



Center for Latin American Studies

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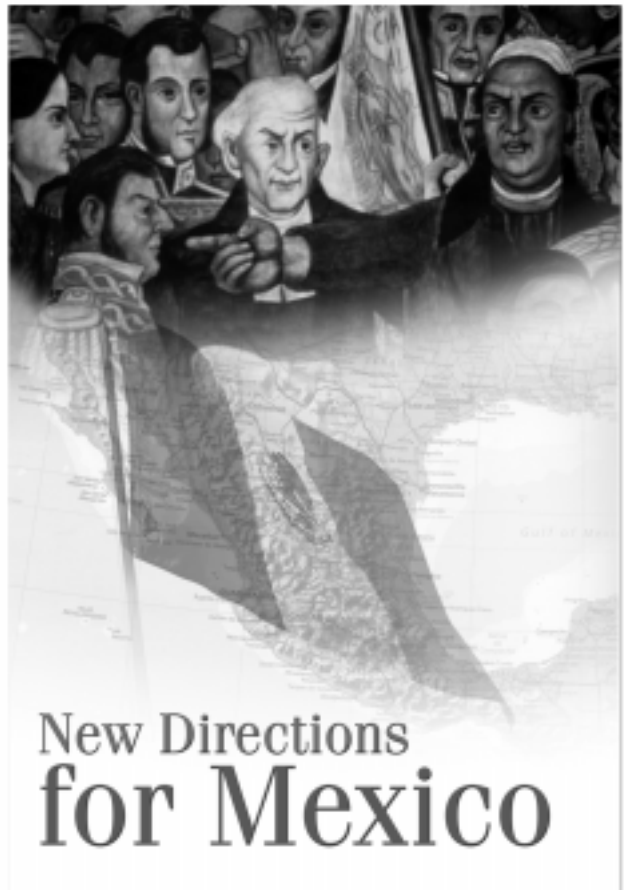
Charting the Transition

Mexican Politics Examined

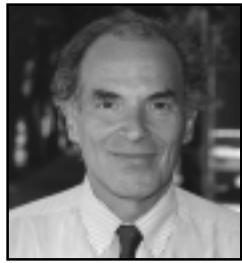
by Angelina Snodgrass Godoy & Héctor Cárdenas

The July 2 Mexican elections were a shot heard 'round the world. In a stunning rejection of the party and political system which has ruled their country for over seventy years, Mexican voters rallied behind opposition candidate Vicente Fox, a man once thought to be a political outsider with no serious chance of gaining the presidency. Although many indications suggested that Mexico was undergoing far-reaching political changes even prior to the elections, elements of the eventual outcome — including Fox's triumph with an unexpectedly comfortable margin, the PRI's loss of its majority in both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, and President Zedillo's surprisingly prompt recognition of Fox's victory — surpassed the expectations of even the boldest analysts.

As part of its ongoing effort to understand the contemporary transformation of Mexican politics, the Center for Latin American Studies has hosted a series of events examining these developments and their social, economic, and political ramifications. This fall, CLAS will reflect on the shifting political landscape through a series called "New Directions for Mexico," in which five key players shaping



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Letter from the Chair

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In the weeks following the momentous July 2 election in Mexico, President-elect Vicente Fox visited Washington, D.C. with a bold proposal: Mexico, the United States, and Canada ought to move towards a common market in the decades to come, allowing the free movement of people as well as goods. Once the dust settled on the intense editorial and political reaction, a central fact was clear both to the idea's strongest critics and biggest supporters: Mexico, the United States, and Canada are already integrated in unprecedented and expanding ways.

As the lead article in this Newsletter makes clear, the Center for Latin American Studies has had a strong focus on Mexico and its relation to the United States for some time. This semester we are featuring a series entitled "New Directions for Mexico," supported by the Hewlett Foundation, that brings five key political actors shaping the transition in Mexico to the Berkeley campus. Two of these visitors — Adolfo Aguilar Zinser and Amalia García — were present at our "Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue" conference in December 1998 as was then-Governor Fox. At the time, I remarked in our Newsletter that "the dialogue begun at the conference is continuing in our ongoing activities," and I'm

pleased to say that remains true today.

In addition to our coverage of Mexico this semester, we are organizing four concurrent series on diverse themes. We are pleased to announce a Ford Foundation grant for a research and policy initiative on "Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration in the Americas," which includes a number of seminars and public programs. We are also sponsoring a series called "Guatemala: Perspectives" that explores pivotal human rights questions in the aftermath of that country's peace agreements. A third research and programmatic effort explores "Conflict, Memory, and Transitions" throughout Latin America. Finally, we have introduced a new Monday seminar series that presents the work of visiting Latin Americanists on campus.

As readers may note in our Calendar of Events, our day-to-day activities also include important highlights. Continuing our focus on Brazil, for example, we welcome noted Brazilian novelist Marcio Souza. And in collaboration with the Center for Latino Policy Research, we are honored to present Chicana poet Teresa Palomo Acosta.

— Harley Shaiken

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Mexican Politics Examined

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Mexico's future — Victor Lichtinger, co-chair of Fox's environmental transition team; Elba Esther Gordillo, a former PRI senator and also ex-General Secretary of the Mexican teachers' union, the largest labor organization in Latin America; Amalia García, a former senator and current president of the PRD; Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, a senior adviser on foreign policy to Vicente Fox and former independent senator; and Pablo Salazar, the recently-elected governor of Chiapas who was supported by both the PRD and PAN — will visit Berkeley to share their analyses and observations. And last spring, a series entitled "Mexican Transitions" featured lectures by prominent political actors and scholarly commentators — Santiago Oñate, Adolfo Gilly, Lorenzo Meyer, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, and Denise Dresser — who placed the presidential race in a larger political and historical context.

Looking back now, the insights offered by participants in the spring series stand out as surprisingly helpful for understanding the eventual outcome of the race. In many ways the Mexican Transitions lectures served as a sort of obituary for the political system that had governed Mexico for over 70 years through corporatism, clientelism, electoral manipulation and occasional repression. Although the five speakers represented different sections of the political spectrum and different generational outlooks, all predicted that on July 2, the system that had ruled Mexico for so long would be forever changed.

Santiago Oñate, Mexico's ambassador to the United Kingdom, began the series with a candid account of the challenges facing Mexico as the elections approached. A former Secretary of Labor and past president of the PRI's National Executive Committee, Oñate said the central challenge would be to ensure that the election was perceived as fair and clean while maintaining economic stability, to avoid a replay of the 1994 Mexican peso crisis that sent the economy hurtling into a recession. His offered an optimistic view, emphasizing that recent reforms in Mexico would ensure greater stability and transparency in the 2000 elections. Mexico was now endowed with an independent, non-partisan federal electoral institute, he explained. Campaign finance reform had meant that the campaigns of all parties were underwritten with public funds. Moreover, the electoral season saw more balanced media coverage of candidates running for the presidency, unlike previous elections in which the media heavily favored the PRI. The PRI itself had also democratized significantly, Oñate added. Gone was the practice commonly referred to by Mexicans as *el dedazo*, in which the outgoing president hand-picks his successor. This time around, Mexicans had the

opportunity to choose the PRI's candidate in open primaries held in November 1999.

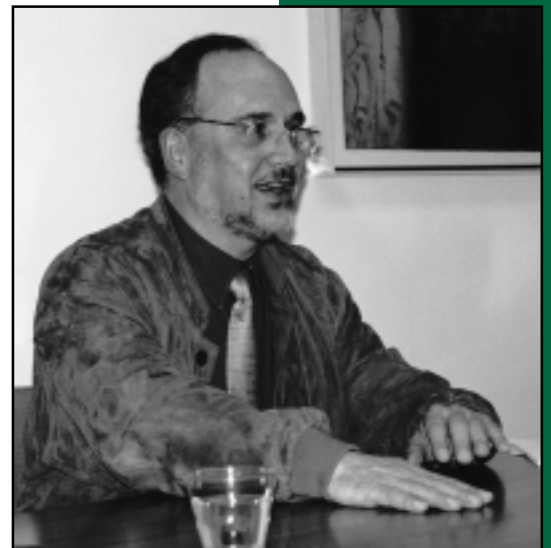
The cumulative effect of these changes in Mexican politics is that "for the first time since 1929, it is impossible to predict who will win the presidential election," Oñate said. The most likely result, he suggested, was that no one party would simultaneously control both the executive and legislative branches — a state of affairs that, though common in the United States, is a novelty in Mexico. He emphasized that the success of the transition would be determined not by the elections, but by the long-term transformation of the country's political system, a process already underway. [For further commentary by Ambassador Oñate, please see "A Postscript to the Mexican Elections," on page 10.]

The second speaker in the series was Adolfo Gilly, a widely respected political scientist from the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM) and one of the leading voices of Mexico's intellectual left. His lecture focused on the UNAM student strike, discussing its roots in structural change in Mexico and its effects on the July elections. In pointing out that close to 100 students were still in jail in the aftermath of the strike, he characterized the current situation on the campus as tense, ambiguous, and divided. He also suggested that the strike had damaged the presidential campaign of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and his democratic-left PRD.

Conservative voters accused the PRD (and particularly Cárdenas, as Mexico City's mayor) of condoning the strike and "not being able to keep order in the city." Conversely, the party lost the overwhelming support it had from the UNAM community because it did not overtly support the strikers — in fact, it is viewed as having impeded their cause. On the eve of the elections, Gilly said, many questions remained unanswered about the nature of democracy in Mexico and in its national university. What is clear, according to Gilly, are the "epical changes"



Victor Lichtinger speaks at CLAS



Prof. Lorenzo Meyer

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Mexican Politics Examined

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taking place in Mexico, as Mexicans move from “citizen to consumer, from public to private.” [See Prof. Gilly’s “Notes about the Elections in Mexico,” page 9 of this Newsletter.]

Like Ambassador Oñate, Prof. Lorenzo Meyer argued that the July 2 elections would be fairer and cleaner than any previous elections in the history of Mexico. A distinguished academic from *El Colegio de México* and a longtime newspaper columnist, Meyer has been a leading force in Mexico’s transition to democracy and a fierce critic of neo-liberal reforms. During his lecture at CLAS, he traced the history of democracy (or the lack thereof) in Mexican politics. Prior to the Mexican Revolution, he noted, elections in Mexico were controlled by the elite or by the military, two entities that were often one and the same. Although the PRI emerged in the 1920’s in a spirit of democracy, by the 1940’s it formed part of what Meyer referred to as a “smooth-running, state-party machine.” Due in part to the relative economic successes achieved by Mexico following World War II, the PRI was able to remain in power virtually unopposed.

In the 1980’s, however, the political climate began to shift. The economic growth and relative stability experienced by Mexico since World War II came to an abrupt end with the crisis of 1982, an economic collapse that led many Mexicans to question the effectiveness of the ruling party. This discontent manifested itself in the emergence of urban political groups, like the PAN in the north, that were willing to challenge

the PRI. In southern and central Mexico, the FDN — which was to become the present-day PRD — was created by a left-wing faction of the PRI that had become disgruntled with the PRI’s neoliberal, anti-nationalist policies.

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, who visited Berkeley in April, shared other speakers’ conviction that the July election represented a turning point. A former adviser to Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Aguilar

Zinser later emerged as an eloquent voice for reform of the party system, and was eventually elected the first independent senator in Mexican history. In spring 1998, he served as a visiting professor at CLAS. Currently a leading figure in Vicente Fox’s transition team, Aguilar Zinser focused on the uniqueness of the 2000 elections during his presentation. Historically, he

explained, the PRI controlled the political process to such an extent that any real challenge to its power was unthinkable. “The PRI is a machinery for winning elections,” Aguilar Zinser said, “and the state is organized in such a way that they can produce their expected results in an election through structural state mechanisms of political control.” He emphasized that outright electoral fraud is just one of a range of PRI tactics for influencing the elections’ outcome through complex manipulation of the political process.

Aguilar Zinser explained that many in the PRI initially perceived Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas as their only threat, dismissing the potential significance of a Fox candidacy because they assumed that he would self-destruct politically. Instead, Aguilar Zinser noted, his popularity continued to climb throughout the campaign, thanks to his successful positioning of himself as the only real candidate for change. With Cárdenas sinking in the polls, Aguilar Zinser said, Fox began to speak of his candidacy as the only viable opposition to the PRI. And many intellectuals, although initially loath to support a PAN candidate, began to see in Fox’s ascendancy a real opportunity for opening in the political system.

Prof. Denise Dresser, the last of five guests in the Mexican Transitions series, also commented on Fox’s unusual popularity. A professor of political science at the *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México* (ITAM), Dresser also writes in the editorial pages of Mexico’s leading newspapers. While some consider the mere election of an opposition candidate to signal the completion of Mexico’s democratic transition, Dresser emphasized that the dynamics were more complex. Although Fox might secure the presidency, she explained, he would not have a PAN majority in Congress, and would therefore need to rule by coalition. Although Fox has said he would welcome this dynamic, having worked with a PRI-controlled legislature as governor of Guanajuato, some analysts fear that this could lead to a stalemate. [For further reflections on this theme, see “Mexico After the 2000 Election: A Recovered Country,” by Denise Dresser, page 6.]

CLAS’ engagement with these themes is far from new. In 1997, after elections ushered in the first Congress in Mexican history with a majority opposition in the House, CLAS hosted a forum entitled “Mexico at a Crossroads.” Recently-elected Senators Esteban Moctezuma (PRI), Enrique González Pedrero (PRD), and Adolfo Aguilar Zinser (independent) joined Congressional deputies Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (PRD), Santiago Creel Miranda (PAN), and Alfredo Philips Olmedo (PRI) for an open dialogue about the Mexican transition to democracy. Many saw the 1997 elections as the beginning of the end for the state-party system that had ruled Mexico since 1930, and have gone on to play key roles in the democratization process. Creel Miranda, for example, now chairs President-elect Vicente Fox’s diverse transition team, with Aguilar

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser





Participants in CLAS' 1998 "Alternatives for the Americas" conference, from left to right: Prof. Harley Shaiken; Jaime Esteves, former Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies in Chile; U.S. Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi; Senator Adolfo Aguilar Zinser of Mexico; Luis Maira Aguirre, Chile's Ambassador to Mexico; Senator Amalia García of Mexico; Prof. Jorge Castañeda of Mexico; U.S. Congressman David Bonior; U.S. Congressman Sherrod Brown; Governor Vicente Fox of Guanajuato, Mexico; Prof. Roberto Mangabeira Unger; and Ciro Gomes, former Governor of Ceara, Brazil. Not pictured: U.S. Congressman Xavier Becerra. Since the time of the conference, many participants have taken on increasingly prominent roles in their countries. Vicente Fox, for example, has been elected president of Mexico; Jaime Esteves was appointed president of the *Banco del Estado*, Chile; Amalia García was elected president of the PRD; and Jorge Castañeda and Adolfo Aguilar Zinser were appointed to head the foreign policy transition team for President-elect Fox.

Zinser a co-chair of its foreign policy branch.

Fox himself has joined in CLAS' analysis of the Mexican transformation. In December 1998, while serving as governor of the state of Guanajuato, Fox was among the participants in CLAS' "Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue" conference. Those present glimpsed a preview of what now promises to be an influential policy proposal: in his presentation, Gov. Fox ventured the idea of a "common market" between the United States and Mexico, similar to the European Union. He argued that this differs from a simple free trade agreement such as NAFTA by emphasizing the countries' "joining forces....to compete as a block against the world," rather than competing against each other, with Mexico the predictable loser.

Amalia García of the PRD, a leader of the Mexican left who criticized the growing gap between the Mexican rich and poor at the 1998 conference, has since gone on to become president of her party. Her emphasis on stemming the negative effects of economic integration, a central theme in her comments at Berkeley, will undoubtedly continue to influence the political debate in Mexico, now with a new political coalition at the nation's helm. This fall, she will return to Berkeley as part of the "New Directions for Mexico" series.

In the wake of the July elections, many questions

remain as Mexico embarks on this transition of unprecedented, and still uncertain, proportions. But as past experience suggests, the discussions which have unfolded at Berkeley in recent years may provide key tools for understanding Mexico's political transformations. Early discussions of Mexican democratization among its leading players focused on themes that later proved pivotal to the political process. Policy ideas that were aired in open discussions have since been sharpened into official proposals. And leaders who interacted, often informally, in the series of events at Berkeley have generated new alliances, many of which now shape current events in surprising ways. This fall, CLAS aims to continue this tradition of accompanying Mexico on its democratic adventure, providing a forum for further discussion, analysis, and reflection on contemporary politics. ■

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology whose dissertation focuses on democratization and criminal violence in Latin America. Héctor E. Cárdenas is a Ph.D. candidate at the Richard and Rhoda Goldman School of Public Policy whose research interests include the use of information technology in public management, issues in Mexican federalism, and U.S.-Mexico relations. Marny Requa and Jessa Lewis also contributed to this article.

A Recovered Country

Mexico After the 2000 Election

by Denise Dresser

Denise Dresser teaches political science at the *Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México* (ITAM). She is currently a visiting fellow at the Pacific Council, a research institution affiliated with the University of Southern California focusing on policy issues in the Pacific Rim. She holds degrees from both *El Colegio de México* and Princeton University, and is the author of the forthcoming *La Economía Política del Neoliberalismo*, among other works.

On the morning of July 3rd, 2000, Mexico woke up and the dinosaur was dead. Mexico woke up with a small hope perched on its soul. Mexico woke up, period. For the first time in the country's history power was transferred peacefully. The PRI was defeated by votes and not by bullets. The PRI was wounded at the polls and not in the battlefield. There is much to celebrate. And there is much to analyze. What follows is a first cut, an initial approximation to three key themes that will shape Mexico's new politics:

1) Vicente Fox has less room to maneuver than post-electoral euphoria had first suggested

Mexico's president will govern inside a box, under siege, and within the confines of a contested Congress. More people voted for Fox than for the PAN; the difference between voting percentages at the party

level is not as big as the PAN wanted or the PRI feared; the "Fox effect" allowed the man with the boots to win, but it will not be enough to guarantee god-like governance. In other words, beyond the elusive desire for change, Mexico's Reaganesque rancher does not have a forceful mandate. He will have to build one.

The past, however, provides no roadmaps to the future. Yesterday's Congress cannot

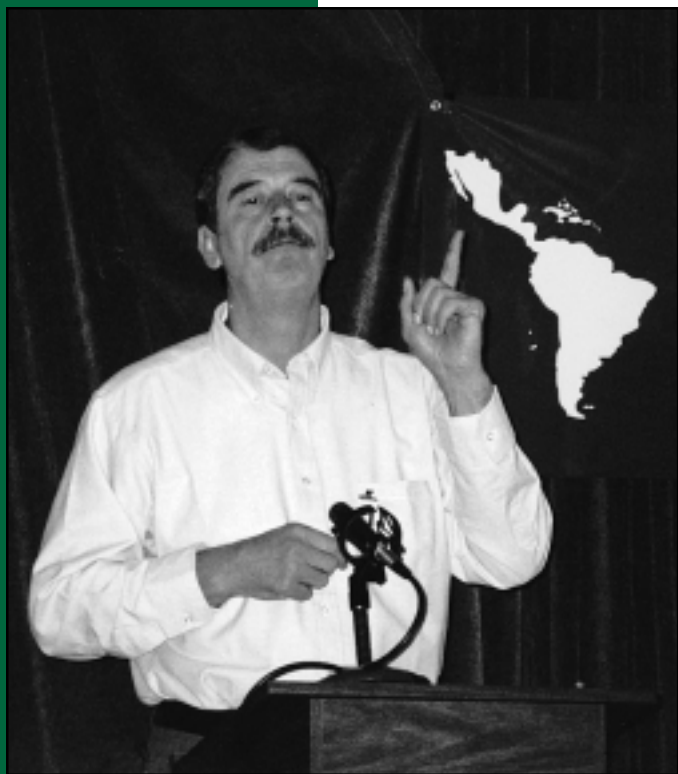
be compared to today's Congress. Over the past three years the Mexican legislature turned into a battlefield, replete with frontal attacks, strategic retreats, seemingly endless negotiations and frequent stalemates. But certain things were proven and predictable: last minute deals brokered between the PAN and the PRI — such as those relating to Fobaproa [the banking scandal] and a set of electoral reforms — became the norm. PRI control of the Senate meant that many PAN-PRD initiatives never saw the light of day. Party discipline was the norm.

All that has changed. Mexico is moving into a fluid situation where suddenly small parties could blackmail their larger counterparts in the Senate, where unholy alliances between the PRI and the PRD could be forged, where Fox and the PAN could have very different legislative agendas, and where Congressmen might discover that tactical rebellion — rather than daily discipline — pays better. Now more than ever, government officials will be forced to defend their proposals, and congressional lobbying will become an integral part of the country's political landscape. Now more than ever, the real battles over Mexico's destiny will be fought not in Los Pinos, but in San Lázaro. This means that the quick and dirty, fifteen-minute change the Fox team envisions may be difficult, if not impossible to bring about. Constitutional reforms will be contested and combative affairs [will be the norm] in Congress, in the Senate, and in local legislatures.

Congress has changed but so has the executive. In order to understand future executive-legislative relations, it will be necessary to understand the new presidency and its people. Constant questions crisscross Mexico: How will Vicente Fox govern? What kind of president will he be? Will he act like a recalcitrant *norteño* or a tolerant consensus-builder? Will he be a closet conservative or a pragmatic politician? While he decides and Mexicans guess, one thing is clear: Fox's victory brings an end to the Mexican presidency as we have known it. The imperial presidency ends and the informal presidency begins. The omnipotent presidency ends and the omnipresent presidency begins. The bunker presidency ends and the bargaining, deal-brokering presidency begins.

Let me offer some hypotheses about Fox that could affect the daily dynamics of executive-legislative relations: Vicente Fox will be the first North American president born in Mexico. His presidency will be media-driven and multifaceted, transformative and televised, active and executive. He will go to every television program, every radio interview, every

Vicente Fox speaks at CLAS conference, December 1998



editorial board meeting. He will promote his programs and respond to his critics. He will transform an under-exposed presidency into an overwhelming presidency. He will act like the Chairman of the Board of a decentralized team by delegating responsibilities, power and implementation to his subordinates. His ministers will not be simple sycophants: he will give them enough rope to either hang themselves or keep on climbing. His collaborators will have a public presence of their own and they will live or die by their virtues or vices. So, in all likelihood we can expect to see ministers playing a key, public role in negotiations with Congress over issues that fall within their domain.

As governor of Guanajuato, Vicente Fox set a precedent, a blueprint for future executive actions. Fox did not exercise power sitting behind a desk, reading policy briefs. He governed on the streets and on the screens, consulting and asking, listening and deciding. He traveled through the countryside. His presidency probably won't milk the country but it will surely wear it out. He will act the same way vis-à-vis Congress: he will have a grandiose agenda that he will submit in a forceful way, he will encounter resistance, he will backtrack, he will reformulate, he will rectify, he will be forced to become a pragmatic incrementalist. In order to push his agenda forward has two choices: put pressure on legislators from his own party and from the opposition and seek points of convergence in the legislative agenda. In all likelihood, he will also take legislative issues to the court of public opinion in order to pressure Congress.

Fox augurs a different style but also a different substance. The Fox *sexenio* [6-year term] — with all of its potential promises and pitfalls — will be a severe jolt if the presidential business plan is accomplished. The Fox team wants a *sexenio* of increased competitiveness in telecommunications, of weakened media monopolies, of announced reforms to the electricity sector. The *foxistas* want a *sexenio* of open arms to foreign investment, of booming bonanzas for multinationals, of micro-credits for mini-businesses. If they get all their hearts desire, it will be a *sexenio* of intense negotiations with the United States, of necessary negotiations on immigration issues, and of convergences constructed to turn Mexico into a fully North American partner. After six years Vicente Fox wants Mexico to end up much closer to God and to the United States. However, given the limitations posed by executive-legislative relations how much can he actually get done?

2) The PRI could be the ultimate spoiler, the volatile veto power

The new train of Mexican democracy will have to stop at stations run by the PRI; it will have to ride on tracks controlled by the PRI; it will have to accept conductors from the PRI. Indeed, the PRI's legislative behavior is a central question mark. Mexico faces a painful paradox: the future dynamics of the country's



Prof. Denise Dresser

legislative life depend on a divided and downtrodden party that doesn't really know how to behave as one. The keys to the kingdom are in the hands of a disorganized organization with no direction, no leadership, no ideology and no clear course. In the past, the PRI had the power to impose from above; today it has the power to veto from below. The bums may be down but they're not out. Mexico's new institutional dynamics — to a large extent — will depend on what happens to the PRI, on whether the party divides and/or disintegrates, regroupes and rebounds, decides to collaborate with the Fox government or trips it at every turn.

Election tallies show that the PRI still has another lease on life, another temporary remission. The once-ruling party still controls 59 percent of the states, is still a majority in 65 percent of the local legislatures and still has the strongest national presence. The central issues then becomes: what will the party do to regain the power it lost and how will it act to preserve the power it has?

3) Power is increasingly dispersed and divided

The July election confirms what we already knew: politically speaking, there are many Mexicos. The decentralization of power, begun under Salinas, accelerated by Zedillo, and reinforced by recent electoral results, has consolidated a political landscape where opposition party governments share power with their PRI counterparts. Opposition party leaders now govern in 13 of 31 entities, with over half the population. Divided governments, once the exception, have become the norm. Federalism will continue apace through substantial and rapid devolution of financial — and political — resources from the federal to the state to the municipal governments. Divided governments will fuel an unprecedented era of checks and balances, and a rowdy era of battles over the budget.

There are other lessons. Beyond the politics of parties, candidates and campaigns can and do make a difference; a popular presidential contender — like Fox — can have very long coattails; local politics, as the cases of Morelos and Nuevo León underscore,

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Denise Dresser on the Mexican Elections

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explain local outcomes; and finally, Mexico City is nobody's fool. It cannot be considered the electoral domain of any party.

In addition, the partitioning of power creates important challenges for the PRI. The election has left many *priistas* without a map, without a compass, without a leader, without a job. In all likelihood many will migrate to the periphery, to the states they still control. From there they will steal the PAN's historical thunder and become the most vociferous advocates of decentralization. During the Zedillo term decentralization opened spaces for subnational politics that were promptly occupied by old-guard *priistas*. In states and localities still controlled by the PRI, modernizers and traditional party leaders constantly struggled over issues ranging from electoral fraud and

unfair electoral competition to human rights violations and unresolved labor disputes. Even now, in the afterglow of an exemplary election, Mexico may see a growing gap between the national-level democratization process and what occurs in PRI-controlled authoritarian archipelagos at the state and local level. *Priistas* may copy the PAN and use the periphery as a way of regaining the center. They may become a major migraine for the Fox government.

The "state-within-a-state" scenario might be the most optimistic future for the PRI. Another option might be a *Lord of the Flies* future whereby the PRI succumbs to gradual self-destruction or to an overnight implosion provoked by an internal split. The longer it takes for contending factions to sort out their differences and remove their teeth from each other's jugular, the harder it will be to pick up the pieces. Without an ideology to defend, without bureaucratic positions to offer, without goods to distribute, without the presidency to lean on, the PRI may be no more than a hollow man. If Chiapas is any indication, the PRI may find it increasingly difficult to deal with the sort of electoral competitiveness at the local level that is here to stay. The dispersion of power may save the PRI or ultimately end up dismembering it.

To Conclude

There are many open questions about the 2000 election and its aftermath. Why did more voters opt for a straight ticket instead of dividing their vote? What will the incentives and disincentives be for each party to collaborate with its foes? How will the "bonsais" behave in the Senate? How will the regional strengths and weaknesses of each party play out? The answers will be grist for a future mill.

What we can say about Mexico's changing institutional dynamics is that they will take place in a different Mexico. Suddenly we are confronted with a country full of exiled dinosaurs, empowered *panistas*, and petite parties that will be pivotal. Suddenly we face a Congress that can and will say no to the president. Much of what lies ahead is crystal ball material. But what we can say is that the most important difference for the Mexican institutions, for Mexican federalism, and for Mexican politics as a whole is that power is going back to "we the people."

Recent political skirmishes — the abortion law, Fox's proposal for fiscal reform — show that "we the people" and not the presidency or the PRI will decide the country's destiny. "We the people" will reward and punish parties and presidents at the polls. The future of Congress, the future of federalism, indeed, the future of Mexican politics may not always be easy, it may not always be predictable . . . but at least it will be ours. On July 3rd Mexicans woke up to a recovered country. ■

A PRI campaign banner reflected in glass



Notes about the Elections in Mexico

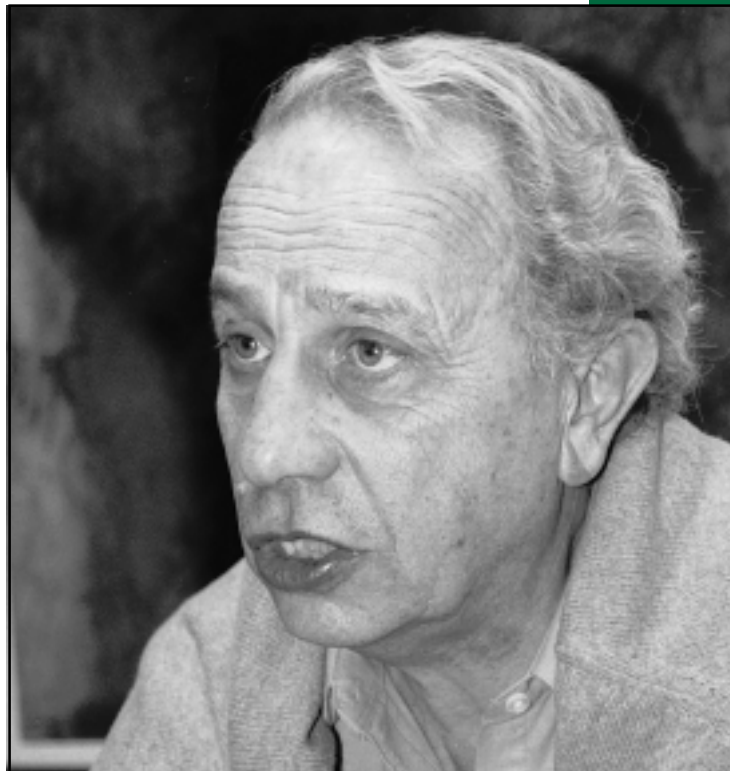
by Adolfo Gilly

Adolfo Gilly, a professor of political science at the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México* (UNAM), is a renowned scholar of Mexican politics. His recent publications include *Chiapas: La Razón Ardiente. Ensayo sobre la Rebelión del Mundo Encantado* (1997), and *México, el Poder, el Dinero, y la Sangre* (1996). From 1997 to 1999 he served as adviser to Mexico City mayor Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. [This article was translated from Spanish by Angelina Snodgrass Godoy.]

1. The election of Vicente Fox as president of Mexico has created a situation with multiple implications. I will mention those which strike me as most immediate.

- a. This marks the end of the regime of the party state established in Mexico in 1929 — the oldest in the world — and the close of the political cycle of the Mexican state initiated in 1920 after the Mexican Revolution.
- b. It represents the victory of the modern conservatives, whose distant ancestors are found in the Mexican conservatives of the 19th century.
- c. Vicente Fox is the first president of Mexico since La Reforma and the war against French intervention in the 19th century to deny the legacy of Benito Juárez, assuming instead that of the Catholic Church and the 20th century war of the Cristeros.
- d. This is the defeat of the *Cardenista* opposition and of the PRD as the democratic alternative to the PRI regime, following 13 years of frontal opposition to the PRI and the victory by an ample margin in 1997, when Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas gained the mayorship of Mexico City.
- e. It is also the renewed victory of the PRD's Andrés Manuel López Obrador as mayor of Mexico City for the 2000-2006 period.
- f. In addition to this panorama, one must consider the PRI's electoral defeat in Chiapas on August 20th. The election of Pablo Salazar Mendiguchía, a former senator from the PRI, was made possible by the joint support of the PRD and the PAN and a program of democratic reforms and negotiations with the EZLN.

2. The election of Vicente Fox signifies the confirmation of the neoliberal political economics of Salinas and Zedillo, which the new president promised to continue during his campaign. [This includes] the privatization of the electric industry, the (initially partial) privatization of the petroleum industry, the greater political and cultural influence



Prof. Adolfo Gilly

of the Catholic Church, and a conservative turn on social and cultural themes. It remains to be seen what the response of Mexican society to these tendencies of the new government will be.

3. The PRI's loss of presidential power is the hardest hit taken by the party since its founding in 1929. The party's political regime has ended; the party itself has not. It retains its roots in powerful fiefdoms and regional power networks, the representation of which it will now assume. It has just won the intermediate elections again in the state of Veracruz. At the same time, it runs the risk of suffering from struggles between the diverse mafias that exist within its ranks, previously united by the power of the national government and now separated by regional and group interests. This war has already produced violent battles in the state of Mexico last August, with dozens of dead on both sides. The PRI will try to capitalize the social opposition to the conservative government through clientelistic forms. But a significant portion of the PRI's technicians and economists may join the plans and political economy of Vicente Fox, the declared successor to Ernesto Zedillo in this area.

4. The electoral defeat of the PRD is, at the same time, a bitter victory: this party was born under the flag of the destruction of the regime of the state-party. This foundational objective, which during more than a

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A Postscript to the Mexican Elections

by Santiago Oñate



Santiago Oñate is Mexico's ambassador to the United Kingdom. An expert on Mexican politics, Ambassador Oñate has held a range of key political and academic positions. He has served as a professor of law in both Mexico and the United States, as well as Head of the President's Coordination Office, Secretary of State for Labor, Ambassador to the Organization of American States, and President of the PRI National Executive Committee.

Ambassador Santiago Oñate

Mexico's July election represents a "leap ahead" in what was aptly called "Mexican Transitions." The election has produced more than one outcome. First and foremost, a new administration will come into power headed by a president who is not a member of the party that has ruled Mexico during the last seventy years. The *alternancia* has taken place. With it, some will consider that the democratic transition has been accomplished.

This line of analysis hides more than it shows. Only from a shallow perspective, the changing of the guard could be considered as the final point of the democratic transition. It is a good starting point, but nothing more, nothing less. In order to take full advantage of the "leap ahead" already gained, the new political arrangement has to be democratically effective.

In order to be so, a new type of leadership and a new type of dialogue between the executive and the legislative branches of government has to develop. A

lot of what has been potentially gained in the transition will be lost if the newly elected president is unable to cancel authoritarianism and excessive use of discretionary powers. If he is unable or unwilling to do so, the intrinsic value of *alternancia* will be lost. At the same time, political parties and members of both houses will have to develop new ways and forms of interaction with the president and, above all, vis-à-vis society in such a way that the common citizen experiences and feels a real political change.

The composition of the new Congress gives plenty of room for compromises and real politics, but it also offers the risk of gridlock and entanglement. Since no single political party has enough seats to pass its own legislation, and since the PAN does not even have the largest parliamentary group, the new president will have to build strong alliances on a case-by-case basis. In this scenario there is the risk of a backslide: if the president does not build a coherent working relation with Congress, he will be either unable to introduce the legal reforms that he has announced or tempted to act outside the democratic structures.

The next phase of Mexico's political transition will be largely centered on the redefinition of the roles of both the executive and political parties. This trend, along with judicial reform — all-important in the construction of law's empire — will be the key features of the reforms to come.

Finally, when considering the future of Mexico's democracy, the nature and the role played by the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) should be both praised and studied as valuable tools in the advancement of democracy in an exemplary transition. ■

Adolfo Gilly on the Mexican Elections

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decade cost the PRD frauds, repression, and death, has been fulfilled. But the fall of the PRI regime was produced at the hands of the right and the conservatives, the PAN and Vicente Fox with his Friends of Fox, which on more than one occasion had allied themselves with that regime against the PRD (for example, in the cover-up of the electoral fraud of 1988 against Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and in the cover-up of the Fobaproa financial fraud of 1998).

This defeat and this "victory by a foreign hand" present the PRD with demands for new definitions of its profile, identity, and politics toward the new government, and in order to organize the democratic

opposition to its policies. This demand seems particularly pressing if the PRD — which "triangulated" Mexican politics into three large parties when it appeared in 1988 and 1989, and has attained important positions in the governments of the states and the capital, as well as in Congress — wishes to lead the democratic opposition now to the new conservatives in power. In this way, the PRD could avoid the fulfillment of what has long been a dream in Mexico, a two-party system — PAN and PRI, Republicans and Democrats — similar and equivalent to the political system of the United States. ■

Rigoberta Menchú Challenges Berkeley

by Allison Davenport

When Rigoberta Menchú stepped onto the stage before a packed auditorium in UC Berkeley's International House on April 28, the response from the crowd was immediate and overwhelming. In the nearly twenty years since her testimonial *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, was first published, the Mayan activist has earned international recognition and acclaim, including the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize; as her reception at Berkeley made clear, her personal story continues to move people. Yet Menchú emphasized in her address that her struggles are far from over. On the contrary, she insisted, the battles against impunity and injustice in her native Guatemala — and around the world — remain as important as ever. She challenged students, scholars, and members of the audience to put their education to use in these real-world struggles.

Today, Menchú heads the Rigoberta Menchú Foundation, an organization engaged in several high-profile human rights efforts. The first is an international lawsuit against former head of state and current president of Congress, General Efraín Ríos Montt, and seven other alleged collaborators. Ríos Montt leads the ruling party, the Guatemalan Republican Front or FRG, whose politics Menchú described as “fascism mixed with populism.” Seeking to build upon the precedent set by the proceedings against former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet, Menchú charged Ríos and his colleagues with crimes against humanity before a Spanish court. Among the criminal acts cited in the case is the 1980 burning of the Spanish Embassy in which 39 protestors were killed, including Menchú's father, Vicente Menchú; the assassinations of four Spanish priests; and other acts of state terror, including the torture and murder of her mother. In response to the case, Menchú has been charged with treason in Guatemala, a charge that carries a jail sentence of 10-20 years.

The foundation is also demanding an investigation and retrial of the case of the 1995 slaughter of eleven civilians and the wounding of 29 others in a returned refugee community in the northern province of Alta Verapaz. An earlier ruling which sentenced 25 soldiers to jail for their participation in this attack, known as the Massacre of Xamán, was later overturned. The reversal, like the charges of treason, came just days after the genocide case was filed in Spain, and was met with protest from human rights groups in Guatemala and abroad.

The importance of such struggles, for Menchú, lies in recuperating the collective memory of her people after decades of atrocities. The United Nations-sponsored truth commission, known as the Commission for Historical Clarification or CEH,



Rigoberta Menchú

documented the deaths of some 200,000 Guatemalans during the country's four decades of civil conflict. The report found that state forces — primarily the Army — were responsible for 93 percent of the killings. Today, as Menchú explained, most family members of the dead or disappeared have never had the chance to give their loved ones a decent burial, and hundreds of clandestine cemeteries exist across the country. Menchú promised that she would not rest until she was able to find, identify, and bury her loved ones, and that she would use all tools and techniques at her disposition, including DNA testing, to do so. While some resist such efforts to unearth reminders of past violence, arguing that they discourage the process of reconciliation necessary to preserve the fragile peace, Menchú rejects this notion. “To remember is not to be anti-peace,” Menchú asserted. “Revisionist history profanes the dead and tortures their memory.”

While Menchú emphasized the need to come to terms with the past, she cautioned against being defined by it. She is concerned that she and her fellow Guatemalans are “known for terror and genocide and not for our skills and potential.” She urged students

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Guatemala's Violent Peace

by Mynor Melgar & Angelina Snodgrass Godoy

Guatemalan human rights lawyer Mynor Melgar served as head of the legal department at the Catholic Church's human rights office in Guatemala City (known as the ODHAG) and currently leads the prosecution of the case of Bishop Gerardi, assassinated in 1998 after the Church's release of its human rights report. Melgar has worked with many of Guatemala's most respected human rights organizations and prosecuted a number of prominent cases in recent years, including the case of murdered anthropologist Myrna Mack Chang. From January to September 2000, Melgar joined CLAS as a visiting scholar. Here, he reflects on the current situation in his country.

Although the civil war ended four years ago in Guatemala, for most citizens true peace has yet to come. The social problems which instigated the armed conflict in the 1960's continue to fester: over 64 percent of the population lives in extreme poverty, earning less than \$2 a day, and inequality has deepened rather than improved in recent years. And although state killings have declined, everyday violence reigns: in 1997, the World Bank estimated the country's rate of violent death at 150 per 100,000 population, making the country a contender for the dubious honor of being the hemisphere's most

criminally violent nation. The country faces a crisis of governability that may threaten its democratic future.

The government, for its part, has struggled under the weight of such challenges. The ineptitude of state institutions is partly a legacy of the war; the civilian police and courts, and even the institutions of the executive and legislative branch, languished in a state of professional incompetence and fiscal deprivation during decades of military rule. Today, withered and war-torn, these institutions appear almost incapable of meeting the country's needs. Guatemalan sociologist Carlos Figueroa Ibarra has described the Guatemalan state as a centaur: like the mythical creature with the head of a man and the body of a beast, it blends characteristics of civilian and military rule, with the latter clearly dominant. Although the state has been led by civilian presidents since 1986, the powers which govern the country still reside deep in the centaur's hind quarters.

The peace accords, of course, set out to change this. Yet since their signing in 1996, two successive administrations have lacked not only the political will, but in many cases the institutional capacity, to implement far-reaching reforms. Widespread frustration with the lack of effective leadership has enhanced the appeal of the populist strongman, infusing the postwar democracy with authoritarian characteristics. The call for "*mano dura*," or rule by an iron fist, swept the party of former dictator Efraín Ríos Montt, the Guatemalan Republican Front (FRG), into power in January 2000. Although the General himself is constitutionally barred from holding executive office, his protégé, Alfonso Portillo, ran under the slogan "Portillo to the presidency, Ríos Montt to power," during his first presidential bid, and his election in 1999 has enabled the fulfillment of this promise. Today, Portillo serves as president, with Ríos Montt as "Maximum Leader" of the ruling party and head of Congress, despite charges of crimes against humanity pending against him in Spain.

The Portillo-Ríos duo provides a clear illustration of the centaur state at work. Internationally, the presence of a civilian president confers some measure of democratic legitimacy, while a behind-the-scenes partnership with a military strongman ensures hard-liners at home that democracy will be limited. Recognizing that Ríos Montt's participation in the genocide which left some 200,000 Guatemalans dead would hamper dealings with the international community, the FRG has put its best face — that of Alfonso Portillo — forward, and has even shown itself willing to concede ground on human rights issues. Yet these concessions have been purely

Mynor Melgar speaks at CLAS



symbolic; not only do the structures of repression remain unchallenged within Guatemala, but they appear to be steadily, stealthily churning into high gear.

Portillo, to be sure, is hardly a darling of the international community. A political opportunist whose career spans support of the Marxist guerrillas, to leadership in the centrist Christian Democrats, to endorsement of the right-wing FRG, he has even confessed to killing two political rivals at the Mexican university where he once taught. Yet he has worked hard to dispel fears among donor governments and lending institutions that the FRG would return Guatemala to the era of state terror. In January, Portillo surprised many by appointing respected leftist activists from the ranks of the human rights, labor, and indigenous movements to key posts within his administration. In February, the government ratified the Inter-American Convention on Forced Disappearances. And in March, Portillo's Presidential Human Rights Commission recognized the state's responsibility in several pivotal cases before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights in Washington. For the first time, the Guatemalan government committed itself to compliance with the Court's resolutions; under pressure from the military, previous regimes had always denied state involvement even in egregious cases, projecting an image of utter recalcitrance. These new indications of apparent openness, by contrast, were praised by the Organization of American States' Inter-American Commission on Human Rights as "an example for the entire hemisphere."

Yet these purported achievements have done nothing to dismantle the structures of repression that prevail in Guatemala. And while these developments were taking place in the international spotlight, acts of political repression were rapidly accelerating at home. Several months ago, university professor Mayra Angelina Gutiérrez was "disappeared" without a trace; the government declined to investigate. She remains missing. The offices of human rights groups CALDH and CONAVIGUA were raided this spring, and vocal critics of the regime, including Rigoberta Menchú, have been threatened with death. In September, the headquarters of FAMDEGUA — an organization prosecuting the case of the 1982 massacre at Dos Erres, in which Ríos Montt himself is accused of complicity — were attacked by a group of heavily armed men who held workers at gunpoint for over an hour, ransacking the office and removing files containing information pertaining to the case. Amnesty International has expressed concern that these events "may be part of a strategy to create an atmosphere of insecurity and terror amongst those who campaign for the defense of human rights and freedom of expression in Guatemala."

The government, however, has blamed the growing instability on common crime. The day after the assault on FAMDEGUA, the police declared the

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incident yet another example of petty thievery — an improbable explanation given the strong political overtones of the attack. Yet criminal activity has indeed soared in recent years, fueled by grinding poverty, growing unemployment, and almost-guaranteed immunity from prosecution. International factors, such the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service's policy of deporting "criminal aliens," exacerbate the problem, flooding Central American nations with returning citizens freshly schooled in gang violence on the streets of major U.S. cities. These returnees mingle with ex-combatants from both sides of the civil conflict, who have often put their wartime skills to new use in the booming postwar trades of drug trafficking, auto theft, bank robbery, and kidnapping.

This crime wave has given rise to murky patterns of violence and counterviolence. Many indications, for example, point to the resurgence of death squads who carry out acts of "social cleansing" against suspected criminals, homosexuals, and other "undesirables." A series of mob lynchings has claimed the lives of hundreds of accused criminals since the

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Guatemala's Violent Peace

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war's end, most of them beaten and eventually burned to death by enraged mobs. In many cases, former military collaborators have played key roles in inciting these acts.

Fear of crime has also been used to justify the increased militarization of policing, despite the peace accords' explicit prohibition of such practices. A secret *Comando* unit, for example, was created within the Presidential Armed Guard (the infamous military unit linked to the assassination of Bishop Gerardi) to combat kidnappings. Some 10,000 soldiers are currently assigned to joint patrols with the Civilian National Police. And as part of an effort to shore up the rule of law, the United States and Guatemala initiated joint counternarcotics operations in June, involving the use of U.S. soldiers on Guatemalan soil.

Not only does Army involvement in domestic policing violate the terms of the accords, it threatens to undermine the fragile peace by perpetuating the patterns of rule by force which have prevailed in Guatemala for so long. Foreign governments should be wary of supporting such systems. The existence and continuing participation of structures of militarized repression in Guatemalan law enforcement suggest that the provision of assistance to these institutions may result — intentionally or not — in U.S. complicity in future human rights abuses. While the unchecked proliferation of criminal violence in Central America is clearly not in the interest of peace and reconciliation, neither is its purported combat through the all-too-familiar mechanisms of widespread political repression. ■

Rigoberta Menchú Challenges Berkeley

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in the audience to nurture their own potential, to develop their talents and to bring these gifts to bear on popular struggles for peace and justice in their own communities. She warned about the dangers of idle scholarship, of accumulating information without appreciating its social impact. She also spoke of her own personal struggles with research in this vein, including the controversial book *Rigoberta Menchú and the Struggles of All Poor Guatemalans*, by U.S. anthropologist David Stoll. In this book, Stoll disputes the accuracy of some aspects of Menchú's testimony in *I, Rigoberta Menchú*. Menchú argued that such attacks are not only painful, but irresponsible. By focusing on the ignominious details of her brother Patrocinio's death, for example, rather than the massive, undeniable state violence which racked Guatemala for four decades, these allegations obscure the victims' struggle for justice behind unsubstantiated and ultimately irrelevant finger-pointing. There is a need for further research on Guatemala, Menchú insisted; but quality scholarship should shed light on contemporary problems, providing meaningful tools for understanding — and tackling — the roots of injustice and suffering in the world. ■

Allison Davenport is a Ph.D. student in Latin American studies whose research focuses on Guatemalan migration.





Photo: James Lerager

From September 15 to December 20, the photography exhibit "Central America after the Wars," by James Lerager, will be on display in the CLAS Gallery. At left, a memorial in the rural village of El Mozote to El Salvador's most infamous civil war massacre. Over a three-day period in 1981, more than 1,000 people were systematically slaughtered by the Salvadoran army's elite Third Battalion.

Culture and the Transition to Democracy in Chile

Negociaciones simbólicas y políticas culturales en la transición chilena

Friday, October 20, 2000 370 Dwinelle Hall

9:15 Welcome

Dru Dougherty, Chair, Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese • **Francine Masiello** (UCB)

Panel I

9:30 Contexts and Cultural Projects

Raquel Olea (Casa de la Mujer La Morada, Santiago de Chile and Visiting Professor, Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, UCB) • **Soledad Bianchi** (Universidad de Chile) • **Marcelo Pellegrini** (UCB and Valparaíso) • Moderator: **Sonia Álvarez** (UCSC)

11:15 The Politics of Vision

Catalina Parra (Visual Artist, New York and Santiago de Chile) • Video and slide presentation • Moderator: **Julio Ramos** (UCB)

12:30 — BREAK

Panel II

2:00 The Role of Culture

Jaime Concha (UC San Diego and Chile) • **Carmen Berenguer** (Poet, Santiago de Chile) • **Andrea Jeftanovich** (UCB and Chile) • Moderator: **Mary Louise Pratt** (Stanford)

4:00 Chilean Writers Reading

Marcelo Pellegrini (Poet) • **Carmen Berenguer** (Poet) • Moderator: **Soledad Falabella** (UCB and Chile) • **Andrea Jeftanovich** (Novelist) • **Lucía Guerra-Cunningham** (Novelist) • Moderator: **Ericka Beckmann** (Stanford)

6:00 Reception

Co-sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies, the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities, Office of the Dean of Humanities, the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, the Library.

Summer Research in Buenos Aires

by Pablo T. Spiller

I spent the academic year 1998-1999 at the Universidad San Andrés in Buenos Aires. My plan for the sabbatical was, obviously, to perfect my tango skills...and to undertake research on the institutional reasons for Argentina's chronic inability to achieve consistent high quality policymaking. During my time away from Berkeley, I co-authored two books on regulation and antitrust in Argentina and began a major research project. This last summer, with support from the Center for Latin American Studies, I spent another month and a half at San Andrés pursuing both goals. On the research front, we made substantial progress on a monograph entitled *The*

Prof. Pablo Spiller



Institutional Foundations of Public Policy: Theory with Applications to Argentina, the work I started while at San Andrés, jointly with Mariano Tommasi, a colleague from that University. On the tango front, well...it's a continuous learning process.

The main thrust of *Institutional Foundations of Public Policy* is the observation that public policies are the outcomes of complex intertemporal exchanges among

politicians. As such they are amenable to analysis within the general transaction costs framework. The transactions framework has two main conceptual components: first, it looks at public policy as the result of a political transaction. It borrows from transaction cost economics the dual emphasis on the importance of intertemporal considerations in (political) exchanges, and a micro-analytic approach to the study of transactions. Second, in analyzing the workings of institutions, it adopts an institutional general equilibrium approach. It looks at the overall set of incentives and constraints faced by the key political actors, and not only those related to the inner workings of each of those institutions.

Such an approach calls for a detailed analysis of the basic institutional characteristics of a country, as these constitute the framework within which political transactions are accomplished. We see political institutions as the rules of the political game and, thus, of the determination of public policies. Economic agents form their expectations about future policies based on their understanding of the policy generation process, i.e., of the rules of the

game. Thus, to understand a society's economic performance, we argue, it is necessary to develop an understanding of its policymaking process.

Efficient transactions over time require the appropriate alignment of the political actors' temporal incentives. These incentives, in turn, are determined by the nature of the country's institutions. Since the way these transactions are implemented is affected by the need to safeguard the interests at stake, a country's institutional characteristics have an impact on the *nature* of political transactions, as well as on their *substance* and *feasibility*. The realized transactions, and their nature, characterize, in turn, the emerging public policies.

Institutional environments that do not protect political agents' property rights, or that generate high levels of political instability, will generate high political transaction costs, as politicians will have to design complex political transactions to protect their rent allocation. The associated high implementation costs imply that many political transactions will not be implemented, and those that may be implemented will tend to generate relatively high cost (inefficient) public policies. These may turn out to be too rigid (i.e., not well able of adjust to changing economic circumstances) and also too unstable (i.e., too dependent on political outcomes). As a consequence, societies that have those two features (political instability and low protection of political actors' property rights) will tend to generate poor quality public policies, with the consequent impact on economic and societal performance.

Differing from most of the prior literature, we look at the *outer*, rather than the *inner* features of policies. Although normally the political economy literature concerns itself with the inner features of policies (i.e., will agriculture be subsidized or taxed, will exports be subsidized or taxed, which sectors will get protection from international competition, etc.), we focus on the outer features of policies, like their quality, consistency, predictability and adaptability to changing circumstances. At least for analytical purposes, these policy features can be discussed independently of the actual substance of the policies in question.

In this research project we place under the micro-analytic lens the institutional environment of Argentina in the later part of the 20th century, and relate it to some generic characteristics of public policies in that country. We show that Argentina's political instability, and the lack of protection of key political players' political property rights, are behind its inability to systematically develop efficient long-

term public policies. We also show that the lack of protection of political players' property rights is the combined result of electoral rules which transfer political power away from legislators and national parties towards regional party bosses, and of weak constitutional and judicial restraints to unilateral actions by the executive. The latter is also, in part, the result of its historically extreme political instability. Weak political property rights generate perverse incentives to Argentina's legislators. Legislators find Congress a stepping stone in their political careers, where they spend at most one or two terms, moving then to more politically lucrative activities in the provinces or at the federal government. While they may be professional politicians, as legislators they are amateurs. As a consequence, the Argentine Congress works more as a blunt veto player, rather than as the originator of policies and policy initiatives. In a sense, the Argentine Congress resembles its U.S. counterpart at the end of the 19th century.

Electoral rules not only limit the incentives for legislators to develop expertise, but also constrain their ability and incentive to control the bureaucracy and the way the administration implements particular policies. As a consequence, the Argentine

Congress tends to delegate substantial policymaking discretion to the executive. This discretion is only limited when strong regional interests are at stake. Given the executive's ability for unilateral moves, protection of those regional interests require very rigid and even awkward-looking policies. Thus, public policies in Argentina are characterized by the same two contradictory features of tango: volatility and rigidity. Policies are either extremely volatile, being modified with changes in the composition of the administration, or they are extremely inflexible, limiting their adjustment to changing economic circumstances. The first type of policies limits incentives of the private sector to undertake long-term investments, while the second type assures that ineffective policies will tend to have longer than necessary shelf lives. In either case, the resulting policy environment is not propitious for long-term growth and stability. Tango, nonetheless, thrives in that environment. ■

Pablo Spiller is the Joe Shoong Professor of International Business and Public Policy and chair of the Business and Public Policy Group at UC Berkeley's Haas School of Business.

Brazilian novelist visits Berkeley

Marcio Souza heads FUNARTE, the official Brazilian foundation for the arts. On September 28, he gave a presentation at CLAS entitled "*As Políticas Culturais Brasileiras: Passado e Presente,*" in which he discussed the development and consequences of Brazilian cultural policies over the last 200 years and the role the Brazilian state plays in cultural promotion.



Hewlett support continues

An important part of the program of CLAS over the past several years has been funded by the Hewlett Foundation. From the "Alternatives to the Americas" to "Challenges for Brazil" conferences and our current "New Directions for Mexico" program, Hewlett Foundation support has encouraged an innovative program addressing contemporary policy issues in the Americas as well as longer-range research directions. CLAS thanks Hewlett for its continued support.

Visiting Faculty at Berkeley

Fernando Calderón is from Bolivia, where he teaches at two universities in La Paz and is a Human Development Adviser for the United Nations. He has also served as regional adviser in social policy for the Economic Commission for Latin America. He holds a doctorate from the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* in Paris, and has written 19 books, edited 23 and contributed 90 articles published in specialized magazines and journals. This semester he is teaching an undergraduate course entitled “*Modernidad e historia en los andes: una mirada introductoria*” and a graduate seminar on “*Política, cultura y desarrollo: una crítica al neoliberalismo*,” both in the department of Spanish and Portuguese.



Francisco Dantas is one of Brazil's most celebrated novelists, author of *Coivara da Memória*, *Os Desvalidos*, and *Cartilha do Silêncio*. He holds a doctorate in Luso-Brazilian literature and currently teaches at the Federal University in Sergipe. This semester he is a visiting professor in the department of Spanish and Portuguese, where he is teaching an undergraduate survey of Brazilian literature and an upper-division course on the literature of the Brazilian northeast.

Raquel Olea, visiting professor in the Spanish and Portuguese department, comes to us from Santiago, Chile, where she currently directs the program on education and culture at the La Morada Center for Women's Development. She holds a doctorate in literature from the W. Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany, and has published several books on topics related to feminism, gender, and literature. She is also a member of the academic council at the Program on Gender and Culture at the *Universidad de Chile*, and has recently received a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation to work on the reconfiguration of masculine and feminine identities in esthetic and social languages of the Chilean transition.



Alejandra Pellicer originally hails from Mexico, where she works in the Department of Educational Investigations (DIE) of the Center for Research and Advanced Study of the National Polytechnic Institute (CINVESTAV-IPN). Her current research explores psycholinguistic aspects of literacy among indigenous Maya children in Yucatán, focusing on the ways children who are taught to read and write in Spanish then develop their own conceptual strategies for reading and writing in the Maya language using the Latin alphabet. She has taught at the undergraduate and graduate level at UNAM, the National Pedagogical University, the Iberoamerican University, and the Autonomous University of Querétaro. Prof. Pellicer will be a visiting professor in the School of Education for the 2000-2001 academic year.

A native of Guatemala, Luis Mirón is visiting the social and cultural studies program in the Graduate School of Education this year. Professor Mirón holds a Ph.D. in Latin American Studies from Tulane, where he focused in his dissertation on Costa Rican educational planning. He has been conducting comparative educational research for approximately 12 years. Among other things, at Berkeley he will be teaching a graduate seminar entitled "Social and Cultural Critiques of Education."



Gerardo Munck joins the faculty in the department of political science this semester. Currently an associate professor at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Munck specializes in comparative politics and democratization in Latin America, and is the author of *Authoritarianism and Democratization. Soldiers and Workers in Argentina, 1976-83*. He is interested in qualitative methodologies and game theory, and has conducted extensive field research in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

Sandy Tolan is a visiting fellow at the Center for Environmental Journalism at the Graduate School of Journalism. His class, "Reporting the Border," will bring students to the U.S.-Mexico borderlands for hands-on reporting focusing on the environment, trade, and development. Tolan has reported along the border for National Public Radio, *The New York Times Magazine*, and many other publications. He has also done extensive reporting in other regions, including Central and South America, the Dominican Republic, India, the Balkans and the Middle East. His independent production company, Homelands Productions, is at work on "Border Stories," an extensive documentary series for public radio.



CLAS Awarded Title VI Funding

CLAS is pleased to announce its selection as a National Resource Center by the United States Department of Education. This major grant, known as Title VI, will allow us to continue to build excellence in our core programs by strengthening the libraries' Latin America collections, making available course development grants and support for faculty travel, and offering FLAS awards to facilitate the language training of graduate students. In addition, the grant will be used to support increased exchanges with Latin American scholars, artists, and professionals; to promote interdisciplinary research and analysis across thematic and geographic boundaries; to expand outreach to K-12 institutions, labor, and the business community through innovative approaches and new uses of technology; and to increase the Center's capabilities and effectiveness more generally. Programmatic themes for the three years of funding are as follows: for 2000-2001, "Overlapping Societies: Mexico and the United States in the New Millennium"; for 2001-2002, "Democratic Transitions in the Americas"; and for 2002-2003, "Economic Integration and Cultural Interdependence in the Americas."

CLAS Helps Teachers Integrate Technology in the Classroom

by Isaac Mankita

Contemporary debates around General Pinochet's role in Chilean history took on new meaning at the Center of Latin American Studies recently, when a group of Oakland teachers listened to Gen. Pinochet and his troops discussing what to do with then-President Salvador Allende when they stormed the presidential palace. Recordings of these 1973 conversations are among the electronic resources made available to local teachers by CLAS through its participation in UC Berkeley's Interactive University Project. This program seeks to develop content-rich digital learning materials to enhance existing curriculum, and innovative and effective ways to integrate new technology into classroom activities in pedagogically-sound ways. In addition, it aims to establish collaborative relationships between Berkeley faculty, staff, and students, and K-12 teachers and students in the community.

As part of these efforts, CLAS coordinated a July workshop on Ariel Dorfman's recent autobiography, *Heading South, Looking North: A Bilingual Journey*, at Oakland Unified School District's technology learning center. CLAS staff and graduate students, joined by local teachers, discussed ways in which the book could be used to strengthen lessons on geography, history, politics, human rights, and writing. CLAS also published a preliminary Web site with supplementary resources, including links to recently declassified U.S. government documents on the Pinochet dictatorship; lyrics and sample audio files of Chilean music, movies,

and poetry; and an unusual set of audio recordings, including Allende's last speech and radio traffic between Gen. Pinochet and military personnel attacking La Moneda, Chile's presidential palace. "We wanted to demonstrate different ways to use technology and showcase important resources that teachers could use in their classrooms," explained Margaret Lamb, CLAS' Program Assistant.

While learning ways to incorporate technology into existing lesson plans is useful, even more so may be learning to use electronic resources — and the developing partnership with Berkeley — to create new curriculum. Aiming to facilitate such efforts, CLAS hosted a series of professional development days for teachers and curriculum specialists from San Francisco Unified School District in Spring 2000. During these sessions, teachers became acquainted with CLAS and Berkeley resources through visits to the campus and libraries, and research presentations by faculty and advanced graduate students. The work continued with a week-long Summer Institute which included lectures and discussions with faculty from Berkeley and other area universities, as well as working time for teachers to undertake group research and prepare materials for use in the classroom. "Teachers were excited to explore content areas," commented Patricia Spencer, the district's liaison to UC Berkeley, "and were able to conduct research and begin construction of curriculum units that are focused and robust."

Margaret Chowning of UC Berkeley's department of history





At the Institute, the teachers split into three teams focusing on the elementary, middle, and high school levels. Each prepared by developing guiding questions and fine-tuning them through face-to-face discussions that later continued on the project's dedicated Web site. Elementary school teachers focused on how geography affected the colonization of the Southwest. Prof. Margaret Chowning from Berkeley's history department helped the group tackle this broad topic. The middle school group studied the changes in northern Mexican society following the arrival of the Yankees between 1821 and 1848, and participated in a discussion led by UC Davis history Prof. Andrés Resendez. And high school teachers explored the connection between U.S. foreign policy and immigration, developing case studies of Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Mexico during the 1980's. Louis Segal, a visiting professor in Berkeley's history department, gave a lecture on understanding U.S.-Latin American relations.

The Institute concluded with each small group teaching its unit-in-progress to the others, who provided feedback, ideas and suggestions. Each

teacher will evaluate the unit's effectiveness in the classroom during the 2000-01 academic year. Lessons learned from the units' pilot run will be further incorporated into revised versions, and materials will be refined and digitized for electronic publication. To facilitate information sharing among teachers and Berkeley participants throughout the year, the project's Web site incorporates important tools such as group e-mail, chat rooms, discussion boards and document exchange.

The Center for Latin American Studies will continue and expand its work with teachers from San Francisco and Oakland Unified School Districts with support from the Urban Dreams grant and the Interactive University Project. CLAS also plans to bring together district staff to further enhance the teacher and curriculum resources available for classroom use. ■

Isaac Mankita is Project Coordinator at CLAS and directs the Center's involvement with the Interactive University Project.

Left to Right: Teresa Camajany, a teacher at Washington High School in San Francisco; Prof. Beatriz Manz of UC Berkeley; Judy Drummond, from Horace Mann Middle School

From left to right, Alison Shepard, Brian Simmons, Isaac Mankita, and Patricia Spencer evaluating a lesson plan



CLAS Welcomes New Graduate Students in Latin American Studies

Andrés Alvarado has an MBA from Florida International University and has worked in banking for seven and a half years, most recently as vice

her interest in immigration issues and the Latin American presence in the United States, topics she plans to study as a graduate student.

Mira Hahn earned a B.A. in industrial design at the *Universidad Javeriana* in Bogotá, Colombia. Among other things, her thesis dealt with the role that public space objects play in the usability of a city. At Berkeley, she plans to focus on the impact of new technologies on different subcultures in urban Latin America.

Andrew Paxman holds a B.A. from Southampton and an M.A. from the University of Delaware, both in English literature. From 1991-1999, he worked in Mexico City and Miami, including a 5-year stint as Latin America correspondent for the Hollywood trade paper *Variety*. He is co-author of *El Tigre*, a biography of Mexican media mogul Emilio Azcárraga Milmo (Grijalbo, 2000).

David Pohl has studied in Ecuador and Chile, and most recently worked in Chicago as a social worker in a Puerto Rican neighborhood. His interests include the social impact of economics in Latin America.

Meggin Thwing studied Hispanic literature as an undergraduate, and has conducted research on the topic of socially responsible investing. As a graduate student, she aims to focus on social justice and environmental issues.

Alejandra Torres is from Bogotá, Colombia. After working for six years as an investment analyst and driving for nine months through South America, she is now aiming to focus on socioeconomic development in her studies, hoping to eventually start a community development project with her husband and fellow LAS student, Andrés Alvarado. ■



The entering cohort of MA students in Latin American studies. From left to right: Andrew Paxman, Juliana Barbassa, Alejandra Torres, Andrés Alvarado, Meggin Thwing, and David Pohl. Not pictured: Mira Hahn.

president in Latin American Telecommunications at ING Barings. In the next two years, he aims to develop the conceptual framework for a hands-on project that will focus on improving the living conditions of a segment of the displaced poor in Colombia.

Juliana Barbassa received a joint degree in journalism and Spanish literature from the University of Texas at Austin. Following graduation, she worked as a journalist in Dallas, Texas, allowing her to deepen

CLAS Inaugurates Program on Economic Integration and Labor Standards

Following the turbulence at the World Trade Organization's meetings late last year in Seattle, considerable public attention has focused on issues of globalization, expanded trade, and economic integration. Seeking to bolster research and inform policy in these areas, CLAS is pleased to announce a new program on "Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration in the Americas," funded by the Ford Foundation.

The program seeks to initiate a discussion across the Americas to provide a range of innovative perspectives on the role of labor standards in a broader context of development and economic integration. It

aims to build a network, comprised of policymakers, labor leaders, and scholars initially from four countries: Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and the United States. Through research, conferences, working meetings, and public seminars, the program will examine both global forces and local contexts in new ways, seeking to redefine the debate over labor standards and trade. The format seeks to make participants more aware of the context in which labor standards are discussed in each country — broadening the common ground and more carefully delineating the existing differences — as a basis for defining the policies shaping global economic integration. ■

Berkeley's Libraries Develop New Partnership with Cuba

by Kathleen Maclay

On September 13, Berkeley librarians joined representatives from the Cuban National Library to celebrate a first-of-its kind project to give scholars access to materials made difficult to circulate during four decades of a U.S. embargo's trade restrictions. Under a new pact between the UC Berkeley library and the José Martí National Library of Cuba, Cuba's National Library would provide the campus with free, duplicate copies of books, sheet music and journals. That library contains more than 2 million volumes as well as slides, books, photographs, music, periodicals and hundreds of maps documenting Havana's growth since 1615. In return, UC Berkeley would catalog and store duplicates of the materials, making them available via online catalogues and interlibrary loans to researchers across the country.

A public exhibit of 17 cases of Cuban materials at the Bernice Layne Brown Gallery offers a glimpse of the array of information that would be available under the new agreement. The display includes sheet music of the Cuban national anthem and of more contemporary songs; books on Cuban poetry, prose, literary criticism, art, and cinema; and works by and about Cuban hero Jose Martí. It also features such unusual items as handmade books and periodicals composed on scraps of brown grocery bags and cardboard during periods of scarcity in Cuba.

In mid-May, the U.S. Department of the Treasury informed UC Berkeley that a proposed exchange of information and informational materials would be exempt from the longtime trade embargo. Since then, the two sides have been working on details of the exchange. If it is approved, Carlos Delgado, librarian for Latin American collections at UC Berkeley, said potential contributions to scholarship and international relations are immense. "This project, as it contributes to the building of library research collections, will have a long-term impact on Cuban studies in the U.S.," he said. "I think it's a great opportunity not only for Berkeley, but for Cuban or Caribbean scholars throughout the United States." UC Berkeley's immediate goal would be to improve access to Cuban materials that for many years have been difficult to

obtain, and to thereby stimulate research and enhance understanding of Cuba, Delgado said.

Charles Faulhaber, director of The Bancroft Library and a professor in the Spanish and Portuguese department, considered the tentative pact very important. "For student purposes, I think it will be very interesting to have the ability to compare the way the Cuban Revolution is presented in these materials, as compared to the way the Mexican Revolution is presented. Both (collections) represent



significant political statements about the evolution of Latin America during the 20th century," Faulhaber said. A collection of post-revolutionary Cuban posters that may be digitized and included in the collection would complement The Bancroft Library's existing assortment of posters from the Mexican Revolution, he said.

The exchange does not reflect a political position, said Delgado. "At the core of librarianship is our desire to represent various viewpoints. This is not a statement for or against Castro; this is an opportunity to broaden and enrich our collections at Berkeley and in the United States," he said.

Word of the agreement has spread among academic researchers, who are quite excited and may want to ask their own institutions to copy it,

Continued on page 24

Above: From left to right, Thomas Leonard, Interim University Librarian at UC Berkeley; Eliades Acosta, Director of Cuba's José Martí National Library; and Margarita León, Head of the Research Unit of the José Martí National Library

Left: From left to right, Carlos Delgado, librarian of UC Berkeley's Latin America collection, with Eliades Acosta

Library Partnership with Cuba

Continued from page 23

according to Delgado. At UC Berkeley, several professors do research relating to Cuba. For example, sociologist Laura Enríquez is examining the long-term transformation of Cuban agriculture; and Lydia Chávez, an associate professor at the Graduate School of Journalism and former Latin American and South American bureau chief for *The New York Times*, took a class to Cuba in 1993. She is also preparing to take a dozen students to Cuba next spring to report for a book on Cuba. Ling-Chi Wang, head of UC Berkeley's ethnic studies department, helped organize a conference in Havana about the Chinese diaspora.

Despite this interest, getting large amounts of books and reference materials across the borders between the two countries has been difficult. In the past, Delgado said, libraries at UC Berkeley or at other institutions occasionally sent librarians to Cuba to "buy whatever they find there." The resulting collections often were spotty and expensive, he said, with major gaps in such collections as out-of-print

Cuban-produced materials. Cuba, which stages a national celebration of the book each year, is unable to buy directly from U.S. publishers any books that relate to Cuban history, culture and development. Its national library finances are meager, and some authorities consider the library a luxury rather than an essential cultural and educational center. Constructed in the mid-1950's with a half-cent sales tax on sugar, the national library is responsible for developing Cuba's public library system and its literacy programs. The money isn't enough. The trucks used to transport books and other materials "are literally falling apart," Delgado said. Under the new agreement, UC Berkeley will establish and manage a \$5,000 fund to help buy Cuba research materials in the United States. Another \$1,000 will be deposited in the account for the second and third year of the exchange. After the third year, the agreement will be re-examined. ■

Grace something-or-other

by Teresa Palomo Acosta



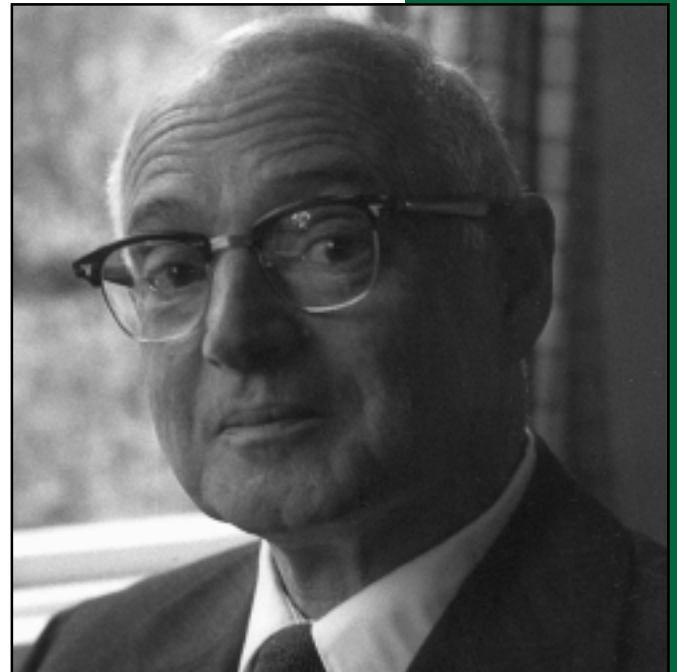
In my teenage baton twirling fantasies
I wanted to be named Grace something-or-other
despite abuelo Maximino's counsel
against bolillo admonitions to deny myself thrice.
I knew that mid-1960s Tejanitas named Grace something-or-other
would be fit to live upon the heart of Texas prairies
the bolillos had claimed as theirs.
In my fantasies,
Friday night football heroes more than just glimpsed
at my baton twirler's skimpy outfit,
its fringe bobbing along the tops of
my sleek thighs,
assuring me that a prospective beau
named Arthur something-or-other, the III,
would appear at my side.
But in high school yearbook after yearbook,
I am dressed in a black, woolen marching band uniform
with a collar fashioned up to my neck.
Nurses' regulation white shoes completely engulf my feet.
My clarinet is stiffly positioned in one arm.
Only my squinting gaze into the camera
reveals that my lipstick has done a fine job
of illuminating longing.

Teresa Palomo Acosta is an award-winning Chicana writer. The author of *Passing Time* and *Nile and Other Poems*, she works with the Mexican American Theater in Austin, Texas. She recently visited Berkeley on September 28, for a talk co-sponsored with the Center for Latino Policy Research.

An Homage to CLAS Faculty

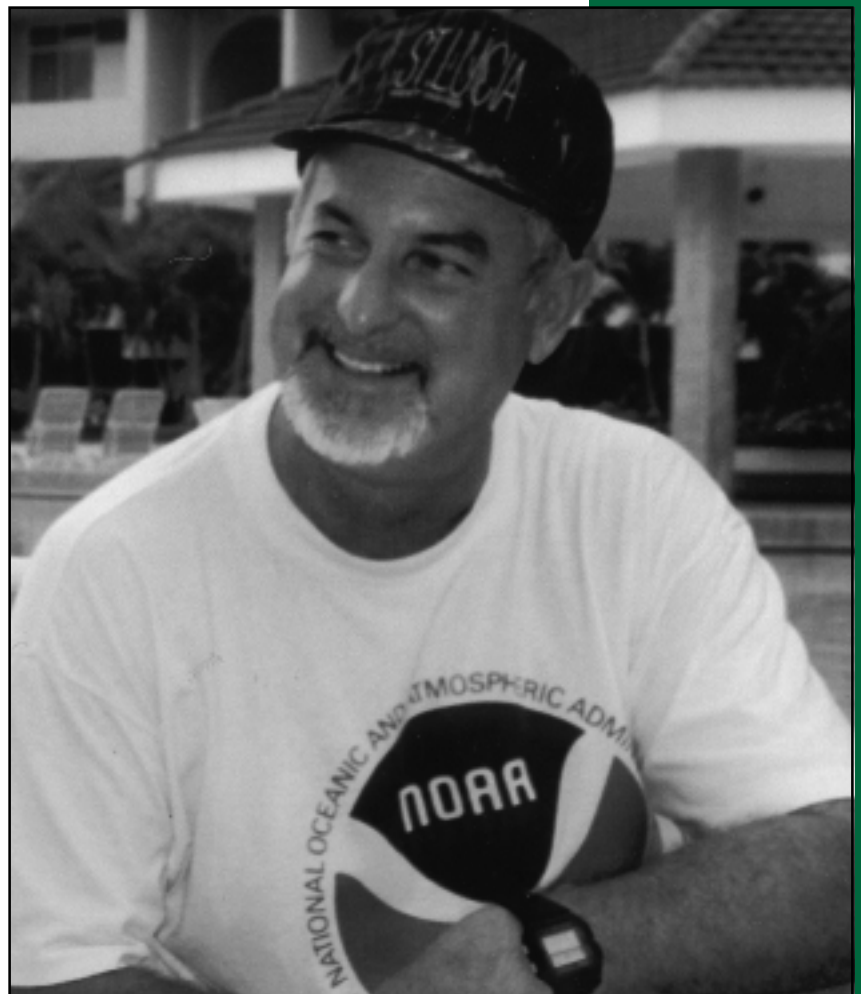
Woodrow Borah

Historian Woodrow Borah, Professor Emeritus at UC Berkeley and the Chair of CLAS from 1973 to 1979, passed away recently. Among other things, Prof. Borah was known for his contributions to the study of colonial Mexico, including his famous book, *New Spain's Century of Depression*. Professor Emeritus Tulio Halperin, of UC Berkeley's history department, reminded those gathered at a recent memorial service of the importance of the scholarly contributions of Borah and his Berkeley colleagues, Professors Lesley Byrd Simpson and Sherburne Cook: "He and his colleagues...threw light for the first time on the demographic catastrophe that followed the Spanish conquest, the true dimensions of which had been ignored until then; for that purpose they were not only to collect a vast mass of heterogeneous and unwieldy sources, but to develop new methodological approaches that would allow these sources to yield the relevant data, and even to extend the exploration to pre-conquest times, for which, in the absence of written documents, they were forced to have recourse to even more novel lines of research." On a more personal level, Prof. Halperin remembered Borah as "a permanent example of unflinching integrity of thought and action." He will be greatly missed among Latin Americanists at Berkeley and beyond. ■



Bernard Nietschmann

Bernard Nietschmann, Professor of geography at UC Berkeley and longtime friend of CLAS, died in January. A student and supporter of indigenous peoples' struggles for self-determination, Nietschmann's research led him to become deeply involved in numerous political and social projects in Latin America and elsewhere. "He was a first-rate scholar and an even more remarkable human being," Professor Harley Shaiken, Chair of CLAS, commented. The author of *Between Land and Water: The Subsistence Ecology of the Miskito Indians, Eastern Nicaragua* and *A Maya Atlas: The Struggle to Preserve Maya Land in Southern Belize*, among other works, Nietschmann was recognized by both UC Berkeley and the University of Michigan with distinguished teaching awards. "He had carved out a philosophy about what he called 'the fourth world' — indigenous people in rich and poor countries alike who have been economically and politically marginalized," said colleague David J. M. Hooson, Professor Emeritus of geography at UC Berkeley. "He got native peoples involved in doing their own work." More recently, he was involved in an effort to promote ecological awareness and beach safety in Costa Rica through a series of projects he pioneered with students from UC Berkeley. These projects were the subject of his recent (Spring 1999) contribution to the CLAS Newsletter, "Charting Costa Rica's Beaches." He will be fondly remembered and sadly missed by all those who knew him. ■



Program Highlights

AUGUST 11

James Samstad

Democratization and Corporatism in Mexico

The Zedillo Administration, 1994-2000

James Samstad, a Ph.D. from the UC Berkeley political science department, has been teaching at *El Colegio de la Frontera Norte* in Mexico. 3 pm, CLAS.

SEPTEMBER 13

Eliades Acosta

1898: The New Rome

Racial and Cultural Dilemmas in the Hispanic Caribbean

A lecture and reception to celebrate an exhibit of Cuban books presented to Doe Library by the José Martí National Library of Cuba. Commentary will follow by Julio Ramos of the UC Berkeley department of Spanish and Portuguese. Co-sponsored by The Bancroft Library, the department of Spanish and Portuguese, and CLAS. In Spanish with translation. 4-6 pm, Morrison Library in the Doe Library.

SEPTEMBER 20

Pablo Spiller

Amateur Legislators, Professional Politicians

The Argentine Congress in the Twentieth Century

Pablo Spiller is the Joe Shoong Professor of International Business and Public Policy and chair of the Business and Public Policy Group at UC Berkeley's Haas School of Business. 12-1:30 pm, CLAS.

SEPTEMBER 22

Elizabeth Lira

Reflections on Pain and Memories

Elizabeth Lira is a Chilean psychologist and professor at the *Universidad Jesuita Alberto Hurtado*. Her current research focuses on Chilean reconciliation and resistance of memory. This seminar is the first in a series on Conflict, Memory and Transitions, sponsored by CLAS. 2-3 pm, CLAS.

SEPTEMBER 25

Guatemalan Immigration to the Bay Area

Professor **Beatriz Manz** of the departments of ethnic studies and geography, medical anthropologist **Xochitl Castañeda**, and Latin American studies graduate students **Allison Davenport**, and **Ingrid Perry-Houts**. Co-sponsored by the Center for Latino Policy Research. 12-1 pm, CLAS.

SEPTEMBER 28

Marcio Souza

As Políticas Culturais Brasileiras: Passado e Presente

Marcio Souza is a well-known Amazonian author and the present head of FUNARTE, the official Brazilian Foundation for the arts. He is the author of *The Emperor of the Amazon*; *Mad Maria*; *The Order of the Day*; *An Unidentified Flying Opus*; and *Death Squeeze*, in addition to many plays and essays. Co-sponsored by the Brazilian government and the department of Spanish and Portuguese. In Portuguese. 12-2 pm, CLAS.

SEPTEMBER 28

Teresa Palomo Acosta

Desde el Corazón de Tejas

Re-imagining and Re-telling Chicano Stories

Teresa Palomo Acosta is an award-winning writer of poetry, fiction, and essays. She has published two collections of poetry (*Passing Time* and *Nile and Other Poems*), contributed to numerous anthologies and journals, and works with the Mexican American Theater in Austin, Texas. Co-sponsored with the Center for Latino Policy Research. 3-5 pm, Ethnic Studies Conference Room.

SEPTEMBER 29

DEVELOPMENT, LABOR STANDARDS, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE AMERICAS

Enrique de la Garza and Nestor de Buen

Mexican Labor at a Crossroads

Enrique de la Garza, professor of sociology, *Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana* (Iztapalapa), speaks on "The Political Transition and Mexican Labor." Nestor de Buen, a professor of law at UNAM and a member of the Human Rights Commission of Mexico City, speaks on "Prospects for Labor Law Reform in Mexico." 9 am-12 noon, CLAS.

OCTOBER 2

Fernando Calderón

Development & Democracy in Bolivia

A visiting professor in the department of Spanish and Portuguese, Dr. Calderón is a leading Bolivian sociologist and consultant to the United Nations. 12-1 pm, CLAS.

OCTOBER 2

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MEXICO

Victor Lichtinger

Toward an Effective Environmental Policy for Mexico

Mr. Lichtinger spent four years as executive director of the North American Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC), a trinational agency set up under NAFTA. He is currently co-chair of the environmental transition team for President-elect Vicente Fox. Moderator: Professor Alain de Janvry, department of agriculture and resource economics. 4-6 pm, CLAS.

OCTOBER 4

GUATEMALA: PERSPECTIVES

Rosalina Tuyuc

Rosalina Tuyuc is the founder and president of CONAVIGUA (the National Coordinate of Widows in Guatemala), an organization of mostly Mayan widows and their families. Tuyuc was a Congresswoman from 1996 to 2000, representing the *Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala* party. In Spanish, with translation. Moderator: Professor Beatriz Manz, departments of ethnic studies and geography. 4-6 pm, CLAS.

OCTOBER 5

Gustavo Esteva

Democratic Transition and Grassroots Initiatives in Mexico

Esteva, the author of a dozen books, writes a column for *Reforma*, and works with indigenous groups and NGOs. Moderator: UC Berkeley Professor Ignacio Chapela, department of environmental science and policy management. 4-6 pm, CLAS.

OCTOBER 10 AND 11

Elizabeth Burgos

La Lucha Armada y la Opción Militar en América Latina 1959-1982

Professor Elizabeth Burgos will discuss guerrilla movements in Latin America that arose under the influence of Cuba after 1959 and concluded with the death of Ché Guevara in 1967. Prof. Burgos has an M.A. in clinical psychology and a Ph.D. in anthropology and is the editor of, most recently, *El furor y el delirio*. In Spanish. 4-6 pm, Stone Seminar Room, Bancroft Library.

OCTOBER 12

Exhibit Opening

Central America After the Wars

A talk by photographer **James Lerager** and reception. The exhibit will be on display in the CLAS conference room through December 20. Contact CLAS for public viewing times. 4-6 pm, CLAS.

OCTOBER 13

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MEXICO

Elba Esther Gordillo

Formerly General Secretary of the Mexican teachers' union, the largest labor organization in Latin America, Elba Esther Gordillo is also an important figure within the PRI and a former senator. 4-6 pm, 145 McCone Hall.

OCTOBER 18

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MEXICO

Amalia García

Reflections on Mexico's Transition

Amalia García is the national president of the *Partido de la Revolución Democrática* (PRD) in Mexico, and the first woman to head a major political party in Mexico. A former senator, she was one of the founders of the PRD and currently is an advisor to Mexico City's Human Rights Commission and the National Program for Women. In Spanish with translation. 4-6 pm, 145 McCone Hall.

OCTOBER 20

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MEXICO

Adolfo Aguilar Zinser

Challenges of the Transition

Senior adviser and coordinator for foreign policy to President-elect Vicente Fox during the transition period, former independent Senator Aguilar has also been a visiting professor at CLAS. Moderated by CLAS Chair, Professor Harley Shaiken. 4-6 pm, Home Room, International House.

OCTOBER 26

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR MEXICO

Governor-elect Pablo Salazar

Chiapas and the Future of Mexico

In July, Pablo Salazar won the gubernatorial elections in Chiapas, heading a broad opposition alliance that included both the PRD and the PAN. 4-6 pm, 145 McCone Hall.

OCTOBER 30

GUATEMALA: PERSPECTIVES

Panel

Testimonial and Legal Perspectives on Justice and Reparations in Guatemala

Panelists include: **Jesús Tecú Osorio**, a Maya Achi human rights activist and survivor of the Rio Negro massacre; **Barbara Rose Johnston**, a senior research fellow at the Center for Political Ecology; **Naomi Roht-Arriaza**, Professor at Hastings College of Law and author of *Impunity and Human Rights in International Law and Practice*; and **Mary Beth Kaufman**, who worked with the Historical Clarification Commission. Moderator: Professor Beatriz Manz, departments of ethnic studies and geography. 4-6 pm, CLAS.

NOVEMBER 2

DEVELOPMENT, LABOR STANDARDS, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE AMERICAS

Jeffrey Sluyter-Beltrão

Fasting Alone

The Civic 'Maturation' of the New Unionism and the Dilapidation of Union Democracy in Brazil, 1978-1995

Jeffrey Sluyter-Beltrão is a Ph.D. candidate in the UC Berkeley political science department. His dissertation deals with the internal politics of Brazil's leading national labor confederation, the CUT. 4-6 pm, Location TBA.

NOVEMBER 6

Sandy Tolan

Environmental Issues along the U.S.-Mexican Border

Sandy Tolan, a visiting fellow in the Graduate School of Journalism, has done extensive reporting along the border for National Public Radio, *The New York Times*, and other publications. 12-1 pm, CLAS.

NOVEMBER 17

GUATEMALA: PERSPECTIVES

Clyde Snow, with Mercedes Doretti and Fredy Peccerelli

Uncovering the 'Disappeared'

Clyde Snow and Forensic Anthropologists' Work for Justice

Internationally renowned forensic anthropologist Clyde Snow discusses his use of forensics to investigate human rights abuses in Argentina and Guatemala. Mercedes Doretti and Fredy Peccerelli also will present their experiences as part of forensic research teams. Peccerelli heads the Foundation for Forensic Anthropology of Guatemala. The discussion will be followed by a reception and a photographic exhibit by Vince Heptig on Guatemalan research. Co-sponsored with the American Anthropological Association (AAA). 6:15-7:45 pm, San Francisco Hilton and Towers.

NOVEMBER 30

Gerardo Munck

Latin American Politics

Recent Trends and Future Challenges

A visiting professor in political science and Latin American studies, Dr. Munck has published extensively on democratization in the Southern Cone. 12-1 pm, CLAS.

For updates and additions to our calendar of events, please visit our Web site at <http://www.clas.berkeley.edu/> clas, or subscribe to our e-mail listserve, which provides weekly updates on Latin Americanist events on the UC Berkeley campus and in the Bay Area. To subscribe, send a message to majordomo@listlink.berkeley.edu. In the body of the message, type: subscribe latam-events. If you have problems subscribing to this list, call CLAS at 510-642-2088.

Student Research in the Spotlight

Every year, CLAS provides funding for graduate student research in Latin America and the Caribbean. This summer, 23 students from a range of graduate and professional schools received travel grants supported by the Tinker Foundation. “Some of the most exciting research related to Latin America on this campus takes place through these grants,” according to Prof. Harley Shaiken, CLAS Chair. Throughout the fall, grant recipients will present their research findings on Tuesday afternoons at CLAS, as listed below. Reports on their research — including photos, maps, and other documentation — are available on the CLAS Web site at www.clas.berkeley.edu/clas. Unless otherwise noted, all talks will be held at 12 pm in the CLAS Conference Room.

SEPTEMBER 5

Lucia Galleno

The Representation of Violence

Terrorism and the Dirty War in Peru (1988-90)”

Aaron Schneider

Mirror the Center

Fiscal Strategies and Fiscal Crisis in Brazil

SEPTEMBER 12

Wendy Wolford

This Land is Ours Now

Agrarian Reform and the Making of the
Brazilian Landless Class

Lesley Barnhorn

Environmental Enforcement in Brazil

SEPTEMBER 19

Sue Wilson

Changing Foodways in Contemporary Cuba

Elizabeth Roberts

Assisted Reproduction in Ecuador

SEPTEMBER 26

Javier Couso

The Emergence of Judicial Politics in Chile
The Case of the Constitutional Protection of
Property Rights

Joseph McAllister

Rural Electrification Policy in Chile



Photo by Lesley Barnhorn of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, for her research project “Environmental Enforcement in Brazil”

OCTOBER 3

Amanda King

Mapping Diversity

Using Spatial Analysis to Link Crop Genetic Diversity and Social Processes in Peru

Nathan Gove

Assessing Resource Use Along a Newly Opened Highway in the Peruvian Amazon

OCTOBER 10

Fabrizio Rigout

School Reform and Literacy in São Paulo (1890-1930)

Elizabeth Dreier

Ecotourism as an Option for Sustainable Community Development in Brazil

OCTOBER 17

Megan Lardner

Politicizing Education in Mexico

Elicia Blodgett

*Building Schools in the Community
A Look at Cultural Relativism and Reform (Mexico)*

OCTOBER 24 (note: 4-5pm)

Andrea Tokman

*Social Security Privatization
Lessons from Chile*

Marny Requa

Human Rights Law in Santiago, Chile

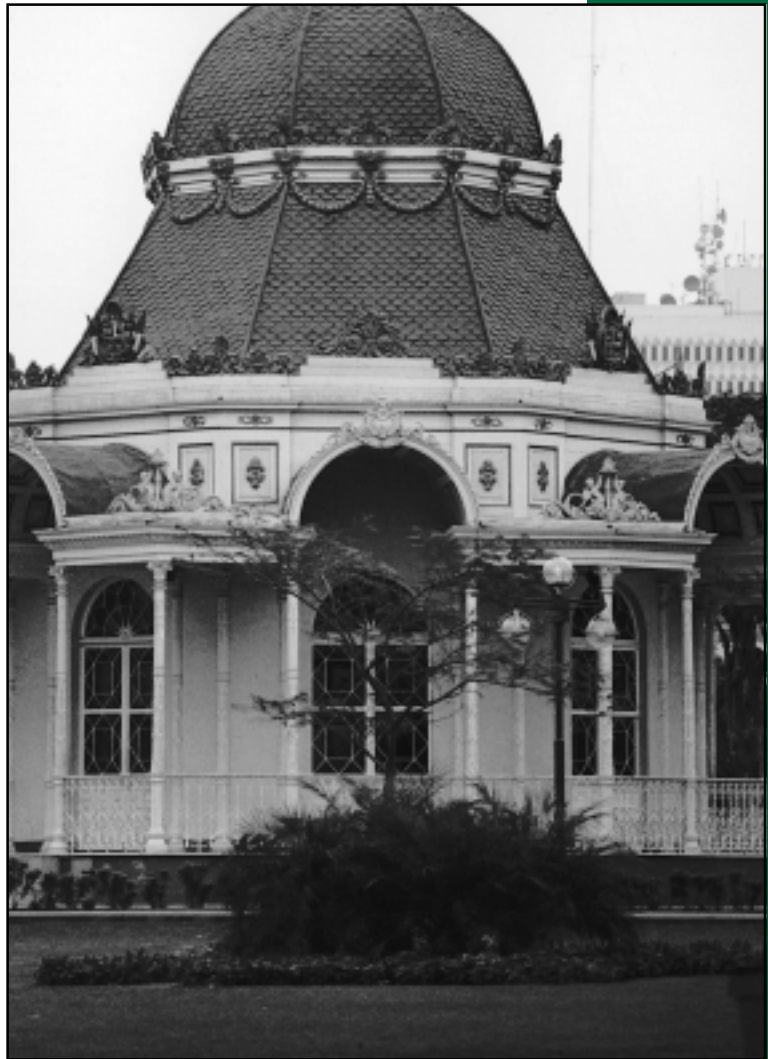
OCTOBER 31

Eduardo LaCalle

Assessing the Burden of Diarrheal Disease in Rural Ecuador

Joseph Bryan

*Transnationalizing the Local
Mapuche Land Rights, Conservation and Development in Chile*



NOVEMBER 7

Zachary Elkins

Democratization in Brazil

Clara Irazábal

*Are We Going Back to Developmentalism?
The 40th Anniversary
Pre-planned Ciudad Guayana*

NOVEMBER 14

Daniel Graham

*A Modern-Day Robin Hood
Society Against the State in Olancho, Honduras*

NOVEMBER 21

Kathy Pimpan

Cuba and Tourism

Kesta Occident

Organic Agriculture and Agroecology in the Transformation of Cuban Agriculture

Photo by Lucía Galleno as part of her research project in Lima, Peru



The CLAS Web site now contains selected articles on our programs and events, including previous issues of the CLAS Newsletter.

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