise to keep all of us busy and engaged for the three-day duration of the Atlanta Congress. Requests for travel support also hit record levels and LASA was able to secure funding for at least one fourth of all travel requests. Disappointments in this regard are always unavoidable, underscoring the need for members to play a more active role in seeking non-LASA funding sources for Latin America-based participants and increased membership support of LASA's Endowment fund-raising efforts. We are encouraging all Congress Program participants to avoid being 'no-shows.' If you are on the Program and cannot attend the Congress, please ask a colleague to read your paper and also notify the Program Office in advance. All changes received prior to the Congress will appear in a *Program Supplement* to be distributed at the Registration Area.

I also would like to take this opportunity to encourage you to support the LASA Endowment campaign through lifetime membership contributions, individual donations, or by purchasing the attractive LASA '94 Congress memorabilia (T-shirts and tote bags) or raffle tickets.

This year LASA initiated, with the generous support of the Ford and MacArthur Foundations, the Junior Lecturing Fellowship awards received by a total of 29 Congress participants. We would like to congratulate recipients of these awards, whose names and host institutions are listed in this issue of the *LASA Forum*. The positive response from the membership to the Junior Fellowship competition was demonstrated by the approximately 100 applications received. Junior Lecturing Fellowship awards also will be made available for the next Congress.

As we approach almost three decades since the creation of LASA, it becomes more imperative for the Congress programming process not to have each new Program Office "reinvent the wheel" and spend inordinate amounts of time making technical decisions about computer software, programming, data entry issues, or any other aspects of producing a publication of this magnitude. Most major scholarly organizations have boiler plate systems in place to deal with the technical production of their professional meeting programs that facilitate the transition from one

Program Committee to another. This allows the Program Chair and Committee to focus their energies in putting together the best possible program. For 1994, we have built upon the efforts of previous program chairs and their staffs in that regard and should be able to pass along a package that will make this process of developing the program less onerous for the group of colleagues succeeding us in this major task. Our congratulations and best wishes to Thomas H. Holloway of Cornell University, Program Chair for the LASA '95 Washington, D.C. Congress.

My thanks also to all LASA '94 Congress participants with a few apologies for not always being able to give each and every one of you who called or wrote, my personal attention or the immediate or positive response that you were hoping for and which becomes increasingly difficult with the growing size of each Congress. We appreciate your patience and understanding as well as your continuing support of LASA.

The official LASA '94 Congress Program, is the fine product of the collective labor and dedication of many people. In the introduction to the Program, I express my appreciation and acknowledge those individuals who offered me their support and assistance along the way. I am deeply indebted to all of you.

I could not finish these remarks without letting you know that when I agreed to Chair the LASA '94 Congress it was partly because of my professional respect and admiration for my *compatriota*, LASA President, Carmen Diana Deere. I have enjoyed working with her and offering my support. During the last year and a half we have shared many hours of conversation and exchange about LASA and the Congress programming process that led to the introduction of a few needed changes, which in our estimation better reflect the seriousness and maturity of our learned society. Thus, her ideas and support are also reflected in the final product. *Mi profundo agradecimiento* to Carmen Diana for making this process such a pleasant and rewarding experience. Although at times the major undertaking of chairing the Congress Program interfered with my ongoing research and teaching commitments, I cannot help but being extremely satisfied with the results. Let's all enjoy the fruits of our labor in Atlanta.

LASA '94 CONGRESS PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

Plenary Sessions

► **PLE 01 Gender and the Politics of Sexuality in Latin America**

Thursday, 9:00-11:00 am ► Plaza Ballroom South

Guest speakers include Donna Goldstein, Roger N. Lancaster, Magali Pineda, Margaret Randall, and Nancy Scheper-Hughes.

► **PLE 02 Cultural Politics and Political Culture(s): Recent Trends in Theory and Research**

Thursday, 3:00-5:00 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Guest speakers include Teresa Caldeira, Arturo Escobar, Jean Franco, David Slater, and George Yúdice.

► **PLE 03 *The Clinton Administration's Latin American Policy***

Thursday, 8:00-9:30 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Featuring Dr. Richard Feinberg, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Inter-American Affairs, National Security Council, Washington, D.C.

► **PLE 04 *North American News Coverage of Latin America***

Friday 9:00-11:00 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Guest speakers include Debbie Ewens, Lino Domínguez, and a CNN representative.

► **PLE 05 *Recasting Women in the Global Economy***

Friday, 3:00-5:00 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Guest speakers include Helen I. Safa, María Patricia Fernández-Kelly, and Mary Garcia Castro.

► **PLE 06 *Gender and the Expanding of the Definition of Human Rights***

Saturday, 9:00-11:00 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Guest speakers include Roxana Carrillo, Hazel Fonseca, and Sara E. Nelson.

► **PLE 07 *Hemispheric Economic Integration***

Saturday 3:00-5:00 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Guest speakers include Sebastian Edwards, Albert Fishlow, and Nora Lustig.

► **PLE 08 *The Americas: Then, Now, and Beyond***

Saturday 6:00-7:30 pm ► Plaza Ballroom South

Featuring Dr. Johnnetta Cole, President of Spelman College in Atlanta.

Special Sessions

► **SPS 30 *Kalman Silvert Award for 1994***

This year, Past President Lars Schoultz, Chair of the Silvert Award Committee will present the award to Osvaldo Sunkel, Special Advisor to the Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). Please join us on Thursday at 4:00 pm, State Room for this memorable occasion.

► **SPS 05 *The Caribbean in an Era of Global Change***

A panel sponsored by the Caribbean Studies Association (CSA).

► **SPS 10 *Multicultural Latin America: A Workshop for Teachers***

A panel sponsored by CLASP.

► **SPS 02 *América Latina en la perspectiva del cine norteamericano y de Europa (1945-1995)***

► **SPS 04 *Place and Patterns of Subalterity in the New Millennium***

► **SPS 06 *Mestizo Identity and the Process of Mestizaje***

► **SPS 07 *The Social Sciences in Central America: A Critical Balance***

► **SPS 08 *Aborto y políticas públicas en el Caribe: De la clandestinidad al financiamiento por el Estado***

► **SPS 09 *Women's Studies in Latin America and the Caribbean: Setting a Research and Action Agenda***

► **SPS 12 *Quo Vadis? Comparative Research Trends Through the Year 2000***

► **SPS 14 *Higher Education: Evaluation, Accountability, and Accreditation***

► **SPS 18 *Latin America in Translation***

► **SPS 21 *The Prospects for U.S. Cuba Policy***

► **SPS 31 *Recovering the U.S. Latino Heritage***

► **SPS 32 *Island Literature: The Nobel Prize and the Caribbean***

PLUS all the plenaries and panels organized by *BRASA*, the Brazilian Studies Association, who will be holding their annual conference concurrently with *LASA*. Look for a detailed *BRASA Program* upon your arrival.

Special Events, Meetings, and Receptions

► **The *LASA Welcoming Reception***, a Congress tradition, will take place on Wednesday, March 9, 7:00-9:00 pm at the Michael Carlos Museum, Emory University.

► **The *LASA Business Meeting*** is scheduled for Friday, March 10 from 5:00-7:00 pm at the Plaza Ballroom.

► **Visit to the Carter Center:** The Local Arrangements Committee with the support of Emory University has arranged a Panel and Tour of the Carter Center. The panel will deal with *The Carter Center and Democratization in Latin America*. These activities are scheduled on Thursday, March 10, 1:00-4:00 pm at the Carter Center, Emory University. Transportation from the hotel to the Carter Center will be provided. Upon arrival, check the *LASA Information Desk* at the Westin Peachtree Plaza.

► **Images of a Culture: The Puerto Rican Art Poster Exhibit** will be on display at the Book Exhibit Area, Peachtree Ballroom.

► **Obra Unipersonal *Las tres monedas*** by Néstor Romero Valdovinos. Performed by Paraguayan actress Edda De los Ríos de Laterza. The play is scheduled for Thursday 7:00-7:30 pm, English Room, Westin Peachtree Plaza. Admission is open to all Congress participants.

► **The *Gran Baile***, another LASA Congress tradition will be held on Friday, 9:00-1:00 pm at the Plaza Ballroom. Tickets will be on sale at the Congress until Friday afternoon for \$5.00. They will be \$6.00 at the door.

► ***Latin American Film Festival and Exhibit***. As in previous years, this LASA Congress tradition is coordinated by LaVonne Poteet, Bucknell University. A schedule of showings will be available at the Registration Area. Films will be shown in the Henry Room.

► ***Friends of CELAC/LACS and the LASA Program Office at the University at Albany, SUNY Reception***. All of those who helped us during the Congress programming process, please join us for this cash-bar reception on Friday at 6:30 pm, Peach Room. We would like an opportunity for celebration and to personally thank you for your support.

► ***Concert by Claro Oscuro***. We are seeking cosponsors to financially support this concert by an internationally renowned women's musical group from Costa Rica scheduled for Saturday, March 12 at 8:00 pm, Plaza Ballroom South. If we are able to secure the necessary funding, concert tickets will be available for sale at the Congress.

LASA would like to congratulate the recipients of the Junior Lecturing Fellowship awards and wish them a productive visit to the United States and at their host institutions. These awards have been made possible with the generous support of the Ford Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation.

Ford Foundation Fellows

Name/Affiliation/Host Institution

- Laís Wendel Abramo, PREACL/CLACSO // Duke University
- Martha Abreu, Universidade Federal Fluminense // University of Michigan
- Josefina Aranda, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez // Northeastern University
- Luis A. Caraballo Vivas, Universidad Popular Alberto Carnevali, Venezuela // Bowling Green State University
- Ana Lorena Carrillo, Universidad Autónoma de Puebla // California State University at Long Beach
- Marina Delpino, Centro de Estudios de Población (CENEP), Argentina // George Washington University
- Graciela Di Marco, GEST, Argentina // Emory University
- Delia Matilde Ferreira, CEPPA, Argentina // University of California at San Diego
- Carlos Fuentes Saavedra, FLACSO-Chile // Florida International University
- Dora Sofía Gallardo, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica, Mexico // University of California at San Diego
- Ernel González Mastrapa, Universidad de la Habana // University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Brown University, and MIT
- Andrés Guerrero, FLACSO-Ecuador // University of Florida at Gainesville
- Francine Jácome, INVESP, Venezuela // Georgia State University
- Roberto Laserna, CERES, Bolivia // Cornell University
- Mercedes López Martínez, UNAM // University of California at Santa Cruz
- Andrés López Restrepo, Universidad Nacional de Bogotá // Northwestern University
- Jorge Matamoros Bushey, Centro de Investigación y Documentación, Nicaragua // University of California at Davis
- Luis Javier Melgoza Valdívila, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Iztapalapa // Columbia University
- José Luis Méndez, El Colegio de México // Georgetown University
- Ernesto Rodríguez Chávez, Centro de Estudios sobre América, Cuba // DePaul University
- Lucas Rubinich, Centro de Estudios del Estado y Sociedad, Argentina // University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Marcelo Siqueira Ridenti, Universidade Estadual Paulista // Kellogg Institute
- Andrea Zhouri, UNICAMP // University of California at Santa Cruz

MacArthur Foundation Fellows/Population Program

- Yamila Azize, Colegio Universitario de Cayey, UPR // University at Albany, SUNY
- Sonia Catasús, Universidad de la Habana // University of Florida at Gainesville
- Ana M. Castillo Clerici, Universidad de Asunción // SUNY-Binghamton
- Marta Chiappe, Universidad de la República del Uruguay // Virginia Tech
- Patricia Gerez, CIESAS, Mexico // University of California at Berkeley
- Sergio Zendejas Romero, El Colegio de Michoacán // University of Texas at Austin

(Other fellowship awards will be announced in the *LASA '94 Congress Program Supplement*). ■

New Paper Distribution Process for LASA '94

by
Mike Conroy
LASA Treasurer

As announced earlier, official congress paper presenters are required to *send one copy of the paper to the LASA Secretariat* (see address above) *no later than March 1, 1994.*

As for the Congress site itself, LASA will experiment with a new paper distribution system. Reid Reading and I were appointed by Carmen Diana Deere to explore the possibilities of improving upon our traditional paper sales process. We have developed a system which will, effectively, "contract out" the organization, duplication, and distribution of all papers presented in Atlanta. Although papers will cost a little more than they have in the past, it is our hope that a much larger proportion of the papers will be available to participants and that you will be able to obtain them much more efficiently than in the past.

As most members will recall, for the past several Congresses LASA has used a system which had three basic characteristics. Paper-givers were asked to send in advance, or to bring with them, up to 50 copies of their papers and to drop them off at the LASA Paper Distribution Center, a large area of tables reserved for this purpose. A space was reserved for every paper in the program, and the papers were placed in those spaces as they arrived. Congress participants would then walk through the paper distribution area, picking up copies of those they wanted, and pay a minimal charge of \$1.00 per paper as they left.

Basics of the new system

The new distribution system was discussed, modified, and approved by the Executive Council in the June 1993 EC meeting in Havana. Authors are now asked to send only one copy of their paper (formatted with single line spacing and small margins) to a central location near the Congress. Papers will be duplicated in advance of the meeting, and a list of all accessible papers will be available by 7:00AM Thursday morning, the first day of the Congress. The paper distribution center will consist of a long counter with duplicated papers stored behind it. You will be able to check off the ones you want; and, in most cases, they will be provided immediately. And you will be able to pay with cash, credit cards, or check (drawn on U.S. banks).

Papers that arrive during the meeting will be made available by noon on the day after they are turned in, and a new list of available papers will be printed up each day. If the original supplies are exhausted, special orders will be filled

overnight at the same prices. If there are copies left over, the authors or co-authors will be able to purchase the remaining supply for \$0.03 per page, after noon on Saturday, the last day of the Congress.

After protracted negotiations, LASA has decided to contract with KINKO's Downtown Atlanta (winner of a bidding process) to provide paper duplication and distribution services for this Congress.

The prices of papers will, of course, now be higher than before, varying with the length of the paper. The Executive Council has voted to add a small LASA fee to the contractor's cost in order to replace some of the funds that were raised by LASA from the former \$1.00 price for each paper, all of which went to LASA.

How will it work?

The Program Committee for the Atlanta Congress has placed increased emphasis on the responsibility of all whose papers are accepted to provide *a written paper*, not just an oral presentation. This is how you can be certain that you meet that requirement. One copy of each paper should be sent to the following address:

LASA '94 Papers
 c/o Ms. Sherry Konter
 KINKO's, Downtown Atlanta
 1 Park Place South, Suite 125
 Atlanta, GA 30303

Please make sure this second copy of your paper is sent to KINKO's and not to the Secretariat.

To make certain that the costs of duplicated papers are as low as possible, all papers submitted to KINKO's for duplication and distribution . . .

- a) should be received by KINKO's no later than March 4th, 1994;
- b) should be formatted with single line spacing and relatively small margins;
- c) must be on 8.5" x 11" paper (or type A4);
- d) must be printed or copied only on one side of the page; and
- e) must have all pages numbered.

Papers received after March 4th will not be available until the second day of the Congress or until noon on the day after the day on which they are submitted. KINKO's will initially make 20 copies of each paper, double-sided and on recycled paper. Additional copies will be made as supplies are sold. Special orders will be allowed until 6:00PM on Friday.

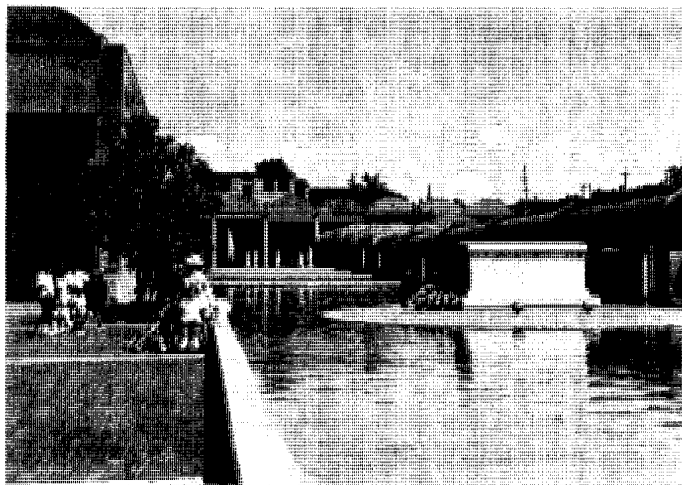
A list of the papers submitted to the Secretariat will be published in the *LASA Forum* so that members who do not attend the Congress, or those who did not get a chance to pick them up, may request photocopies directly from Pittsburgh.

We welcome your feedback on this new system. ■

A Stroll Up Peachtree Street and Other Pleasures of Atlanta

by
Barbara Petit

Welcome to Atlanta, the urban heart of the Southeast. This busy city of commerce and transportation serves as a destination for millions of visitors and offers in its own business-like fashion a complex experience of culture, entertainment and, of course, shopping. One can travel the length of Peachtree Street to appreciate the scope of Atlanta's offerings.



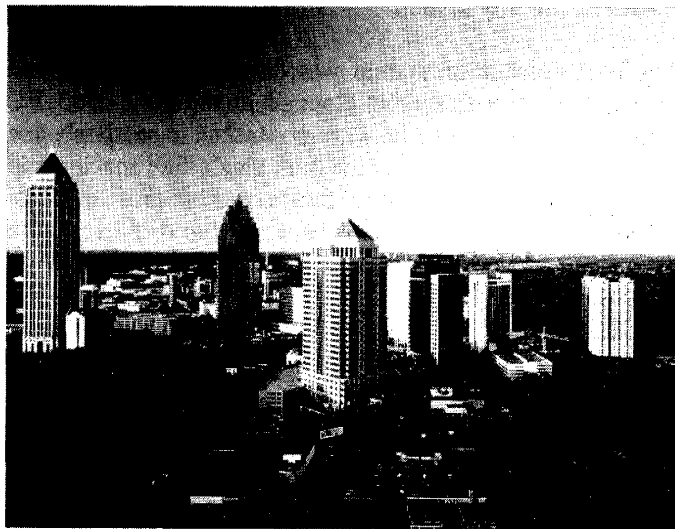
Martin Luther King Memorial—Dr. Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee. Thousands visit the gravesite of King each year to pay their respects. The Martin Luther King Memorial is just one of the interesting attractions of the Martin Luther King Historic District.

Begin by taking Marta (the superb underground train system) from the Westin Peachtree Plaza Hotel (the tallest hotel in the Western Hemisphere and the headquarters for the LASA meetings) to the Five Points Station. This bustling hub of public transport adjoins Underground Atlanta, a spirited urban marketplace with restaurants, entertainment, and shopping built into a historic site. Visit the Atlanta Heritage Row to give you a historical context for the city and stop by the Olympic Experience for information and souvenirs of the 1996 Summer Olympic Games.

A side trip to the World of Coca-Cola, an attraction/museum which gives an in-depth view of global marketing at its most sophisticated. Walk a short block to the State Capitol building and view the dome encased in gold mined in the north Georgia mountains. Then stroll north on Peachtree Street through downtown Atlanta enjoying the juxtaposition of old and new architecture and the jumble of shops.

Turn right on Auburn Avenue to visit the historic Sweet Auburn Neighborhood, the Martin Luther King Center for Nonviolent Change and APEX, the African American Panoramic Experience.

Back on Peachtree Street, stop at the High Museum at the beautiful Georgia Pacific building. This satellite exhibition space specializes in folk art and photography. Pass through the convention center and market area surrounding International Boulevard (which leads to CNN Center with hourly



Midtown skyline

tours, the Georgia World Congress Center and the Georgia Dome); pause at Sacred Heart Catholic Church, the beautiful red church designed in 1897 in the French Romanesque style.

Cross North Avenue and enter Midtown to view the landmark Fox Theatre, a 1929 Moorish/Egyptian/art deco fantasy structure which is listed on the National Historic Register. Open for theater productions, films and concerts, this fascinating facility also offers scheduled tours.

Midtown is a mixture of gentrification and old urban areas side by side. Enjoy its beautiful skyline of contemporary highrises, nearly all of which have been built in the last ten years. A side trip on 10th Street leads to the busy Piedmont Park—Atlanta's Central Park where skateboarding and rollerblading make paths an adventure.

The Atlanta Arts complex composed of the Woodruff Arts Center and Richard Meier's beautiful High Museum of Art lies at 15th and Peachtree Streets. Be sure to stop and enjoy the High's collection as well as the interesting space.

Board the Marta train at Arts Center Station and ride into the heart of Buckhead—Lenox Station. Here you'll be engulfed by urban mall culture. Lenox Square and the newly expanded Phipps Plaza offer fine shopping, cinemas and a variety of restaurants. Indulge! Enjoy afternoon tea at the Ritz-Carlton Buckhead if you're so disposed.

But pace yourself—Peachtree has more. Head south from the malls through Buckhead and enjoy boutique shopping on all sides. Stop at the Bread Market, one of Atlanta's new European-style bakeries for inventive and delicious breads, cookies, or a light meal.

Go west on Paces Ferry, one of Buckhead's most beautiful streets, and take in the homes of Atlanta's elite including the Governor's mansion. Don't miss the newly opened Atlanta History Center with its captivating new exhibits documenting Atlanta's rich past.

Return to Peachtree Street and dine at Resto des Amis, a bistro born of the collaboration between two of America's Superchefs, Guenter Seeger of the Ritz-Buckhead and Jean Louis Palladin of the famous Watergate. For a more international repast, try The Imperial Fez for Moroccan food and entertainment. Call a taxi and enjoy a leisurely drive down Peachtree Street to conclude your tour or dance through the night at one of Buckhead's many clubs.

Perhaps this is enough for one day, although Atlanta tempts

with so much more. Other must-sees include the Carter Center (home of the Jimmy Carter Library and museum as well as an active locus of scholarly and humanitarian work)—only a ten-minute cab ride from downtown.

Atlanta's diverse campuses provide great walking excursions; experience the Atlanta University complex and Emory University. While at Emory, visit the Michael C. Carlos Museum, a Michael Graves postmodern design on the quadrangle, which houses one of the finest collections of Pre-Columbian Art as well as a fascinating mixture of art and archaeological pieces. Walk the urban campus of Georgia State University only three blocks from the Westin.

For entertainment try the unique Center for Puppetry Arts whose workshops and performances are geared for adults as much as for children.



Midtown skyline. Included in the ever-expanding Midtown skyline are the One Atlantic Center (formerly the IBM Tower), Promenade, 1100 Peachtree, Campanile, Sheraton Colony Square Hotel and Mayfair Apartments buildings.

Animal lovers will enjoy Zoo Atlanta, an outstanding zoo incorporating natural habitats with particularly excellent great ape exhibits. And next door, see the Atlanta Cyclorama, an immense painting of the Civil War battle of Atlanta in the round. To see how the natives live, visit one of the eclectic Atlanta neighborhoods—Little Five Points for counterculture and cheap eats; Virginia Highlands for an upscale promenade of fine shops, restaurants and nightlife.

There is much to see and experience in the phoenix city. Enjoy a sampling that suits you and return for more Southern hospitality in the future! ■

President's Report continued

giving and the heart of our campaign must center on building the "Friends and Patrons of LASA." We will be relying heavily on the collaboration of the LASA membership in the months ahead to help us develop this aspect of the campaign.

Second, as I wrote in the Fall issue of the *LASA Forum*, our Endowment Campaign will have many facets; but the possibility of an NEH Challenge Grant is one of the most important. Our first proposal to the NEH has been turned down, as was the case with our sister area studies associations who submitted similar (and eventually successful) proposals in years past. But we will rewrite it and resubmit it by May 1st of this year, with a much higher probability of success since our fund-raising efforts will have already commenced, one of the key criteria in NEH Challenge Grant funding decisions. Moreover, the next proposal will count with professional counsel with respect to our fund-raising strategy as well as the benefit of reviewers' comments on the proposal and those of LASA's Development Committee.

In the months prior to the submission of our second NEH application, the main source of contributions to the Endowment Fund will be through the Life Memberships, instituted as of 1994. If you are in the financial position to do so, please consider becoming a life member now, since your show of commitment to LASA could greatly improve our chances of being awarded an NEH Challenge Grant. Of the \$2,500 life dues sum, approximately \$2,000 will go directly to the Endowment Fund. A Life Membership may be paid with an initial installment of \$1,000, then \$500 annual payments for each of the next three years.

Third, our need to build an Endowment Fund to support LASA's work in the humanities is greater than ever. While we have raised approximately \$135,000 for travel awards for Latin Americans to attend the Atlanta '94 Congress, all of the awards, thus far, have been restricted by the various foundations to scholars working on public policy issues. Moreover, while the new Junior Lecturing Fellowships have proven attractive to foundations, these are more expensive (since they involve follow-on campus visits) and overall it now looks as if we will be funding fewer Latin American participants at Atlanta '94 than at previous congresses. It has been exceedingly difficult and time-consuming to raise regular travel funding from foundations.

The LASA leadership is clear that the Endowment Campaign will involve a great deal of work on the part of many people. Nonetheless, we are fully committed to this effort since only by building a strong financial base *now* can we

guarantee minimally appropriate Latin American participation in future congresses and equitable representation in the congresses from the humanities disciplines, and also assure that LASA's many other activities continue to thrive. We are counting on your support in this endeavor. ■

Program Officer or Assistant Program Officer Latin America and Caribbean Programs

Rio de Janeiro

THE FORD FOUNDATION

Staff member for The Ford Foundation office in Rio de Janeiro to formulate program objectives and strategies and develop, monitor and evaluate projects to improve reproductive health and promote better understanding of population issues in Brazil. The Program Officer or Assistant Program Officer will be responsible for managing a grants program that:

- Supports research on the demographic, socioeconomic and cultural factors affecting reproductive health including AIDS.
- Fosters public debate and civic action leading to improved policies and services in the reproductive health and AIDS fields.

The ideal candidate will have:

- Graduate training in an appropriate social science discipline or medical field, including advanced study or practical experience in the social dimensions of health problems.
- Demonstrated understanding of reproductive health, women's health, and AIDS issues.
- Knowledge of Brazilian health policy and public health system.
- Interest in relating research to policy.
- Strong analytical, writing and interpersonal skills.
- Prior field experience in Brazil or developing countries.
- Fluent in Portuguese.

Interested candidates should send C.V. and brief writing sample for Position #797 to: Joan Carroll, Manager of Employment.



THE FORD FOUNDATION

320 East 43rd Street
New York, NY 10017

The Ford Foundation hires staff without regard to race, color, religion, national origin, age, gender, sexual orientation, marital status or disability. Minority candidates are encouraged to apply.

Make plans to attend LASA's

GRAN BAILE

at

LASA 1994!

Reserve Friday March 11
at 9:00PM

Dance to the sounds of
ORQUESTA TABOGA

PEACHTREE BALLROOM

Negotiating Democratic Corridors in Paraguay
Executive Summary of the Report of
The Latin American Studies Association International Delegation
Observing the 1993 Paraguayan National Elections
 by
Marcial A. Riquelme
Kansas State University
Principal Author

At the official request of two opposition political parties, the *Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico* (PLRA) and the *Alianza Encuentro Nacional* (AEN) and a consortium of non-governmental organizations (SAKA) in Paraguay, the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) authorized on March 25, 1993 the formation of an observer team of academics from thirteen universities across the United States, representing a broad range of disciplines, to monitor and evaluate the process leading up to and including the national elections of May 9, 1993 in Paraguay. The request by the Paraguayan opposition parties and the non-governmental organizations came as a result of a tense climate during the last stage of the elections campaign.

What follows are the delegation's summary conclusions concerning central aspects of the electoral process. Information about how to obtain the full report of the delegation will be announced soon.

Voter Turnout and Participation

Of the total voting age population almost 78 percent was registered. Evidence of the enthusiasm and broad participation of the electorate was demonstrated by the fact that over 69 percent actually voted. This was the second highest election turnout since the 1989 coup d'état. Civic spirit prevailed in a very contested election and was essential for the peaceful completion of the electoral journey. There is no doubt that the election was an important step in Paraguay's democratization process.

Violent Acts Against Freedom of Speech and Movement

Three serious acts of violence were committed during the election day: (1) In the early morning Channel 13 and Radio Cardinal which had been very critical of the candidate of the Colorado Party during the presidential campaigns, were subject to a rifle and grenade attack against its installations by an unidentified group. As a result of this attack they were not able to go on the air until after the elections began. (2) Early in the afternoon all telephone lines of a prestigious independent poll-counting consortium, SAKA, were suddenly disconnected for the remaining of the election

day. This interrupted communications between their central offices and the organization's field operators. The state-owned telephone company (ANTELCO) explained that it was experiencing technical difficulties. (3) The international borders were closed by the military to prevent the entrance of Paraguayan citizens coming from abroad, as a result of a court order issued to prevent them from voting. With respect to the first incident it remains unclear who was responsible, although it appears to have been politically motivated. In our judgement these events compromised the credibility of the governments' commitment to guarantee freedom of speech and movement of Paraguayan citizens.

Election Law and Procedures

As the electoral bodies were not yet integrated, as mandated by the new Constitution (1992), the Colorado-controlled Central Electoral Board was entrusted with organizing the electoral process. This resulted in an unequal distribution of representation in the Electoral Board, and since membership on the Central Electoral Board was reserved only for parties with parliamentary representation, it excluded other new parties and movements, among them one of the major electoral contenders of the past May elections, the *Alianza Encuentro Nacional* (AEN). To complicate matters, the National Congress, elected under the previous authoritarian Constitution, was entrusted to pass judgement on the final results of the May 9, 1993 elections. In other words, Colorados were both judge and jury of the entire electoral process.

Election Results

After a delay of several weeks that included the opposition disputing some results in several departments, Juan Carlos Wasmosy of the *Asociación Nacional Republicana* (ANR) or Colorado Party, was declared officially the winner of the presidential race with 39.92 percent of the votes. Domingo Laíno of the *Partido Liberal Radical Auténtico* (PLRA) or Liberal Party obtained 32.13 percent of the votes and Guillermo Caballero Vargas of the *Alianza Encuentro Nacional* (AEN) received 23.14 percent of the votes. That is, these three candidates received 95.19 percent of the total

**Tenth Annual LASA Field Seminar
in Nicaragua
June 22-June 30, 1994**

Professor Thomas Walker, who initiated the project in 1984, will conduct the tenth annual Latin American Studies summer field seminar in Nicaragua, an activity of the LASA Task Force on Scholarly Relations with Central America.

The nine-day intensive program will begin in Managua on June 22, 1994 and end on June 30th; departure is on July 1st. The seminar is designed for Latin America generalists, Nicaragua specialists and advanced graduate students.

Continuing the tradition of the previous seminars, the program is designed to give LASA scholars a rounded overview of life in Nicaragua today. Participants will have interviews and discussions with prominent figures representing social/political/cultural views and organizations across the political spectrum.

The seminar can serve as an introduction to the generalist and first-time participant and bring the specialist up to date. Scholars who have done work in Nicaragua but have not been there since the 1990 elections should find it particularly beneficial.

To promote and facilitate research, the group will be introduced to people, institutions, resources, protocols and methods for studying Nicaragua. There will be meetings with Nicaraguan scholars and visits to research facilities and universities.

Managua will be the base, with day trips to other areas.

Prospective participants are advised to read the report of the 1993 seminar in the Fall 1993 issue of the *LASA Forum* (pp. 6-11).

Participants must have full comprehension of Spanish. All political and philosophical orientations are welcome.

The entire seminar, including accommodations, most meals, in-country bus transportation and program will be approximately \$990. Bona fide students are entitled to a \$100 discount. Flights to and from Managua are not included.

The facilitator will help prepare the trip, provide all relevant information and help with travel arrangements.

Submit copy of application below to, or for more information write: Professor Thomas Walker, Department of Political Science, Ohio University, Athens, OH 45701. Telephone: 614-593-1339; fax: 614-593-0394; or contact: Alice McGrath, Facilitator, P.O. Box 1782, Ventura, CA 93002. Telephone: 805-648-4560; fax: 805-653-6359. ■

Application for
Tenth Annual LASA Field Seminar in Nicaragua
June 21-29, 1994

Name _____
(as it appears on your passport)

Office address _____
(City, State, Zip)

Home address _____
(City, State, Zip)

Telephone _____
(office) (home)

Please attach a brief description of your academic/professional background and your research interests. Enclose a check for \$100 made payable to LASA. If you withdraw up to four weeks before departure, 90% of the deposit will be refunded. Send application/information and check to: Alice McGrath, P.O. Box 1782, Ventura, CA 93002.

LASA 1992 PAPERS

More than 450 panel and workshop papers from LASA's XVII International Congress in Los Angeles are still available from the Secretariat.

See the Winter 1993 *Forum*, pages 19-29 for a complete listing and order information.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Brown University and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst announce availability for 1994-1995 of a one-year visiting Assistant Professor position in Sociology, with teaching and research interests in some aspect of Latin American Development. Candidates with an interest in Environmental Studies and/or Brazil are especially encouraged to apply. The visitor will be affiliated both with the Department of Sociology and the Center for Latin American Studies. The appointee will teach one semester at Brown University and one semester at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. It is expected that at least one course at each institution will be for undergraduates. The nine-month salary is \$36,000, plus benefits. Selection will be made by a committee including representatives from both universities; deadline: *March 1, 1994*. Applicants should send an application, a curriculum vitae, and three letters of reference to: Sociology Search, Center for Latin American Studies, Box 1866, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. AA/EOE.

Montclair State College is seeking two Instructors/Assistant Professors: one in Spanish (#V-21) and one in Italian (#V-22). Full-time tenure track (teaching 12 credits per semester) specialists to teach language, literature, and pedagogy beginning September 1, 1994. Teaching expertise and publications preferred. Native or near-native fluency in the language required. Entry-level positions. Qualifications: ABD required, Ph.D. preferred. Rank and salary dependent on qualifications—Instructor range: \$27,755.00-\$40,239.89; Assistant Professor range: \$33,737.00-\$47,235.36. Review of applications will begin on *February 1, 1994* and continue until an appointment is made. Send letter (including V number from above) and resume to: Dr. John Zahner, Chair, Department of Spanish and Italian, Montclair State College, Box C316, Upper Montclair, NJ 07043.

The Latin American Studies Program at the University of Massachusetts and the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies at the University of Connecticut invite applications for a one-year teaching position, beginning September 1994, for a Political Scientist specializing in Latin America. Candidates with an interest in teaching Interamerican Relations, and Politics of Central or South America are especially encouraged to apply. This position will involve teaching one semester at the University of Massachusetts and one at the University of Connecticut. The teaching load each semester is two courses. Ph.D. (or ABD) and evidence of scholarship and teaching ability necessary. The University of Massachusetts and the University of Connecticut are equal opportunity/affirmative action employers. Closing date for applications: *March 1, 1994*. Send letter of application, supporting materials and three letters of reference to: Professor Carmen Diana Deere, Director, Latin American Studies Program, 924 Thompson Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003. Telephone: 413-545-4648; fax: 413-545-2921.

College of the Atlantic is a small, accredited, selective, private college offering a B.A. and M.Phil. in Human Ecology. Faculty organization is non-departmental and the innovative curriculum includes interdisciplinary study, team-teaching and involvement of undergraduates in field research. The College was founded in 1969 and the ocean front campus is located on Mount Desert Island adjacent to Acadia National Park. The College seeks to fill the following full-time faculty positions available for Fall 1994: Economics—with special interests in resource or sustainable economics, to develop introductory and advanced courses in economics, with reference to business-environment issues and economics of tourism in Maine; economics of development, technology transfer issues, and comparative economics of Latin American and Caribbean development. Cultural anthropology—to develop and teach introductory and advanced courses in applied anthropology, urban anthropology, culture change, impact of technology, and ethnographic field methods, with strong interests in the environment and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean. Teaching experience and a Ph.D. is required. The positions are for an initial two-year contract with possible continuation. Review of applications will begin in early January and continue until the positions are filled. Send a letter of application, curriculum vitae and names of three references to: Faculty Search Committee, College of the Atlantic, 105 Eden St., Bar Harbor, ME 04609. Fax: 207-288-4126. AA/EOE.

St. Lawrence University seeks to appoint a distinguished writer as visiting Dana Professor, Distinguished Visiting Professorship in Creative Writing and International Education, for one to three years who can help to develop connections among programs in creative writing, international education, and multicultural affairs. We are interested in writers whose work is informed by significant experience in Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, or Asia. Candidates should be widely published and well known as creative writers in the international community. They should have a record of effective teaching at the university level and be capable of contributing to interdisciplinary programs in either African studies, Caribbean and Latin American studies, or Asian studies. The appointment will be held jointly in the English Department and Office of International Education. The teaching assignment will be three courses per year (half the normal load) and will depend upon the qualifications and interests of the individual, program needs, and length of appointment. Occasional special lectures or workshops will be an expected part of the position. Nominations or letters of application and resume, including the names, addresses and phone numbers of at least three references, should be sent to: Bruce I. Weiner, Dana Search Chair, St. Lawrence University, Canton, NY 13617. Review of applications to begin *January 31, 1994*. Telephone: 315-379-5125; fax: 315-379-5502. ■

PUBLICATIONS

The first issue of *The Journal of Afro-Latin American Studies & Literatures* has just been published. The *Journal* is committed to promoting the rich and diverse contribution of peoples with African ancestry to the life, culture and arts of Spanish, French, English and Portuguese America. The goal of its editors is to publish creative and informative works which also suggest alternatives to the patterns of racial tensions and inequalities that have been observed in the Americas since colonial days. Suggestions are wholeheartedly welcomed. Please address all subscription requests and all communications and manuscripts (strictly MLA style) to be considered for publication to: Professor Rosangela Maria Vieira King, Editor, Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, Howard University, 2400 6th St., N.W., Locke Hall, Washington, DC 20059; or: Professor Manuel Garcia-Castellon, Associate Editor, Foreign Languages Department, University of New Orleans, Lakefront, New Orleans, LA 70148.

Contributions are sought for a multidisciplinary (excluding literature) collection of essays examining women's lives in the twentieth-century Caribbean and in "exile communities." Of special interest are essays illustrating the transnational/transcultural essence of Caribbean societies. If you are interested in contributing and would like further information, please contact: Consuelo Lopez Springfield, Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Indiana University, 313 N. Jordan, Bloomington, IN 47405. Telephone: 812-855-9097; fax: 812-855-9097; e-mail: CSPRINGF@UNCS.INDIANA.EDU (Internet).

The Fall 1994 inaugural issue of the *Venezuelan Literature and Arts Journal* will be devoted to the topic "Venezuela Toward the XXI Century." Submissions of 12-30 pages including notes and bibliography following the MLA style guidelines are welcome in Spanish or English. *Venezuelan Literature and Arts Journal* seeks to advance the study of Venezuelan literature and arts by serving as a forum for scholarly analysis and evaluation of creative activity from all periods. The *Journal* welcomes articles with a philosophical, historical, comparative, theoretical or interdisciplinary perspective. Manuscripts (two copies) should be typewritten, double-spaced, and on one side only of white 8.5" x 11" paper. Leave generous margins on all four sides of the page. Article title, author's name, address, telephone number and other pertinent information should appear as a separate cover sheet. Only the article title should appear on subsequent pages to facilitate blind review. Please send along a self-addressed envelope, return postage attached. Where possible, manuscripts accepted for publication are requested on diskette labeled by author and title (WordPerfect 5.1).

The deadline for receipt of submissions for this inaugural issue is *March 1, 1994*. Submissions, expressions of interest, subscriptions and inquiries should be directed to: Rossi Irausquin-Johnson, *Venezuelan Literature and Arts Journal*, Hamline University, 1536 Hewitt Ave. MB 50, St. Paul, MN 55104-1284. *Revista de Literatura y Artes Venezolanas* llamado para trabajos. La edición inaugural de otoño de 1994 de la *Revista de Literatura y Artes Venezolanas* será dedicada al tema "Venezuela Hacia el Siglo XXI." Trabajos de 12-30 páginas incluyendo notas y bibliografía son bienvenidos en inglés o español. La *Revista de Literatura y Artes Venezolanas* está diseñada para el estudio avanzado de la literatura y artes venezolanas sirviendo como medio para el estudio y análisis de actividades creativas de todos los períodos. La *Revista* acepta trabajos con perspectivas filosóficas, históricas, comparativas, teóricas e interdisciplinarias. Manuscritos (dos copias) deben ser escritos a máquina o en computadora, doble espacio debe ser dejado en los cuatro márgenes del papel. El título del trabajo, así como también el nombre del autor, dirección, número de teléfono y otros datos pertinentes deben aparecer separadamente en una hoja de papel. Únicamente el título del trabajo debe aparecer a través de las páginas del mismo (en el margen superior) para poder facilitar la revisión neutral. Por favor enviar adjunto un sobre con su nombre, dirección y estampillas postales internacionales con valor suficiente para enviar su trabajo a vuelta de correo. En lo posible, manuscritos aceptados para la publicación serán pedidos en diskettes marcados con su nombre, título del trabajo y en el programa WordPerfect 5.1. El plazo para recibir los trabajos es *marzo 1 de 1994*. Favor dirigir los manuscritos, subscripciones y cualquier otra pregunta o comentario a: Rossi Irausquin-Johnson, *Venezuelan Literature and Arts Journal*, Hamline University, 1536 Hewitt Ave., MB 50, St. Paul, MN 55104-1284, USA. ■

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RESEARCH AND STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

Council on International Education Exchange (CIEE) announces its 1995/96 Fulbright opportunities available for university lecturing or advanced research in nearly 140 countries. Awards range from two months to a full academic year, and many assignments are flexible to the needs of the grantee. Virtually all disciplines participate: openings exist in almost every area of the humanities, social sciences, natural and applied sciences, the arts, and professional fields such as business, journalism, and law. Applications are encouraged from professionals outside academe, as well as from faculty at all types of institutions. The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright Scholar award are U.S. citizenship and the Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications (for certain fields such as the fine arts and TESOL, the terminal degree in the field may be sufficient). For lecturing awards, university or college teaching experience is expected. Language skills are needed for some countries, but most lecturing assignments are in English. A single deadline of *August 1, 1994* exists for research or lecturing grants to all world areas. Other deadlines are in place for special programs. For further information and application materials, please contact: CIEE, 3007 Tilden St, NW, Suite GNEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: 202-686-7877; *e-mail* (application requests only): CIES1@GWUVM.GWU.EDU.

Florida International University's Latin American and Caribbean Center is offering Mellon Foundation Doctoral Fellowships in Caribbean Studies for academic year 1994-95. Candidates must be successful applicants to FIU doctoral programs in economics, international relations, or comparative sociology, and demonstrate graduate research potential on or within Caribbean area studies. Fellowships include a two-semester stipend, full tuition, and are renewable. Applicants with M.A. degrees will be given priority. By *February 15, 1994*, applicants should submit (1) the FIU graduate application, (2) a full curriculum vitae; and (3) a 1500-word essay detailing their interest in Caribbean studies. For more information, contact: Tricia Juhn, Latin American and Caribbean Center, Florida International University, Miami, FL 33139. Telephone: 305-348-2894; *fax*: 305-348-3593.

The **National Endowment for the Humanities' Summer Seminar for College Teachers** solicits applications for "Cultural Pluralism and the Nation-State" to be held June 13-July 29, 1994, at the University of Wisconsin/Madison. Director: M. Crawford Young, Department of Political Science. This seminar will explore the politics of identity from a broadly defined comparative perspective. We will consider major conceptual debates in the field, and review the instrumentalist, primordialist, and constructivist perspec-

tives which have dominated theoretical discourse. Policy issues posed by multi-cultural societies will be examined, set in the context of the "third wave" of democratization in many parts of the world. Twelve seminar participants will be chosen on the basis of their ability to benefit from and contribute to the seminar. Applications are welcome from those of any disciplinary background or regional specialization who have some background in some aspect of the Seminar subject. Stipends of \$3,600 for the seven-week period will be provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Applicants must be citizens or permanent residents of the United States. Application materials, as well as additional information about the seminar, are available from: M. Crawford Young, Department of Political Science, North Hall, 1050 Bascom Mall, University of Wisconsin/Madison, Madison, WI 53706. Telephone: 608-263-2040; *fax*: 608-265-2663; *e-mail*: NEH@POLISCI.WISC.EDU.

The **National Endowment for the Humanities' Summer Seminar for College Teachers** solicits applications for "Philosophical Foundation of Political Self-Determination" to be held June 6-July 29, 1994, at the University of Wisconsin/Madison. Director: Allen Buchanan, Department of Philosophy, School of Business, and Medical School (Medical Ethics Program). This seminar will focus on analyzing competing conceptions of self-determination and on efforts to develop a coherent moral theory of self-determination. Although the emphasis will be on moral issues, readings and discussions will be thoroughly multidisciplinary in order to ensure that the philosophical inquiry is grounded in an appreciation of the social, political, and economic roots of nationalism and of ethnic conflict. Twelve seminar participants will be chosen on the basis of their ability to benefit from and contribute to the seminar. Stipends of \$4,000 for the eight-week period will be provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Applications must be postmarked by *March 1, 1994*. Application materials, as well as additional information about the seminar, are available from: Allen Buchanan, School of Business, 5289 Grainger Hall, University of Wisconsin/Madison, Madison, WI 53706. Telephone: 608-523-1444 or 608-262-1893; *fax*: 608-263-2627.

The **External Research Grant Program of the North-South Center, University of Miami**, invites projects with innovative approaches to contemporary issues of importance in Latin America and the Caribbean. Specific research areas are culture, democratization, social change and equity, environment, trade, drug policy, debt, and investment. Priority is given to proposals from consortia of institutions in more than one country and to proposals addressing issues with relevance for several countries. Funding for research projects can include research travel and expenses, research-related conference

activities, and costs of the analysis and dissemination of the research findings. Support for salary is limited. Grants are awarded on the basis of a one-year cycle and are typically capped at \$50,000. Projects should demonstrate potential for fostering cooperation and understanding of shared interests and objectives in the region. Principal criteria for funding include: demonstrated justification of the academic significance and contemporary policy relevance of the proposed research; evidence of a sound and appropriate theoretical and methodological framework; presentation of a well-formulated and cost-effective budget; projected establishment of a mutually beneficial collaborative relationship with researchers and practitioners from other institutions and/or other countries; demonstration of the appropriateness of the researchers' qualifications and backgrounds to conduct the research in a timely and organized fashion; and the expectation of effective and broad dissemination of research findings. The next grant proposal competition will be held in Spring 1994. The deadline for receipt of requested proposals will be *April 1, 1994*. To obtain a copy of the program description and pre-application form, or for other information related to the External Research Grant Program, please contact: Mary Uebersax, Director of Grant Programs, North-South Center, University of Miami, P.O. Box 248205, Coral Gables, FL 33124-3027. Telephone: 305-284-8951; fax: 305-284-6370; e-mail: MACONDO2@UMLAMI.IR.MIAMI.EDU. ■

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Paraguay continued

votes. In the gubernatorial races, the Colorado Party won 12 departments of 17, the PLRA four, and the AEN one. In the Senate, out of a total of 45 seats, the Colorado Party won 20, the PLRA 17, and the AEN eight. In the Chamber of Deputies, out of a total of 80 seats, the Colorado Party obtained 38, the PLRA 33 and the AEN nine. As these results indicate, the combined opposition now controls both houses of parliament. For the first time in its history, since independence in 1811, Paraguay now has a system of checks and balances. This may foster a tempering of executive power in a country which has had a strong presidentialist tradition.

Allegations of Electoral Fraud and Irregularities

Fraud and irregularities were observed in several departments, especially in Boquerón, Concepción, Cordillera, Amambay and Caaguazú. Although 433 voting tables were disputed, after long deliberations the Colorados—through their majority—acknowledged fraud in only 137 tables. Through this maneuver, only 1.59 percent (of the 8,468 tables for the entire country) instead of 5.11 percent voting tables were annulled. It appears, therefore, that the irregularities were not sufficiently severe as to have altered the results of the presidential elections. However, they could have affected the results of other races.

Menacing Declarations by President of the Ruling Party and Military Officers

Specifically, the most troubling aspect of the electoral process was the unwillingness on the part of the ruling Colorado Party and high-ranking officers of the Armed Forces to accept a possible defeat and transfer of power to the opposition. Intimidating statements were made by the president of the Colorado Party and high-ranking military officers. This made the electoral climate tense and uncertain and met with no sanction from the appropriate authorities.

Obstacles for Consolidation of Democracy in Paraguay

The observer team considers the lingering alliance between the State, the Colorado Party and the Armed Forces to be the major obstacle threatening the consolidation of democracy in Paraguay. The extrication of the military from the political process and its subordination to civilian control are of fundamental importance, as is the institutionalization of an independent judiciary. ■

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

Proposals for individual papers, complete panels, session chairperson and commentators in all fields of study are sought for an interdisciplinary conference of **Inter-American Relations**. Conference dates: September 22-24, 1994. Location: Jacksonville, Florida. Submission deadline: *April 1, 1994*. Send proposals or inquiries about regional coordinators to: Tom Leonard, Conference Coordinator, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32224. Telephone: 904-646-2886; fax: 904-646-2703.

The **International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM)** (U.S. and other chapters in the Americas) has *changed the date* for its joint conference on "Popular Music in the Americas" to October 6-11, 1994. The panels, papers, plenaries will take place October 6-8 at Casa de Las Americas in Havana, Cuba. From October 9-11 research opportunities and other cultural activities will be scheduled. Special themes of the conference are "The legacies of colonialism," and "Music and identity," but all papers related to popular music in the Americas—whether speaking to performance, production, consumption, marketing, etc.—will be considered. Since the Spanish word *popular* refers to a range of music phenomena more inclusive than the English word "pop" or "popular," papers referring to folk traditions will also be welcomed. As a result of the conference date changes, the deadline date for submitting abstracts has been moved to *March 28, 1994*. Please send five copies of your abstract (250 words or less), including contact information—phone, fax, e-mail address—and audio-visual needs to: Robert L. Singer, Chair, IASPM Program Committee (U.S.), City Lore, Inc., 72 East First St., New York, NY 10003.

The **Mid-America Conference on Hispanic Literature (MACHL)**, will be convened September 8-10, 1994, in Lawrence, Kansas. For more information, contact MACHL, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045.

The **Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS)** will hold its fifteenth annual meeting on the campus of Kean College, Union, New Jersey, April 8-9, 1994. Local arrangements are being handled by Eufrenio Carreño, Department of Economics, Kean College, Union, NJ 07083. Program is being organized by Yale Ferguson, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University, Newark, NJ 07102. Panel proposals and sessions are now being accepted in all disciplines by Professor Ferguson.

Preliminary call for papers sought for annual meeting of the **Renaissance Society of America**, March 30-April 1, 1995 hosted by the National Office in New York City. The Program Committee invites abstracts for papers on all

subjects in Renaissance Studies, as well as proposals for full panels. Papers of broad appeal are especially welcome; session proposals encouraged. The Josephine Waters Bennett Lecturer: John O'Malley, Weston School of Theology. Please send abstracts of papers or proposals for full panels by *March 15, 1994* to: Sandra Sider, Chair, RSA Program Committee Chair, Renaissance Society of America, 24 West 12th St., New York, NY 10011.

The thirty-ninth **Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM)** will be hosted by Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, on May 27-June 2, 1994 at the Double Tree Hotel in Salt Lake City. "Modernity and Tradition: Development of the New Latin American and Caribbean Literature Between 1956 and 1994" will be the conference theme. This program, with the participation of scholars, librarians, booksellers, and publishers, will focus on the field of Latin American and Caribbean literature, whose writers have received three nobel prizes for literature in the last eleven years. A number of questions will be investigated, including but not limited to: Who are the writers of "the boom" and how have they fared in the last forty years? What has been the impact of these writers on the international literary world? Who are the new writers, both men and women, to emerge ever since "the boom"? How has the new literary criticism evaluated the literature of this period? Invitations and registration materials for SALALM XXXIX will be mailed in January 1994. Information on the content of the program can be obtained from Nelly S. Gonzalez, President, SALALM; 324 Latin American Services, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801. Telephone: 217-333-2786; e-mail: AXDGONZ@UICVMC.BITNET. Details concerning local arrangements are available from Mark Grover, Latin American Studies Bibliographer, 4148 Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602. Telephone: 801-378-2473; fax: 801-378-6347; e-mail: LIBMLG@BYUVM.EDU. For general information about SALALM, contact Sharon Moynahan, Executive Secretary, SALALM Secretariat, General Library, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. Telephone: 505-277-5102; fax: 505-277-0646; e-mail: SALALM@UNMB.EDU. For more information about the hotel, contact the Double Tree Hotel, 215 S.W. Temple, Salt Lake City, UT, 84101. Telephone: 801-531-7500.

The **University of Maryland's** Department of Spanish and Portuguese invites you to participate in "Writing Cultures: Voices and Texts," the Second Annual Graduate Conference on Peninsular, Latin American and Luso-Brazilian Literatures, to be held on Saturday, April 16, 1994. The goal of this conference is to encourage interdisciplinary approaches

in the study of Latin American and Peninsular written and oral discourses. We hope to create a forum conducive to discussion and debate among the participants. Papers may be written in Spanish, Portuguese or English. Oral presentations will be limited to 20 minutes. Please send a one-page abstract accompanied by a title page bearing name of author, address, and phone number by Monday, February 21, 1994, to: Luis Fernando Restrepo, Second Annual Graduate Conference on Peninsular, Latin American and Luso-Brazilian Literatures, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742. Telephone: 301-405-6441; *e-mail*: LR29@UMAIL.UMD.EDU (Internet).

A symposium on the work of Rigoberta Menchú will take place March 25, 1994 at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, co-sponsored by the Department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Center for Twentieth Century Studies, with the cooperation of the Center for Latin America. Guest participants: Arturo Arias, John Beverley, Maureen Shea, Elzbieta Sklodowska and Marc Zimmerman. For more information write to: Julio Rodríguez-Luis, Chair, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201. Telephone: 414-229-4257. ■

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The construction and installation of USAID's Latin America and the Caribbean Economic and Social Database on UT-LANIC is now completed. This database contains extensive information on Latin American population, economy, social indicators, and politics, from 1980 to 1992. It is located at Latin America/Latin America General Information/Latin America and the Caribbean Economic and Social Data, USAID. If you have not accessed UT-LANIC, the access procedure is: First log on to your local UNIX system, or other computer systems with Internet connection (using VT100 terminal emulation). If you have local Internet gopher client, just type: *gopher lanic.utexas.edu*. If you have telnet to it, type: *telnet lanic.utexas.edu*. *Login*: *lanic*. We plan to keep updating USAID Database. If you have any comments, please send an *e-mail* message to: *INFO@LANIC.UTEXAS.EDU*. ■

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OBJECTIVES

- ▶ Provide a forum in which international business executives and researchers can match their needs with the services offered by others
- ▶ Facilitate cross-border communication
- ▶ Electronically disseminate current research on Mexico and trade/investment activity

COMPONENTS

- ▶ Searchable databases covering technology transfer, business development, high-technology, and research-in-progress in numerous disciplines
- ▶ Browsible professional interest areas containing bulletin boards, forums, roundtables, and calendars
- ▶ Electronic mail services
- ▶ Current expansion projects underway include the addition of databases containing Mexican research-in-progress and Mexican trade and investment data.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Please contact Fred Rudolph or Zach Britton, the NABR-Net Project Managers,
at (619) 534-8077

Sixth Annual
Summer Social Science Program in Chile

July 1 - August 12, 1994
Santiago, Chile

Objective: To introduce graduate & advanced undergraduate students to contemporary debates in the social sciences/humanities & to outstanding Latin American scholars.

Study Site: Santiago, Chile (pop. 5.4 million) is an exceptional place to explore Latin American Studies. Santiago is home to many quality research centers such as CELADE, CEPAL, CIEPLAN, FLASCO, ILET, CEM & PET.

Four Courses (all Lectures in Spanish): [select up to three]

Chile in the 1990s: (Core Course/Required for all students) This course provides a brief overview of the contemporary issues facing Chile's economic, social, and political environments on a national and international level. An orientation and introduction to the richness and history of the Chilean culture will also be provided. Course coordinator: Joseph Scarpaci (Ph.D., Florida), Virginia Tech. 1 semester hour.

Women, Literature and Human Rights in Latin America: This class explores the intricate relationship between Latin American women writers and State terrorism, in which they have lived for nearly twenty years. Issues of gender & censorship, female discourse, the female political imagination & the role of the woman writer both as a spokesperson for the marginal, as well as a denouncer of repression will be explored. Guest lectures by Chilean women writers and artists will be a key aspect of this course. Course coordinator: Eliana Ortega (Ph.D., Massachusetts), Radio Tierra/Casa Morada. 3 semester hours.

Latin American International Relations: Analyzes the historical & contemporary aspects of the region & its relation to other regions: North-South, Latin American-European, Latin American-U.S., & Latin American-Pacific Rim countries. The course draws on several theoretical frameworks including modernization & dependency theories. Course coordinator: Manfred Wilhelmy (Ph.D., Princeton), Universidad de Chile. 3 semester hours.

Shantytown Health Care: Analyzes functions and challenges of neighborhood primary-care groups and NGOs in providing primary health care. Particular emphasis given to organizational, promotional, maternal-child, and related aspects of health care. Assesses the paradigms of health care as a right versus health care as a commodity in the context of contemporary Chile. Draws heavily on field trips to neighborhood projects in low-income communities. Taught by the staff of a large NGO, Colectivo de Atencion Primaria.

Extracurricular Activities: At least three major field trips are planned within Santiago and along the Vina del Mar - Valparaiso coast. Includes visits to governmental ministries, NGOs, the Congreso Nacional in Valparaiso, the house of Pablo Neruda at Isla Negra, and horse-back riding in the Andes.

Eligibility Requirements: Admission is competitive and requires very strong speaking and reading skills in Spanish and good university standing. Submit the following by **February 15, 1994:** Language evaluation forms, all academic transcripts, student essay and two letters of recommendation from faculty - at least one Latinamericanist. Admissions open until April 1, 1994.

For more information and application materials, contact:

Deborah A. Santiago or Joseph L. Scarpaci
Urban Affairs and Planning
Virginia Tech
Blacksburg, VA 24061-0113
Telephone and Voice-Mail: (703) 231-7504
Fax: (703) 231-3367
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MIDDLE ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES (MACLAS)

HISTORY AND PURPOSE

The Middle Atlantic Council of Latin American Studies (MACLAS) is comprised of Mid-Atlantic region scholars, researchers, teachers, students, and interested professionals in all disciplines and pursuits. MACLAS has as its objectives promoting and developing interest in Latin American studies and affairs. The organization was founded in Pittsburgh in 1979 and is one of the Latin American Studies Associations' (LASA) affiliated regional organizations.

ACTIVITIES

The MACLAS annual spring meeting features research-based panels and a business meeting. The association publishes a NEWSLETTER four times a year and LATIN AMERICAN ESSAYS. NEWSLETTER editor is Juan Espadas (Ursinus). The ESSAYS are a selection of papers presented at the annual meeting; the inclusion of a paper in the ESSAYS is considered a publication in a refereed journal. The Editor-in-Chief of the ESSAYS is Alvin Cohen, Lehigh University. MACLAS also awards, annually, its Whitaker Prize for the best book and the Davis Prize for the best journal article.

ORGANIZATION

The affairs of MACLAS are governed by its Executive Committee. The Committee is composed of: President and Vice President, elected for one year terms; Secretary/Treasurer, appointed for a two-year term; and four additional members, elected for two-year terms. The Vice-President is President-elect. Executive Committee members must be from the region; no more than two of its members may be from the same state or the District of Columbia; and, care is taken to maintain disciplinary balance. The Committee must meet at least twice a year.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership is open to persons interested in the purpose and undertakings of MACLAS. The current dues schedule appears on membership application below.

1993-94 OFFICERS AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President:	Harold Greer (Virginia Commonwealth)	Additional Members:	Barbara Tenenbaum (1992-94) (Library of Congress)
Vice-President:	Elizabeth Espadas (Wesley College)		Daniel M. Masterson (1992-94) (Naval Academy)
Secretary/Treasurer:	Alvin Cohen (Lehigh)		David Tengwall (1993-95) (Anne Arundel C.C.)
			Hannah Stewart-Gambino (1993-95) (Lehigh)

1994 15th ANNUAL MEETING • APRIL 8 & 9 Kean College

Program: Yale Ferguson (Rutgers-Newark) Local Arrangements: Eufronio Carreño (Kean College)

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Employment opportunities

GRADUATE TEACHING AND RESEARCH POSITIONS ANTHROPOLOGY, ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

FACULTAD LATINOAMERICANA DE CIENCIAS SOCIALES

The Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales at Quito, Ecuador (FLACSO-Ecuador), the fast growing Andean campus of the thirty-six year-old Latin American international institution devoted to graduate training and research in the social sciences, invites applications for several graduate teaching and research positions within its academic areas of Anthropology, Economics and History. Since 1989, FLACSO-Ecuador's Graduate School offers intensive two-year master's degree programs and mid-career diplomas with a regional and comparative focus on the Andean and Amazon Basin countries. Graduate programs currently offered include: Amazonian Studies, Anthropology, History, Economics, and Political Science. Currently the School has 110 students in residence and 14 full-time faculty, as well as an international network of visiting scholars of more than 100 associates from Latin America, Europe and North America.

The School is opening new faculty positions in the following specializations:

- Anthropology: Cultural & Symbolic Anthropology
Ecological & Development Anthropology
Anthropological theories and methods
- Economics : Macroeconomics
Econometrics
Environmental Economics
- History : Economic History
Cultural History

Experience in theory and research methods is strongly desirable; preference will be given to candidates with research and teaching interests in the Andean and/or Amazonian countries. These are full-time positions; hiring could be as early as January 1994. The appointment will be one or two-year renewable. Responsibilities include: teaching in advanced graduate courses, colloquia or seminars; advising graduate students; participation in academic committees. Minimum qualifications: a Doctorate in the disciplines mentioned above; broad training in his/her field; demonstrated skills and commitment to teaching; an established and active research profile leading to scholarly publications; evidence of high quality scholarship, and a commitment to building an innovative graduate institution with a strong regional character. Native or near-native proficiency in Spanish is required. Women and Latin American scholars are strongly encouraged to apply.

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Please direct inquiries or send letter of application, summary of Ph.D. dissertation, curriculum vitae, sample publications/written work, teaching materials, and three letters of recommendation to: Director, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, P.O. Box 17-11-06362, FAX (593-2) 566-139, TELF. 231-806 Quito, Ecuador. To ensure consideration, submit application materials by March 30, 1994. Applications received after that date will be considered until the position is filled. Positions will be filled as soon as possible.

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