Mexico’s 1988 Elections
The Beginning of a New Era of Mexican Politics?

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As it has since 1929, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) came in first in Mexico’s July general elections. Yet, in fundamental respects the elections mark a break with the past. Prior to this election, the two dominant (and complementary) realities of Mexican electoral politics were the virtual monopolization of political spaces by the PRI and the lack of an opposition capable of articulating a national challenge. The consolidation of most of the left-nationalist opposition forces under former priista Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and the surprising number of legislative seats won by the cardenista movement and the Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN) have altered these two realities. The consequences of these changes remain hazy, but in all likelihood they will increase the pressures for greater political liberalization. However, tensions within the PRI over the need to reform and the still fluid situation in the opposition suggest caution in assuming that those pressures will necessarily be translated into a greater degree of pluralism.

This article assesses the 1988 elections, comparing them with past elections and suggesting some implications for the future. We begin by sketching the scene leading up to the election, arguing that even before the results were announced Mexicans were clearly experiencing a new reality. Then we analyze the preliminary returns and suggest reasons for the drastic fall in electoral support for the PRI. Finally, we consider some implications of a shift from a virtual one-party system to one of effective competition.

The Electoral Scene in 1988

That the PRI’s presidential candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, won with only 50.7 percent of the vote and that the opposition gained many legislative seats confirmed a

The Significance of Puerto Rico
for Latin American Studies

by
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In 1989 the Latin American Studies Association will hold its XV International Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico. This choice of locale marks an important event for Latinamericanists both in the United States and in Puerto Rico. For North American scholars, the meeting represents an opportunity to reexamine their assumptions about the role of Puerto Rico within Latin American studies. For Puerto Rican scholars, the LASA Congress offers an opportunity to break away from the intellectual isolation that results from the island’s small size, political status, and limited resources.

Although considerable research effort is expended on Puerto Rico, most Latinamericanists do not understand it well. North American scholars tend to see the island as a colonial appendage of the United States rather than as a Latin American nation worth studying in its own right. Most Latin American teaching and research at U.S. universities concentrate on the larger, more populous, and more powerful states such as Mexico and Brazil. In contrast, the study of dependent Puerto Rico, with its relatively small territory and population, is often relegated to departments of ethnic studies with scarce funds and small student enrollments instead of the more prestigious and better endowed centers for Latin American studies.

Scholars on the island are concerned almost exclusively with Puerto Rican problems, giving little or no attention to their Caribbean connections. Although many of Puerto Rico’s leading intellectuals were trained abroad and presumably sensitized to a host of international issues, they tend to concentrate on their nation’s social, political, economic, and cultural affairs. This looking inward is understandable in view of the island’s bizarre situation: Puerto Rico is neither a state of the union nor a sovereign republic, but an ambiguous commonwealth with some degree of self-government. By Latin American standards, Puerto Rico

Continued on page 3
Continued on page 9
CONTENTS

Mexico's 1988 Elections: The Beginning of a New Era of Mexican Politics .......... 1
By Leopoldo Gómez and Joseph L. Klesner

The Significance of Puerto Rico for Latin American Studies .......... 1
By Jorge Duany

The Bryce Wood Book Award .......... 9

XV International Congress, San Juan
Report from the Program Committee .......... 10
(Proposal for Film Festival Submission, page 26)

Revised Priorities for Changing Conditions
Fellowships and Grants from the ACLS/SSRC
Joint Committee on Latin American Studies .......... 11
By John Coatsworth

Freedom of Information .......... 12

Report on Survey of Biographical Research Collections for the Latin American Biographical Database (LABD) .......... 13
By Michael L. Conniff

Connecting to LASNET
(Electronic Mail Addresses) .......... 13

XIV Congress Papers Available .......... 14

Member News .......... 17

Announcements .......... 18

Forthcoming Conferences .......... 18

Employment Opportunities .......... 19

Research & Study Opportunities .......... 20

Publications .......... 22

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Mexico (cont.)
historic watershed. Even before the results were announced, it was evident that the Mexican electorate was experiencing a new political reality. In the electoral process of June and July, two striking themes emerged. First, the electoral arena had moved to the forefront of Mexican politics, something not seen since 1910 when Francisco Madero challenged Porfirio Díaz for the presidency, eventually touching off the Mexican Revolution. Second, and closely related, the opposition parties have endeavored (successfully it seems) to make the PRI-government’s respect for the vote a critical determinant of the regime’s legitimacy.

Signs of enthusiasm about the elections were visible everywhere. As always, the nation’s streets were covered by banners and posters, but this year the quantity of electoral propaganda was more evenly balanced between the PRI and its opposition. Following the PRI’s traditional practice, Salinas addressed massive rallies throughout the country. This year, though, Salinas’ efforts were nearly matched by those of his principal opponents, Cárdenas and the PAN’s Manuel Clouthier, both of whom addressed highly enthusiastic crowds. The press and political insiders demonstrated their anticipation about the outcome with a copious output of electoral analysis, prognosis, and attention to the results of opinion polls, which proliferated as election day approached.

The reforma política of 1977 is partly responsible for the increased relevance of the electoral arena. By legalizing a host of opposition parties, mostly from the left, and instituting an electoral system that reserved 100 (of 400) legislative seats for “minority” parties, the reforma made it attractive for them to participate in the electoral game. Thus forces that previously had operated underground, in some cases employing violent tactics, began to concentrate their energies on getting their militants elected. A more immediate and probably a more important factor was a generalized sense that politics had indeed changed and that the PRI could lose, if not the presidency, then at least several legislative races. For the first time, the PRI was facing challenges on both flanks, with an aggressive PAN to its right and a united cardenista coalition to its left.

The PRI itself is no longer the awesome electoral machine it once was. The economic collapse in 1982 followed by six years of economic hardship have alienated important segments of Mexican society from the party. The most affluent of such sectors sided with the PAN, while the more numerous “popular” sectors backed the cardenista movement.

The challenge to the PRI’s hegemony in this election had been foreshadowed in recent years by an upsurge of support for the PAN in local races, especially in northern Mexico. In the aftermath of the nationalization of the banks in 1982, the PAN became a beacon to many members of the middle and upper classes who rejected the state’s large role in the economy. In 1983 the PAN captured the municipal governments of such important northern cities as Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Durango, and San Luis Potosí; newly installed President Miguel de la Madrid allowed these victories to stand. However beginning with the state elections in Baja California Norte in September 1983, the PRI counterattacked, fielding more attractive candidates and resorting to time-honored methods of padding its vote totals.

Despite these losses, or perhaps because of them, the PAN seemed to grow in popularity and organizational capacity. After the 1966 Chihuahua elections, in which the PAN was defeated but decried widespread fraud, it led a massive but nonviolent movement to protest electoral irregularities, showing its growing capacity to mobilize its followers. This strategy reflected the increasing power of the neopanista wing of the party, which favors civil disobedience tactics to protest electoral fraud. Neopanistas favor neoliberal policies and push for a far more free market-oriented economy than “orthodox” panistas. The nomination for the presidency of Manuel Clouthier signaled the ascendancy of this wing of the party. In 1988 elections, the PAN was no longer the only efficacious opposition. The Frente Democrático Nacional (FDN) united hitherto dispersed forces and challenged the PRI on the left. The FDN dates from the summer of 1986, when it was publicly disclosed that a faction of old-time, nationalist priistas had formed within the PRI what became known as the Corriente Democrática. The brain behind this group, which demanded democratization within the party, especially regarding candidate selection and platform formulation, was former PRI president Porfirio Muñoz Ledo. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, son of the revered revolutionary hero Lázaro Cárdenas, emerged as the public leader of the group. The Corriente was inspired perhaps as much by an interest in party reform and policy debate as by an interest in influencing the selection of the presidential candidate. This is, after all, a group that was relegated to the dustbin by President de la Madrid and his young technocratic team. In all likelihood they feared that the selection of someone like Salinas, the architect of de la Madrid’s neoliberal economic program, would mean political oblivion for them.

The leaders of the Corriente left the PRI in October 1987 and obtained the electoral backing of the Partido Auténtico de la Revolución Mexicana (PARM), a weak and ideologically ill-defined party. All but one of the leftist parties eventually added their support. Ironically, the first to join the movement were the Partido Popular Socialista (PPS) and the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), which changed its name to Partido del Frente Cardenista de Reconstrucción Nacional (PFCRN). These two parties, together with the PARM, had until then played the role of friendly opposition, supporting the PRI on most issues. They combined under the umbrella of the FDN. Significantly, toward the end of the electoral campaign Hebericio Castillo, presidential candidate of Partido Mexicano Socialista (PMS), whose core is Mexico’s communist party, withdrew his candidacy and joined the FDN. This provided the FDN with a crucial organizational infrastructure that the other FDN parties lacked.
To be sure, opposition groups on both sides of the political spectrum proposed radically different economic programs. As expected, Clouthier demanded a drastic shift from state intervention to a more open economy. Cárdenas, in contrast, promised a return to the populist distribution policies championed by his father, a suspension of payments on Mexico’s foreign debt, and a rollback of the privatization measures pursued by President de la Madrid. Tactically, however, the distance between them all but disappeared. Clouthier stridently condemned fraud, stressing the need to respect the balloting at all costs. Building on PAN’s experience in Chihuahua, Clouthier threatened civil disobedience to protest electoral fraud. Cárdenas, although never fully committing himself to civil disobedience, also vigorously insisted on respect for the vote. Thus the integrity of the electoral process became the central issue of 1988.

In formal recognition of the saliency of this issue, opposition parties created the Asamblea Democrática para el Sufragio Efectivo, an umbrella organization with the explicit purpose of defending the vote. Ironically, the idea of “effective suffrage” comes from the 1910 Revolution and has been a central priista slogan. The creation of this organization suggests that the dynamic of the Mexican party system turns not on the traditional left-right axis, but rather on a system-antisytem axis; what unites or separates the parties is not so much policy issues as whether they oppose or support PRI’s rule. This explains why parties as divergent as the PAN and the FDN could unite in the Asamblea.

Certainly, promises of clean elections and greater democratization are staples of Mexican presidential campaigns. However, these themes had never before been as central to a PRI campaign as they were with Salinas, whose repeated promises to eschew the traditional practice of winning all legislative seats, known as the carro completo, placed the issue of liberalization at the center of the political debate. The former planning and budget secretary called for política moderna, a promise to reform and modernize politics. Further, our personal interviews, particularly with persons close to Manuel Camacho, probably Salinas’ closest advisor, revealed a strong, though by no means unanimous, sense that the regime must give more space to the opposition. The perceived inability to rely on the traditional bases of legitimacy, such as the promotion of social justice or rapid economic growth, heightened the need to seek electoral legitimacy. Of course, whether Salinas was in fact committed to respect the popular vote regardless of outcome is open to question, but there was a clear sense that things had to change and that a traditional, heavily padded victory would hurt rather than help.

Who Got What and Why?

Although by comparative standards the PRI won the July 6 election handily, its traditional overwhelming vote margins disappeared. Salinas won only a bare majority, with Cárdenas and Clouthier dividing the other half of the votes in about a 3-2 ratio. Neither the PRI’s dramatic decline nor the strength of the Cárdenas challenge had been expected even six months before the election. Voting trends suggested that the PRI’s margin of victory would continue to erode, but the prolongation of the economic crisis and the growing assertiveness of the opposition produced a result that few observers expected.

As Table 1 shows, in recent elections the PRI’s official winning vote share had declined regularly but had never fallen below 70 percent. A continuation of this trend would have meant a 65-70 percent vote for the PRI in this election. Even in the 1940, 1946, and 1952 races, in each of which a PRI maverick contested the election, the PRI officially maintained nearly 75 percent of the votes. Likewise, in deputy races, the PRI’s national average has only recently fallen below 70 percent, to 69 percent in 1982 and 68 percent in 1985, and the opposition has been restricted primarily to those seats reserved for minority parties under proportional representation rules. In the Senate the PRI has monopolized the seats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PAN</th>
<th>PRI</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td>98.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Sum of PSUM, PST, and PRT.
b. PRI = 4%, FDN = 31.1%.

The 1988 election results, therefore, suggest a dramatic departure from previous electoral experience in Mexico. The combination of the growth of institutionalized opposition and the candidacy of a very appealing maverick pushed the PRI percentage down to 50 percent. In senatorial races, the PRI gave up 4 of 64 seats, losing in the Federal District and Cárdenas’ stronghold, Michoacán. Hence, the new Senate will have opposition voices for the first time. In the 300 single-member deputy races, the PRI won 233 seats, but overall has only 260 of 500 total deputy seats. The PAN gained 101 seats, 38 in single-member district races, and the parties of the FDN won 29 head-to-head races, 22 of which came from joint candidacies. The parties of the FDN received 139 seats overall.
As usual, the PRI performed strongly in the more rural, southern states (see Table 2), gaining its highest presidential vote percentages in the Pacific south, the Gulf, and the Yucatán peninsula. The PRI’s extra efforts in the center north (Chihuahua, Nuevo León, and Coahuila, among others) apparently produced an unexpectedly high PRI vote share there. In the relatively urbanized regions, the Pacific north, the Pacific center, the center, and the Mexico City area, the PRI’s performance lagged. Cárdenas did particularly well in Mexico City, the Pacific center (especially Michoacán), and the center. The 29 FDN deputy wins were concentrated in Michoacán, the state of Mexico, and Mexico City. The PAN’s 38 seats were concentrated in urban areas, especially in Mexico City, Ciudad Juárez, León, and the Guadalajara area.

Table 2
Regional Distribution of 1988 Mexican Presidential Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Salinas (PRI)</th>
<th>Cárdenas (FDN)</th>
<th>Clouthier (PAN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pacific North</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>26.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Center</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific South</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center North</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulf</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yucatán Peninsula</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico City Area</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>National</strong></td>
<td><strong>50.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>31.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>16.8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although polls had predicted very high rates of voter participation, this most competitive of postrevolutionary Mexican elections drew the lowest vote in modern history at less than 49 percent of the registered electorate. Initial explanations are that reported rates of participation for previous elections were inflated and that this election does not necessarily indicate a decline in participation so much as an improvement in the honesty of reporting results. If so, Mexican politicians may think that Mexican citizens are apathetic. Yet given the intense attention paid to this election in the context of prolonged crisis, can one think that people experiencing economic hardship, and frequently reminded of the importance of the choice in which they are obligated to participate, really do not care about whether they vote? More credible is the notion that many Mexicans do not believe their votes count. And given the outcome, none of the major candidates can draw positive conclusions about his capacity to convince them otherwise.

While the increased competitiveness of the Mexican electoral system is encouraging, the entire week that it took the Federal Electoral Commission to produce these preliminary results has contributed to a discrediting of the results. The principal players within the governing elite must have recognized that delayed announcement of the results would delegitimize the electoral process. That it still took so long for Secretary of the Interior Manuel Bartlett to make the announcements must therefore indicate the depth of the disagreements within the PRI-government about how to handle an unprecedented decline in votes.

The divisions within the PRI suggested by the delayed reporting of the vote are deep and will continue to be apparent in political and policy debates in the coming months. The PRI’s old guard, the labor bosses, caciques in some areas, and some governors, are adamant about maintaining the PRI’s monopoly. For labor leaders and some caciques, the carro completo is the only way to reward their lieutenants and thereby perpetuate their power. On the other hand, Salinas’ technocrats, many of whom have foreign university degrees and are not so dependent upon patronage, tend to favor liberalization and are willing to trade the PRI’s usual 70 percent outcome for narrower victories if those wins are generally recognized as legitimate.

How legitimate are the reported results of the 1988 election? There probably was some manipulation, but the vote was among the cleanest in recent history. The Federal Election Commission likely inflated Salinas’ total slightly by inflating PRI totals in rural areas to raise it above the 50 percent margin. Of course, the 50 percent margin is critical for the PRI since perhaps its firmest ideological tenet is that it represents the majority’s wishes. Moreover, a minority president would likely be a weak president, unable to claim a mandate to rule.

Salinas probably intended the three-way negotiations between Bartlett, his own team, and opposition leaders during the delay to result in some “concessions” to the opposition in return for recognition of the legitimacy of his victory. The opposition apparently decided not to cooperate. Cárdenas in particular seems to have recognized that continuing his campaign in the form of a protest against electoral fraud increases his odds of uniting the left in a cardenista front for the long haul.

The poor performance of the PRI can be explained by a combination of four factors. First, the modern, urban society of the 1980s is much more difficult to mobilize through the PRI’s corporatist structure than was the mostly rural society of the 1930s. The PRI continues to produce (sometimes fictitiously) large numbers of votes in rural areas, but much less of Mexico’s population lives in the countryside today. Modernization cannot by itself explain the drastic decline from de la Madrid’s 74 percent of the votes in 1982 to Salinas’ 50 percent. Foremost among other factors is Mexico’s six-year-long economic crisis. Since 1982 the economy has registered growth in only three years, with GDP per capita now at a level lower than in 1977. Inflation has been
at least 60 percent annually, reaching nearly 160 percent in 1987. The GDP continues on the negative side, falling the past year by 3.5 percent. Most disheartening to the Mexican middle class is the dramatic fall of the peso’s value in the past twelve years, from 12.5 pesos/dollar in 1976 to about 2300 today. The economy is essentially stagnant, with unemployment at an official 14.5 percent.

The PRI was bound to suffer somewhat from the economic crisis, but Carlos Salinas himself was also an issue. As the architect of austerity, Salinas is seen by almost everyone as causing setbacks in Mexico’s standard of living. He pledged to follow the same basic policy, of course with promises that policy success will come within his term. Salinas also contributed a final factor to the PRI’s decline: the political will to liberalize the regime and accept the electoral consequences of a fair vote count.

The PAN’s 1988 share of the presidential vote seems unimpressive in comparison with historical trends. Clouthier’s 16.8 percent of the vote is barely better than the 16.4 percent received by Pablo Emilio Madero in 1982, even though PAN performances since 1982 have suggested a rapidly growing party. Still PAN’s 1988 showing can be viewed as a solid performance in which both the number of committed members in the party and the share of the nation’s politicized electorate grew. In the past many considered the PAN as the only party capable of challenging the PRI, and it therefore captured most of the protest vote across all social groups. In this election, the PAN had to compete for the protest vote with a center-left front directing its message at the more numerous popular sectors. Moreover, while Clouthier was an attractive candidate to committed panistas (of the neopanista variety), his background as an agribusinessman heavily involved in the church’s lay groups and his swaggering style made him less appealing to the general population. That the PAN still received nearly 17 percent of the vote demonstrates that a solid 15-20 percent of the electorate is still in its camp.

The cardenista coalition’s performance was impressive, although whether it will be replicable is unclear. As the son of Lázaro Cárdenas, the FDN candidate effectively drew on the lingering respect shown to his father by Mexicans of all sectors, including significant numbers of workers and campesinos, a rarity for an opposition candidate in Mexican elections. Uniting Mexico’s long-fragmented left was a considerable task. The organizations on the left, of course, remain separate but they have now worked together. Survey evidence seems to suggest that unification on the left promoted the candidacy of Cárdenas to a level (31 percent of the votes) that the individual candidates (Cárdenas and Castillo), added together, would not have achieved had they run separately. Cárdenas’ populist message, contrasting deeply with the economic “rationality” promised by Salinas and Clouthier, gave hope to a broad array of Mexicans suffering economic hardship. They remembered the legacy of his father, who had acted on behalf of workers and peasants.

Implications for the Future

Immediately after the elections, Cárdenas insisted that he had won the presidency and launched a nationwide protest campaign that began in Mexico City on July 16 with a rally of more than 200,000 supporters. It is not yet clear what Cárdenas really wants or how far he is willing to push his protest. Clouthier also refused to recognize PRI’s victory. Even though Clouthier conceded his own defeat, he was unwilling to recognize either Salinas or Cárdenas. Instead, he called for civil disobedience and demanded new elections. Responding to this call, panistas blocked roads and staged a series of demonstrations, primarily in the north. The PAN’s response, however, has been less aggressive than expected by most observers. Possibly the unexpected strength of the cardenista movement, with its leftist orientation, has led them to reconsider the advisability of massive protests since the most likely beneficiary would be the cardenistas, not themselves.

Although the political situation remains quite fluid, it is probably safe to assume that the opposition’s protest campaigns are not going to change the results of the presidential election. To do so would require the opposition to band together to fight an all-out war against the regime, and such a war is unlikely. With 240 deputies and four senators, the opposition now has a great deal to lose by rejecting the official rules of the game. Finally, in the event of conflict it is unlikely that the military would side with the opposition, least of all with the leftist cardenista coalition. For more than five decades the military has been a loyal pillar of the regime; it is difficult to believe that allegations of electoral fraud would impel it to intervene in favor of the opposition. Intervention would come only in case of widespread violence, and the military would not act to hand the presidential sash over to Cárdenas or Clouthier.

If the opposition opts for conciliation, Mexico’s political future will depend primarily on what happens within both the left and the PRI. Clearly the degree of change wrought by the Cárdenas challenge depends on what becomes of the cardenista forces in the months to come. Historically, the PRI has treated challenges from within the “revolutionary family” as more dangerous than the competition from the institutionalized opposition. In 1940 Lázaro Cárdenas’ hand-picked successor was challenged by Juan Andrew Almazán, a defeated aspirant to the official party’s candidacy. The subsequent election, marred by electoral violence and extensive fraud, confirmed the PRI’s monopoly of power. Similar cycles recur in the 1946 and 1952 presidential races, the challenge of Miguel Henríquez in 1952 presenting a more serious threat to the PRI. In the aftermath of Henríquez’ defeat, the effort by his forces to register a permanent opposition party was denied and those forces dissipated.

Whether the FDN can avoid the fate of almazanista and henriquista forces depends on the disposition of the incoming administration and Cárdenas’ capacity to mold a new political organization from a disparate assortment of
political parties and groups. In his campaign statements and an important postelection speech, Salinas seemed to be signaling a willingness to allow the cardenista forces freedom to act politically. Thus the FDN may have an opportunity denied to almanzistas and henriquistas. However, creating a new political organization from the four parties and several groups that formed the FDN may be a more difficult challenge. Sectarian conflicts have divided the Mexican left. Of these parties, only the PMS has an organization with pretensions of nationwide coverage. Forging a united leftist opposition party with the capacity to challenge effectively the PRI and the PAN will require overcoming the numerous personal and ideological differences and building upon the organizational structures that currently exist, in some places integrating organizations that have competed for the left vote for the past decade.

The unprecedented number of legislative seats won by the left provide an important incentive for the coalition to remain united. The number of positions won by each of the parties that form the FDN was much larger than those they won in previous elections. The fact that Mexican electoral legislation allows coalitions to present joint candidacies at some levels and independent candidacies at others also favors the unity of the cardenista movement. Indeed, while single candidacies at all levels might result in a greater accumulation of votes for the coalition as a whole, it would also favor factionalism within the coalition, as each party struggles with the others over the nomination of candidates. Instead, current legislation allows each party to present as many independent deputy or senatorial candidacies as it wants, while benefitting from the coattail effects of an attractive joint presidential candidacy, as in this case.

If the cardenista coalition remains united, it will clearly increase the pressure for greater liberalization. In contrast to the PAN, which can now only pose regional challenges to the PRI, the cardenistas have clearly emerged as a truly national force. The regime’s response will depend partly on the nature of the FDN’s leadership. Were the control of the coalition to fall into more “radical” hands, the response would probably be far less sympathetic than it would if it continues to be led by people like Cárdenas and Muñoz Ledo. They are, after all, members of the “family” that has ruled Mexico for the last 50 years, and though clearly threatening to the economic elites for their reformist inclinations, they are far from being Marxist radicals.

Recent events suggest that Cárdenas and Muñoz Ledo have chosen a strategy for consolidating the unity of the left that risks as much confrontation with the government as possible within the bounds of legality and nonviolence. Cardenista crowds maintained protest rallies outside throughout the meetings of the Electoral College. At de la Madrid’s final state-of-the-nation address on September 1, FDN legislators interrupted his speech with cries of “fraud!” and some 25 FDN congressmen followed Muñoz Ledo as he stalked out of the chamber. PAN deputies, meanwhile, merely held aloft ballots that they claimed were fraudulent.

On September 10 as the Chamber of Deputies readied to ratify Salinas’ victory, FDN members again walked out of the chamber rather than participate in the approval of the president-elect. PAN deputies rejected the July 6 results by voting against Salinas, but again they respected parliamentary procedure. The FDN leadership seems to be using nonviolent confrontation to weld together leftist leaders and party organizations that were formerly rivals through vigorous mobilization toward rejection of Salinas’ victory, an issue on which they can all agree. Undoubtedly they hope to pressure the incoming Salinas government into an early political reform as the price for their cooperation in the coming years. Finally, cardenista strategists probably hope to gain policy concessions from Salinas, especially in the economic area. In a recent speech, Salinas indicated a willingness to discuss with his opponents electoral reform, the foreign debt, and measures to alleviate poverty.

The key to what happens in the future remains, however, the balance of forces within the PRI itself. The last thing that Salinas wants is a split of the PRI. Unskilled handling of the liberalization process could easily alienate the party’s old guard, particularly the critically important labor leaders, who have consistently opposed reform. The glue that has kept the party together for so many decades has been its monopoly of political power, including elected offices. The economic crisis and the neoliberal economic policies designed to combat it have already resulted in a considerable loss of patronage sources. While in 1982 there were 1,155 public enterprises, by 1988 there were only 460. Bureaucratic positions in the federal government have shown a similar decline. Under these circumstances, elected positions have become all the more important to reward supporters.

Traditionally, the organized groups that support the PRI have counted on a relatively fixed number of seats in Congress. In the 1985-1988 legislature, the “popular” sector had 149 deputy seats, labor had 69, and the peasant sector had 66 seats. The shares for the 1982-1985 legislature had been practically the same. Significantly, the districts assigned to each sector also remained practically identical in both legislatures. This suggests that the PRI works on the basis of relatively fixed arrangements about the rewards for support. The willingness of organized groups to remain within the PRI might be considerably reduced by a sudden change in the rules of the game. In this election several of labor’s high-profile candidates suffered defeats, including Joaquín Gamboa Pascoe, a close ally of Fidel Velázquez, who lost in the Federal District senatorial race. Other prominent labor losers were Venustiano Reyes, head of the Music Workers Union, and Arturo Romo. Overall, of 66 labor candidates, 18 lost.

Failing to receive what they consider rightfully theirs, the leaders of some of those organizations, especially labor, could decide to move closer to other parties, particularly those on the left, which ideologically and programmatically
are much closer to them than the PRI under the rule of the neoliberals. The unprecedented showing of the opposition in the 1988 elections in itself increases the temptation to defect. As long as the opposition parties were perceived as ineffectual organizations, they could attract only the true believers, those willing to sacrifice the chance of influencing policy outcomes and the benefits that accompany them for the sake of a better, but distant, future. Having emerged much stronger after this election, these parties will become more attractive to those sympathizers who are unwilling to pay such a price. The message sent by these elections, and the economic context in which Mexico is immersed, suggests that currently the main risk is that of losing some segments of the labor sector to the cardenista movement.

To move ahead with liberalization, Salinas will somehow have to compensate the most important party organizations for their loss of elected positions, making it more attractive for them to remain within the party than to join the opposition. Incorporating several of their leaders into the next administration, which would imply a significant opening of Salinas’ present technocratic team, could be the starting point. A more important move in this respect could be, however, a general shift in economic policy, one that abandons the present economic “rationality” for a seemingly less rational, but politically more rewarding, economic policy. Clearly the message of the elections is that far from being dead, populism is very much alive in Mexico. Among other things, a more expansionist economic strategy would reward labor by reversing, at least temporarily, the startling deterioration of wages over the last six years. Financing such a strategy is not easy, but for now Salinas can count on the unprecedented foreign reserves accumulated by President de la Madrid, estimated at around 10.5 billion dollars. Results favorable to Mexico in future negotiations with its foreign creditors over debt repayment could free additional resources for financing this strategy.

If Salinas is unwilling to change course, choosing to stick to the austerity program that he implemented under de la Madrid, it is difficult to see how he could proceed with reform without facing serious dissent within the PRI. Of course he may not want to liberalize. For him economics may take precedence over politics; he might be willing to modernize politics as long as that does not interfere with modernizing the economy. But given the electoral results, the pressures to liberalize will now be greater than ever. The recent democratization processes in other Latin American countries reveal that once reform begins it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for those in power to control its pace. Salinas would have to rely more heavily than any president before him on the security apparatus, particularly the military, if he attempted to shackle strong social pressures for reform.

While the impact of the recent elections is still not completely clear, they do seem to mark the beginning of a new era of Mexican politics. The era of the virtual one-party system appears to be over. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the PRI is dead; it simply means that its hegemonic position has been reduced to a predominance, such as that of Japan’s Liberal Party or India’s Congress Party. The main difference between a hegemonic and a dominant position is that in the former the dominant party is never allowed to lose, no matter how few votes it gets, while in the latter it can lose, but in fact manages to gain a majority of votes in most elections. The difference between the two is the difference between a non-competitive system and a competitive one. Whether the PRI can make this transition and adapt to the new circumstances remains to be seen. The hope of all those who support democracy is that it will be able to do so.

NOTES


2. Clouthier, an agribusinessman from Sinaloa and a former leader of Coparmex, the private sector’s leading organization, became panista after the bank nationalization. Many former PAN leaders have left the party because they believe it has abandoned their social reformist ideology.


5. Because of the winner-take-all rules of deputy races in the 300 single-member districts, the PRI’s roughly 70 percent averages have translated into near carros completos: the PRI won 296 seats in 1979, 299 in 1982, and 289 in 1985.

6. Proceso, 5 September 1988. The Electoral College initially awarded 234 of the simple majority seats and 26 proportional representation (PR) seats to the PRI. After one PRI deputy defected to the FDN, the PRI’s majority in the Electoral College awarded an additional PR seat to the PRI. Since then three FDN deputies have defected to the PRI. New York Times, 11 September 1988.

7. All figures are from David Carlos, “Política económica, para qué?” Viva, no. 2 (June 1988), pp. 22-25.

8. In a speech on the day after the election, Salinas said, “The virtual one-party system has ended and a new political era has begun with a majority party and intense competition from the opposition.” Excélsior, 8 July 1988.

THE BRYCE WOOD BOOK AWARD

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

Books may be nominated by authors, LASA members, or publishers. Whoever does the nominating is responsible for confirming the publication date and for forwarding one copy directly to each member of the Award Committee, at the expense of the authors or publishers. For the September 1, 1989, International Congress in San Juan, Puerto Rico, books will be eligible published from July 1, 1987, to December 31, 1988. All books nominated must reach each member of the Award Committee by February 1, 1989.

The interdisciplinary Award Committee will consist of three members of LASA. They will be appointed every eighteen months by the President, in consultation with the Executive Council. LASA members may suggest appointees to the President. No one may serve on the committee with a book under consideration.

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

The members of the Bryce Wood Book Award Committee for 1989 are John D. Wirth, Chair (Department of History, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305); Francine Masiello (Department of Spanish and Comparative Literature, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720); and Karen L. Remmer (Department of Political Science, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131).

Puerto Rico (cont.)

is a rich country; by North American standards, it is poor. Culturally speaking, Puerto Rico is essentially an Afro-Hispanic nation with a strong North American influence. It is understandable that Puerto Rican scholars attempt to interpret and change their immediate reality before embarking upon research that will take them beyond their national frontiers.

Nonetheless, Puerto Rican scholars have much to gain from a dialogue with Latinamericanists in the United States and Latin America. An important benefit is the opportunity to overcome the parochial vision of Puerto Rico as unique, and apart from Latin America. Puerto Rico is typical of Latin American and Caribbean countries in many respects: its dependent status vis-à-vis the United States and its intense blending of races and cultures, for example. A Latin American perspective on Puerto Rico can lead to comparative research with a sharper theoretical focus. Too many studies of Puerto Rico begin and end in San Juan, with a possible detour via Washington and New York, and fail to pose general conceptual problems. Finally, the "Latinamericanization" of Puerto Rico at the academic level can counter the prevailing trend toward "North-americanization." In academia as in other spheres of culture, Puerto Ricans have relied too heavily on the United States for inspiration and guidance. Perhaps the LASA congress will encourage local scholars to explore other worldviews and research models.

North American scholars, much to their surprise, may also learn from the "natives." Many Latinamericanists believe that Puerto Rico is more a tropical desert with respect to ideas than an intellectual oasis in the Caribbean. Despite the lack of resources and low prestige of research in Puerto Rican universities, there are many signs of a scholarly effervescence here. First, the island's centers of intellectual activity have multiplied and diversified over the last few years. The University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras no longer commands a monopoly over knowledge, although it remains the leading university in many areas. Private institutions such as Interamerican University and University of the Sacred Heart employ a growing number of well-qualified scholars.

Second, the results of this activity are visible in an increasing variety of disciplines and journals. For instance the field of history alone has expanded so much during the past decade that three specialized journals now publish in this field (Anales, Revista de historia, and Op. cit.). All the major colleges and universities have one or more interdisciplinary journals such as Revista de ciencias sociales, Horcines, Cupey, and the forthcoming Punto y coma. This renewed interest in scholarly publication, and the administrative support it indicates, reflects a serious intellectual production for an academic community burdened by excessive teaching loads, insufficient funding for research and writing, and a somewhat recent tradition of scholarly inquiry.
Finally, Puerto Rican scholars have reached a point of maturity at which they no longer need to depend intellectually on foreign schools of thought and training. The University of Puerto Rico, for example, recently established three new Ph.D. programs in education, history, and psychology. These programs offer an alternative to studying abroad, as the Colleges of Law, Medicine, and Engineering have done for decades. The point is that Puerto Rican scholars are gradually becoming independent of the United States and developing original ways of thinking about their own problems, even if they still look to the outside world for support and recognition.

In short, the 1989 LASA Congress should help to demystify Puerto Rico for Latinamericanists as well as clarify the Latin American contribution to Puerto Rican studies. If mainland scholars come to the island with open eyes, they will find that Puerto Rico is more complicated and interesting than they may have supposed. Puerto Rico is more than an extension of the United States or Latin America; it is a mixture of both with its own special features. If Puerto Rican scholars receive their visitors openly, they will find that few U.S. academics, at least among Latinamericanists, are Yankee imperialists. The significance of the next LASA congress may well go beyond the confines of the academic community; the meeting could address misunderstandings between two groups of scholars that are closely linked yet often stand apart.

Steve Sanderson, of the University of Florida, is coordinating fund-raising efforts. The Program Committee must be notified immediately (in writing) of travel needs for Latin American and Caribbean scholars; we hope to provide support for all paper presenters traveling from the region. A number of foundations and U.S.-based Centers for Latin American Studies have already made preliminary funding commitments to LASA. Public and private-sector organizations in the United States and Western Europe are also being solicited for support. The Program Committee will notify all panel chairs of the availability of travel funds for Latin American scholars as far in advance of the San Juan congress as possible.

Lavonne Poteet, of Bucknell University, is once again coordinating the Latin American Film Festival. The deadline for proposed film submissions is June 1, 1989.

Local arrangements in San Juan are under the aegis of Luis Agrait, of the Fundación Luis Muñoz Marín. Dr. Agrait is receiving considerable cooperation from leading institutions of higher education in Puerto Rico. The Local Arrangements Committee expects to offer an array of island excursions, and of course Puerto Rican cuisine will be a major attraction.

Congress headquarters will be the Caribe Hilton Hotel, situated on a spectacular site in scenic San Juan. This excellent resort and convention facility, set in a tropical ambience, will make the XV International Congress an unforgettable experience. Hotel reservation and registration information will appear in the next LASA Forum (Winter 1989).

Please send inquiries and suggestions to Mark B. Rosenberg, Latin American and Caribbean Center, Florida International University, University Park, Miami, FL 33199.

REPORT FROM THE
PROGRAM COMMITTEE
XV INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1988

With the deadline now past, the Program Committee will meet in November to consider the organized sessions proposed for LASA’s XV International Congress. A preliminary list of those panels selected will be available in mid-December, when all those who submitted proposals will be notified of the committee’s deliberations. Panel proposers who have not yet done so must submit completed address and phone information for all panelists.

Scholarly panels, workshops and roundtables will highlight the academic portion of LASA XV. The Program Committee is currently exploring options for plenary sessions and keynote addresses.

We expect the largest production ever of scholarly work for this meeting. Guidelines for preparing and distributing papers are currently being developed.

Members of the Program Committee include Joan Dassin, Gary Gereffi, Patricia Pessar, Steve Stein, Sergio Miceli, Marcia Rivera, César Rey Hernández and Mark B. Rosenberg, chair.
Revised Priorities for Changing Conditions
Fellowships and Grants from the ACLS/SSRC
Joint Committee
on Latin American Studies
by
John Coatsworth
The University of Chicago
Chair, Joint Committee

The ACLS/SSRC Joint Committee on Latin American Studies (JCLAS)* has increased the number of predoctoral (dissertation research) fellowships awarded each year from an average of ten to eleven over the past decade to fifteen beginning with the 1989-90 competition. This decision was taken at the committee's March 1988 meeting in response to a 50 percent increase in applications since 1985. The competition remains open to graduate students in U.S. universities without restriction as to citizenship.

To fund the increase in predoctoral awards, the JCLAS has changed the eligibility requirements for its Advanced (postdoctoral) Grants competition. Beginning this year, the following new rules will apply:

(1) Recipients of past predoctoral grants are excluded; however, recipients of past predoctoral (dissertation) fellowships are still eligible.

(2) Applicants for postdoctoral grants must have received the Ph.D. (or equivalent) within ten years of the deadline for applications (December 1, 1988 this year), except for applicants working on less-studied countries. These include the seven countries of Central America (Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama and Belize), the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Haiti, Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay.

As in the past, the postdoctoral competition is open to applicants irrespective of citizenship. The maximum award remains $15,000.

These decisions represent a shift in JCLAS priorities made necessary by financial constraints. JCLAS funding has stagnated for nearly a decade after a sharp decline in the early 1970s. In nominal terms, the JCLAS awards budget stands at roughly one-third of its 1973 level. Meanwhile, costs have risen. In real terms, therefore, the JCLAS has roughly one-eighth of the resources it had fifteen years ago.

*The "Joint" Committee takes its name from the two umbrella organizations that sponsor its activities: the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). The JCLAS is headquartered at the SSRC, where administrative tasks are performed by a small staff headed by Staff Associate Silvia Raw. The JCLAS has eight members, who serve staggered three-year terms, in addition to the chair. Current (1988-89) members are Lourdes Arizpe, David Collier, E.V.K. Fitzgerald, Walnice Nogueira Galvao, Elizabeth Jelin, José Antonio Ocampo, Alejandro Portes and Frank Salamon. The JCLAS conducts the postdoctoral competition but delegates the predoctoral (dissertation) to a separate six-member selection committee, currently (1988-89) chaired by Lars Schoultz.

At its peak, the JCLAS awarded over twenty predoctoral and more than thirty postdoctoral fellowships each year in addition to allocating large sums for research planning conferences (now reduced in scope and number) as well as summer workshops, a large internship program, and other professional activities abandoned long ago. In 1988-89, the JCLAS expects to award roughly the same number of postdoctoral and predoctoral awards (fifteen or so each).

In both competitions, award levels in real terms have fallen over the past fifteen years. Predoctoral fellows who receive other awards are required to accept them. In such cases, JCLAS funds are used for research costs not covered by the other award and for write-up grants (reduced a decade ago from one year to six months). Predoctoral stipend levels, once relatively generous, are now minimal. Postdoctoral grants carry a maximum of $15,000. Fifteen years ago, the maximum was $10,000, which in 1988 dollars would be worth $25,000 to $30,000.

In the mid-1970s and into the 1980s, the JCLAS responded to funding constraints with austerity measures designed to preserve its three core programs: predoctoral fellowships, postdoctoral research grants, and research planning conferences. When cuts had to be made in the core program, the committee reduced the number of predoctoral fellowships more sharply than that of the postdoctoral grants for two reasons. First, the number of predoctoral applications dropped in the late 1970s as the Latin Americanist graduate student population declined. Second, postdoctoral awards remained vital not only for the large U.S. population of new entrants to the field from the late 1960s and early 1970s, but also for Latin American scholars forced to flee into exile during periods of military rule in their home countries. JCLAS postdoctoral awards, though small in number and shrinking in real terms, played a significant role in preserving the vitality of the field during these years.

Conditions have now changed. The number of Latin Americanist graduate students in U.S. institutions began to increase sharply in the mid-1980s. Meanwhile, younger scholars in the United States who received their Ph.D.s in the lean period from the late 1970s to the mid-1980s have found their applications for postdoctoral research grants competing with applications from the much larger and more established generation that preceded them. In Latin America, redemocratization in conditions of debt-induced fiscal austerity freed a new generation of researchers from political persecution but simultaneously left them without jobs or research support.

These new conditions induced the JCLAS to alter its priorities in order to concentrate its limited resources on support for younger scholars. The larger number of predoctoral awards responds to the needs of an increasing graduate student population in the United States. The new eligibility requirements for the postdoctoral competition respond to the growing need to support younger Ph.D.s, both in the United States and in Latin America, many of whom are now or will soon be embarking on their first major postdoctoral research projects.
It would be foolish to pretend that this shift in JCLAS priorities does not impose costs. Though the postdoctoral awards are far too small to support a major research project, they have often been used by senior scholars to leverage additional funds from other sources, including their own universities. The number of major postdoctoral awards open to senior scholars in the United States has been shrinking steadily for more than a decade; conditions in Latin America (as well as in Great Britain and most of Western Europe) are no better.

Worse yet, the younger beneficiaries of this shift still face far more difficult conditions than their counterparts a generation ago. The total number of dissertation fellowships available to Latin Americanist graduate students today remains smaller than before. The JCLAS once awarded twenty per year. The Latin American Teaching Fellowships and Doherty Fellowships disappeared years ago. The Inter-American Foundation now virtually restricts its dissertation awards to applied fields. The brief expansion of the Fulbright program in recent years has been reversed. The Lincoln Fellowships for Mexicanists have been recast as an annual lectureship that is more diplomatic than scholarly. Moreover, for younger postdoctoral scholars in the United States, the newly revised JCLAS awards barely replace (at a lower level of funding) the postdoctoral awards dropped by the Tinker Foundation two years ago.

The JCLAS welcomes comment from members of LASA (and from other Latin Americanists who have not yet joined LASA) on this shift in priorities as well as the conditions that provoked it.

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**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION**


**Lifting Embargoes on Information...**

By Barbara Vobedja

Washington Post Staff Writer

Daniel Walsh, owner of an Alexandria firm known as Liberation Graphics, has tried for years to import political posters from Cuba, which he said are known worldwide for their sophistication and graphic quality. They are, he said, "the best in the hemisphere."

But as a result of a 26-year-old federal law restricting the import of publications, films, posters, phonograph records and other informational materials from Cuba, Walsh has been stymied.

Yesterday, however, he heard the news: The ban had been lifted and he was free to buy and sell Cuban posters. "It’s not so much a business opportunity," Walsh said. "It really means that we’ll be able to enrich the pool of political graphics."

The restrictions ended as the result of a little-noticed provision in the trade bill signed into law Tuesday by President Reagan that overturned the long-standing ban on the import and export of informational materials from several countries covered by trade embargoes.

Restrictions—also applying to Vietnam, North Korea and Cambodia but not to the Soviet Union—covered the export of American informational materials as well as the import of foreign materials. The restrictions were imposed under the Trading With the Enemy Act and the International Economic Powers Act.

Trade embargoes applying to Libya and Nicaragua have exempted informational materials.

But in the case of the other countries, the trade embargo statutes and federal regulations specified that import of informational materials for commercial purposes required special licenses from the Treasury Department. And, in many cases, import of multiple copies was allowed only if proceeds from the sale were deposited into "blocked" bank accounts in this country, with funds prohibited from entering the foreign country.

The ban also applied to photographs, microfilm, microfiche, tapes or "other informational materials."

But language attached to the trade bill by Rep. Howard L. Berman (D-Calif.) lifted the trade restrictions on these materials, except in the case of classified material.

"Imposing a regulation which keeps American publications, American periodicals and American ideas from getting into the hands of people in other countries, particularly totalitarian countries, made no sense whatsoever," Berman said.

The Berman provision prompted virtually no controversy as the trade bill worked its way through Congress. The State Department did not object to Berman’s amendment during congressional hearings, the congressman’s staff said, but Reagan cited the provision in his veto of the initial trade bill. The veto message said the provision would "prevent the president from moving swiftly to block blatant enemy propaganda material from entering the United States, even during wartime."

Morton H. Halperin, director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, said the restrictions violated the spirit, if not the letter, of the First Amendment.

"It was treated under the law just as if you were dealing with spare parts for trucks," he said. " Harm may come from giving spare parts to (sic) trucks to people in other countries, but it doesn’t come from giving them books and materials."

Halperin said the ACLU initiated the change in the law as part of a broader effort to promote the free flow of ideas. The ACLU also argued that the new language would deny future presidents the discretion to restrict the flow of information under trade embargoes.
Report on Survey of Biographical Research Collections for the Latin American Biographical Database (LABD)

by

Michael L. Conniff
University of New Mexico

In April and May 1988, the organizers of the LABD sent over 3,000 questionnaires to members of Latin American studies professional associations. The purpose was to elicit information on the use of biographical materials in teaching and research; availability of datasets that could be incorporated into the database; and support for a large biographical reference and research project. This is a preliminary report based on returns received through July.

Over 90 percent of the respondents agreed that the "biographical database will be of value to Latin Americanists" and envision using it in research or teaching. Many suggested the names of colleagues who would also be interested in contributing to the project.

Over 130 respondents indicated that they had worked with biographies, ranging from individual studies to massive computerized works. The largest is Sara de Mundo Lo's *Index to Spanish American Collective Biography*, which contains nearly 100,000 entries. Charles Polzer's biofile for the U.S. Southwest contains 67,000 names. Peter Boyd-Bowman has 55,000 Spanish emigrants to the New World in his computer file.

Most multiple studies, of course, were smaller, as revealed in the size-distribution:

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<th>Number of Cases</th>
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<tr>
<td>5-100</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>100-1000</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>1000-10,000</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>not reported</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>77</td>
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Distribution by country revealed a concentration of datasets for Mexico (29) and substantial numbers for Brazil (13), Chile (8), Colombia (8), Peru (6), and Argentina (5). Virtually every country had at least one biographical study reported. Eleven collections dealt with regional or hemispheric topics.

About fifteen datasets were reported to be stored in machine-readable form, typically a database management or spreadsheet system.

Eighty researchers expressed willingness to make available their multiple files under certain conditions, such as acknowledgement, periodic reports, and continued access. Reproduction costs would be required in some cases.

The results of the survey were presented to a gathering of experts held at the University of New Mexico on August 26-27, 1988. The meeting brought local researchers together with colleagues from the United States, Canada and Brazil.

Those wishing further information on the LABD or a list of the major datasets reported in the survey should write to Michael L. Conniff, History Department, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131; phone 505-277-2451.

CONNECTING TO LASNET

The LASA Secretariat has been receiving suggestions that it publish members' electronic mail addresses. With a view toward including this information in future LASA directories, we will request it on 1989 membership renewal and application forms.

The Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas at Austin maintains LASNET, the computer network for Latin Americanists and Latin American studies centers, through a directory of electronic mail addresses. The directory is also accessible to scholars and universities located in Latin America and the Caribbean through BITNET, UUCP, etc. Through this directory, electronic mail and file transfer services allow communication that is virtually instantaneous and available at a very low cost.

If you have an E-mail address, please contact LASNET by electronic or regular mail (see below) with your name, institutional affiliation, academic interests, mailing address, electronic address, and telephone number.

**LASNET Electronic Addresses**

INTERNET: ILASUT@EMX.CS.UTEXAS.DU
BITNET: ILCJ775@UTA3081

**LASNET Regular Mailing Address**

Sandra Wheaton, The Institute of Latin American Studies, The University of Texas at Austin, SRH 1.318, Austin, TX 78712; (512) 471-5551.

**Note to current users of LASNET**: Some mailing addresses are now inoperable due to either changes in mail routings or terminals. Please contact us if you are not receiving mail via LASNET so we can revise your mailing address as needed.

**THE JOYS OF TIMELY RENEWAL**

The LASA dues renewal period for calendar year 1989 has begun [renewal form enclosed with this issue]. If you want to be certain to receive your copies of the *Forum* and *LARR* without interruption, be sure to renew as early as you can. Publications for members who renew after March are accumulated until they meet minimum requirements for bulk mailing, causing long delays. Please remember also that participants in the San Juan Congress must be paid-up members for 1989.
XIV CONGRESS PAPERS AVAILABLE

The following papers from the XIV International Congress in New Orleans may be ordered from the Secretariat for $3.00 each. LASA attempted to retain at least one copy of every paper submitted. If your paper is not listed below, please send a copy to the Secretariat, and we will include it in future listings. A limited number of programs (xerox copies) are also available for $4.50 each. Prices include postage.

Adams, Anna. Women's Tales of Torture
Agosín, Marjorie. La casa de los espíritus
Alvarez, Sonia E. Women's Participation in the "People's Church"
Alves, Maria Helena. Dilemmas of the Consolidation of Democracy from the Top in Brazil
Angotti, Thomas. The Cuban Revolution: A New Turn
Arana, Mario. Deuda, estabilización y ajuste: La transformación en Nicaragua 1979-1986
Archila, Mauricio. La formación de la clase obrera colombiana (1910-1945)
Auchter, Craig W. Democracy for Masters or Majorities? A Comparative Analysis of Political Development in Central America
Azuela, Alicia. Diego Rivera in the 1930s. Views from Both Sides of the Border
Bálan, Jorge. Profesión e identity en una sociedad dividida: La medicina y el origen del psicoanálisis en la Argentina
Barker, Wendy J. Banks, Industry and the State in Brazil
Bartra, Eli. Notas sobre el arte popular y las mujeres
Baumann, Renato. Brazil-Argentina Economic Integration: A Partial Approach
Baumeister, Eduardo. Agrarian Transformation and Revolution in Nicaragua
Bennett, Vivienne and Jeffrey W. Rubin. How Popular Movements Shape the State: Radical Oppositions in Juchitán and Monterey, Mexico 1973-1987
Berryman, Phillip. Liberation Theology and the U.S. Bishop's Letters on Nuclear Weapons and on the Economy
Block, Miguel Angel González. Decentralization of the Health Sector in Mexico 1930-1987
Blondet, Cecilia. Pobladoras, Dirigentes y Ciudadanas: El caso de las mujeres populares de Lima
Borja, Arturo T. Alternative Explanations of Regime Breakdown. A Comparison of the Uruguayan and Costa Rican Democracies
Brachet-Márquez, Viviane. The Decentralization of Health Services in Latin America
Braga, Carlos A.P. Monetary Reform and Trade in Brazil & Argentina
Brockett, Charles D. A Comparative Analysis of Peasant Mobilization and Demobilization in Central America
Brown, Lyle C. Some Political Memoirs of Mexico Since 1910
Buchanan, Paul. Reflections of Institutionalizing Democratic Class Compromise in the Southern Cone
Budowski, Gerardo. Developing the Choco Region of Colombia
Bustamante, Fernando. Los militares y la creación de un nuevo orden democrático en Perú y Ecuador
Cademartori, José. Chile: Aspectos económicos de la democratización
Cardoso, Eliana A. Seigniorage and Repression: Monetary Rhythms of Latin America
Carrillo, Teresa. Working Women and the "19th of September" Mexican Garment Workers Union: The Significance of Gender
Castrillón-Hoyos, Darío. From Gutiérrez to Ratzinger and Beyond: The Debate on Liberation Theology
Child, Jack. Antarctica: Arena for South American Coopera-
tion or Conflict
Chirif, Alberto. Realidad étnica y realidad nacional
Ciria, Alberto. Democracy & Authoritarianism in Argentina: Politics and Culture
Clements, Benedict J. Sectoral Performance, Income Distribution, and Efficiency: The Case of Brazil
Coddou, Marcelo. La casa de los espíritus y la historia
Collings, Richard J. Debt, Dependence, and Default: Is Peru the Wave of the Future
Cook, Maria Lorena. Organizing Dissent: The Politics of Opposition in Mexican Unions
Daguirro, Renato. Arms Production and Technological Spinoffs: The Brazilian Aeronautics Industry
Denevan, William M. The Nature of Fragile Lands in Latin America
Diniz, Eli. Post-1930 Industrial Elites
Dix, Robert H. Colombia: Social Change and Party System Stability
Duany, Jorge. From the Periphery to the Semi-Periphery: Caribbean Migration to Puerto Rico Since 1960
Durand, Francisco. Los empresarios y alianzas políticas: El caso del Perú bajo Alán García
Falcón, Romana. La centralización política en el Porfiriato: alcances y límites en el caso de Coahuila
Foweraker, Joseph. Popular movements and the Transformation of the Mexican Political System
Frundt, Henry J. Esquipulas II and the possibilities para una reconciliación nacional: Perspectivas guatemaltecas
Garner, William R. Chile: The Limits of Empirical Analysis in a Milieu of Political Repression
Gereffi, Gary. Industrial Structure and Development Strategies in Latin America and East Asia
Gerlero, Elena. Las artes mecánicas como vía de redención: Fundamento teológico para la ética del trabajo promovida por la orden franciscana en sus escuelas de artes
Peñalosa, Fernando. Incipient Trilingualism Among Mayans in Los Angeles
Pérez Escamilla Costas, Juan Ricardo. The Mexican State and Business: Recent Revolution and Perspectives of Financial Policy
Peritore, N. Patrick. Brazilian Attitudes Toward Agrarian Reform: A Q-Methodology Opinion Study of a Conflictual Issue
Pittman, Howard T. Southern Cone Antarctic Claims, Territories and the Ibero-American Club vs. the Common Heritage of Mankind Theory
Plank, David N. Issues in Brazilian School Finances
Poitras, Guy. The Reagan Doctrine and Latin America: A Premature Post-Mortem
Polakoff, Erica G. Opening Urban Frontiers: Squatter Settlements in Managua
Polanco, Jorge Díaz. Tres actores políticos en el proceso de salud en Venezuela
Prevost, Gary F. The Development of the Political Philosophy of the FSLN: From Sandino to State Power
Priego, Rosalba Pérez. Los caracteres femeninos en la literatura del Porfiriato
Ranis, Peter. Argentine Workers: Rethinking Class Consciousness
Reiche, Carlos E. Centro Agronómico Tropical de Investigación y Enseñanza, Catie Turrialba, Costa Rica
Reinhardt, Nola. Economic Development and Rural Fertility in Theory and Practice: Evidence of Change from Rural Colombia
Robbins, James. Ideas of Change in Cuban Popular Music
Rodríguez, Adrián. La deuda pública eterna de Costa Rica: Crecimiento, moratoria y renegociación
Roldán, Mary. Guerrillas, Contrachusma, and Caudillos: Local Challenges to Elite Control During La Violencia in Antioquia, Colombia, 1949-1953
Rus, Diane. Changing Economic Roles of Indigenous Women in the Chiapas Highlands
Rus, Jan. The Revolution and Its Aftermath in Four Tzotzil Communities of Highland Chiapas, Mexico
Ryan, Jeffrey J. The Effects of External Support on Latin American Insurgencies
Safa, Helen I. Gender and Social Science Concepts in Latin America
Sanborn, Cynthia. ¿El futuro diferente? The Legacy of the 1970s for Peruvian Populism in the '80s
Sanderson, Steven E. Economy of Political Violence in the New Republic of Brazil
Schmidt, Gregory D. Regime Type, Political Alliances, and Bureaucratization: Explaining Variations in Regional Development Organizations and Decentralized Public Investment in Peru, 1944-1988
Schwartzman, Simon. Brazil: Opportunity and Crisis in Higher Education
Seccra, Martin J. Civil Institutions and Democratic Participation in Peru
Selsor, Gregorio. La Internacional Socialista: Contradicciones e incoherencias de su presencia en América Latina y el Caribe
Nicaragua: El presunto incumplimiento del gobierno de la revolución sandinista, de sus compromisos asumidos en vísperas del triunfo sobre Somoza
Paraguay: En elecciones de carnaval, Alfredo Stroessner se hace presidente por octava vez
Serra, Luis. Peasant Stores: A Democratic and Feasible Model for the Feeding of the Rural Sector in Nicaragua
Sigmund, Paul E. The Catholic Church and Social Change in Latin America
Sikkink, Kathryn. The “New Institutionalism” and Economic Policy Making in Latin America: State Autonomy and Developmentalist Policy Making in Argentina and Brazil
Smith, Lois M. Teenage Pregnancy and Sex Education in Cuba
Smith, William C. Heterodox Shocks and the Political Economy of Democratic Transition in Argentina and Brazil
Soifer, Ricardo J. Advanced Technologies in Latin America
Spalding, Rose J. The Agricultural Bourgeoisie and the Nicaraguan Revolution
Staples, Anne. El estado y la iglesia en la república restaurada
Steele, Cynthia. Gender and Class in Women’s Testimonio
Stephen, Lynn. Culture as a Resource: Four Cases of Self-Managed Indigenous Craft Production
Stewart-Gambino, Hannah W. The Catholic Church and Redemocratization in Chile
Stokes, Susan C. Peru’s Urban Popular Sectors in the 1980s: Autonomy or a New Multi-Classism?
Suzigan, Wilson. Consolidating Industrialization: Market Creation in Post-1964 Brazil
Tarrés Barraza, Luisa. Los campos de acción de la mujeres: Una alternativa para el análisis de su participación social y política
Taylor, Michelle M. Presidential Initiatives Toward Latin America: Do They Receive Funding and Where Does the Money Go?
Taylor, Patrick. Religion, Social Science, and Liberation: An Afro-Caribbean Perspective
Thompson, Carol B. Economic Coordination Under Crisis Conditions: Lessons from Southern Africa
Thoumi, Francisco E. Long-Term Industrialization Trends in Two Small Caribbean Countries: The Cases of the Dominican Republic and Trinidad and Tobago
Twomey, Michael J. The Debt Crisis and Latin American Agriculture
**Urrutia, Eugenio Rivera.** La dinámica inflacionaria y las políticas de estabilización en Centroamérica y Panamá en la década de los 80

**Valenzuela, María Elena.** Del sufragismo al feminismo: La moralización de la mujer y su cuestionamiento del orden patriarcal en Chile

**Van Bodegraven, Donna.** La geometría en el estudio narrativo de La casa de los espíritus

**Vera Luna, Eduardo.** Interest Groups and Popular Democracy: Dilemmas of the Nicaraguan Transition

**Verhine, Robert E.** Formal, Nonformal, and Informal Education and Occupational Opportunity: Research Outcomes from Northeast Brazil

**von Mettenheim, Kurt.** Social Policy and the Brazilian Voter in the Transition to Democracy

**Welch, John.** The Possibilities of Financial Integration Between Brazil and Argentina: Preliminary Remarks

**West, Terry.** Souvenirs: The Role of Tourist Handicraft Markets in Regional Development in Cusco, Peru

**Williams, Harvey.** War and Austerity: The Impact on Social Programs

**Williams, John H.** Social Issues in Post-Stroessner Paraguay

**Willis, Eliza.** Investing in the Poor: State Autonomy and Social Distribution in Brazil

**Wise, Carol.** Peru’s Political Economy 1980-1987: Responses to the Debt Crisis from Neoliberalism to the New Heterodoxy

**Wolf, Daniel H.** Falling off the Bandwagon: Speculations of Electoral Politics and the Scope Available to Loyal Oppositions in Nicaragua

**Woodward, Ralph L.** The State and the Indian in Conservative Guatemala 1839-1865

**Xianglin, Mao.** Some Tentative Views on the Contemporary Caribbean Socialist Movement

**Yúnez-Naude, Antonio.** Agricultural Development and Terms of Trade: The Case of Mexico

**Zabin, Carol.** Cultural Promotion and Economic and Political Development: A Case Study in the Sierra Juarez, Oaxaca, Mexico

**Zapata, Roger A.** La Nueva Crónica: Ambigüedad y contradicción en el discurso colonial

**Zimbalist, Andrew.** The Cuban Economy Toward the Fourth Decade: A Critical Review

**Zirker, Daniel.** Contemporary Brazilian Foreign Policy: Transcending a Sub-Imperialist Role?

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**MEMBER NEWS**

El Consejo Técnico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México ha designado al Dr. Alfredo A. Roggiano Profesor Distinguido de la UNAM. El Presidente del Instituto Internacional de Literatura Iberoamericana y Decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM, Lic. Arturo Azuela, realizó el anuncio en el acto de clausura del XXVII Congreso del instituto, llevado a cabo en México del 22 al 27 de agosto de 1988 en celebración del Cincuentenario de la fundación del Instituto. Dr. Roggiano, Director Ejecutivo del Instituto y Director, desde 1955, de la Revista Iberoamericana, órgano oficial del mismo, fue designado Profesor Distinguido de la Universidad de Pittsburgh en 1982 y Profesor Eméritos en 1984. Dichas distinciones llegan al cabo de más de treinta años de trabajo como crítico, catedrático y director de publicaciones, artículos en revistas especializadas, diccionarios, prólogos a ediciones y libros, tanto de poesía, como de ensayos, investigación y crítica. La distinción de la UNAM premia, entonces, la labor de quien es reconocido como unos de los líderes de la investigación y la difusión de las letras de la América hispánica y, en especial, de las letras mexicanas.

**Leon Narváez,** professor of Romance Languages at St. Olaf College, has been named the 1988 "Outstanding College/University Teacher of Spanish in the United States" by the American Asscociation of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese. The award was presented at the AATSP’s national meeting in Denver, Colorado, August 21-23, 1989. The organization had named him Minnesota’s “Teacher of the Year” in 1987. Dr. Narváez was selected for the national award on the basis of classroom performance and service to his profession and community. He is the author or coauthor of nine books and more than twenty-five articles, reviews and translations, and cofounder in 1974 of the St. Olaf Hispanic Studies Program.

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**ARTICLES INVITED**

The *Forum* invites the submission of brief, research-based articles of timely interest to LASA members. Please submit two clear copies with all material, including extracts, notes, and references typed double-spaced; notes and/or references should be typed separately at the end of the manuscript. Please consult the latest edition of *A Manual of Style*, University of Chicago Press, for matters of style, especially format for notes and bibliographies. The *Forum* is published four times a year: January, April, July, and October. Address contributions to: Editor, LASA Forum, William Pitt Union, 9th Floor, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.
ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Asociación Yugoslava de Latinoamericanistas (AYULA) was founded in April 1988. It is headquartered in the Institute for Developing Countries, U1.8. maja 1945, br.82/11, P.O. Box 303, 41001 Zagreb, Yugoslavia; telephone (041) 444-522; telex 22 273 YU INZUR. The officers are Dr. Jordan Jelić, President, and Dolores Libanore, Secretary.

The Argentine & Ibero-American Folk Art Foundation, Inc. (AIFA), a nonprofit educational organization for the promotion of Ibero-American culture, will produce a half-hour weekly radio series, "Ibero-American Music Live." The programs will feature Latin American folk music, classical music by Ibero-American composers, and jazz-fusion, which incorporates native Latin American instruments and/or folk elements. Produced from live performances made available by each artist or group, the programs will be broadcast by satellite in stereo and distributed nationwide via a network of over 4500 noncommercial radio stations beginning in the second half of 1989. Vocal performances in the original language (Spanish, Portuguese, Quechua, Aymará, Guarani, etc.) are welcomed. All pieces will be introduced in English. Those interested in being considered for possible inclusion are invited to submit tapes of live performances to AIFA. Ethnomusicologists, musicologists, faculty members and independent scholars who are interested in becoming advisers for the program may submit their curriculum vitae indicating field of specialization. For further information, contact Alice Wichmann, AIFA Foundation, Inc., P.O. Box 624, FDR Station, New York, NY 10150-0624; telephone (718) 784-7488.

The Casa de las Américas Literary Award for 1989 will include a special nonfiction prize for studies of the Cuban Revolution or other aspects of struggle in Latin America and the Caribbean in the period beginning January 1959. The regular prize will be awarded for novels, drama, testimony, nonfiction on the arts and literature in Latin America and the Caribbean, Brazilian literature, and Caribbean literature in French or Creole. Eligible participants include Latin American and Caribbean authors and nonfiction writers from other countries writing on Latin American and Caribbean topics. Entries must be unpublished works in Spanish (Brazilians may submit in Portuguese and authors from the Caribbean in French or Creole). No author may submit more than one book in each category or enter a work that has won any national or international prize; nor may the author participate in a category in which he or she has won the Casa de las Américas prize within the past four years. A single indivisible prize equivalent to $3000 in the currency of the author's country is awarded in each genre and category. Entries should be typewritten, with numbered pages, and consist of an original plus two perfectly legible copies. Works must be signed by the author, who specifies the applicable genre or category, and accompanied by biographical and bibliographical data. Entries must be received at one of the following locations prior to November 30, 1988: Casa de las Américas, 3ra. y G, Vedado, Habana, Cuba; Case Postal 2, 3000, Berne 16 Switzerland; any Cuban embassy.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR) will meet at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, June 14-17, 1989. Papers and complete panels dealing with United States-Latin American relations are invited. Send proposals by December 1, 1988, to Tom Leonard, Department of History, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL 32216.

The VIII Meeting of Mexican and North American Historians will be held in San Diego in October 1990. In keeping with the conference theme, "Five Centuries of Mexican History," the Joint Organizing Committee is calling for papers or full panels that deal with contact between the old and new worlds and with the continuing question of Mexico's integration into the modern world system, with the country seen as a case study of larger historical processes. Suggested themes are questions of imperial or state structures, international relations, or politics; aspects of environmental change, material life, and culture in the broadest sense; and themes of traditional interest in Mexican history. The committee is particularly interested in proposals emphasizing the comparative, the connective, and the structural. Papers specifically devoted to critical historiography on any theme are also welcome. The Joint Organizing Committee requests that those interested in the conference send their suggestions for topics, by December 15, 1988, to Eric Van Young, Department of History, C-404, University of California, San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093.

The 8th Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, "Crossing Boundaries in Feminist History," will be held June 7-10, 1990, at Douglass College, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. The Program Committee prefers proposals for complete panels (two papers, one commentator and a moderator) or roundtables, although individual papers will also be considered. Especially welcome are proposals addressing the relations between feminist history and social and political practice, or conjoining the discipline of history with other feminist studies, or taking a comparative approach crossing national, cultural, racial or ethnic lines. For further details on proposals in the field of Latin American studies, contact June Hahner, Department of History, SUNY/Albany, Albany, NY 12222. Submit proposals by February 1, 1989, in triplicate to Jane Caplan,
Department of History, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010 or Nancy Cott, American Studies Program, 1504A Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520; include panel title, title and one-page abstract of each paper (or roundtable theme), and one-page curriculum vitae for each participant, including current address and phone number.

The Rocky Mountain Council on Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) will hold its 1989 annual meeting at the Las Cruces, New Mexico, Hilton Hotel February 2-4. Papers will be presented on a wide range of topics related to Latin America. For further information contact James Peach, President, RMCLAS, Department of Economics/Box 30001, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, NM 88003; (505) 646-3113.

An International Conference on Women and Development: Focus on Latin America, Africa and U.S. Minorities will be held March 3-4, 1989, at the State University of New York at Albany. Topics to be covered include the impact of modernization, urbanization and immigration on Third World women’s culture and history, the impact of development forces, and the emergence of women’s studies in the countries of the Third World. For more information or preregistration, contact the conference sponsors: Chris Bose, Institute for Research on Women (518-442-4670) or Edna Acosta-Bélén, Chair, Latin American and Caribbean Studies (518-442-4719), SI/NY/Albany, Albany, NY 12222.

A conference on Drugs in the Americas will be sponsored by the Latin American Studies Committee at Oberlin College on March 16-17, 1989. The program will include discussion of the history of narco-trafficking in the Americas; economic, political, social and ecological effects of drugs in Latin America (with focus on Colombia, Bolivia, Peru and Panama); and the drug trade and U.S.-Latin American relations. For more information contact Teresa Stojkov, Latin American Studies, 306B Peters Hall, Oberlin College, Oberlin, OH 44074; (216) 775-8053.

The thirty-fourth Seminar on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials (SALALM) will take place May 27-June 1, 1989, at the Omni Hotel in Charlottesville, Virginia. The conference theme is “Artistic Representation of Latin American Diversity: Sources and Collections,” focusing on the arts in Latin America since independence, the carryover of past traditions, new artistic movements, and new influences that have led to unique expressions of national development, pride and diversity. For program information, contact Barbara Robinson, President of SALALM, Boeckmann Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, Doheny Library, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089-0182; (213) 743-7163. Details concerning local arrangements are available from C. Jared Loewenstein, Ibero-American Bibliographer, 511 Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903-2498; (804) 924-3429.

The XIII International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology will take place July 23-29, 1989, in Curacao, Netherlands Antilles. Topics will be drawn from prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic studies in the Caribbean islands and surrounding mainland areas. In recent years, increasing attention has been given to Spanish Caribbean historical archaeology. For information contact Jay B. Haviser, Jr., Netherlands Antilles Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Johan van Walbeeckplein 6-B, Willemstad, Curacao, Netherlands Antilles; (599) 9-613304.

A quincentennial conference on America in European Consciousness: The Impact of the New World on the Old, 1492-1750, is planned for September 1991 at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island. The conference theme emphasizes the intellectual responses of Europeans to the encounter with the Americas over a period of 250 years and the ways in which these responses influenced the course of developments within Europe itself. The conference will focus on what learned elites thought and imagined about “America” as well as on the way in which these thoughts and images may have influenced attitudes and policies within Europe itself. (The conference will not be concerned with changes in European material life as a result of the Discovery.) in calling for papers, conference organizers are looking for contributions that will be provocative and that will point the way to new directions for research on the meaning of the Discovery to European thought and sensibility. Send inquiries to Quincentennial Conference, John Carter Brown Library, P.O. Box 1894, Providence, RI 02912.

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EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

University of Florida. The Center for Latin American Studies seeks an assistant director, commencing July 1989. Duties include: undergraduate advising, proposal writing, coordinating colloquia and extracurricular activities, teaching one or two courses a year, and assisting in management of center with six faculty members and 110 affiliated faculty. Applicants should have experience and interest in academic administration, strong interdisciplinary orientation, Latin America training and experience, and a working knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese. Ph.D. required. This is a junior-level, 12-month tenure-accruing appointment in a competitive salary range. Send letter of application with CV and names and addresses of three references to Chair, Assistant Director Search Committee, Center for Latin American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611. The University of Florida is an equal employment opportunity, affirmative action employer. The deadline for receipt of applications is December 1, 1988.
University of Pittsburgh. The Department of Sociology continues to invite applications for a tenure track position as assistant professor starting in September 1989. Applicants should have completed the Ph.D. before then and show potential for significant scholarship. Candidates should be pursuing research in Latin American studies; substantive specialties are open. Position is subject to budgetary approval. Send curriculum vitae, letters of reference, and copies of relevant publications to Chair, Search Committee, Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA 15260. The University of Pittsburgh is an equal opportunity employer; minorities and women are encouraged to apply. The deadline for receipt of applications is December 1, 1988.

Wesleyan University. The Department of Anthropology and the Afro-American Studies Program seek an Afro-Americanist or Caribbeaist for a joint tenure-track position at the assistant professor level. Ph.D. and research experience in the analysis of oppositional cultures required. Desirable specializations include: urban anthropology, political economy, labor markets, slave societies, comparative colonial studies, gender studies, ethnicity, language and culture, politics of expressive culture, religious and social movements. Teaching includes introductory courses in Afro-American or Caribbean cultures. Women and minority candidates are urged to apply. Send letter, CV, and names of three references to Elizabeth Traube, Chair, Anthropology, or Alex Dupuy, Chair, Afro-American Studies, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT 06457. Wesleyan University is an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer. The deadline for receipt of applications is December 15, 1988.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Wisconsin-Milwaukee is seeking applications and nominations for the position of director of its Title VI-funded interdisciplinary center for Latin American language and area studies, to begin September 1989 or as soon as possible thereafter. The successful candidate will divide responsibilities between administration of the Center for Latin America and teaching in the appropriate academic department within the College of Letters and Science. Ph.D. or its equivalent is required; relevant administrative experience is highly desirable. Candidates must be tenurable at the associate or full professor rank. Send letter of application, curriculum vitae, and list of three references to Professor David Healy, Chair, CLA Search Committee, Department of History, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, P.O. Box 413, Milwaukee, WI 53201. UWM is strongly committed to affirmative action and equal opportunity. The deadline for receipt of applications is January 15, 1989.

Hampden-Sydney College. The History Department invites applications for a tenure-track position at the assistant professor level to start Fall 1989. Ph.D. preferred. Specializations must include continental Europe, excluding Russia, and either Latin America or the Middle East. Half of the four-course teaching load will be the Western Civilization survey. Interviews will be held at the AHA convention. Send complete credentials to Search Committee, Department of History, Box 400, Hampden-Sydney College, Hampden-Sydney, VA 23943. Hampden-Sydney College is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer. The deadline for receipt of applications is January 31, 1989.

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RESEARCH & STUDY OPPORTUNITIES

Kellogg Institute Residential Fellowships. The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies will offer about five fellowships of one or two semesters for residence at Notre Dame during the 1989-90 academic year. Fellows work on individual or joint research projects related to the Institute's themes and take part in seminars. They have faculty status within Notre Dame University and may be asked to teach a university course. The Kellogg Institute does advanced academic research that is value-oriented and directed toward themes dealing with economic development and social consequences, the social roles of religion, democratization, and public policies for social justice. The Institute emphasizes Latin America but is also interested in comparative perspectives. The Kellogg Institute seeks fellows of high scholarly accomplishment and promise, both at senior and junior levels, and welcomes applications from candidates of any country holding a Ph.D. or equivalent degree in any discipline of the social sciences or history. Stipends vary with seniority. Complete application, including all documentation, must be received by November 15, 1988. Awards will be announced by January 31, 1989. For application forms and more information, contact Erika M. Valenzuela, Coordinator of Research Activities, The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, IN 46556; (219) 239-6580.

ACLS/SSRC. The Joint Committee on Latin American Studies invites applications for advanced (postdoctoral) grants for research on all aspects of the societies and cultures of Latin America and the Caribbean, and for comparative projects involving more than one country in the region or a Latin American and a non-Latin American country. There are no citizenship requirements. Applicants must have received a Ph.D. (or equivalent) within the last ten years, except for research on countries that have been historically underrepresented in the competition: the seven countries of Central America, Paraguay, Bolivia, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Haiti and Cuba. Scholars who have previously accepted an SSRC advanced grant are not eligible to apply. The deadline for advanced grants is December 1, 1988. Awards are announced on April 1, 1989. Individuals requesting application materials should state
degrees earned with dates, and submit a short description of the proposed research project. For further information and application materials, contact Latin American and Caribbean Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158.

Spencer Dissertation Year Fellowships for Research Related to Education. These fellowships support basic research relevant to education in the broadest sense of the word. Graduate study may be in any academic discipline, including psychology, sociology, history, philosophy, economics or anthropology, as well as in departments or schools of education. Applicants must be candidates for a Ph.D. or Ed.D. degree at a graduate school in the United States and must be citizens or permanent residents of the United States or Canada. Candidates must intend to fulfill all predissertation requirements by June 1, 1989, and expect to complete their dissertations in 1990. Winners will receive $12,500 for twelve months of full-time dissertation research and writing. Completed applications must be postmarked by December 1, 1988. Notification of awards will be in March 1989 to begin in June or September 1989. Application forms may be requested from Spencer Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, P.O. Box 410, Princeton, NJ 08542.

Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. The Center, located at the University of California-San Diego, invites applications for predoctoral and postdoctoral Visiting Research Fellowships for residence during the year beginning September 1, 1989. Supported by grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur and the Ford Foundations, the program offers about 25-30 fellowships for research or writing on any aspect of contemporary Mexico (including literature and the arts), Mexican history, U.S.-Mexican relations, Mexican foreign policy, and larger comparative studies having a substantial Mexico component. Applications are encouraged especially from Mexico-based scholars wishing to study some aspect of the United States, Mexicans based at institutions outside of Mexico City, Canadian and Japanese scholars, women, and U.S. citizens of Latino origin. Applications from journalists, public officials, and other nonacademic specialists on Mexico are welcomed. Each fellow is expected to spend three to twelve months in continuous residence at the Center; summer-only fellowships are not offered. There are no teaching obligations. Predoctoral fellows receive a pretax stipend of $1,700 per month; postdoctoral and senior nonacademic professionals receive a monthly stipend based, insofar as Center resources permit, on the individual's regular salary. Nonstipend Visiting Fellowships are awarded on a space-available basis. Advanced graduate students who have reached the dissertation-writing stage are eligible if they have completed general examinations and data collection for their thesis before the fellowship period begins. (The Center may also award one fellowship per year to a beginning graduate student who has been admitted to the Ph.D. program in one of the social science disciplines or history at the University of California-San Diego. Candidates for this fellowship must apply for admission to the Ph.D. program of their choice by January 1, 1989.) Applications must be received by January 1, 1989. Awards will be announced in February. An application packet should be requested from Graciela Placho, Fellowships Coordinator, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies (D-010), University of California-San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92039; (619) 534-4503.

Women's Studies/Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW) will award two Rockefeller Foundation Humanist-in-Residence Fellowships in 1989-1990 to postdoctoral scholars. Fellows will work on a book-length original manuscript that focuses on the relationship between cultural context, domestic or international, and women's lives; ideally it would also address issues of race, class or ethnicity. The work should contribute to the development of feminist theory. Fellows will receive a stipend of $30,000; they will be required to be in residence from August 24, 1989 to May 11, 1990, and to give several presentations and participate in other Women's Studies/SIROW activities. Women of color are particularly urged to apply. The deadline for receipt of applications is January 13, 1989. Selections will be made by mid-March. For information and application materials, write to Women's Studies/Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW), University of Arizona, 102 Douglass Building, Tucson, AZ 85721; (602) 621-7338.

NEH Travel to Collections Grants. This program provides grants of $750 to assist American scholars meet the costs of long-distance travel to the research collections of libraries, archives, museums, or other repositories throughout the world. Awards help defray such research expenses as transportation, lodging, food, and photo-duplication or other reproduction costs. Individual scholars should submit applications for well-designed research projects on topics of significance to the study of the humanities. Application deadlines are January 15 for research travel between June 1 and November 30, and July 15 for research travel between December 1 and May 31. Information and application materials are available from the Travel to Collections Program, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, Room 316, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506; (202) 786-0463.

The Center for Advanced Feminist Studies at the University of Minnesota is the recipient of a four-year Rockefeller Foundation Humanist-in-Residence grant for a fellowship program on the theme, "Theorizing Diversity: The Social Construction of Difference." The Center is seeking interdisciplinary proposals that move towards a richer and more complete understanding of the multiple dimensions of women's experiences along racial, ethnic, class and other lines. Fellows in residence will participate in an ongoing seminar with Center faculty and students on the program
theme. The deadline for receipt of applications is February 1, 1989. Send requests for applications to Center for Advanced Feminist Studies, University of Minnesota, 496 Ford Hall/224 Church Street SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455. For further information call Sara M. Evans, Center Director, (612) 624-6310.

The National Endowment for the Humanities is inviting applications from prospective participants in NEH seminars for summer 1989. Twelve will be selected to attend each seminar. Participants in eight-week seminars receive a stipend of $3,500; those in six-week seminars receive $2,750. Stipends are intended to help cover travel to and from the seminar site, books, and research and living expenses. The following seminars may be of interest to Latin Americanists: "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures of America, 1607-1763," Timothy H. Breen, Department of History, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL 60208; "American Indian Literatures: Oral and Written," A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, Department of English, University of Illinois, Chicago, IL 60680; "Critical Approaches to Twentieth-Century Spanish Poetry," Andrew P. Debicki, Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045; "Jazz: A Comparative View" [considers musical developments in Cuba, Brazil, the West Indies and elsewhere in the Americas], John F. Szwed, Department of Anthropology, c/o NEH Summer Seminars, 53 Wall Street, Box 2145 Yale Station, New Haven, CT 06520.

The Endowment also invites applications for directors of 1990 summer seminars from scholars with distinguished teaching and publishing records. Proposed topics should focus on enduring issues or current scholarship in the humanities. The deadline for applications from participants for 1989 and from prospective directors for 1990 is March 1, 1989. Requests for further information should be addressed to Summer Seminars for College Teachers, Room 316, Division of Fellowships and Seminars, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20506.

The Newberry Library Center for Renaissance Studies will conduct a summer institute in Hispanic and Hispano-American Archival Sciences July 5 - August 11, 1989. Conducted in Spanish, the institute will provide intensive training in the reading, transcribing, and editing of Spanish and Hispanic-American manuscript books and documents from the late medieval through the early modern periods and will also offer orientation in the archives, libraries, and manuscript collections available for work in Spanish and Hispanic-American studies. Full-time faculty members and librarians with instructional responsibilities employed in American institutions of higher learning are eligible to apply for stipends of up to $3,000. The deadline for applications is March 1, 1989. For application forms and information, contact the Center for Renaissance Studies, The Newberry Library, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, IL 60610; (312) 943-9090.

PUBLICATIONS

Revista Peruana de Ciencias Sociales. La Asociación Peruana para el Fomento de las Ciencias Sociales (FOMCIENCIAS) anuncia la salida de esta nueva periódica con una entrega anual de tres números. A través de este medio, que se pone al servicio de la comunidad científica, se procura propiciar y fortalecer la comunicación y debate a través de la publicación de artículos y ensayos que sometan a discusión los resultados de la investigación empírica, y que contribuyan a la sistematización de los aportes singulares. Precio de la suscripción por un año: US$25.00. Correo para el exterior: Sudamérica y Centroamérica, US$7.50; USA y Canadá, US$8.25; Europa, US$9.00; Japón y Australia, US$9.75. Precio individual de cada número: US$12.00. Por favor remitir su cheque o giro bancario a nombre de FOMCIENCIAS. Para información y suscripciones, dirigirse a: RPCS/FOMCIENCIAS, Calle Roma 485, Lima 27, Perú.


Institute of International Education. The new edition of Teaching Abroad provides guidance on formal exchange programs, sources of employment and information resources for U.S. teachers, higher education faculty, and educational administrators in 112 nations. It includes a section that summarizes information on nearly 200 study-abroad programs worldwide and a new introductory chapter on tax planning for educators about to go overseas. $21.95 prepaid from IIE BOOKS, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; may be ordered by phone (800-EDU-DATA) with a major credit card.
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SUMMER SOCIAL SCIENCE PROGRAM
June 5-July 28, 1989
Santiago, Chile

Objective: Introduce young social scientists to outstanding Latin American scholars and contemporary social science issues.

Study Site: Santiago, Chile (pop. 4.6 million) is an exceptional place to study social science issues. A wide array of public and private research institutions are located in Santiago, including the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), the Latin American Demographic Center (CELADE), and the Latin American Center for Research and Planning Studies (CIEPLAN).

Courses: 44:193 Latin America in the International Political Economy, 3 s.h., will analyze the structural conditions of regional development. It will cover import-substitution, industrialization strategies, regional integration schemes, the role of ECLA, debt repayment, and other topics. Professors Frenche-Davis and Muñoz.

44:192 The State and Society in the Southern Cone, 3 s.h., will deal with the determinants of the rise of authoritarianism and the transition to democracy in Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina, with special reference to Chile. Particular attention will be paid to the relationship between regimes and elements of civil society such as political parties, the Church, and the labor movement. Professor Garretón.

44:194 Independent Study, arr. Students will produce a paper based on library or field research. Possible topics include social services delivery systems, authoritarianism, regional planning, urban studies, public health problems, and related topics. Professor Scarpaci.

Sponsoring Institutions
- The University of Iowa
- Institute of International Studies, University of Chile
- Latin American Faculty of the Social Sciences (FLACSO)

Teaching Faculty
- Ricardo Frenche-Davis (Ph.D. Chicago)
- Heraldo Muñoz (Ph.D. Denver)
- Manuel Antonio Garretón (Ph.D. Ecole des Etudes des Science Sociales)
- Joseph L. Scarpaci (Ph.D. Florida)

Eligibility Requirements
- Proficiency in Spanish
- Graduate or advanced undergraduate

Application Deadline
March 15, 1989

For More Information, Contact
Joseph L. Scarpaci
Director, Latin American Studies Program
International Center
The University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA 52242
Telephone: (319) 335-0368/0164
BITNET: BLASCAPD@UIAMVS

LATINO PUBLIC POLICY
FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1989

The Inter-University Program for Latino Research and the Social Science Research Council announce their 1989 Grants Competition for Public Policy Research on Contemporary Hispanic Issues. Grants will vary from small individual awards to support for collaborative research projects. Awards will range from $20,000 to $30,000. Priority will be given to the following themes: children and youth at risk; culture and economic behavior; political organization and empowerment; national policy initiatives and their impact on Latino communities; other city-specific themes. For more information contact: Raquel Ovryn Rivera, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158; (212) 661-0280.

HOUSE FOR RENT
CUERNAVACA, MEXICO

For rent: House in Cuernavaca, Colonia Bello Horizonte. This conveniently located house has four bedrooms and three baths, a large heated swimming pool, beautiful garden with fruit trees, and view of Tepozteco, Popo. The house is totally furnished. Rental includes once-a-week cleaning and caretakers for the garden. Rental may be by the week, month, or for a two-month period; rates are $200/week; $700/month; $1200/two months. The house is available until mid-June 1989. Call (301) 589-5820.
Dear LASA colleagues:  

20 September 1988

This fall PBS will air a three-part television series on Mexico. Each part is a one-hour program that focuses on a different moment of the history of Mexico in the twentieth century.

MEXICO airs on three consecutive Wednesdays at 9:00 p.m. (check local listings) November 16, 23 and 30, the eve of Carlos Salinas' inauguration as President of Mexico.

The series seeks to let Mexico and Mexicans tell their story. The programs are based on extensive research in film, newsreel, and photography archives; the footage to be shown goes back to the beginning of the century. We conducted dozens of interviews with Mexicans from all walks of life: not only Miguel de la Madrid and several members of his Cabinet, presidential candidates Carlos Salinas, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Manuel Clouthier and other leading figures of Mexico's recent and distant history, but also former Zapatista fighters from revolutionary times as well as ordinary citizens. The series takes you through the length and breadth of Mexico, from Juchitán to Chihuahua.

The first program, "Revolution," highlights the Mexican revolution, covering the years from the late Porfiriatio until the end of Lázaro Cárdenas' presidency. The second program, "From Boom to Bust," considers first, the consolidation of Mexico's political and economic systems and then the more troubling times that led up to the 1982 crisis. The third program, "End of an Era," addresses Miguel de la Madrid's six-year term and concludes with the 1988 presidential elections.

The series has been produced by WGBH, Boston. The Executive Producer, Austin Hoyt, the Series Editor, Dr. Adriana Bosch and I as chief editorial advisor also worked together, along with numerous others, to produce the four-part FRONTLINE series on Central America and Cuba that PBS aired in 1985.

The series should help your students understand the Mexican revolution, reflect on the success and the trials of the march of Mexican history from the 1940s to the 1980s, and feel as participant observers in the contemporary debate over Mexico's present and future. I hope that you will watch the series and that you will let your colleagues and your students know about it.

The series should be available from Films Inc. at 5547 North Ravenswood Ave., Chicago, IL 60640-1199. You may also call Films Inc. at (800) 323-4222.

The producers of MEXICO and I look forward to hearing your comments.

Sincerely,

Jorge I. Domínguez
Professor of Government, Harvard University
Former LASA President

Paid Advertisement
LASA/89
SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO
SEPTEMBER 21-23, 1989

Mail 4 copies to:
LaVonne C. Poteet, Coordinator
1989 LASA Film Festival
Bucknell University
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Film Council:
LaVonne C. Poteet
Julianne Burton
Dennis West
Randal Johnson

PROPOSAL FOR FILM FESTIVAL SUBMISSION

Film and video materials not integrated into a panel, workshop, roundtable, or meeting may be presented in one of two ways: (1) as selections in a LATIN AMERICAN FILM FESTIVAL; or (2) as part of a noncompetitive FILM EXHIBIT of visual and informational materials. Those not selected for the festival may be presented at the exhibit for a fee. Please use a separate form for each film/video proposed. PROPOSALS MUST BE RECEIVED BY JUNE 1, 1989. Please type or print clearly.

Films and videos chosen for the FESTIVAL are designated as recipients of the 1989 LASA Award of Merit in Film for "excellence in the visual presentation of educational and artistic materials on Latin America." Approximately 15 such awards will be made. Selection criteria are: artistic, technical and cinematographic excellence; uniqueness of contribution to the visual presentation of materials on Latin America; and relevance to disciplinary, geographic and thematic interests of LASA members, as evidenced by topics proposed for panels, workshops and roundtables at recent congresses. Films and videos released after January 1989 and those that will premiere at the congress will be given special consideration if they also meet the above criteria.

The noncompetitive FILM EXHIBIT of Latin American films, videos and descriptive materials (brochures, catalogues, etc.) is organized in conjunction with the book exhibit. For information on the film exhibit, contact Harve C. Horowitz & Associates, LASA Film Exhibit, 10369 Currycomb Court, Columbia, MD 21044; phone (301)997-0763.

Title of work:

Format:  [] Film (16 mm [ ]; 35 mm [ ])
        [] Video (available formats: ______________________)

Distributor (name and address):

Director:

Producer:

Year of release: Screening time: Language:

Brief description (25-50 words) of subject, including country or area treated:

Your name: Affiliation:
Address:

Phone: (office) (residence)

If you have questions, call LaVonne C. Poteet at (717)524-1286.
LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION
LASA Secretariat
William Pitt Union, 9th Floor
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, PA 15260

Individual Membership Renewal or Application for Calendar Year 1989

Please use this form to renew your membership or to become a LASA member. Dues are for the 1989 calendar year: January 1 - December 31.

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<td>Regular:</td>
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<td>Under $20,000 annual income</td>
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<td>Between $20,000 and $29,999 annual income</td>
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All members receive three issues of the Latin American Research Review and four issues of the LASA Forum per year. If you wish to receive the Forum by air mail, please add the following amount per year for postage: Canada and Mexico, $3; all other countries, $13. If you desire air mail delivery of LARR, please contact the LARR office at the Latin American Institute, 801 Yale NE, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131. $___

We encourage you to contribute to the LASA Endowment Fund. $___

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Mailing Address

City, State, Zip, Country

Name of contact person

Telephone number

Electronic Mail Address and/or FAX Number