



# Center for Latin American Studies

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

SPRING 2001



## CLAS Examines a Changing Cuba

by Lydia Chavez

**W**hile U.S. and Cuban policymakers refuse to let go of their Cold War grudge, Cubans, with help from their American families, are experimenting with everything from the Almighty to the almighty dollar. "The whole discourse is changing," said Susan Eckstein, a sociologist from Boston University who visits the island frequently.

Eckstein echoed other Cuba experts who visited UC Berkeley to participate in CLAS' "Cuba 2001" series this semester. Speakers included Richard Nuccio, a former adviser on U.S.-Cuban policy; Mayra Espina, a Cuban sociologist; María Cristina García, a historian from Cornell University; and Tiffany Mitchell, the associate director and coordinator of the Cuba Program at Georgetown University's Caribbean Project.

CLAS designed the series to educate the university community on contemporary Cuba and to prepare some 30 journalism students who planned to spend their spring break pursuing stories on the island. Students learned that while U.S. policy remains stuck in embargo diplomacy, Cubans, often leading their own government into new areas, have moved ahead.

The dynamic on the island shifted dramatically after 1991 when Cuba lost its Soviet benefactor. Imagine losing all sources of income and basic necessities at a time when your credit card bills are highest. The Cuban government scrambled, and the Cuban people improvised.

Outlawed dollars fueled a thriving black market, Cuban teachers

From the Capitolio.  
La Habana, Cuba 2001.  
Photo by Mimi Chakarova



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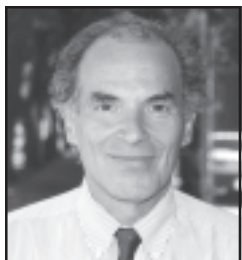
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## Letter from the Chair

This spring, on the eve of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion, the Center for Latin American Studies examined both contemporary Cuba and U.S.- Cuban relations in a semester-long series of events. “Cuba 2001,” a seminar series coordinated by Prof. Lydia Chavez of the Graduate School of Journalism, brought together scholars and policymakers to take a fresh look at Cuba’s contemporary changes as well as the issues that seem frozen in time. We have also been proud to host an exhibit in our gallery entitled “Vitalidad Cubana,” featuring photographs by Stefan Cohen.

Our program this semester also sought to shed light on the challenges facing Colombia and the evolving role of the United States in Colombia’s future. Our “Colombia in Context” series began with a major conference on Colombia that examined historical perspectives and engaged current policy debates. Four UC Berkeley graduate students from Colombia — Alejandra Torres, Andres Alvarado, and Mira Hahn from Latin American studies, and Claudia Leal from geography — played a particularly pivotal

role in organizing the event through the newly-formed Colombia Working Group.

In this Newsletter, we also feature an exclusive interview with Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, the head of Mexico’s National Security Council, in which he shares some reflections on his first one hundred days on the job. In addition, we report on three other CLAS series, “Development, Labor Standards, and Economic Integration in the Americas,” “Conflict, Memory, and Transitions,” and “Brazil: Culture, Society, and Politics.”

Our next issue will feature coverage of three special events that took place in late April: United States Senator Paul Wellstone’s visit to Berkeley to discuss Plan Colombia; Brazilian Minister of Culture Francisco Correa Weffort on the politics of culture in his country; and Judge Juan Guzmán, the head judge in the case against General Pinochet, on justice and human rights in Chile.

Have a nice summer!

-Harley Shaiken

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# A View from Within: New Challenges to Mexican National Security

## A March 2001 interview with Adolfo Aguilar Zinser

by Harley Shaiken



Adolfo Aguilar Zinser speaking at UC Berkeley's International House as part of CLAS' "New Directions for Mexico" series, Fall 2000

**A**s head of Mexico's National Security Council, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser oversees the Fox administration's efforts to combat corruption, drug trafficking, and other problems that could threaten Mexico's nascent democracy. In a March 2001 conversation with CLAS' Chair, Prof. Harley Shaiken, Aguilar Zinser discussed the challenges Mexico faces in the post-transition period and the role his newly-created office plays in confronting them. Aguilar is a longtime associate of CLAS, having participated in many of the Center's programs on Mexico, including the 1998 "Alternatives for the Americas" conference and the "New Directions for Mexico" series in Fall 2000.

**HS:** *What are your new duties as the National Security Adviser?*

**AA:** The creation of the Office of the National Security Adviser is a necessity [because of] the transition to democracy in Mexico. The first very important implication of this office is that we are going to completely separate the notion of national security from ... the maintenance of certain groups in power. In the traditional conception of national security implemented in past decades by the PRI regime, national security was equivalent to

maintenance of the PRI in power. That [concept] distorted the whole system of national security: institutions were created and mechanisms were established in order to ... keep the PRI in power. We have to reshape, to reconceive, to redefine, the doctrine, institutions, and legal framework for the operation of [Mexico's] entire national security agenda.

The second task is then to define the new concept of national security, what it includes, and how presidential authority needs to be used in implementing national security policies. We have the task of presenting the president with the new concepts of national security — first in the broad sense of the word, and next in the particular areas [where] national security policies have to be implemented.

[We believe that] national security must be defined in terms of three basic concepts. The first concept is that Mexico does not consider that it has foreign military adversaries that threaten the integrity of the country. It has challenges, it has certain threats, and it has adversities that might come from the outside world, but it does not have enemies as such. This is a departure from the traditional conception of national security — particularly that of the United States,

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## A View from Within: Adolfo Aguilar Zinser

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At the U.S.-Mexico border,  
San Ysidro.  
Photo by Marny Requa



which identifies foreign adversaries as the main source of preoccupation for national security. Therefore, [we do not have] a military conception of national security.

The second conception of national security included in our definition is that Mexico faces a number of adversities that might threaten the integrity of the nation, and that those adversities have to do with the integrity and well-being of the Mexican population. Based on this conception we have identified three main sources of threat to our national security. One threat is violence, associated particularly with organized crime, with drug trafficking, and to a lesser extent, with political unrest. All forms of political participation other than violence are considered part of the legitimate political process. The second concern for the national security of demand, and the demand creates a business of immense revenues. Probably there is no other business in the world that produces higher rates of return and revenues. We can even say — and this is something that we carefully stated — that although the consumption of drugs is a deteriorating social disease which causes tremendous harm to the individuals and families of those who consume drugs, the other consequences associated with drugs are even more lethal and vicious — [that is to say,] the existence of organized crime, of immense cruelty, and an extraordinary capacity to destroy institutions. This is a very serious problem... We don't want to underestimate the impact of drug consumption in the social fabric of the United States, but drug

production and drug trafficking in our society have even larger and more profound adverse effects. So, we have to understand that the drug problem is essentially an international problem with very vicious national manifestations differentiated from country to country depending on the role that each country plays in this process. We do think that it is an absolute necessity to cooperate and to perceive the drug problem as an international problem.

*HS: President Fox is planning to go to Colombia. What role do you envision Mexico playing in relation to Colombia and the hemisphere more generally regarding drugs?*

*AA: What we are putting together is a new framework of international cooperation based first of all on the identification between individual countries. We are doing this with the United States, we are reassessing our problems of cooperation; we want to be more effective in responding to the expectations of the United States, but we also want the United States to be more receptive to our national interests in defining the scope and the characteristics of our anti-drug problems. That is exactly what we are doing with Colombia. We are engaging in intense bilateral discussions to identify specifically how we can better cooperate with each other, how we can identify the experiences that we can share, and foremost how we can engage in common actions against drug traffickers. Mexican drug traffickers and Colombian drug traffickers are increasingly tied together, and drug production in Colombia is*

*Continued on page 20*



# Colombia's Complexities: Understanding the Context of U.S. Involvement

by Daniela Mohor

**O**n March 2, in a daylong conference focusing on the complexities of contemporary Colombia, panelists and attendees engaged in detailed discussions and sometimes-heated debates. Entitled "Colombia in Context," the conference was organized by the Center for Latin American Studies to bring together students, policymakers, community members, and concerned citizens grappling with the conflict in Colombia. As Professor and CLAS Chair Harley Shaiken explained in his opening remarks, the conference sought to frame "immediate issues that are so consuming in terms of what's going on in Colombia, into a broader historical context," allowing a deeper understanding of the social and political forces shaping current events.

Concerns about U.S. involvement in the country of 40 million people have grown since last December, when the controversial U.S.-funded coca leaves eradication program began. The program started after the Clinton administration decided to provide Colombia with \$1.3 billion in additional aid to assist the government in fighting a drug economy that finances rebel and paramilitary groups and fuels the decades-long war. President Bush recently aggravated tensions between the United States and Colombia by refusing to allow U.S. participation in the peace talks between the Colombian government, led by President Andrés Pastrana, and the country's principal guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), led by Manuel Marulanda.

The left-wing FARC, along with a smaller guerrilla force known as the National Liberation Army (ELN), have fought against the government and right-wing paramilitary groups for almost four decades. More than 130,000 people are believed to have perished in the conflict. Since 1999, however, the violence involving the government, the paramilitaries, and the guerrillas has escalated; last year alone, the number of people killed in massacres topped 1, 800. An estimated 1.8 million people have been displaced from conflicted rural areas, many of them congregating in urban zones.

Catherine LeGrand, a professor of history and specialist on Colombia from McGill University in Canada, addressed the roots of these problems in an introductory lecture framing the conference. The country's troubles began much earlier, she explained, in the decades-old conflict between peasants and the government; recent developments have only

aggravated longstanding social problems. Today, LeGrand said, there is a new kind of violence that affects both rural and urban populations and is linked to the economic recession.

As panelist Roberto Steiner explained, Colombia has now entered the deepest economic recession in its history. Director of the Center of Studies on Economic Development (CEDE) in Bogotá, Steiner said Colombia had passed from being one of Latin America's leading economies to being its least vibrant. After averaging annual growth rates of 4.5 percent over two decades, GDP grew just 0.2 percent in 1998. "Colombia is the only country [in Latin America] where the per capita growth in the 1990's is worse than in the 1980's," he said, adding that unemployment hit 20 percent, and income distribution was as bad today as it had been in 1985. While some blame neoliberalism or the illicit drug

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Below: "Colombia in Context"  
Graphic design by Mira Hahn.



# Colombia's Complexities

Continued from page 5



market for the crisis, Steiner considers this the direct result of inconsistencies between the 1990 economic reforms and the 1991 Constitution.

Ana María Bejarano, a Colombian political scientist and a visiting scholar at the University of Notre Dame, emphasized the complexity of a conflict that she qualified as “protracted” and “fragmented.” She said the long duration of the conflict has strengthened the authoritarian forces and brought social and political distrust. This, combined with the multiplicity of actors involved, constitute major obstacles in peace negotiations. “It is difficult to think that if Marulanda and Pastrana come to a negotiation, that will eventually solve the whole situation, because there will still be opposition within young forces,” she said. Bejarano also underscored the increasing autonomy of armed actors, who now rely on the drug trade rather than on external political support.

While several panelists aimed to explain the historical roots of the current crisis, drug trafficking and U.S. policy in Colombia took center stage for much of the conference.

Professor Juan Tokatlián of the Universidad de San Andrés in Argentina echoed others when he said that Colombia’s problems stem in large part from a domestic issue in the United States. Tokatlián spoke of the effects of the “Americanization” of the war on drugs. U.S.-inspired strategies — based on drug crop eradication, extradition, and similar sanctions — have been tried and proven failures, Tokatlián said. “Just in the past six years, the government has eradicated close to 400,000 acres of coca, marijuana, and poppy seed crops,” he said. “But something went wrong, because by 1981 Colombia had only 23,000 acres of cultivated illicit crops and in 2001... Colombia has 200,000 acres of coca plantations.” This growth, he said, reflects the democratization of the drug business occurring after the government’s dismantling of the Medellín and Cali cartels. The weakening of these organizations merely led to the emergence of new, better-organized, and more powerful groups.

A number of panelists also criticized the U. S. government’s decertification of Colombia between 1996 and 1999. The Foreign Assistance Act, passed in 1986, requires the president of the United States to prepare a list of major drug-producing countries every year, and to submit it to the Congress for certification. Countries that are not certified as “allies” in the war on drugs lose half of their U.S. assistance.

According to Bruce Bagley, a professor of international and comparative studies at the University of Miami and the former director of the Andean republics courses at the U.S. Department of State, Colombia’s decertification by the U.S. contributed to the loss of legitimacy of Colombia’s

From top  
to bottom:

Ana María Bejarano

Prof. Juan Tokatlián

Prof. Catherine LeGrand

Roberto Steiner

Prof. Jim Robinson

Photos by

María Fernanda Albarracín

government and military forces. This led to the current economic recession by forcing former president Ernesto Samper to use the national budget to buy political popularity as a way to stabilize his administration. Samper, Bagley said, expanded where there were no resources, spent money he didn't have, and drove Colombia into a deep fiscal crisis — all of this prompted in part by the U.S.' decision to identify his government as uncooperative in the war on drugs. "The overall impact was not just the weakening of the Colombian state," he said. "But an international condemnation of the Colombian state that further emboldened the guerrillas and further deepened the legitimacy crisis."

The discussion intensified when Mauricio Cárdenas, a former member of the Pastrana administration, presented the government's Plan Colombia as a possible "therapy to resume peace and economic prosperity." Disclosed in September 1999, Plan Colombia is structured around four principal strategies, including economic and social recovery, peace negotiations, institutional reforms, and counter-narcotics policies. This last component of the plan proved to be the most controversial, provoking strong opposition from part of the audience. It includes \$1.3 billion in U.S. aid, consisting of financial support as well as the presence of hundreds of American troops and advisers training anti-narcotics battalions on its soil.

Both Prof. Bagley and Andrew Miller, Acting Advocacy Director for Latin America at Amnesty International USA, strongly criticized the plan's military component, saying that it rewarded an undeserving military. Miller pointed out that in many cases, the Colombian army has covered up massacres committed by the paramilitaries. He insisted on the need to base any peace process on the respect for human rights.

The controversial plan sparked interest among audience members as well, many of whom asked questions related to different aspects of its implementation. In response to a set of such questions, Colombian political scientist Eduardo Pizarro urged people to remember the distinction between the Colombian version of the plan, which includes social development programs and other non-military priorities, and what he called its "North American package." While the U.S. military aid to Colombia has attracted more attention than the other programs, it constitutes only one aspect of the more extensive Plan Colombia, Pizarro said.

Indeed, although sharp differences on specific policies emerged throughout the course of the day, there were areas of general agreement among the participants. Most emphasized the need for

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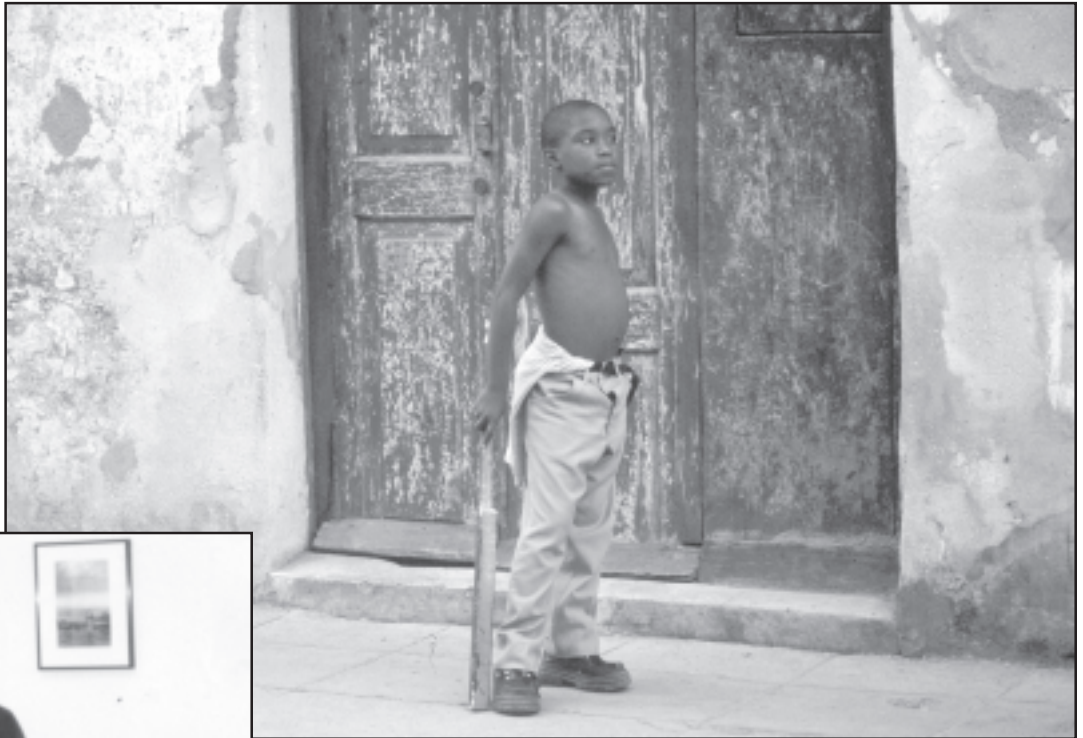


From top to bottom:  
Andrew Miller  
Prof. Bruce Bagley  
Mauricio Cárdenas  
Prof. Eduardo Pizarro  
Prof. Manuel Castells  
Photos by  
María Fernanda Albarracín



# CLAS examines a changing Cuba

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Above right: Boy with wooden bat, Havana, Cuba 2001.  
Photo by Mimi Chakarova.

Middle: Professor María Cristina García, of Cornell University's history department.

Below: Tiffany Mitchell of Georgetown University's Cuba Project

left their schools to work in hotels, Cuban families found religion, hip-hop and the benefits of private enterprise. Many became budding entrepreneurs, opening up restaurants, luring tourists to their unsanctioned guest houses, and basically doing just about anything to make a buck.

The changes on the island have been so sharp, according to the experts, that Fidel Castro has had little choice but to pay attention. If he could not

control the black market, he decided in 1993, he might as well join it. Dollars became legal and the government quickly moved to capture as many as possible.

Government exchange booths popped up, dollar stores opened to serve all Cubans with access to hardbacks, and licensing fees or taxes on new quasi-private enterprises became as popular in Cuba as they are in the United States. Seminar visitors estimated that remittances from Cubans abroad now amount to \$800 million a year and some 60 percent of Cubans on the island trade in dollars.

All of this happened in the same period that the Clinton Administration, which had once loosened the embargo some, tightened it with the passage of the Helms-Burton Act.

Richard Nuccio, former President Bill Clinton's Cuba adviser in 1995 and 1996, blamed the disconnect between U.S. policy and the dynamic on the island on Washington's dependency on the Cuban exile community. "Cuban policy is made by people who haven't even been there and don't know what's going on on the island," he explained. Nuccio noted that even his last trip to Cuba was in the spring of 1995. Many in the exile community haven't returned since they departed in the early 1960's.

Cubans, too concerned with survival to care, continue to push the envelope. Since Pope John Paul II's 1998 visit, religion — Catholic, Protestant and



Afro-Cuban *santería* — has flourished. So have ties to relatives in the United States. The family members once referred to as *gusanos*, or worms, are now referred to as “*fe*” — “hope” in Spanish, and also the acronym for “family in the exterior.”

Other revolutionary vocabulary has changed as well. Newspapers rarely refer to Marx, and the 1959 revolution is being recast as the nationalistic revolution that most scholars have always believed it to be. Words such as “human rights” and “transition,” once virtually outlawed, are now appearing in academic work, according to Mayra Espina. And, there are other, potentially bigger changes. The huge state farms have been broken up and the newly formed cooperatives are being encouraged to export their produce. As with earlier openings in China, farmers who sell their produce to the state can now keep a certain percentage to sell on the open market.

Where all of these changes will lead is unclear. The Cuban government has allowed for openings in the past, only to clamp down. And María Cristina García and Tiffany Mitchell said that the legalization of dollars has made the disparities in income much greater than in the past. White Cubans emigrated in greater numbers than Afro-Cubans, for example, so they have more relatives in the United States and elsewhere and therefore more access to dollars.

Also, the dollar’s advent has meant that the government has less control because it is no longer the state’s paycheck that Cubans rely on for survival. Instead, it is the remittance from the United States.

As to the U.S. government, Nuccio, who is now at the Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy in Newport, Rhode Island, said the first indication will come from the appointments that President George W. Bush makes on Latin American policy. ■

Lydia Chavez is an associate professor in UC Berkeley’s Graduate School of Journalism and Chair of the Center for Latin American Studies’ Advisory Board. Former South American bureau chief for *The New York Times*, Prof. Chavez has written widely on Latin American topics. At Berkeley, she teaches reporting courses on Cuba, Mexico, and the U.S. - Mexican border.



Left: Truck riders.

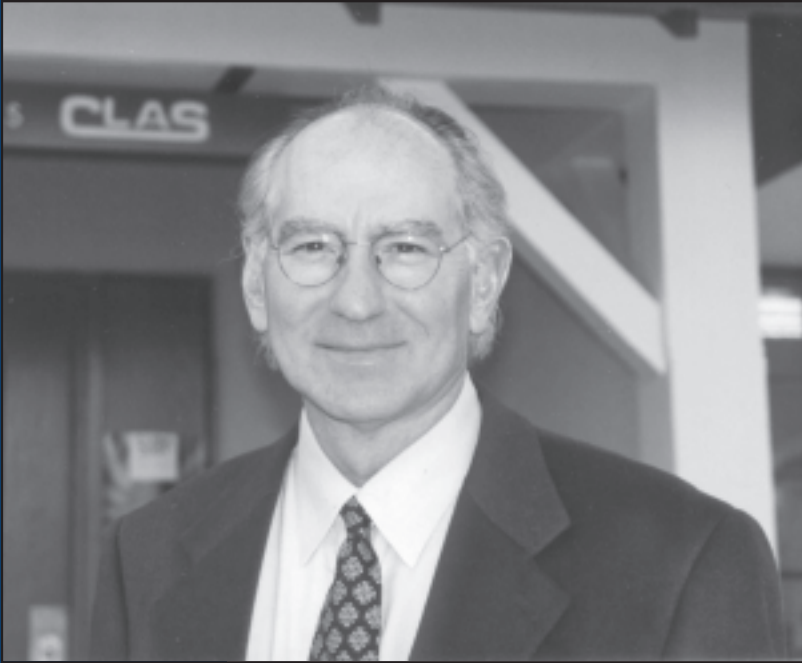
Below: Bicycle on the street.

Photos by  
Mimi Chakarova



# Richard Nuccio Discusses U.S. Policy on Cuba

by David Kaplowitz



Prof. Richard Nuccio after his talk at CLAS.

**R**ichard Nuccio used to have a recurring nightmare. At a party in Washington, the whole room of people with beer and wine in their hands would suddenly freeze and everybody would be saying “policy” at the same moment.

In a talk at UC Berkeley’s Center for Latin American Studies on February 11, Nuccio, a special adviser to the Clinton administration on U.S.-Cuba policy from May 1995 to April 1996, recounted this nightmare as a segue into a sharp criticism of the administration’s ever-changing Cuba policy. Rather than a coherent approach, he argued, the policy constituted a schizophrenic set of practices that aimed both to ignore and ingratiate the powerful Cuban American community.

During the two-hour talk, the former state department official provided a rare inside look at U.S.-Cuba policy decisions over the past decade.

“If I can make any contribution to people’s thinking about Cuba,” said Nuccio, who is now Director of the Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy in Newport, Rhode Island, “it’s to try and take you inside the way Cuba policy is made in Washington.”

Nuccio succinctly outlined his views on Cuba policy today, how the United States has arrived at this policy over the last decade, and where he thinks the policy should be headed.

“Cuba policy today is internally inconsistent and

divided against itself,” Nuccio said. He began by exploring three models underlying U.S. approaches to Cuba. He termed the first of these the “peaceful democratic transition” model. Even among advocates of such an approach, he cautioned, there exist fears that such a transition might come too quickly or that Cubans simply are not ready for a transition.

He then defined the “pressure cooker” model of Cuba policy, as advocated by Jesse Helms. “You screw down the lid of the pressure cooker. You turn up the fire underneath the pressure cooker. And when the lid of the pressure cooker blows off and the contents of the pressure cooker spray around the room, what you scrape off the ceiling will be better for Cuba than what Cuba has now.”

After asking the audience to contrast the “peaceful democratic transition” approach to the “pressure cooker” model, Nuccio added another variable to the mix: migration accords. “What do migration accords in Cuba require? A stable efficient government in Cuba,” he said. “The same government that Jesse Helms wants to explode.”

Nuccio argued that the three approaches were not only mutually contradictory, but that their simultaneous juxtaposition destined each for failure. “These two parts of the policy are at war with each other. If our ‘peaceful democratic transition’ policies are working, it’s helping to control illegal migration between the U.S. and Cuba. If our ‘pressure cooker’ approach to Cuba is working, it will help to undermine our migration policy with Cuba.”

To complicate matters further, different branches of the U.S. government favor different approaches. Nuccio explained that the majority of the Congress believes in the “pressure cooker” approach, but that during the Clinton administration, the executive branch had advocated the “peaceful democratic transition” approach. “So you have a war between different branches of the U.S. government, as well as a war within the policy itself,” he said.

Nuccio cites a “hijacking” by the United States Congress of U.S.-Cuba policy in the early 1990’s as the first factor in explaining how the United States has arrived at its current U.S.-Cuba policy. The beginning of the 1990’s was a major turning point because after the fall of the Berlin wall, “there was a qualitative change to the mix of ethnicity and politics.” Amidst prevailing attitudes that nobody cared about foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Nuccio said, members of Congress realized that there were indeed constituencies that would vote and contribute money to their campaigns. And the Cuban-American community was at the top of that list.

He says that although the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), the main Cuban American lobbying group, had discovered the value of campaign contributions in the 1980's, the group's efforts to get legislation passed during the first Bush administration were largely unsuccessful.

"It [wasn't] until they were found by new members eager to raise campaign funds to support themselves and their interest in foreign affairs that CANF had some success, passing with little opposition the Cuban Democracy Act in 1992," Nuccio said. "The consequence of this influence was that Congress auctioned off Cuba policy," he said, citing the Torricelli Bill (Cuban Democracy Act) of 1992 and the Helms-Burton bill of 1996.

Nuccio criticized the Clinton administration for its ill-defined position on many issues, and on Cuba policy in particular. "[The Clinton administration] didn't have a position on anything. It just had a bid, like an opening bid — OK, let's try this and then we'll see where we are." He said the administration would try a stance on an issue and constantly adjust that stance based on pressures from Congress, the media, political contributors, special interest groups, and other governmental agencies.

Nuccio viewed the Pope's 1998 visit to Cuba as a turning point: "After ethnic politics, after the chaos of the Clinton administration, the final piece is the visit of the Pope to Cuba," he said. "That has really set in motion a set of forces that are transforming U.S.-Cuba relations." The visit was important because it showed that one could oppose Castro while still negotiating directly with the Cuban government.

"[The Pope] talked about individual freedom, the sanctity of human life, the need for democracy in Cuba. He said things in Cuba that no one had been allowed to say, and survived saying, for 40 years," said Nuccio. "And a lot of people had to acknowledge that fact." According to Nuccio, this broke down psychological barriers to dealing with Cuba and mobilized new constituencies. And he defined this mobilization as a positive development for breaking through previous bottlenecks in U.S.-Cuban relations.

"The best example would be the vote last year to permit sales of food to Cuba," Nuccio explained. "This is an idea that had

been around for decades at least. It's true that it took an unusual alliance of conservative business types, farm state politicians like John Ashcroft, and liberals such as the Church. But this lobby only came together after the Pope's visit and the way in which the visit legitimized this sort of humanitarian criticism of the embargo."

Nuccio thinks Cuba policy should be a top priority for the United States, although he says the "early signs" indicate that it will not be prominent in the first part of the George W. Bush administration. "It's way too early in the administration for something that has as low a priority as Cuba to be taken very seriously by a new administration," he explained.

Nevertheless, he believes that a major crisis with Cuba is "waiting to happen," and that such a crisis will force Cuba back into the spotlight. In order to be adequately prepared to deal with such an eventuality, U.S. policymakers should be thinking and working on three levels with Cuba, he argued: what's happening inside of Cuba (which has been largely ignored); what's happening in the international community around Cuba; and what's happening in the Cuban-American community. The Cuban-American community should not be overemphasized, he cautioned. "It's entitled to be one component of Cuba policy, but not the only one. It should be one of three." ■

David Kaplowitz is a first-year student in the Graduate School of Journalism at UC Berkeley, focusing on documentary film. He will be travelling to Cuba in late March to work on a TV piece on Cuban hip-hop.



Below: Dominos,  
Trinidad, Cuba 2001.  
Photo by  
Mimi Chakarova



# Dollars and Social Change: Susan Eckstein on Cuba's Transition

by Archana Pyati

In a recent presentation at CLAS, sociologist Susan Eckstein challenged the accepted political theory that Cuba is a country with a strong state and a weak society. "The Cuban state isn't as all-powerful or as repressive as other totalitarian states," she said during her February 5 lecture for the "Cuba 2001" series. "Society is taking the lead, and the state is responding."

Eckstein, a professor at Boston University who has been studying and travelling to Cuba since the mid-1970's, and who has visited the country every year since the early 1990's, said the unique dynamic between Cuban society and the government can be seen in the legalization of U.S. dollars and less restrictive policies on private ownership. Cuban society began taking the lead during the economic crisis in 1991 that followed the collapse of the Soviet bloc, she explained. The government asked Cubans to return to the fields and work in agriculture because of the lack of sufficient food. The Cubans balked.

Ironically, this reluctance to do manual labor was the revolution's fault, Eckstein said. "It educated them," she said. "When people had university degrees, they didn't take well to working in the fields." Cubans resisted the work in spite of high unemployment in other sectors of the economy. Even after the government reduced the agricultural positions from full- to part-time, people still refused, and eventually, the government had to recruit Communist party

members to perform the work, she said.

For their part, Cubans began making their own rules. They started trading in dollars and turned to the black market. By 1993, the informal economy was worth more than the legal economy, and the government responded by legalizing dollars. This move has also been helpful the government, which is as desperate for dollars as its citizens because of a hard currency debt that began accumulating in the 1970's. The government has also promoted tourism, an industry condemned early in the revolution as "decadence of the old order" of Batista, Eckstein said.

However practical, the government's decision to promote tourism has also created moral quandaries for Cubans, she added. Prostitution, though still illegal, has become so prevalent that even college students sell their bodies for favors or dollars. As a result, families don't know what to teach their children, since traditional moral codes don't seem to apply anymore. "Who's the best dressed girl in the classroom? The daughter of the prostitute," families tell Eckstein when she goes to Cuba. "New kinds of illicit activities develop in the interstices of the dollar economy," she explained.

In addition to promoting tourism, the government has jumped into the black market and set up exchange booths with an unofficial rate of 20 to 25 pesos to the dollar. The official rate, which Cuba uses to buy rice, wheat, and other commodities, is still one to one,

Continued on next page

Prof. Lydia Chavez, of UC Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism, and Boston University's Prof. Susan Eckstein





# International Labor Rights and Labor Solidarity in the Americas

by Catha Worthman

One year before he was invited to become the Assistant Director of International Affairs for the A.F.L.-C.I.O., Stanley Gacek heard A.F.L.-C.I.O. Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka say something he will always remember: “We in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. are not in the business of exporting and importing Cold War ideologies. We are in the business of exporting and importing real international labor solidarity.” In his February 16 talk at CLAS, Gacek described how the U.S. labor movement is developing this solidarity in the context of pressing development needs and economic integration in Latin America.

To borrow a phrase from Dickens, Gacek said, it has been the “worst of times and the best of times” for labor rights and solidarity in the Americas. Overall economic growth and investment is deteriorating in Latin America and the Caribbean, with Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela experiencing deep recessions, and Chile suffering negative economic growth in 1999. It has also been the worst of times in terms of economic inequality. Maldistribution of income is so extreme that even international financial elites are worried about it. Unemployment rates are high, reaching 8 percent in Argentina, Colombia, and Paraguay, and the quality of employment is also deteriorating. Half of the labor force in Brazil and Mexico is employed in the informal sector. In the United States, according to the Economic Policy

Institute, up to 30 percent of the workforce is contingent without formal contractual arrangements, meaning they are outside the possible protections of union collective



Stan Gacek discusses labor rights and solidarity

bargaining agreements and labor regulations like overtime and pension requirements. Union density is also falling. In Argentina, representation has dropped from 65 percent to 35 percent. In Brazil, 50 percent of the workforce is outside formal collective bargaining structures. In the United States, 9 to 10 percent of the private sector workforce is organized and in Central America union representation is below 5 percent.

International financial institutions like the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO have tried to ignore labor rights while fostering structural adjustment programs that undermine labor protections. The Inter-American Development Bank, for example, has financed privatization of the health and social

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## Susan Eckstein

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according to Luis Hernández, press officer at the U.S.-Cuba Interest Section in Washington D.C.

Eckstein said that in 1993, when the government decided to legalize dollars, one-third of the country was already trading in U.S. currency. Now, an estimated 60 percent of Cubans have access to dollars, meaning “they not only use dollars but that dollars are part of their lives,” she said.

In addition to tourism, another source of dollars is the Cuban immigrant community in the United States, which sends money, known as remittances, to families in Cuba. The legal limit is \$1,200 per year, but many U.S. Cubans send more and get away with it. Indeed, part of a family’s survival strategy may include sending a family member to the United States so that dollars can be sent back to Cuba. What is interesting, Eckstein said, is that the latest wave of Cuban immigrants is poorer than previous ones,

yet they send a larger percentage of their income back home.

But even those who left Cuba long ago are reconnecting with their families still on the island, Eckstein said. No longer are Cuban exiles in Florida known as *gusanos* or worms; rather, they are now known more innocuously as the “Cuban community abroad.” In fact, a popular joke among Cubans is to say “I have faith” with the Spanish word for faith, *fe*, also serving as an acronym for “family in the exterior,” Eckstein said.

“Families come first,” Eckstein said. “The Revolution hasn’t destroyed that for Cubans.” ■

Archana Pyati is completing an M.A. in journalism at UC Berkeley, with an emphasis on print media. She has reported for newspapers in the Bay Area and for the *Dayton Daily News* in Ohio.

# International Labor Rights

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Prof. Harley Shaiken, CLAS Chair,  
with Lilliane Fiuza and  
Stan Gacek on the  
UC Berkeley campus



security administration in El Salvador. In trade agreements, as well, the international political and financial elites have sought to exclude labor protections. Nafta's labor side agreement provides only minimal, ineffectual mechanisms for enforcing labor rights. The proposed Free Trade Agreement of the Americas excludes effective institutional participation by labor unions or other representatives of civil society.

Despite these and other obstacles, however, Gacek said that labor unions have sought to maintain what Antonio Gramsci called "pessimism of the mind but optimism of the will." In some respects, these have been the best of times for international labor solidarity. Gacek emphasized that the end of the Cold War and the advent of Nafta have helped strengthen the international labor movement. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. does not engage in "ideological litmus testing" before forging relations with unions in other countries. The U.S. labor movement has been working more closely than ever with the CUT in Brazil, which has 7 to 8 million active members and represents 17 million Brazilian workers. The U.S. labor movement also supports the Central Sandinista de Trabajadores de Nicaragua, including the textile workers at Chentex. For the first time since the end of the Cold War, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. is actively collaborating with the Uruguayan Labor Central, the PIT-CNT.

Nafta was a turning point for relations between Mexican and U.S. unions. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. began

to foster relationships with independent Mexican unions like the FAT and the UNT, broadening its previously exclusive relationship with the PRI-aligned CTM. Labor lawyers in the U.S., Mexico, and Canada have formed a consortium working to enforce the principles of the Nafta labor-side agreement, weak as they are. Meanwhile, the CTM helped support organizing within the U.S., encouraging company dialogue with the United Food and Commercial Workers in its efforts to organize the Mexican owned-supermarket chain Gigante.

Pablo Neruda said that "Latin America has always been known as the continent of hope, but we have been waiting all our lives for that hope to be fulfilled." U.S. labor unions are joining with Latin American unions to try to make 2001 the beginning of fulfillment for those hopes, Gacek said. He envisions a hemispheric social alliance, which would advocate not only labor rights but also other social and environmental protections, within the context of an overall sustainable development strategy. Academia can be an important part of this alliance, Gacek concluded, by organizing student support, participating in analysis, and fostering opportunities for dialogue like the "Alternatives for the Americas" conference sponsored by CLAS in 1998. ■

Catha Worthman is a student at UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law. Her interests include labor rights and globalization.

# Child Labor in Brazil

by Catha Worthman

Child labor is a global problem, yet often an invisible one, according to sociologist and activist Liliane Fiuza. In a February 16 presentation at CLAS, Fiuza, who specializes in child labor issues in Brazil, emphasized the problem's interconnectedness in developing and developed economies, reminding her audience that child labor also occurs in the United States. In fact, Fiuza said, 1990 census figures reveal that in Brazil, 3.8 million children between the ages of 5 and 15 were working in Brazil, while in the United States, some 5.5 million young people ages 12 to 17 were working — an estimated 290,000 of those illegally. She explained that if anything, these statistics understate the problem, often missing those children who work in the informal sectors and the underground economy, including in prostitution and narcotrafficking.

The statistics also fail to capture the tragic working conditions some children experience. Fiuza recounted the experience of a Brazilian friend of hers, now 15 years old, who walked in the Global March Against Child Labor which she organized two years ago. This boy was so small that she would carry him in her arms when he fell asleep during the march. He worked in the orange plantations of Sergipe, filling crates with oranges and then loading the crates onto trucks. He was paid \$1 per ton of oranges, earning a total of \$2 per week; his family has more than 10 children, all of them working at the same job. The acid from the oranges had erased the impressions on his fingertips, Fiuza said, but still he kept working. Despite this, like the other child laborers she knew, he would always play with a ball when he had the chance. "Children who work are still children," she said.

The majority of working children in Brazil, about 60 percent, are employed in agriculture. Children work to earn money for their families, often helping to support younger siblings and relatives, yet only rarely on farms their families own. In the orange fields as in other agricultural jobs in Brazil, children begin working when they are as young as 3 and 4 years old. The remaining 40 percent of Brazilian working children are employed in urban centers, working at jobs such as shoe assembly, leather work, and garment production, often in sweatshops.

Gender is an important factor in the situation of child laborers. The majority of children who work belong to single-parent households headed by women, and children of illiterate women have a 14 percent greater chance of being part of the labor market. Girls are often vulnerable in unique ways to

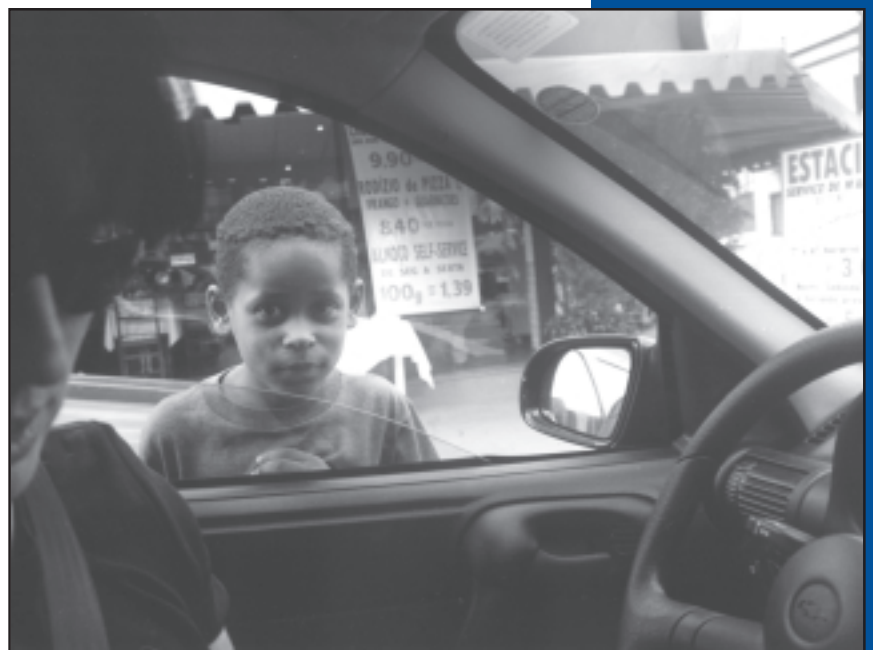
sexual abuse and violence on the job. Domestic work, for example, is more commonly done by girls than boys; girls from rural areas are often sent to the city to work in middle- and upper-class households. The law requires that the host families "sponsor" and educate the girls, but too often they spend their days washing, ironing, cooking, and caring for other families' children. Isolated from their own families, these girls are vulnerable to sexual exploitation by men in the host households.

In both rural and urban settings, Fiuza said, child labor is not new. For example, indigenous children were put to work at the time of the Portuguese conquest of Brazil, and Afro-Brazilian children worked as slaves. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese and other immigrant children also worked, contributing to the development of a new attitude toward manual labor in Brazil. Labor was not only for slaves, but could be a way to enable a human being. Consequently, child labor was sometimes described not as a problem but rather as a solution to problems of poverty and crime.

Activism against child labor also has long traditions: in the 1917 Brazilian General Strikes, one of the banners called for the elimination of child labor. This is still one of the banners of the struggle for a just society today in Brazil. It is also the banner under

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Photo by  
Jelani Mahiri



# Rio Branco Course Focuses on Brazilian Identity

by Nora Varela-Acevedo



Photo by  
Nair Benedicto

In February an unusual seminar series entitled “Leituras Brasileiras” provided Berkeley students and faculty with a unique opportunity to embark on a whirlwind voyage through the history of Brazilian social thought. Sponsored by CLAS, the department of Spanish and Portuguese, and the Brazilian Consulate, this one-week class is condensed from a much longer course offered in Brazil by Professors Mariza Veloso and Angelica Madeira from the Universidade de Brasília and the Instituto Rio Branco. By bringing the two professors to Berkeley for a brief but intensive visit, CLAS aimed to allow students to experience Brazilian culture and identity through an intensive study of the country’s history and literature guided by leading Brazilian scholars.

Brazilian identity, Professors Veloso and Madeira argued, is characterized by ambiguity and duality. To highlight the complexity of Brazilian cultural evolution, the lecture series coupled literary works with changes in social thought in terms of identity, with the post-colonial era as the point of departure. The intellectual and cultural movement of the postcolonial era was the eurocentric Futurismo movement, which suffered from a terrible amnesia: its main goal was to forget the slave era and begin anew. Futurismo emphasized the reproduction of European, particularly French,

culture in Brazil. The main objective in importing European literature, music, architecture, and even people was to “civilize” Brazil by “whitening” Brazilian cultural identity. As the whitening process continued, protest arose over this “importation” of culture. The protestors consisted of a group of native writers, artists, philosophers, and other primarily middle class intellectuals whom came to be known as the urban bourgeoisie.

It was this urban bourgeoisie that led a cultural revolution. In 1922 the modernist movement came onto the Brazilian scene quite brazenly with what was called *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Week of Modern Art) in São Paulo. The modernists believed that the theoretical framework and the principal axis of a culture, a Brazilian culture, already existed. They embraced what had shamed the Futurists, emphasizing that during colonization a series of socio-historical processes, including slavery, had taken place, eventually producing the multicultural identity matrix that is the basis of Brazilian identity. In order to “create” Brazil’s future, modernists argued, one must learn from the past. The unearthing of a Brazilian culture and the fortifying of a unified national identity was aided by the creation of 13 cultural institutions. During this period, literary works that dealt with the definition of Brazilian identity based on the colonial framework were



written, including *Macunaima* by Mario Andrade, *Memorias Sentimentais de Joao Miramar* by Oswaldo de Andrade, *Raizes do Brasil* by Sergio Buarque de Holanda, and *Casa Grande e Sanzala* by Gilbert Freyre. These authors were in dialogue with philosophers around the world in an effort to better understand the Brazilian condition and its possibilities.

In the keeping with the spirit of the modernists, post-modernists continued the dissemination of a Brazilian culture. However, their efforts used a grassroots method rather than a top-down approach to encourage Brazilians themselves to appropriate their history and help define Brazilian identity. This movement sought to make culture consistent with common Brazilian experiences and accessible to all Brazilians. The father of this methodology in Brazil is Paulo Freire; modernist institutions such as the Universidade de São Paulo (USP), ISB, and Escola Superior de Guerra (ESG) were at the center of the grassroots movement. The intellectuals at these institutions cemented a Brazilian cultural identity on a national and global level and were among the Latin American theorists who first introduced dependency theory, which challenged mainstream ideas about development. The debate about development, particularly economic development, divided this group, leading the ESG to separate from the USP and ISB and become much more authoritative, ultimately leading the military regime. The opposing groups were transformed into counter-cultural movements and many of their members were persecuted during the regime.

In the relatively short period since the end of the military regime in 1985, Brazilian cultural identity has faced a new challenge and is once again being redefined by forces other than its domestic foundations.

Economic globalization has greatly affected Brazil, as the country is one of the largest centers for international investment. The constant flow of money, information, people, and technology has changed Brazil immensely, putting Brazilian identity to the test. A porous border and internal inequalities have allowed subcultures to develop and

express themselves more than before. Works like Samuel Rawet's *Contos do Imigrante* focus on the difficulties that immigrants face when trying to integrate into Brazilian culture and adopt the Brazilian identity. Immigrants are not the only group facing difficulties: the poor and marginalized have been disenfranchised on both a political and a cultural level.

The surge of a consumer culture further aggravates the economic and cultural divide in Brazil. Professors Veloso and Madeira see this as the most threatening factor to Brazilian identity, a symptom of living solely in the present. According to the two scholars, Brazilians today seem not to live for the future as was reflected in the Futurismo movement, nor do they base their experiences on the past, as did the modernists; rather, they live in the present, most concerned with immediate needs. Individual realities thus supersede the intrinsic communal tendencies in Brazilian society. In the long run, this trend may threaten Brazilian identity and further fragment society. It could also undo the development of an identity which prior cultural movements held so highly, based on the country's 500-year history. Is this the reality Brazil is moving toward? The past has proven that Brazil and its people have an amazing ability to adapt and supercede challenges, and they will find a way to do this in the future. ■

Nora Varela-Acevedo is a graduating B.A. student in the political science department. Her areas of interest include Latin America's urban centers, particularly in Mexico and Brazil.



Left to right: CLAS Program Coordinator Margaret Lamb, Prof. Mariza Veloso, Prof. Maria Angelica Madeira, Rosana de Sa of the Brazilian Consulate, and Clélia Donovan, a lecturer in UC Berkeley's department of Spanish and Portuguese

# Elizabeth Lira on “The Trouble with the Truth”

by Alejandra Torres

Right:  
Photo by Vince Heptig,  
with graphic design  
by Mira Hahn

Below:  
Elizabeth Lira lectures as part of  
CLAS’ “Conflict, Memory, and  
Transitions” series.

The truth can be troublesome, as psychologist Elizabeth Lira explained in a recent presentation at CLAS. A professor and researcher at the Universidad Alberto Hurtado in Santiago, Chile, and the author of several books on psychology, political repression and terror, she has recently focused her attention on exploring Chile’s political history, particularly the politics of reconciliation.

In her research and writing, Lira argues that reconciliation does not have the same meaning for everyone, and that within Latin American societies there often exist conflicting visions of “common good.” In addition, some groups within society, mainly the victims of past political repression, may possess a strong resistance to political reconciliation, which implies simply “forgiving and forgetting.” The principal question becomes, how can a country deal with the traumas caused by political repression? These issues have become particularly important to many Latin Americans in recent decades, as initiatives aimed at promoting reconciliation emerged in such countries as Argentina (1983-84), Chile (1991), El Salvador (1992-93), and Guatemala (1995-98).

For Lira, political reconciliation in Latin America is an



elite preoccupation: concerns about formal restoration, legitimacy, social peace, and order have primarily been expressed by powerful groups. Given a shared Catholic culture, elites have appealed to nationalism and family structures, defining reconciliation as amnesty and justifying impunity for perpetrators as necessary to overcome past wounds. As opposed to personal reconciliation, political reconciliation traditionally meant not discussing certain issues in order not to shatter the fragile consensus underlying incipient democracies.

In Chile, for example, Dr. Lira suggested that the issue of national reconciliation has been recurrent

since 1814, but took on greater importance following Pinochet’s dictatorship. Historically, Chilean politics have not been tolerant of cultural pluralism, and from the 1820’s to the 1930’s, torture was commonly employed against political opponents. In fact, Chile’s model throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century was one of “rupture and reconciliation,” whereby following each conflict (throughout the 1800’s, there were several civil

Wars), the ruling class called for reconciliation.

Today, Chilean society has changed, and the global context as well, yet the discourse of Chilean elites remains essentially the same as its 19<sup>th</sup> century precursor. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lira explained, the Chilean ruling class responded to



conflict by attempting to construct an “official memory” and impose collective amnesia. Yet today these efforts to force forgiveness and denial are met with increased resistance. While in the past, access to education and information was not widespread in Chile, over 2 million people use the internet in Chile today, and the television, radio, and newspapers serve an increasingly well-informed public. More Chileans are not only aware of their own history, but of the international human rights movement and its insistence that war crimes be prosecuted; this makes the traditional model of silence and forgetting difficult to impose.

For Lira, reconciliation cannot be imposed; it must be constructed on a foundation of truth. Indeed, she insisted, truth-telling is the most rational way to channel and confront the collective trauma caused by political repression. In order for Chile to achieve a lasting reconciliation between victims and perpetrators, the ruling powers need to acknowledge the nature of past abuses and take responsibility for their actions. ■

Alejandra Torres is an M.A. student in Latin American studies whose interests include the Colombian political conflict and the plight of the country's internally displaced.

## Child Labor in Brazil

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which Liliane Fiuza united a wide cross-section of Brazilian activists in a new group called the National Forum for the Prevention and Eradication of Child Labor (*foro nacional*).

The movement against child labor has had much success in Brazil in the past several years. Brazil has ratified Conventions 129, 138 and 182 of the Industrial Labor Organization, for example, which respectively address rural work, a minimum age for working, and immediate eradication of the worst forms of child labor. Brazilian law now forbids children from working before the age of 14, and allows children between the ages of 14 and 16 to work only in apprenticeship or training programs. Along with the 1988 Constitution and 1990 enabling legislation on the rights of children and youth, Brazilian laws are among the most progressive in Latin America.

Huge gaps remain between the law and reality, however. Enforcement and monitoring are difficult. Moreover, as Fiuza pointed out, child labor is such a deeply rooted problem that it will take years to eradicate. Activists are now focused on multiple solutions, including national policies, financial incentives rewarding families for sending their children to school, and ensuring universal free access to high quality education. Other efforts focus on increasing educational opportunities for adults. Basic



Guatemalan villagers conduct a ceremony prior to the excavation of a mass grave.  
Photo by Vince Heptig

illiteracy remains a problem, for example. Job opportunities for parents are key, including increasing credit, providing opportunities for land ownership, and encouraging job creation and promotion. These measures aim to break the cycle of poverty, so that children who are working today will not have to see their children and grandchildren also work.

Fiuza concluded by noting that addressing child labor is part of creating sustainable development more generally. She also pointed out that micro-policies are necessary in conjunction with macro-policies. For example, teachers in Brazil are being trained by the teachers' and agricultural workers' unions to incorporate former child laborers without stigma into their age-group classes.

In the United States, she urged, we can also take small practical steps to help eradicate child labor. Self-education is a good place to start, and we can form study groups on the issue, invite speakers, and join and initiate active campaigns. ■

Catha Worthman is a student at UC Berkeley's Boalt Hall School of Law. Her interests include labor rights and globalization.



# A View from Within: Adolfo Aguilar Zinser

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something that directly affects drug trade in Mexico. Most of the Colombian drugs that reach the U.S. market are coming through Mexican territory... So we have to cooperate, and the basis of our cooperation is our mutual interests. And [inasmuch] as we can identify the specific mutual interests between Mexico and Colombia, the specific mutual interests between Mexico and the United States, between Mexico and Canada, between Mexico and Central America, we will be able to gradually [come up with] a better system of cooperation. So far, the problem is that most of the mechanisms of cooperation are based on the perceptions of the problem by one [country] — the United States — so we are all working within a framework for cooperation [that was designed] basically having in mind what the United States perceives to be its drug problem and what it perceives to be the necessary actions to confront that drug problem.

*HS: Do you think that Plan Colombia is a viable alternative from Mexico's point of view, or do you see alternatives to Plan Colombia?*

*AA:* Plan Colombia could be an effective tool in addressing some specific questions of drug production and drug trafficking within the Colombian territory, but as long as consumption remains and even increases, drug production is going to be located somewhere — somewhere in the Americas — and drug trafficking is going to happen. The amount of resources devoted by drug traffickers to their business is far more than any of [our countries' budgets for combating] the problem; even the United States, which is the richest country in the world, does not have the necessary resources to tackle the problem in terms of spending. [We need] a strategy that begins to conceive of the problem very seriously as an international problem. Plan Colombia has to be sensitive... to the fact that as long as [there is] consumption, you can simply shift the role of Colombia to its neighbors or to other geographical spaces. That is why we [not only] want to ...cooperate with Colombia, but also ...to address the question in a broader sense.

*HS: One final question, what do you think of the decision to involve the Mexican army in the fight against drugs?*

*AA:* This is one of the things that becomes inevitable. It is not desirable, but it is, at this point, inevitable [given] the ability of our institutions [to resist the] pressures from drug traffickers, in terms of corruption and threats. This means that gradually, whether we like it or not, combating drugs becomes a question to be addressed by the strongest and best fortified institutions. That happened in Colombia,

and it has to some extent happened in Mexico and also in the United States — the United States' army is [also] increasingly involved in questions related to the drug war. This is a real war, this is the most real war we can ever conceive to be happening today in our hemisphere. ■



Adolfo Aguilar Zinser  
addresses the  
audience at the  
International House.



# Colombia's Complexities

Continued from page 7

additional political reforms in Colombia and the necessity to refocus the Colombia drug war on the North American drug consumption problem. And many underscored the importance of continuing dialogues on these issues in settings of serious

engagement and study. ■

Daniela Mohor is a second-year M.A. student at the UC Berkeley School of Journalism. Her interests include reporting on Latin American social issues and politics.



The best possible scenario for Colombia would be to reduce consumption in the U.S., and I think that's the emphasis should be placed. But as I said before, we cannot wait until consumption is reduced in this country, because while cocaine and heroine are being consumed in the streets of America, people are being killed in Colombia.  
-Mauricio Cárdenas



Colombian academia is academia at risk... In the public university the value of academic studies is no longer measured by intellectual rigor, the freedom of instruction, but an atmosphere of intimidation, an atmosphere of enemies. So for somebody coming from a Colombian university, this generous and open debate is something extraordinary. In order to achieve a more complex, a more whole view of the Colombian situation, and to escape from that attempt to impose totalitarian views, as is happening in the Colombian university, I think that what Colombia requires the most is tolerance.  
-Eduardo Pizarro

The United States does have a role to play in Colombia. It can't abandon Colombia; it's part of the reason that Colombia is deeply involved in the problems that it confronts. ... The U.S. cannot be expected to change its stripes from one day to the next, but it can be expected to bring to bear a more balanced approach. ... One that does not emphasize 80 percent or more of the funds on a military struggle which they can never win, but one that also emphasizes alternative development and support for political reform and dialogue in Colombia.  
-Bruce Bagley

At left: Moderator Jim Robinson, Prof. Catherine LeGrand, Ana María Bejarano and Prof. Juan Tokatlián.

Below: Prof. Eduardo Pizarro, Mauricio Cárdenas, Andrew Miller, and Prof. Bruce Bagley.  
Photos by María Fernanda Albarracín.

# CLAS Visiting Scholars and Research Associates



Visiting Scholar  
Enrique Dussel Peters

**Enrique Dussel Peters** returns to CLAS as a visiting scholar in April 2001. A professor of economics at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) and a consultant for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL), Prof. Dussel Peters was a member of Mexico's Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI) from 1997 to 2000. He is the author of numerous articles and books on the political economy of Mexico, social effects of economic change, and Nafta. Recent books include *Polarizing Mexico: The Impact of Liberalization Strategy* (2000) and *El Tratado de Libre Comercio de Norteamérica y el desempeño de la economía en México* (2000).

**Jaime Montes** received his Ph.D. from La Universidad Complutense, Madrid, in 1986. He is currently co-director of the LAS Master's program at the Universidad de la Serena in Chile and director of the Interdisciplinary Center of Latin American Studies. With Dr. Noemí, Dr. Montes is visiting CLAS to participate in Center activities and establish means for inter-institutional collaboration. A philosopher, Dr. Montes plans to conduct a study on "intercultural philosophy," using research in the United States and elsewhere, to establish norms of dialogue among contemporary societies.

**Cristián Noemí** received his Ph.D. from La Universidad Complutense, Madrid, in 1996. A linguist, Dr. Noemí is dean of humanities at Universidad de la Serena in Chile, and co-director of the LAS Master's program at the university. His current research focuses on dominant discourse in Latin American society, and resulting global interactions in political, social, and economic realms.

**Bernardo Ricupero** is a Research Associate at CLAS. He will be doing research related to his dissertation, which focuses on the effort of establishing the Nation by the romantic generations in Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Ricupero received his M.A. in political science in 1997 from the University of São Paulo, Brazil, and is currently working toward his Ph.D. in the same field. He will be affiliated with CLAS through June 2001.

**Maria Gregori** will be a visiting scholar at CLAS through October 2001. As a professor of anthropology at the Institute of Philosophy and Human Sciences, University of Campinas, Brazil, her past research has focused on violence against women, street children, citizenship, and social policy. She will use UC Berkeley's resources to work on her current research project, articulating subjects as new forms of eroticism and gender violence. ■



Visiting Scholar  
Maria Gregori

The Center for Latin American Studies, UC Berkeley Presents:

## U.S. POLICY TOWARDS COLOMBIA

Senator

**Paul Wellstone**

Monday, April 16, 3-5 p.m.  
Morrison Room, Doe Library



Paul Wellstone was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1990.

A Ph.D. in political science, he previously taught at Carleton College for 21 years.

He is a strong advocate of human rights at home and abroad.

In regard to Colombia, Wellstone has argued that any aid from the United States should be conditioned on the Colombia government and military complying with human rights norms. According to him, U.S. policy on Colombia should include "support for Colombia's peace process, new protections for human rights defenders, and initiatives to make drug production less attractive to economically desperate peasants by providing support for sustainable alternative crops."

(In "Bush Should Start Over in Colombia," New York Times, Dec. 26, 2000).

# Vitalidad Cubana

**F**rom February to May 2001, the CLAS gallery featured an exhibit of original photography by Stefan Cohen entitled "Vitalidad Cubana." The images in the exhibit were created in La Habana and Viñales, Cuba. ■



Above right: "Cuatro Entradas"  
Above left: "Fiesta de Niños"  
At left: "Calle Tránsito"





Above left: "Mother and Children"  
Above right: "Coki"  
Below: "Los Amigos Borrachos"



# Spring Calendar Highlights

JANUARY 26-27, 2001

## Urban Informality in an Era of Liberalization: A Transnational Perspective A Symposium

This symposium brings together scholars, practitioners, and activists from three regional genres of research — Latin America, the Middle East, and South Asia — to discuss and explore the socio-spatiality of urban informality in an era of liberalization. Co-sponsored with the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

FEBRUARY 5, 2001

CUBA 2001

Professor Susan Eckstein

## Cuba in Transition

Susan Eckstein is a professor of sociology at Boston University whose books include *Power and Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (University of California Press) and *Back from the Future: Cuba Under Castro* (Princeton University Press).

FEBRUARY 5 - 9, 2001

BRAZIL: CULTURE, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS

## Leituras Brasileiras Graduate Seminar

"Leituras Brasileiras" is a graduate seminar offered by the Center for Latin American Studies, the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and the Brazilian Consulate. The course is taught by Professors Maria Angelica Madeira and Mariza Veloso of the Universidade de Brasilia and the Instituto Rio Branco.

FEBRUARY 7, 2001

CONFLICT, MEMORY, AND TRANSITIONS

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy

## Lynchings and the Democratization of Terror in Postwar Guatemala

Angelina Snodgrass Godoy is a Ph.D. candidate in UC Berkeley's department of sociology, working on a dissertation about vigilante justice practices in Latin America.

FEBRUARY 12, 2001

CUBA 2001

Professor Richard Nuccio

## U.S. - Cuba Policy 2001: Where We Are, How We Got Here, and Where We Ought to Be

Richard Nuccio was President Clinton's special adviser on Cuba from 1995 to 1996, and currently serves as director of the Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy at Salve Regina University.

**FEBRUARY 16, 2001**

**DEVELOPMENT, LABOR STANDARDS, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE AMERICAS**

**Stan Gacek**

## International Labor Rights and Labor Solidarity in the Americas

Stanley Gacek is currently the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s Assistant Director for International Affairs, with responsibility for the U.S. Labor Federation's policy in Latin America and the Caribbean.

**FEBRUARY 16, 2001**

**DEVELOPMENT, LABOR STANDARDS, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE AMERICAS**

**Liliane Fiuza**

## Child Labor in Brazil

Liliane Fiuza is a noted activist and expert on child labor. She was the organizer for the Global March Against Child Labor, and she is a consultant on child labor issues to the national labor union centrals in Brazil.

**FEBRUARY 26, 2001**

**CUBA 2001**

**Professor María Cristina García**

## Cuban Immigrants in the U.S.

An associate professor at Cornell University, María Cristina García holds a joint appointment in history and Latino studies. She specializes in immigration and ethnic history, Latino communities of the United States, 20<sup>th</sup> century U.S. social and cultural history and the history of Cuba.

**MARCH 2, 2001**

**COLOMBIA IN CONTEXT**

## Conference: Colombia in Context

CLAS' conference "Colombia in Context" featured discussions among policymakers and scholars grappling with the current situation in Colombia and its historical antecedents. A morning panel explored the conflict's historical context, and an afternoon one dealt with contemporary policy issues.

**MARCH 6, 2001**

**CONFLICT, MEMORY, AND TRANSITIONS**

**Elizabeth Lira**

## The Trouble with the Truth:

### Human Rights and Political Reconciliation in Chile

Professor Lira teaches at the Universidad Alberto Hurtado in Santiago, Chile. She has written extensively on political reconciliation, memory, and therapy for victims of human rights abuses.



**MARCH 12, 2001**

**CUBA 2001**

**Tiffany Mitchell**

## Race Relations in Cuba's Current Political Climate.

Tiffany Mitchell is associate director and Cuba Program Coordinator at the Georgetown University Caribbean Project.

**MARCH 15, 2001**

**DEVELOPMENT, LABOR STANDARDS, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION IN THE AMERICAS**

**Professor Samuel Valenzuela**

## Labor, Democratic Transition, and Neo-Liberal Policy Environments:

**The Case of Chile**

J. Samuel Valenzuela is currently a professor of sociology at the University of Notre Dame. His publications have focused on comparative labor movements, democratization and political party formation, and social change and development.

**MARCH 20, 2001**

**Dr. Luis Lumbreras**

## Social Archaeology in Latin America: An Historical Perspective

Luis Lumbreras is a professor of archaeology at the National University of San Marcos in Lima, Peru. This event is co-sponsored by the Archaeological Research Facility, the department of anthropology, and the Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

**FRIDAYS IN APRIL, 2001**

**Enrique Dussel Peters**

## Socioeconomic Challenges During Mexico's Transition

Enrique Dussel Peters is a professor of economics at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México (UNAM) and a consultant for the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (CEPAL). In April, he conducted a special seminar for graduate students.

**APRIL 10, 2001**

**CONFLICT, MEMORY, AND TRANSITIONS**

**Rachel Sieder**

## Law, Citizenship and Multiculturalism: Guatemala After the Peace Accords

Rachel Sieder is a lecturer and researcher in politics at the Institute of Latin American Studies in London. She is the editor of *Guatemala after the Peace Accords* (1998), *Central America: Fragile Transition* (1996), and *Impunity in Latin America* (1995).

APRIL 12, 2001

**Enrique Dussel Peters**

## Economic Challenges of the New Fox Administration in Mexico

CLAS Visiting Scholar Enrique Dussel Peters' public talk addresses the economic issues confronting the administration of Vicente Fox.

APRIL 13, 2001

## Ricardo Piglia in and on Translation

**A Conversation with Argentine novelist Ricardo Piglia and his translator, Sergio Waisman.**

Ricardo Piglia is professor of literature and writer-in-residence at the University of California at Davis. Sergio Waisman is director of translation studies and assistant professor at San Diego State University.

Co-sponsored by the department of Spanish and Portuguese, the department of comparative literature, and the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities.

APRIL 16, 2001

**COLOMBIA IN CONTEXT**

**Sen. Paul Wellstone**

## The U.S. Congress and Plan Colombia



Paul Wellstone, the senior senator from Minnesota, was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1990 after having taught at Carleton College for 21 years. A strong advocate of human rights at home and abroad,

Wellstone has argued that any aid from the United States should be conditioned on the Colombian government's compliance with human rights norms.

APRIL 17, 2001

**Judge Juan Guzmán**

## Justice and Human Rights in Chile Since the Return of Democracy



Juan Guzmán is the Chief Judge of the Santiago, Chile, Court of Appeals and is currently in charge of investigating the case against former general Augusto Pinochet. This public lecture is sponsored by the Human Rights Center, Boalt Hall School of Law, and the Institute of International Studies. (In the above right photo, Judge Guzmán talks with Chilean Consul Fernando Varela.)

APRIL 17, 2001

**Ernesto Cardenal**

## *Vida y Obra*

A renowned Nicaraguan poet, Father Cardenal is the author of more than 35 volumes of poetry in Spanish. He was Minister of Culture from 1979 to 1988, and currently serves as the vice president of Casa de los Tres Mundos, a literary and cultural organization based in Managua.

Moderated by Boalt Hall School of Law Professor Rachel Moran. Co-sponsored with the department of Spanish and Portuguese, the Townsend Center for the Humanities, and the department of ethnic studies.

APRIL 18, 2001

**BRAZIL: CULTURE, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS**

**Brazilian Minister of Culture Francisco Correa Weffort**

## The Politics of Culture in Brazil



Brazilian novelist Marcio Souza and Brazilian journalist and professor of political science José Álvaro Moises will be available for a questions/ comments session following the talk.

Marcio Souza is the head of FUNARTE, the official Brazilian foundation for the Arts, and the author of *The Emperor of the Amazon* and *An*



*Unidentified Flying Opus.*

Co-sponsored by the Townsend Center for the Humanities and the Brazilian Consulate.

APRIL 19, 2001

**Professor Pedro Noguera**

## Perils in Paradise:

**Political Change and Economic Uncertainty in the Caribbean**

Dr. Pedro Noguera is the Judith K. Dimon Chair Professor of Communities and Schools at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He is the author of *The Imperatives of Power: Political Change and the Social Basis of Regime Support in Grenada* (1997).

APRIL 25, 2001

## Exhibit Opening: Vitalidad Cubana

Photographs by Stefan Cohen

This exhibit of original photography celebrates the culture and spirit of the Cuban people. The reception is open to the public.



**APRIL 26, 2001**

**Prof. Estelle Tarica**

## Entering the Lettered City:

### Jesús Lara and the Formation of a Quechua Literary Patrimony in the Andes

Prof. Tarica is a new faculty member in UC Berkeley's department of Spanish and Portuguese.

Her presentation focuses on the relationship between language, literacy and identity in the Andes through an examination of the work of Bolivian intellectual Jesús Lara.

Co-sponsored with the department of Spanish and Portuguese and the Bancroft Library.

**MAY 1, 2001**

**Prof. Martin Carnoy**

## Sustaining the New Economy:

### Work, Family, and Community in the Information Age

Martin Carnoy, a professor of Education and Economics at Stanford University, will be joined by UC Berkeley Professors Harley Shaiken and Manuel Castells in discussing his latest book.

Co-sponsored with the UC Berkeley Graduate School of Education's department of social and cultural studies.

**MAY 2, 2001**

**José Aylwin**

## Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Chile:

### Progress and Contradictions in the Context of Economic Globalization

José Aylwin is associate professor and researcher at the Instituto de Estudios Indígenas, Universidad de la Frontera, Temuco, Chile, and a researcher at the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America.

**MAY 8, 2001**

**BRAZIL: CULTURE, SOCIETY, AND POLITICS**

**Teresa P. R. Caldeira**

Teresa P. R. Caldeira is assistant professor in the department of anthropology at UC Irvine. Her research focuses on processes of social discrimination and urban segregation, particularly in Brazil.



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To subscribe to our e-mail listserve, which provides weekly updates on Latin Americanist events on the UC 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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