

Poverty, Redistribution and State Policy:

Faria Tackles Brazil's Welfare Dilemmas

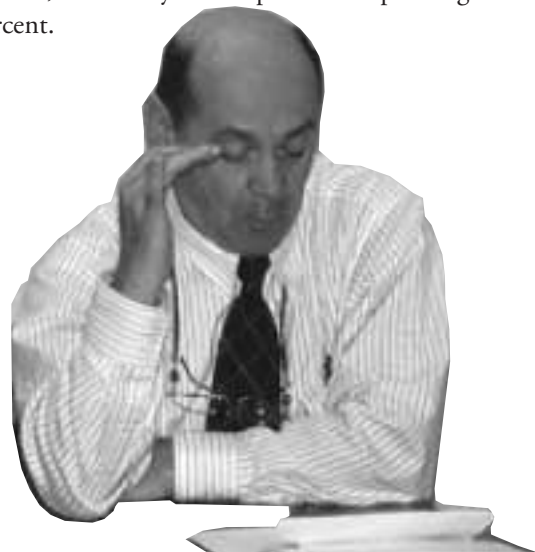
“Brazil is not for beginners,” newcomers to the study of this complex South American society are frequently warned. Indeed, the realities of contemporary Brazil often defy categorization according to the analytical models scholars employ. How can a welfare state that consistently spends far more than the international average on social programs have so little effect upon the redistribution of income? How can an urban industrial society with a sizable middle class still struggle with rates of illiteracy and infant mortality comparable to those of much less developed nations?

Sociologist Vilmar Faria, who currently serves as Special Adviser on Social Policy to President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, explained several of these apparent paradoxes during his recent stay as holder of the Rio Branco Chair at UC Berkeley. In a series of unusually well attended talks at CLAS, Faria provided richly nuanced statistical analyses of education, poverty, health, inequality, and government spending. For Faria, the challenge is not so much identifying the source of Brazil's social problems, but implementing policies that are able to effectively tackle them while responding to pressures from civil society and within the state.

Faria argued that the structure of the Brazilian welfare state is rife with contradictions. In a panel discussion with noted Brazilian economist and CLAS visiting scholar Antonio Barros de Castro, Faria presented data showing that nearly a quarter of all governmental social spending goes to the richest twenty percent of the Brazilian population, while only fifteen percent of spending benefits the poorest twenty percent.

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Special Adviser to
President Cardoso on
Social Policy and holder of
the Rio Branco Chair in
Brazilian Studies at UC
Berkeley for Spring 1999,
Vilmar Faria



Letter from the Chair

This year has been a particularly momentous time in Latin America: economic turmoil in Brazil, political turbulence in Chile, and a time of confronting the past in Guatemala have all captured both scholarly and broader public attention. We at the Center for Latin American Studies have grappled with these issues and their implications through seminars, discussions, and public events that have brought together a compelling group of visitors and a community of scholars at UC Berkeley.

CLAS was especially pleased to welcome Vilmar Faria and Jorge Arrate, two unique public intellectuals from Brazil and Chile. Both have played a dual role in their respective countries: they have made important intellectual contributions and they are key political actors who have shaped events as well as analyzed them. Jorge Arrate, who is Minister of Government in Chile, taught a seminar on the transition to democracy in his country. The four lectures he presented traced the contours of Chilean history and politics with unusual insight and wit. Vilmar Faria, Special Adviser on Social Policy to President Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Brazil, taught a seminar on social policy and gave a series of three public presentations at CLAS. He laid out in a compelling fashion the dilemmas of the welfare state, the global economy, and the unique situation of Brazil. For one of the public presentations, Faria was joined by Antonio Barros de Castro, a professor of economic policy at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and a visiting scholar at CLAS, for a discussion on the social and economic impacts of the current Brazilian crisis.

CLAS also hosted an extensive number of events on Central America and the Caribbean. Among many fine seminars, we were pleased to present Mark

Danner, a staff writer for *The New Yorker* and a teaching fellow at the Human Rights Center at UC Berkeley, who spoke on his current research on Haiti, and Carlos F. Chamorro, a Nicaraguan journalist and a Teaching Fellow in the Graduate School of Journalism, who spoke on the legacy of Hurricane Mitch. Susan Eckstein, a Professor of Sociology at Boston University and past president of the Latin American Studies Association, provided new insights on Cuba.

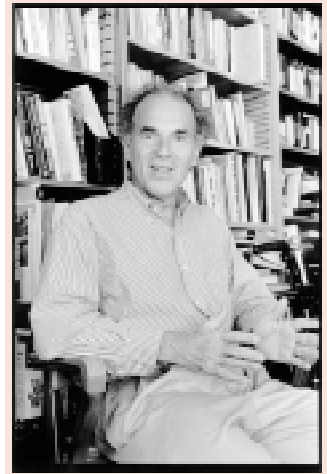
In addition, our program on Guatemala included talks by Congresswoman Nineth Montenegro, anthropologist Ana González Montes, former Attorney General Acisclo Valladares Molina, and URNG representative Silvia Solórzano.

The spring semester has also been spirited in terms of other events. As you will see in this issue of the newsletter, we welcomed Alma Guillermoprieto who presented a riveting performance piece on Samba; Carlos Monsiváis who provided a cultural critique on Mexico at the end of the millennium, and participated as a keynote speaker at a CLAS-hosted dinner for Bay Area Latin Americanists, and El Fisgón, the political cartoonist for *La Jornada* who affirmed that a picture may be worth far more than a thousand words. These were just a few of our many visitors.

Finally, we have extensively updated our website, which not only features our program but summaries and transcripts of many of our public events.

Once again we want to especially thank the Hewlett Foundation for its generous support.

Harley Shaiken



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Examining Chile's Democratic Transition: Jorge Arrate, A View from Within

In recent years, democratization has swept through Latin America, attracting the attention of citizens, scholars and policymakers alike. This transition process, unprecedented in its scope, has provoked interdisciplinary inquiry aimed at assessing the causes, characteristics, and possibilities for the future of this new democratic “wave” in Latin America. It is in the context of such interest that the recent visit to Berkeley of the current Chilean Minister of Government, Jorge Arrate, generated so much excitement among students and faculty who had the opportunity to interact with him.

An accomplished scholar as well as an important political actor, Minister Arrate entered politics in the late 1970s, when he contributed to the “renovation” of the *Partido Socialista* (Socialist Party) in Chile. He went on to serve as Minister of Education under the Aylwin administration, and Minister of Labor under President Frei. In February, he took a brief respite from his duties as Minister of Government to lead a four-week seminar on the transition to democracy in Chile, organized by the Center for Latin American Studies. This mini-course covered a wide range of political, cultural and economic topics organized around the question of the demise and reconstruction of democracy in Chile, and was well-attended by both graduate students and faculty members.

In the first session, Arrate traced the history of Chile's attempts to establish a republican regime after its independence from Spain in 1810. Arrate described how Chile was able to organize a republican form of government early in the nineteenth century, when most other Latin American nations were still dealing with internal strife and widespread civil war. However, he pointed out that the military has always had an important role in the country's history, arguing that its prominence constitutes a fundamental flaw in Chile's institutional framework — a limitation that still clouds the ongoing process of democratic consolidation. After this brief survey of Chile's political history, Minister Arrate conducted a detailed analysis of the causes and effects of the military coup of 1973, in which Socialist President Salvador Allende was overthrown and Chile's

constitutional democracy interrupted — a hiatus which would endure for seventeen years.

The second session explored the origins of the democratic opposition to General Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990) and the ultimate defeat of Pinochet in a plebiscite in October 1988. Mixing scholarly analyses of the transition to democracy with insights available from his own participation in the politics of this period, Arrate described the slow but ultimately effective process of coalition-building between Christian Democrats and Socialists. Despite having been political adversaries during the Allende administration, their eventual union played a crucial role in Pinochet defeat. In this session, Minister Arrate also discussed the authoritarian “enclaves” left behind by the dictatorship: in particular, the constitutionally created National Security Council, which institutionalized the participation of the armed forces in political deliberation, and the creation of non-elected senators that have in practice granted the pro-Pinochet forces veto power over reform legislation.

The third session was devoted to analyses of the economic policies of the center-left coalition, *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* (Coalition of Parties for Democracy), that governed Chile following Pinochet's defeat. According to Arrate, when the new democratic government took charge of executive power in Chile, the economic structure of the country was sound, and the economy was growing while inflation and unemployment rates were diminishing. In most other Latin American countries, newly established democratic administrations faced economic stagnation, debt crises, and even hyperinflation. Chile's economy was not only healthy, but also had begun adjusting to a new international economy characterized by increasing trade and investment across borders, two factors which smoothed the process of democratic transition in Chile. In this session, Arrate provided a succinct description of the economic performance of the Pinochet years (1973-1990) compared to that of the *Concertación* government (1990-1999), concluding that although Chile introduced important structural reforms of its economy during the authoritarian period, in the final analysis its



Minister Jorge Arrate

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Chile's Transition to Democracy ...

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performance regarding average GDP growth, unemployment, and inflation, was poor. By contrast, Arrate argued that the last eight years reflect a remarkable improvement in macroeconomic indicators and in the reduction of poverty, although the legacy of income inequality remains and weak Pinochet-era labor laws have yet to be tackled.

In the final session, Arrate addressed the human rights legacy of the authoritarian period and the related policies followed by its democratic successors. After briefly describing the extent of the repression and human rights violations perpetrated by the dictatorship, Arrate described the work of the National Commission of Truth and Reconciliation (otherwise known as *la Comisión Rettig*), during the first democratic administration. For all its shortcomings — most notably the inability to name the perpetrators of human rights violations — Arrate argued that the Commission's work was a very important step towards the official acknowledgment that the Pinochet regime had violated the human rights of an important sector of the Chilean population. Indeed, the Commission constitutes a key landmark in Chile's process of reconciliation, especially given the constraints under which it was forced to operate, imposed by such factors as the Amnesty Law of 1978. In this last meeting, Arrate and the seminar participants discussed at length the impact of the arrest of General Pinochet in London and his possible extradition to Spain to face charges of crimes against humanity. Arrate shared his views of the effects this remarkable event had already unleashed in Chile, and his opinion of the possible

consequences of different trial outcomes.

Overall, Jorge Arrate's visit to Berkeley was productive and stimulating for members of the campus community interested in the process of democratization. Students and faculty alike benefited greatly from the opportunity to share ideas and exchange information with Arrate, whose combination of scholarly expertise and personal experience provided a truly unique perspective on Chile's democratic transition.

—*Javier A. Couso*



From left to right, UC Berkeley professors Tulio Halperin (Emeritus), History Department, and Francine Masiello, Spanish and Portuguese Department, with Minister Arrate.



From left to right, Chilean writer Diamela Eltit, CLAS Chair Prof. Harley Shaiken, International and Area Studies Dean David K. Leonard, and Minister Arrate.

Brazil's Welfare Dilemmas...

Continued from page 1

The workings of the state's pension system, he noted, also reflect this imbalance. While providing barely minimum wage-level retirement benefits to a majority of the poor population, the system rewards others generously. Faria showed that some categories, particularly public servants (including politicians), enjoy legal privileges such as early retirement and pensions in excess of their highest wage. These benefits are guaranteed by the 1988 Constitution, which was drafted soon after the end of authoritarian rule in an atmosphere of concern over the assurance of citizenship rights. This inequitable pension system is also the main culprit behind fiscal imbalances, Faria argued, for it runs on a yearly deficit of \$40 billion. The uneven allocation of benefits under this system helps explain why the Brazilian welfare state results in a concentration, rather than a redistribution, of income.

According to Faria, who was exiled during the years of military rule, the advent of democracy in the eighties brought new hope for building a more just society in Brazil, but also ushered in a new set of challenges — among them, the creation of democratic consensus from the plethora of conflicting interests which emerged at the demise of the authoritarian period. For the past four years, as a special adviser to President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Faria has been compiling the hard facts in support of governmental efforts to reform the constitution, and helping reset the budgetary priorities to reflect the importance of social welfare. He hopes that these efforts will help bring about a positive change in Brazilian politics.

While leaving aside his political persuasions — in “good Weberian fashion,” as he puts it — Faria's public talks gave him an opportunity to answer the questions of Berkeley students and faculty regarding Brazilian social policy. He also met civic and business leaders in San Francisco in March, addressing their concerns about Brazil's recent move to devalue its currency. At this meeting, he made cautious but optimistic predictions about the future of the country, foreseeing increased unemployment this year, but a slow, steady recovery of economic growth in the years ahead. And in a joint presentation with Brazilian Consul General José Lindgren Alves at UC Berkeley's Haas School of Business, Faria maintained that the Brazilian government's fiscal and administrative reforms, along with a comprehensive privatization program, will focus public spending where it is most needed,

away from entrepreneurship and into basic social services.

For Faria, Brazil's capacity to generate employment promises to be the key issue in the near future. “The competitive advantages that the country used to have during its import substitution industrialization phase — namely, land and people — do not matter anymore,” he said. With productivity gains, human capital has become an irreplaceable prerequisite to economic growth. In his opinion, the Brazilian government must foster job creation while upgrading skills.

“In the past, Brazil was an employment-generating machine. They were low-paying, low-skilled jobs, but still that was a period of expansion of opportunities,” Faria explained, referring to the era when the country's economy was growing at yearly rates of ten percent. In today's context of



Brazilian Consul General José Lindgren Alves and Prof. Vilmar Faria

increasingly knowledge-intensive jobs, low rates of educational attainment exact a heavier toll on economic growth than in the past. Brazil, which compares unfavorably to other Southern Cone countries in workforce skills, has been trying to reduce its educational deficit through administrative decentralization and streamlining, community involvement in schools, teacher training, and wage increases. Growth has never been so essential to the country's welfare — yet it has never been so dependent on the improvement of social conditions.

Faria's concerns have a demographic basis as well. Brazil has reached an employment bottleneck due to the rising proportion of economically active people in the overall population. Today, there is more demand for jobs in Brazil than a decade ago — a trend that will only continue in the near future, fuelling unprecedented labor market pressure. Twenty-five million new jobs will be needed in the next 15 years, a number greater than the entire adult

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An Interview with Vilmar Faria

On March 8, 1999, sociology graduate student Fabrizio Rigout conducted the following interview with Vilmar Faria at the Center for Latin American Studies.

FR: *Prof. Faria, during your stay at Berkeley you have been lecturing on Brazil's most urgent social problems, such as income and wealth disparities, unemployment, and the restructuring of the welfare state. Could you briefly go over the relations among these issues?*

VF: In Latin America we have been facing a set of simultaneous challenges. The continent has exhausted its previous development model, and its economies are having to adjust to a new international framework. Brazil in particular has yet another set of difficult problems to face — namely, widespread poverty, one of the most unequal income distributions in the world, and a major demand for job creation due to its current demographic characteristics. This places several challenges to policy makers.

Therefore, in the realm of social policy, there is no simple solution. In fact, one has to put together and implement a complex set of interrelated policies to deal with employment



Prof. Vilmar Faria speaking with CLAS Chair Prof. Harley Shaiken and Vice Chair María Massolo following one of his presentations.

generation as a necessary condition for the other two tasks, which are, first, to alleviate poverty, and, second, to promote a better income distribution and hopefully a better wealth distribution also.

It is also very important that we improve substantially the redistributive impact of the social services provided by the public sector, such as basic education, basic health care, social security, and pensions. Therefore we also need to reform quite substantially the provision of these services. In my personal opinion, it is not possible to achieve a better income distribution, to generate enough jobs, and to alleviate poverty without attacking these three

issues simultaneously. And this of course is also dependent upon economic policies that will make Brazil a competitive economy in a globalized world.

FR: *What are the reforms that have to be made in order for this to be operational in the Brazilian economy, especially when it comes to funding the welfare system?*

VF: I think there are three main types of reforms that should be done. The first has to do with the redistributive effect of benefits. Perhaps the most salient case is the pension system. The Brazilian pension system overall needs to undergo reform to increase substantially its effect on income redistribution, both in terms of financing and in terms of benefits provided.

The same is true of education. Education in Brazil, most unfortunately, is still in need of important investment. High priority should be given to increasing the coverage and improving the quality of basic as well as secondary education. Finally, we also need to reform some programs in order to better target them to the poor. Personally I don't think that all programs should be targeted — we certainly need universal programs, such as education, health care and a basic pension system, but we must also have programs that are designed to serve the poorest sectors of the population.

FR: *You are currently a special adviser to president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who is also a fellow sociologist and a friend. This is the first time Brazil is governed by an academic, with a cabinet composed of many accomplished professors, like ministers Paulo Renato (Education), José Serra (Health), Bresser Pereira, and Francisco Weffort (Culture). How would you say this has influenced the Brazilian way of doing politics at the federal and international levels?*

VF: To the ministers you mentioned, we must add Pedro Malan [Finance Minister], a graduate from UC Berkeley's Economics Department, who is also a well-known scholar.

Let us clarify that the current government is a coalition government and therefore its composition reflects a broad political alliance that has been supporting president Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Although these ministers all belong to one

of the parties that support the president [the PSDB], they don't govern alone.

There were professors in the federal cabinet in the past, particularly economists, but perhaps this is the first time we have a larger number of people coming from the universities. With perhaps one exception, all of these ministers have had previous experience as policy makers at the state level, and some at the federal level as well.

I think that their main contributions to the government are a longer-term perspective on Brazilian problems, and a more sophisticated understanding of contemporary global transformations.

FR: There is a sense in the international financial community that the Brazilian government has been implementing the "right" economic reforms. Do you see an improvement in the country's image abroad in other areas also? If so, would you attribute that essentially to the initiatives of the government, or to a broader consensus being formed in Brazil nowadays around the priorities to be tackled?

VF: I think that this improvement of the Brazilian policy making image is based on a broader aspect of Brazilian life, rather than just a result of the actions of the policy making teams we have. Brazilians, after fifteen years of high inflation and erratic economic growth, have learned the value of stability. It is my opinion, and polls seem to confirm this, that the Brazilian population largely supports the policies of economic stabilization and restructuring. Brazilians also favor fighting social problems with policies that are not inflationary, demagogic, nor populist.

There is yet another aspect that is important to stress in connection with this, and that is the strengthening of democracy in the last fifteen years or so. This has helped forge an understanding that difficult problems must be solved responsibly.

FR: What do you expect to be the short- and long-term consequences of the recent devaluation of the Brazilian currency for the social problems you described?

VF: My personal opinion is that, in the next four to six months, the impact will be negative. There is some risk of increased inflation in the short

run, and an increased risk of growing unemployment. To compensate for the inflationary pressures of devaluation, interest rates have to be increased, and this has negative effects upon growth rates. All this will have consequences on employment in the short run.

Another component of the adjustment is the control of public deficit. Until there is a deeper restructuring of the programs, the impact can be negative, although the Brazilian government has been taking measures to keep a set of programs, particularly those that are supportive of the poorer population, protected from budgetary cuts.



However, in the long run, the impact of devaluation will be positive mainly because devaluation is yet another step in an overall policy of economic adjustment. This is for at least three main reasons. The first reason is the increase in exports, which will affect economic growth positively. Second, devaluation will favor the lowering of interest rates, because the component of interest that existed due to the risk of future devaluations will disappear in the future. Finally, those sectors of the Brazilian economy that can do some import substitution will also benefit from currency devaluation in the long run, with positive effects on economic growth, and therefore on employment and tax revenues.

As a matter of fact, the projections reported in the news lately are of economic recovery in the next year, maybe at growth rates of five or six percent, after a recession in the short run.

I think that the crucial issue in Brazil is employment generation, given the complex demographic changes and pressures that we have to cope with.

Alumnus Profile:

Flores Blends Business and Philosophy

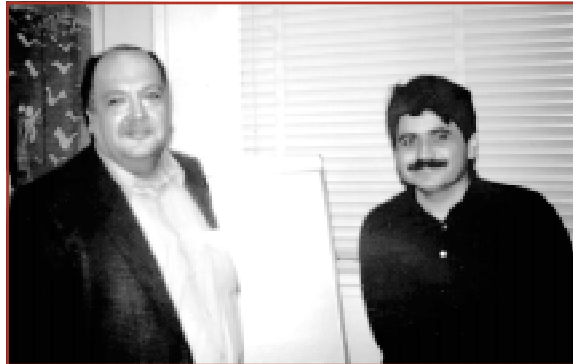
It takes a truly extraordinary individual to undertake the study of engineering, philosophy, computer science, linguistics and business administration — and to excel in all fields. Fernando Flores, a distinguished alumnus of UC Berkeley, is one such individual. Flores, who earned his doctorate in Philosophy/Interdisciplinary Studies in 1982, is founder and currently Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Business Design Associates, an internationally renowned consulting firm with offices in Santiago, Mexico City, and the San Francisco Bay Area. He is the author of numerous publications and among the leaders of an exceptionally diverse array of organizations.

Flores was born in southern Chile. He studied and later taught industrial engineering at the Catholic University in Santiago. At 27, he became the Acting Dean of the Department of Engineering Science and shortly thereafter served as Director of Academic and Economic Affairs at the university.

In 1970, Flores achieved national prominence in Chile when he was appointed Technical General Manager of a conglomerate of large Chilean corporations created to promote development and investment. Following on the heels of these early successes, Flores was appointed to a number of Cabinet-level positions within the Allende administration, including assignments as Minister of Economics and then as Minister of Finance.

In 1973, the military coup against the Allende government led to Flores' detention as a political prisoner. After Amnesty International won his release in 1976, Flores moved to the San Francisco Bay Area to pursue ongoing research on communications, computer science, and management. He began his doctoral studies in 1977 and worked with Professors John Searle (Philosophy), Stuart Dreyfus (Operations Management), Hubert Dreyfus (Philosophy), and Ann Markusen (Management) on his dissertation, which was accepted by the university in 1982.

In 1986, Flores co-authored with Terry Winograd *Understanding Computers and Cognition: A New Foundation for Design*, a book now considered a classic in the field of computer science. The two also co-founded Action Technologies, a software development firm that has been hailed as



Fernando Flores and Prof. José Canela Cacho, Earl Warren Legal Institute at UC Berkeley, during the discussion.

one of the pioneers of workflow technology. Flores and his colleagues hold patents for software and systems that underlie today's cutting-edge groupware technologies.

Throughout his career, Flores has maintained an interest in his native Chile. In the mid-1980s he founded an organization dedicated to the development of entrepreneurial and leadership skills among Chilean youth. He is also the founder and principal partner of Colegio Altamira, a charter school in Santiago that seeks to implement far-ranging educational initiatives based on his path-breaking work. He and others at Business Design Associates in Santiago have led seminars and training sessions with over ten thousand high school and college-age students and over twenty thousand professionals in all walks of life.

Flores has published numerous books and articles, both in English and Spanish. His most recent book, *Disclosing New Worlds: Entrepreneurship, Democratic Action and the Cultivation of Solidarity* (MIT, 1997), co-authored with philosophers Charles Spinosa and Hubert Dreyfus, has been reviewed very positively in the academic and popular press.

On February 17, 1999, Flores returned to Berkeley to offer a seminar on "Commitment, Trust, and the Nature of Work" at the Center for Latin American Studies. (See page 9 for related article.) Flores' unique ability to synthesize insights on technology, language and management into a science of communication and coordination in business enables him to provide a valuable and unusual perspective with numerous practical applications.

—Isaac Mankita and Angelina Snodgrass Godoy

Commitment, Trust And The Nature Of Work: Seminar by Fernando Flores

Why do mega-projects that are implemented in a straightforward manner in the First World so often fail in the Third World, even though they are undertaken by the same company? This is the type of question that Fernando Flores seeks to address in his work on commitment, trust and the nature of work, which he presented on February 17 at CLAS.

Flores builds a compelling argument that work is best understood as the fulfillment of a commitment; the business process, then, can be defined as a network of commitments. The core commitment between client and performer breaks down into sub-tasks each of which entails its own commitment — between managers and employers, between the company and subcontractors, and so on. Flores contends that all business processes can be outlined using a commitment map, irrespective of organizational or product specificity.

Trust, according to Flores, is built up over the course of satisfactorily fulfilling commitments. It is based on demonstrating sincerity, competence, and conscientiousness. How the performer is viewed and what he or she stands for constitute the performer's identity.

So why are mega-projects failing in the Third World? Flores offers two explanations. Firstly, the conditions of satisfaction are different in the

First and Third Worlds. Interpretation of satisfaction, Flores argues, is bounded by practical norms and an understanding of what rules apply. Problems arise when the client and the performer do not share the same norms and understandings. Secondly, people working on large projects that extend over long periods of time become quite removed from, and tend to lose sight of, the core commitment. Minor time delays by one group, for example, easily become compounded and may significantly impact whether the project is completed at the promised time.

Flores' thought-provoking presentation prompted a flurry of questioning. This engaging and unusual topic attracted faculty and students from a wide range of backgrounds, such as computer science, business management, planning, and Latin American studies. This diversity made for a fascinating follow-up discussion which centered on the importance of creating identity and trust in the age of global networks. The discussion explored the difference between image and identity, and grappled with issues of cultural miscommunication. Questions and comments were still flying as the seminar came to a reluctant end.

— Larissa Muller

Samba: A Reading-Performance by Alma Guillermoprieto



Margaret Lamb, CLAS Program Assistant, speaks with Guillermoprieto after the performance

Journalist Alma Guillermoprieto, author of *Samba* and *The Heart That Bleeds*, opened her February 18 presentation on samba by declaring that she hated Brazil. Guillermoprieto, who previously served as South American Bureau Chief for *Newsweek*, is well-known for her rich use of language and heightened sensibility, enabling her to lead U.S. readers and audiences beyond the headlines of major events and closer to lived experience in Latin America. Her presentation at UC Berkeley incorporated selected readings and a vibrant live performance based on her experiences living, dancing, and ultimately parading with one of Rio's samba schools. It was sponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies and the

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Focus on Central America: A Roundup of Recent Activities

The spring of 1999 has been a period of important landmarks for Central American history. In Guatemala, the Commission on Historical Clarification released its much-anticipated report and President Clinton offered an apology for the U.S. role in that nation's bloody civil war; Nicaragua and Honduras began the arduous process of recovery from the devastation of Hurricane Mitch. In El Salvador, presidential elections illustrated the political legacy of the war. In Berkeley, a series of talks sponsored by CLAS has provided students, faculty, and community members with insight on the region and its political and social complexities.

Guatemalan Congresswoman and champion of human rights Nineth Montenegro, visited the Center for Latin American Studies to give a public presentation and meet with selected Berkeley scholars on January 28, 1999. As one of the original founders of Guatemala's first human rights group, the *Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo* (Mutual Support Group, commonly known as GAM), Montenegro helped create a network among those who had friends or relatives kidnapped, murdered, or "disappeared" during Guatemala's brutal civil war.

Today, the GAM is joined by many other local advocacy groups,

working to support human rights and demand justice for the hundreds of thousands who lost their lives during the war. Montenegro currently serves as a Congresswoman representing the *Frente Democrático Nueva Guatemala* (New Guatemalan Democratic Front), or FDNG. This party garnered six seats in the Guatemalan Congress in the 1995 elections, only forty days after it was first created. As chair of the Congressional Commission on Women, Youth, and Family, Montenegro has been a tireless advocate for women and children, whose concerns are frequently marginalized in Guatemalan politics.

While the violence that plagued Guatemala during the 1980s has decreased dramatically, Montenegro is clear to point out that "just because there is no war, does not mean problems have been



Carlos Chamorro

solved." A different kind of violence — "social violence," as Montenegro termed it — continues to plague the nation. Although state-sponsored repression has abated, current challenges to human rights include rampant discrimination, lack of opportunity, and the growing divide between rich and poor. Despite indices of economic growth and improvements to infrastructure in Central America, Montenegro asserts that today "in Central America the rich are richer and the poor are poorer."

Similar themes were also raised by Ana González Montes, an anthropologist from Argentina who worked with the UN-sponsored Historical Clarification Commission in Guatemala. Her April 1 talk at CLAS addressed both the Commission's research process and its findings. The final report was the product of eighteen months of research based on both written documentation and testimonies regarding 7,500 cases of human rights abuses during Guatemala's 36-year civil war.

The report concluded that 93% of all human rights violations were committed by the Guatemalan armed forces, 3% by the guerrillas, and the remaining 4% by other groups and unidentified forces. The Commission also found that 93% of all massacres were committed against the Maya population. These findings, González Montes explained, reflect the magnitude and intensity of the violence against the Maya, and its particularly racist character, which led the Commission to conclude that acts of genocide had been committed.

The report included numerous recommendations for national programs to restore dignity and memory to victims and to continue the search for those who were "disappeared." Its findings



Ana González Montes

have sparked renewed discussion of the fragile peace that reigns in Guatemala. Despite the limitations in the Commission's mandate — most notably, its inability to include names of known perpetrators — the report has succeeded in validating the arguments put forth by human rights groups throughout the conflict, and has opened a space for dialogue in Guatemalan society about how to come to terms with such a brutal recent past.

While the tragedy wrought by Hurricane Mitch was universally recognized, the process of rebuilding in its aftermath is infused with complex political implications and influences. Carlos Chamorro, a Nicaraguan journalist and Teaching Fellow at UC Berkeley's School of Journalism, detailed the opportunities and obstacles faced by Central American nations in the wake of Hurricane Mitch during a talk at CLAS on April 8, 1999. His comments highlighted many of the concerns facing Nicaragua and Honduras as their governments attempt to manage rebuilding projects and international donors.

Chamorro's talk tackled a central question: "Will the reconstruction effort mark a shift in the development pattern of Central America?" While the governments of the region propose to transform and not merely rebuild their countries, serious concerns exist about the ability of the process currently being pursued to fulfill such ambitious promises. Chamorro emphasized that meaningful collaboration between the government, civil society and NGOs is essential. Through such collaboration, politically weak government institutions will better be able to implement projects, and transparency can be established. He noted that Nicaragua's civil society is much more organized and its press much more critical than in Honduras, putting it in a better position to ensure the accountability of its government.

While the reconstruction effort is a national project, the important role of the international community is undeniable. Foreign debt, migration, and aid packages all place the issue of rebuilding in the international arena. Chamorro also points out that among Central American nations, tensions have arisen between the countries hardest hit — Nicaragua and Honduras — who are in need of immediate relief packages, and others such as El Salvador and Guatemala, who are more interested in long-range regional development projects. The contentious hopes and expectations placed on foreign donors were revealed during President

Clinton's March visit to the region, Chamorro remarked.

Events focusing on Central American politics and society continue throughout the spring. A symposium entitled "Truth, Human Rights, and History: The Case of Rigoberta Menchú" will take place on April 13, 1999 at UC Berkeley's Townsend Center. A panel featuring Robin Kirk of Human Rights Watch, Prof. Beatriz Manz of UC Berkeley's Departments of Ethnic Studies and Geography, Prof. David Stoll of Middlebury College, and Prof. Víctor Montejo of UC Davis' Department of Native American Studies, will be moderated by Prof. José Rabasa of UC Berkeley's Spanish and Portuguese Department, and will explore the role of testimony in collective memory and in the writing of history.

Acisclo Valladares Molina, former Guatemalan Attorney General, will visit UC Berkeley and give a talk at CLAS on April 13, 1999. Valladares has served as Director of the Public Ministry and also as the Guatemalan representative to the United Nations, and has been a candidate for President.

In addition, Silvia Solórzano, a leader of Guatemala's URNG and an activist in the women's rights movement, will visit CLAS on April 29, 1999. A physician by training, Solórzano's current efforts focus on registering women voters for the upcoming elections.

Central America has been largely ignored in U.S. news and policy debates in the 1990s, despite brief flurries of media attention surrounding events such as Hurricane Mitch. As the nations of Central America continue their political and economic transitions, many campus and community members will look to CLAS to provide a critical link to ongoing developments.

—Allison Davenport



Congresswoman Nineth Montenegro and CLAS Newsletter editor Angelina Snodgrass Godoy, here serving as interpreter.

Beyond Headlines: In-Depth Reporting in Central America

When the United States pulled out of Nicaragua and El Salvador at the beginning of the 1990s, so did the U.S. news media. But what has happened since — the implantation of incipient democracies in the wake of deeply divisive internal armed conflicts — makes the region both fascinating and newsworthy for journalists. With this in mind, Prof. Lydia Chávez and Teaching Fellow Carlos Chamorro of the Graduate School of Journalism organized a ten-day reporting trip to both countries over spring break, with support from the Graduate School of Journalism and the Center for Latin American Studies.

The trip was the culmination of a year-long International Reporting class taught by Chávez and Chamorro, during which students studied both history and current events in order to develop their own story ideas. Once in Central America, they had the opportunity to ask compelling questions that few reporters in the international community have bothered to pose. For example, has democracy been any kinder to the Nicaraguans than the Sandinista Revolution? And what has changed El Salvador more, democracy or the money sent by their U.S. relatives?



Mother and students at a parent-run school in rural El Salvador. Journalism student Cynthia Cox took this photograph to illustrate an article on the outcomes of post-war educational reform programs.



Monument to the victims of Hurricane Mitch, dedicated by President Clinton on his visit to Nicaragua. The town of Posoltega is in the background. Photo by Cynthia Cox

In Nicaragua, a delegation visited Posoltega, a town that was devastated in October by a mudslide in the midst of Hurricane Mitch, leaving nearly two thousand people buried in a matter of minutes. A week before the visit, the U.S. media had broadcast images of President Clinton dedicating a memorial plaque at the disaster site and promising relief funds. But there was no mention of the unbelievable obstacles that city has encountered in its efforts to rebuild, including political favoritism on the federal level that has kept much of the international aid from reaching the Sandinista town. Students met a man in a refugee camp who had watched his wife and three children die in the mudslide as he lay injured and unable to help. He cried as he told of his determination to believe that life in Posoltega would improve. Such conviction may be admirable, but its confirmation seems unlikely: in the meantime, the rainy season starts next month, and not a single house has been rebuilt.

Other students reported on life in Managua, which for the most part is a completely different world. The aftermath of the hurricane is of less concern to the average Managuan than enjoying day-to-day existence. Evidence can be found in the baseball stadiums, where fans pack the bleachers and swig Flor de Caña rum while cheering on their favorite team. Nicaragua is the only country in Central America where baseball is more popular than soccer, thanks in part to the longtime presence of U.S. Marines. Flor de Caña is another symbol of Nicaraguan national identity — indeed, its welcome sign is the first to greet arrivals at the airport in

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UN Human Rights Award winner José Gregori to speak on campus

On the occasion of the United Nations' celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Brazilian Secretary of State for Human Rights José Gregori was honored with the Human Rights Award in recognition of his "courage and determination in promoting and protecting" the principles of the declaration. He and four other recipients were chosen from among four hundred distinguished nominees. On May 3, the Center for Latin American Studies will host a discussion of human rights in Brazil with Secretary Gregori and two distinguished commentators, Prof. Naomi Roht-Arriaza of Hastings College of Law and Prof. Connie De La Vega of the University of San Francisco.

Gregori is a strong advocate for justice for the victims of state repression during military rule (1964-1984) and their surviving families. He was among the drafters of a 1995 law that finally recognizes as dead those who "disappeared" during the authoritarian period. This law is extremely important for families of the victims who have been denied financial compensation all these years, solely because they could produce no evidence of their relatives' death.

Gregori has a long and courageous history at the forefront of human rights struggles in Brazil. During the period of military rule, he served as president of the Commission for Justice and Peace, a wing of the Catholic Church in Sao Paulo that raised its voice against state violence. Supported by the city's Cardinal, D. Paulo Evaristo Arns, the Commission was one of the few groups in society that could afford to openly challenge the military.

Their reports on politically motivated torture broke ground in revealing the regime's abuses and sparking the discussion on human rights as the country re-democratized in 1985.

Today, Gregori directs the National Program for Human Rights, a comprehensive set of federal policies for promoting the respect for basic rights in Brazil. While state-sponsored political persecution is a thing of the past, police violence, overcrowded prisons, street crime, and child labor have emerged in some regions of the country as serious threats to human dignity.

Having worked closely with domestic and foreign NGOs in the past, Gregori's efforts have resulted in several cooperative programs that complement local and federal government's initiatives in the area of citizenship rights. Among the international organizations with ties to the National Program for Human Rights are the Red Cross, Amnesty International, and UN agencies such as the UNDP, UNESCO, and UNICEF.

The United Nations Human Rights Award, created by the General Assembly in 1966, is granted once every five years to those "who have made outstanding contributions to the promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in other relevant United Nations instruments." Since 1968, twenty-eight people have received the award, including Nelson Mandela, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

—*Fabrizio C. Rigout*



Brazil's Secretary of State for Human Rights José Gregori at the United Nations. Photo by José Carlos Aleixo

Images of Immigration Exhibit at CLAS

Images of immigration and labor have historically been a key element in the photographic documentation of social reality in the United States, most particularly in the documentation of social protest. Dorothea Lange, Hansel Meith, Otto Hegel, Lewis Hine, and the generations of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s left a body of work showing extreme exploitation, especially of farm workers, and documenting early organizing efforts, part of the great labor upsurge of those decades. The iconography of social documentary photography was shaped by images like Lange's mother and children in Nipomo, or Hine's garment worker crossing New York's Battery Street, carrying a huge bale of sewing on her head.

Today, the social conditions of work have shifted, but not the harsh realities of grueling labor frequently ignored by mainstream society. Immigrant workers comprise a critical part of the American workforce in jobs people often take for granted, but do not really see. They clean the linen from hotels and restaurants patronized by millions, pick fruit for the tables of almost every family, load cargo on and off ships which circle the globe, and make a million necessary articles of daily life.

In May, an exhibit of photographs documenting the lives and labor of immigrants will open at the Center for Latin American Studies. Photographer David Bacon, himself a former Silicon Valley factory worker and union organizer, explains, "I hope [these photographs] contribute to the tradition of social documentary photography — to expose social injustice, to reveal the essential

humanity of all working people and their effort to win social change. They are a view from below, looking at the work process and social protest from the point of view of the workers — the participants themselves. Their purpose is to help gain public understanding and support for immigrant communities in the U.S., in a time of rising anti-immigrant hysteria."

Photographs such as those in this exhibit serve as a testament not only to the work immigrants do, but also to the struggles they undertake to better their situation and that of other workers. Many actively seek to change their conditions — a struggle which influences life in our country profoundly, yet which remains undocumented and largely unseen by the American public.

The photographs in the CLAS exhibit, taken over the past eight years, are part of a larger documentary project on immigration and the lives of working people. This body of work examines the changing workplace and changing demographics in California, currents of immigration and labor conditions in northern Mexico and the Pacific Rim, the connections established by the global economy, and social protest over these issues as they are experienced by working people. Sections of the project have been exhibited in the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C.

—*David Bacon and Angelina Snodgrass Godoy*

Juan Jiménez lives in Calexico, where he takes care of the old UFW hall in El Hoyo. Workers cross the Mexican border at Calexico every morning and are hired by labor contractors to work in the fields.



In-Depth Reporting...

Continued from page 12

Managua. Student journalists reported on both baseball and rum as reflections of Nicaraguan culture.

Daily life in El Salvador, however, seems to be dominated by a singular preoccupation with crime. Reporters focusing on this issue discovered



Latin American Studies student Allison Davenport joins Managuan residents for a celebration with Flor de Caña rum. Photo by James Lerager

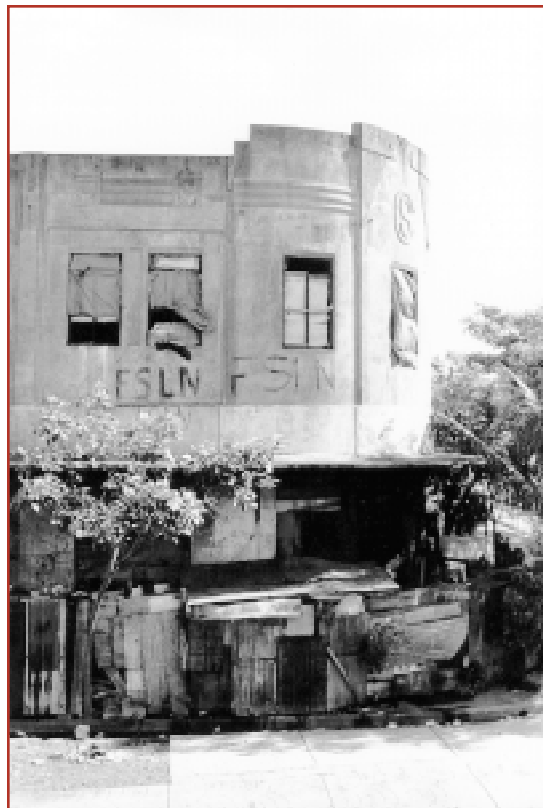
that the country's annual murder rate has increased since the end of the civil war in 1992. When the signing of the peace left thousands of former soldiers suddenly without work, many had to find ways to make a living with the only assets they had: experience with violence and plenty of weapons. As a result, El Salvador has become one of the most dangerous countries in the world. Students examined the crime issue in terms of its effects upon San Salvador's police force, which has increased since the end of the war from 5,700 to 18,000 officers, and its contribution to the demise of a once-hopeful tourism industry.

Other students observed the economic impact of money sent home by Salvadorans living in the United States. Shopping centers, supermarkets and cafes are packed with merchandise and shoppers, many of whom are spending money received from emigrant relatives. In the countryside, remittances facilitate the purchase of such items as television sets and fancy mountain bikes for residents of agricultural areas with little other income.

The recent trip to Central America provided

students with a unique opportunity to explore in-depth reporting on issues which too frequently fail to capture the attention of the news media. For the conclusion of the semester, the class will be editing stories and sifting through photographs in order to produce a magazine, *The Pacific*, which aims to take a more comprehensive look at Nicaragua and El Salvador than anything the mainstream U.S. media has produced in years. The compilation of students' stories is scheduled to be published by the Graduate School of Journalism in May.

—*Kimberly Lisagor*



A building in downtown Managua, partially destroyed in the 1972 earthquake and never rebuilt, now functions as a squatters' residence. Photo by Cynthia Cox

Immigration Working Group Crosses Some Borders of its Own

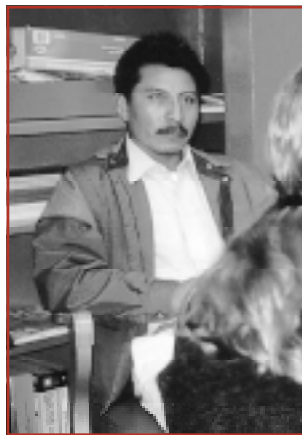
A new working group at the Center for Latin American Studies is investigating immigration from Guatemala to the United States from a new and innovative perspective. Immigration is an issue of vital importance to the economies of both the United States and Guatemala. In Guatemala, remittances from emigrants are estimated to reach three million dollars per day and are rumored to be approaching coffee exports as the most important source of revenue for the country. In the United States, discussions about immigration have dominated recent policy debates in California and at the national level. In the context of these contemporary debates, the timely research of the Guatemalan Immigration Working Group promises to produce research with important policy implications for both countries.

The group aims to study the networks among Guatemalans within the Bay Area as well as between Bay Area Guatemalans and their homeland. Its current activities include in-depth interviews with Mayans who have migrated from Guatemala within the past fifteen years. Many have migrated both inside and outside of Guatemala on multiple occasions throughout their lifetime. Each year, thousands of migratory laborers travel to the coastal plantations of Guatemala at harvest time. Others cross the border into Mexico, some of whom eventually migrate to the U.S. The interviews seek to explore their experiences and attitudes about migration, beginning with their first thoughts of leaving home and continuing through current experiences, into the possibility of future migrations,

either back to Guatemala or elsewhere.

With financial support from the Chicano/Latino Policy Project, the Ford Foundation and CLAS, this project combines the talents of a diverse group of people. Professor Beatriz Manz, of Berkeley's Departments of Ethnic Studies and Geography, has thirty years of experience researching Guatemala. Xochitl Castañeda, a medical anthropologist from Guatemala with over fifteen years of research experience in Mexico, is currently affiliated with UCSF. The two serve not only as research directors but also as mentors to the four students in the group. Allison Davenport and Ingrid Perry-Houts, both graduate students in Latin American Studies, Cecile Mazzacuratti, a visiting student from Paris, and Kirstie Dorr, a graduating senior, have worked closely with Manz and Castañeda to develop both methodological and theoretical paradigms for the project.

Thus far, the group has spoken with numerous immigrants from a variety of locations within Guatemala, whose experiences and attitudes reflect the vast diversity of experiences encountered by migrant populations. In particular, it has sought to establish relations with individuals with a particularly influential role within Guatemalan communities, and community organizations that have particular knowledge of the patterns of Guatemalan settlement and employment in the Bay Area. For example, the group has met with representatives of Casa Esperanza, a transition home for recent immigrants from Central America; the East Bay Sanctuary Covenant, an organization with a long history of helping immigrants in the area; Oakland's Association of United Guatemalans, a group organized by immigrants for the advancement of immigrant rights; and a community center in San Rafael with links to local Guatemalan immigrants. These exchanges have helped to establish new and productive relationships between UC Berkeley and community and immigrant groups. In the future, the group hopes to expand these relations, aiming to involve community groups in more aspects of the Center for Latin American Studies' activities, and to ensure the embeddedness of research activities in the life of Bay Area immigrant communities.



Jesús López Osorio,
a Ki'che' Maya
migrant from Guatemala,
during an interview at
CLAS.

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CLAS Welcomes New Staff



María Massolo

This spring semester, the Center for Latin American Studies is pleased to welcome three new additions to our staff.

María Massolo, our new Vice Chair, brings a wealth of experience on Latin America and an enthusiasm for expanding CLAS' activities in new and innovative directions. A native of Argentina, María received her Ph.D. in Anthropology from UC Berkeley in 1995. "I am delighted to be back home in the Bay Area and at Berkeley," she reports, "and more than anything else, very excited to be part of such a vibrant and dynamic Center for Latin American Studies." Her own interests include popular religion and culture, folklore, and tourism, and among other things, as Vice Chair she hopes to help bolster CLAS' involvement with the humanities.



Melissa Stevens-Briceño

In addition, we are joined in the front office by Margaret Lamb and Melissa Stevens-Briceño, who work closely on all CLAS activities. Margaret is a specialist in Central America, having lived, worked, and studied in Nicaragua, and Melissa brings a diverse set of experiences to the job, including teaching in Quito, Ecuador, producing radio documentaries in New York City, and travelling throughout South America.

CLAS would also like to thank Isaac Mankita for his months of service as Acting Vice Chair. Isaac remains an active part of the Center staff, now in a new capacity as Project Coordinator.

—*Angelina Snodgrass Godoy*



Isaac Mankita



Margaret Lamb

Working Group...

Continued from page 16

The group has also benefited from contact with a number of distinguished scholars and visitors since its inception. Professors Nora Hamilton from UCLA, Suzanne Jonas from UC Santa Cruz, Roger Rouse from UC Davis, and Saskia Sassen from the University of Chicago have all been generous with their time and ideas, as were Congresswoman Nineth Montenegro and Ana González Montes, of the Historical Clarification Commission, during their visits to Berkeley. These contributions have enriched the project with new insights and ideas.

Aside from carrying out numerous interviews, the group has submitted papers to LASA

and to the American Anthropology Association, and plans to submit an article to an international peer review journal in the near future. In addition, its two graduate students, Allison Davenport and Ingrid Perry-Houts, will travel to Guatemala to interview families and communities who have connections to Bay Area immigrants. The group hopes to continue to expand its activities in the future, crossing boundaries between countries and traditional academic disciplines, between scholars and researched communities, encouraging a broader sharing of ideas about immigration.

—*Ingrid Perry-Houts*

Faria...

Continued from page 5

population of Argentina. As Faria points out, absorbing this new generation into the labor market will require steady growth over the next decade.

At first glance, the overwhelming challenges facing the country present a gloomy picture of what lies ahead, but Faria remains optimistic. Brazil's productive structure is one of the most diversified among the developing nations, producing "from soybeans to airplanes, from iron ore to automobiles," he pointed out. Along with infrastructure and heavy industry, this contributes decisively to the resilience of the Brazilian economy. The large internal market is capable of supporting domestic production while attracting foreign investment.

In addition, Faria sees contemporary demographics as a window of opportunity. Slow overall population growth rates mean that now is the time for governmental investment in key programs. The high proportion of working adults in the current population suggests that Brazil must prepare itself for an increased burden on its health and pension systems as this generation ages. The reforms to social programs advocated by Faria, designed to provide a more equitable distribution of benefits, could hardly come at a more pivotal time.

Faria held UC Berkeley's Rio Branco Chair in Brazilian Studies — a binational agreement which brings a Brazilian professor to the university each year — during the spring semester 1999. His visit provided a rare opportunity for the academic community to benefit from a sophisticated understanding of Brazilian social problems and an insider's view of the institutional aspects of policy implementation. The literature used in his presentations was donated to the University and will soon become available in the library system as an invaluable source of up-to-date Brazilian social indicators.

—Fabrizio C. Rigout

Guillermoprieto...

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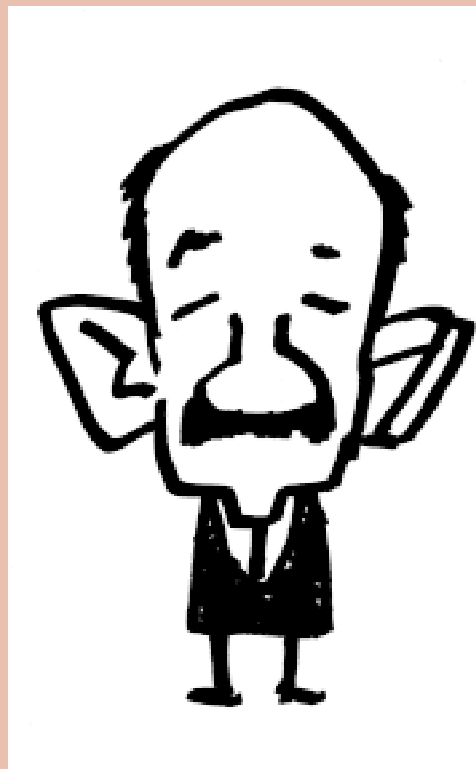
Graduate School of Journalism.

For those expecting the usual gushing enthusiasm of converts to Brazilian samba, Guillermoprieto's austere opening declaration came as a shock. She explained that her disdain was as much for the people who appeared not to work as for the tremendous beauty of Rio de Janeiro. "In the middle of all that splendor, all I could think of was decay and death," she said. Living in the more affluent southern zone of the city, she also noted the absence of black people, or rather their presence in the "background" in service jobs; she noted that they seemed to "enjoy themselves against the odds." She resolved to pursue certain elements of Afro-Brazilian culture, namely samba, in an attempt to understand, and hopefully learn to like, Brazil. Guillermoprieto gradually waded deeper into the community life of the *favela* of Mangueira and the famous samba school which lies at its feet and bears its name. Eventually, she became so involved in this project that she quit her job, moved into the poor *favela* on the other side of the tunnel which connects the two halves of Rio, and dedicated herself full-time to following and participating in the samba school's preparations for the upcoming Carnival parade.

Guillermoprieto intertwined the trajectory of her own exploration of samba with the history of samba's popularization — from its African origins, through its illegal and disreputable existence, to its heyday and ultimate establishment as a quintessentially Brazilian form of music and popular expression. Her successive costume changes, as she shed layer after surprising layer, paralleled the story she told as she let her own expectations and resistance fall away, allowing her to arrive at an embodied understanding of what it is that makes Brazilians so apparently happy and so passionate about Brazil, in spite of seemingly endless political and economic difficulties.

By daring to live in the *favela* in an attempt to approximate herself to the experience of poverty, Guillermoprieto sought to understand what underlies both samba lyrics and the collective spirit that makes it possible to bring five thousand individuals together in the school's highly coordinated and luxurious annual parade. She described the different types of samba, and the social themes picked up in the lyrics of popular sambas at certain historical moments, whether in the first recorded samba, "On the Telephone," or in

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Rafael Barajas, also known as El Físgón, is a political cartoonist for the Mexico City daily *La Jornada* and author of numerous illustrated essays and books. His work focuses on such topics as the role of the press in politics, the administration of President Salinas, neoliberalism in Mexico and 19th century Mexican cartoons and cartoonists. On March 4, CLAS and the Graduate School of Journalism hosted El Físgón for a presentation on the role of humor in political discourse and the relationship between alternative media and politics. Here he sketches the familiar figure of former President Carlos Salinas de Gortari.

Guillermoprieto...

Continued from page 18

later songs laced with the codes of drug traffickers, and accompanied selected recordings by reciting their translated quotidian poetry.

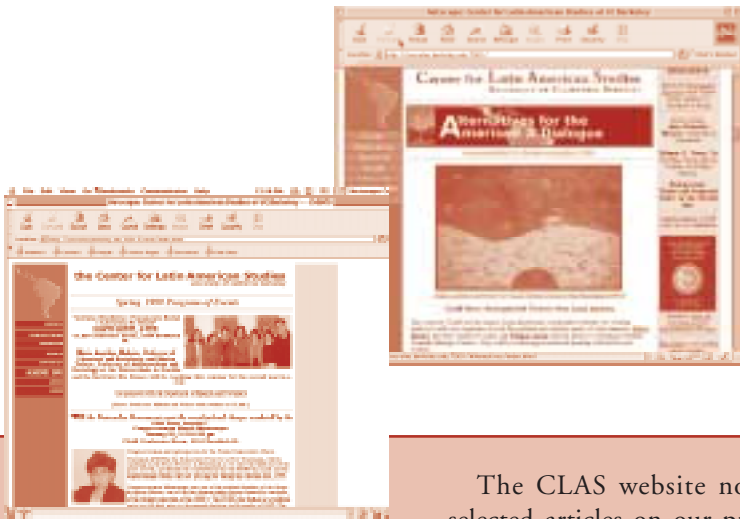
Her personal, lived experience of the *favela* and the samba school's preparations were incorporated at every level of sensory expression in her presentation, from the description of the sights and smells, to the accompanying samba music (selections from over seventy years of recordings), to her shedding of costumed layers, to the gestures and movements which she incorporated throughout. A trained dancer, Guillermoprieto concluded her presentation by almost surreptitiously persuading the audience to follow her through the slowed-down movements of the dance she describes in her book as "spatter[ing] a starstorm of steps" or a "whirlpool frenzy." Once the audience began to move, she herself broke into an exuberant samba, with a grin that confirmed that she had finally learned to samba and, with it, to embrace Brazil.

—Misha Klein

In our Next Issue...



Our next newsletter will highlight the visit of noted Mexican writer and social critic Carlos Monsiváis to UC Berkeley. Monsiváis is a frequent contributor to *La Jornada*, *Proceso*, and other publications, and the author of *Mexican Postcards* and *The Ritual of Chaos*. The event was cosponsored by the Center for Latin American Studies, the Dean of the College of Letters and Science, and the Spanish and Portuguese Department.



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

Our last issue, which was dedicated to the December 1998 "Alternatives for the Americas: A Dialogue" conference, includes extensive excerpts from the proceedings, and is available online.

To receive our weekly e-mail of Latin American events on the Berkeley campus and in the Bay Area, send a message to [<majordomo@listlink.berkeley.edu>](mailto: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.

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